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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

ACCORDING TO the *Statistical Abstract* of the government, British India has a population of 190,000,000, of whom 139,000,000 are Hindus, 41,000,000 Mohammedans, 3,000,000 Buddhists, 1,000,000 Sikhs, and 900,000 Christians.

THE METHODISTS have appointed a committee to arrange for an "Œcumenical Conference of Methodism," or general council of all the Methodist bodies in the world,—another significant step towards universal Protestant consolidation.

THE JEWS in this country do not hanker for the "Restoration," or favor setting up a Hebrew nationality at Jerusalem. "Our Hebrew countrymen," says the *Jewish Messenger*, "would for nothing in the world ever renounce the beautiful title of American citizens."

THE CHAPLAINCY question threatens to come up in the Massachusetts Legislature, with reference to the quarrel between the Catholic priest and the Protestant chaplain at the State Prison. Each is jealous of the other, and wants entire religious control of the place for himself; while the State ought to wash its hands clean of all patronage of either, and devote the money they cost to good schools for the convicts.

MR. MOODY sends word to the "Hub of the Universe" that "what God has done in other places will not compare with what God is going to do for Boston." What awe-inspiring intimacy this gospeller displays with the "secret counsels of the Most High"! Cardinal Wolsey's famous "I and the King" really sounds tame. The country is waiting with a stupid stare to see just what Moody and God can accomplish by their new partnership.

MRS. BESANT makes this week a very wise reminder that the failure of existing republican institutions would not be the failure of republicanism itself; and with great acuteness she points out that the upholders of monarchy, instead of abandoning it when monarchical institutions anywhere give way, simply set to work to repair the damaged machinery. Every true American will thank her warmly for this encouraging and sympathetic word in this time of grave national peril under a disputed Presidency, and for the expression of her generous faith in this great Republic of our own devoted love.

THE SPEECH of the Hon. John Bright at Birmingham on the Eastern question was one of the noblest ever made. He appealed to the conscience, not the interests, of Englishmen, and urged them to respect the same rights in Russia which they would claim and enforce for themselves. He pleaded for justice as between nation and nation, and declared that Russia had a just claim to the freedom of the Bosphorus. When a statesman of any country rises to the height of moral considerations in the treatment of questions of national and international policy, and ranks them above considerations of mere self-aggrandizement, he is entitled to the applause of the whole world; for all mankind have an equal stake in the substitution of justice for force in the settlement of disputes among the nations. We hail Mr. Bright's magnificent statesmanship as a guide to universal peace.

PROFESSOR F. W. NEWMAN, who recently enrolled himself as a member of the Unitarian Association, and who was therefore assumed to have given up Theism in favor of Liberal Christianity, denies that he has changed his views or become a Christian at all. On the contrary, he claims that the Unitarian Association, by voting to print and circulate the writings of Theodore Parker, has advanced to his own views, which are "as little Christian as ever." Theodore Parker, however, so far as we know, always considered himself a Christian minister; and the vote to print his books is by no means to be regarded as an abandonment of Christianity. Professor Newman seems to have made a mistake in this matter which he will find it very hard to rectify. Says Mr. Conway: "This incident has been followed by a lively controversy between the Theists and the Unitarians, the conservatives of the denomination protesting that the Association is still Christian, and that they publish only such works of Parker's as maintain 'some sort of Christianity,' while young Unitarianism proclaims that Newman is right and all the Theists should follow his example." Mr. Conway adds that nothing has prevented the formation of a Free Religious Association in London but the increasing tendencies of the Unitarians to make their Association into one.

REV. DAVID H. CLARK, of Florence, Massachusetts, will not, we are confident, accuse us of a breach of trust, if we extract from a private letter this very interesting description of a charming Christmas festival: "We had a very pleasant observance of Christmas by our Sunday-school at the Hall yesterday. Our method or plan for the last two years has been quite a change from the customary mode of such celebrations, and that which had hitherto been in vogue by our Society. Instead of the usual Christmas tree, we now have a dinner in our Sunday-school room, in which all the members of the school, the parents of the children, and the choir of the Society participate. At 11 o'clock, those who had charge of the preparation of the tables, which were supplied by contributions from members of the Society, assembled in the lower Hall for this purpose. Meanwhile the children and others were being entertained in the Hall above with music, marching, and various pastimes. At 1 o'clock all were invited to the dinner below, where four or five long tables, abundantly and tastefully furnished, presented a most agreeable appearance to the already sharpened appetites. After dinner followed a more intellectual programme, consisting of speeches, sentiments, music, the reading of Christmas pieces, etc. The whole concluded with the distribution of presents, in which every member of the school, if not all present, were remembered with gifts, much exceeding the usual value of such on like occasions. In the evening we had a dramatic and musical entertainment in the large Hall, to which all the members of the school were admitted free, and all the children in the village up to fourteen years of age. All others paid an admission of twenty-five cents. We always have large audiences on these occasions."

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

The Character of Socrates.

I.

TENTH FREE LECTURE IN THE CITY HALL, DOVER, N. H., MAY 10, 1869.

BY FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

"Vice it is possible to find in abundance and with ease; for the way to it is smooth, and it lies very near. But before the temple of Virtue the immortal gods have placed labor. Long and steep is the road to it, and rugged at first; but, though arduous at the start, it grows easy when thou hast scaled the height."—HESIOD.

Ten years after the famous Confederacy of Delos had been formed, by which the corner-stone was laid of the brief but brilliant empire of Athens, a child was born in the little township or deme of Alopēce, (Ἀλωπεκῆ), almost under the shadow of the Athenian Acropolis, who was destined to become the eternal glory and the eternal shame of the imperial city. The father was Sophroniscus, a statuary or sculptor (λιθοξόος), and the mother Phænarete, a midwife [she had a son also by Chæredemus, named Patrocles; Euthyd. 61.],—both being persons of humble condition; and they named the infant SOCRATES. The seventy years which lay before him were to cover the rise and fall of the Athenian hegemony, or supremacy in Greece,—the magnificent rule of Pericles, the long miseries and misfortunes of the Peloponnesian War, and the humiliating capture of Athens by the Spartan Lysander. This was the golden age of Athenian art and letters. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the tragic poets,—Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes, the comic poets,—Thucydides and Xenophon, the historians,—Protagoras, Gorgias, Polus, Hippias, Prodicus, the Sophists,—Polycletus, Myron, and Phidias, the sculptors,—Polygnotus, Apollodorus, Zeuxis, and Parrhasius, the painters,—Mnesicles, Ictinus, and Callicrates, the architects,—all these, and many others who helped to make Athens the most illustrious of the Grecian cities, flourished wholly or partly within the lifetime of Socrates. But while these were all great in special departments of human excellence—great as poets, or historians, or artists,—Socrates will forever tower above them all, because he was transcendently great *as a man*. The Temple of Theseus, the Propylæa, the Parthenon, were indeed proud monuments of Athenian genius; but the grandest monument to the memory of that wonderful people is the Character of Socrates. That is a temple not built with hands, imperishable in the heart of humanity itself.

Although poor, the parents of Socrates gave him what was then regarded as a fair education. In later times he spoke of Prodicus [see Crito 12, where Socrates says his father had him taught music and gymnastic exercises. Men. 37. Cratyl. 2. cf. Xen. Mem. iv., 7, 3], Connus [Plat. Euthyd. 4 and 56; Menex. 3], Aspasia [Menex. 3], and Diotima [Plat. Symp. p. 27], as having been his instructors; he is reported also to have received instruction from the philosophers Archelaus [Cic. Tusc. Disp. 5, 4, 10] and Anaxagoras [Diog. Laert. II., §§19, 45], the latter of whom was banished from Athens, when Socrates was sixteen years of age, on a charge of impiety. In the workshop of his father Sophroniscus, Socrates was laboring as a sculptor, when Crito, a wealthy Athenian who afterwards became his constant companion and devoted friend, discovered his genius, and brought him to Athens. It is to Crito, according to Diogenes Laertius [II., 19], that Socrates was indebted for his education. That he had attained, however, some proficiency in the art of statuary, is probable from the testimony of the historian Pausanias, who saw, nearly five hundred years later, a figure of Mercury and a group of clothed Graces still preserved in the Acropolis as the work of Socrates [Paus. i., 22, 8, ix., 35, 2; Diog. Laert. ii., 19]. Once established in Athens, he never left it, except when sent on military service or when, on one occasion, he went as a spectator to the Isthmian games [Plato, Crito, 14]. Thus, unlike many other ancient philosophers, he seems to have had no desire to travel, but found his happiness at home. In fact, like Dr. Johnson and Charles Lamb, he seldom passed outside the city walls even for a walk. "Sir," said Dr. Johnson, "when you have seen one green field, you have seen all green fields; sir, I like to look upon men. Let us walk down Cheapside." So Socrates, being once induced to take a walk in the country with his friend Phædrus, and being bantered on his unfamiliarity with the neighborhood, replied: "Pardon me, my excellent friend, for I am a lover of learning; now the fields and trees will not teach me anything, but men in the city do." [Plato, Phædrus, 10.] It was human life and human interests that charmed him most; and, though by no means insensible to the beauty of natural scenery, as is shown by this same dialogue with Phædrus, he preferred the society of men to the mute companionship of Nature.

In person, Socrates was homely and awkward. His nose was flat, his lips thick, his eyes prominent, his movements ungainly, his figure anything but graceful or elegant; and even Alcibiades, who truly loved him, compared him in appearance to a Satyr or Silenus. But there was something about him that made men forget this rude exterior. "The outside of Socrates," says Plato, "was that of a Satyr and buffoon; but his soul was all virtue, and from within him came such divine and pathetic things as pierced the heart and drew tears from them that heard him." Alcibiades declared that he was forced oftentimes to stop his ears and flee away, lest he should "grow old in listening to his talk." [Plat. Symp. 39.]

His habits were as singular as his person. He used to walk barefoot about the city, conversing with the people he met; sometimes he would stand still for hours, absorbed in thought. "He was constantly in public, for he went in the morning to the places for walking and the gymnasia; at the time when the market was full, he was to be seen there; and the rest of the day he was where he was likely to meet the greatest number of people; he was usually engaged in discourse, and all who pleased were at liberty to hear him." [Xen. Mem. 1, 1, 10.] Books he cared little for, since these he could not interrogate nor compel to explain themselves. The work of his life, to which he sacrificed his occupation as a statuary and every other means of gaining riches, was the self-imposed task of public instruction,—conversation with the people, young or old, rich or poor, on moral and philosophical subjects. He talked,—but gave no regular lectures, opened no school, organized no body of disciples. His object was very simple,—to make men wiser, and thereby better. But no other philosopher or teacher of Athens, or any other Grecian city, ever taught in this indiscriminate manner, or became a public talker for instruction. [Grote, viii., 555.] In his own peculiar way, he "went about doing good." But his way was very peculiar. Unlike most teachers, he did not profess to teach, but only to inquire. As for himself, he declared he knew nothing; and what he aimed at was to make others conscious of their own ignorance, in order that, having become more modest, they might be willing and anxious to learn. Now the truth which, above all others, most people least like to learn is the fact of their own ignorance; and Socrates raised up against himself a host of enemies [Diog. Laert. ii., 38] by the cool and calm way in which he tore off the mask of vanity and self-conceit from those who thought themselves wise. He soon became known to every one. Whenever a man put on the assumption of wisdom, especially if admiring listeners crowded about him, Socrates would step up to him and ask to be instructed. Pleased with this deference, the man would assent to the request. Socrates would then put some simple question, which the man would answer confidently without much reflection. Another question would follow, based on the reply just received; and so on. At last, leading the man on from one point to another, Socrates would show that the most absurd consequences were involved in his statements, and thus prove not only to the man himself, but also to the laughing crowd about him, that his assumption of knowledge was wholly false. If the man got angry and went off in a passion, that was the end of it; but if, more wisely, he was content to swallow his mortification, and willing to profit by the lesson he had received, then he would continue with Socrates until he had laid the basis of real and useful knowledge. This was the case, for example, with Euthydemus. "When Socrates," says Xenophon [Mem. iv., ii., 40], "saw that he was thus disposed, he no longer puzzled him with questions, but explained to him, in the simplest and clearest manner, what he thought that he ought to know, and what it would be best for him to study."

Passing his life in this manner, laboring for the welfare of his fellow-men and receiving usually only ill-will in return, he had need to be economical; and he was so. [Plut. De Gen. Soc. §11; Diog. ii., 27.] He received from his father by inheritance a fortune of eighty minæ, or about $1400, which he lent to a friend and lost wholly. Of this loss he never complained. [Libanius, Apol. Socr.] Although his property, acording to Xenophon, amounted at his death to only five minæ, or about $90.00* [or three minæ, including a house: see Bohn's Plato. vi., 416], he always refused to receive large presents from his friends, many of whom were of great wealth, but would gladly have bestowed them. [Ælian. Var. Hist. ix., 29; xi., 12; Diog. Laert. ii., §§24, 25, 30, 74.] Archelaus, king of Macedonia, desired to have him at his Court: Socrates refused, saying that he would not incur an obligation greater than he could repay. [Seneca, De Benefic. vii., 24; "Noluit ire ad voluntariam servitutem is, cujus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit."] Once he remarked, in company of his friends, "If I had money, I should buy me a cloak"; whereupon a strife ensued, who should have the privilege and honor of making this small present. [Seneca De Benef. vii., 24.] At this time, the Sophists, or professional instructors at Athens, were accustomed to receive large compensation for their services [Meno. 29; Hipp. Maj. 4, 5, So Xen. Symp. 1, 5: 4, 62]; but Socrates invariably refused to accept an obolus for his. For instance, Aristippus of Cyrene offered him a large sum of money in return for instruction [Diog. Laert. ii., viii., §2]; Socrates refused it, but welcomed him among his followers. Yet Aristippus, when he became himself a well-known philosopher, forgot the example he had beheld, and charged high prices, like the rest; a fact to which Xenophon refers, when he says: "Socrates was a friend to the common people and to every man; for though he received many, both Athenians and foreigners, who wished to hear him, he never required pay for his communications, but gave, from what he had, ungrudgingly to all; while some sold afterwards to others for a high price what they had freely received from him." [Mem. i., 2, 60. The same is told of Æschines in Diog. Laert. ii., 61.] With a noble pride, not to be otherwise than respected, Socrates himself declares, in his defence before the judges,—"For money I converse not, but hold myself ready to be questioned alike by rich and poor, and to give replies to every one that seeks to hear." [Plato, Apol. xxi.] These words breathe the spirit of Paul, who said that he worked night and day, that he might be chargeable to no one. [I. Thes. ii., 9.]†

*According to Plato, Gorgias, §143, two drachmæ (=$0.35) was the fare from Athens to Egypt, about 650 miles. With the same purchasing power, $2.00, the fare from Dover to Boston, which is about 68 miles, would more than carry one to Europe.

†"Socrates in pompa, cum magna vis auri argentique ferretur, Quam multa non desidero! inquit." [Cic. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. 5. See Diog. Laert. ii., v., 9.]

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With feelings such as these, it is plain that Socrates could indulge no luxurious tastes. Though very poor, and as well-known for his old cloak as Horace Greeley for his white coat, he was scrupulously neat in his person and his house, and was displeased at the affectation of Antisthenes the Cynic, who took pleasure in being always dirty and ragged. When Antisthenes appeared one day in ostentatious poverty, with a thread-bare garment, Socrates drily remarked, "I see your vanity, Antisthenes, peering through the holes in your cloak." [Ælian, iv., 11, and ix., 35. Diog. Laert. ii., 36.] No one could exceed Socrates in frugality and temperance; and his temperance was of a kind that deserves the name, being habitual self-control and not ascetic abstinence. The testimony of Xenophon, one of his most warmly attached friends and followers, is strong and clear upon this point. "He disciplined his body and soul by such a course of life, that any one who should adopt a similar one would, unless some supernatural influence prevented, live in cheerfulness and health, and never lack the small expense it would require. So frugal was he, that I doubt if any one could work so little as not to earn enough to meet the wants of Socrates. Of food he took so much only as he could relish, and came to his meals so prepared that his appetite for food was a sauce to it. Every kind of drink was sweet to him, because he never drank unless he were dry. If on invitation he went to a feast, he took care not to overload his stomach,—a thing most difficult to most men. Those who could not do this, he counselled never to take what would stimulate them to eat when not hungry and to drink when not thirsty; for these, he said, were the things that disordered the stomach, the head, and the soul." [Mem. i., 3, 6.] "He proved himself even a better friend to temperance by his life than by his words. For he was not only superior to sensual pleasures, but also to the greed of money-making, thinking that he who would take money from any and every one does but set up a master over himself, and submit to a slavery than which there is no slavery more disgraceful." (Ibid. i., 5, 6: cf. iv., 5, 1: i., 2, 6.) Hence, when Antipho the Sophist found fault with his frugal mode of life, Socrates calmly replied,—"You, O Antipho, seem to think that happiness consists in luxury and extravagance; but I think that to have no wants is to be like God, and to have the fewest wants is to be as much as possible like God; that to be like God is to be perfect, and to be as much as possible like God is the nearest approach to perfection." [Ibid. i., 6, 10. τὸ θεῖον means the *godlike*, the *divine nature*.] How grand a spirit is here revealed! Since God is infinitely blessed because the sources of all blessedness are in himself, it was the faith of this wonderful man that the human soul attains the highest beatitude possible to it by becoming in the highest possible degree like Him. To want is to be imperfect,—to be in bondage to the external; and he is the most godlike man whose wants are least. When we remember that Socrates, whose ideal was thus as lofty as that of Jesus when he said: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect,"—was, of all the great souls known to history, the one who at the same time gave to humanity the most in the way of service and demanded from humanity the least in the way of homage to himself, then we perceive that our ability to give is greatest when our wants are fewest. He who is most free from wants is most at leisure from himself to supply the wants of others; he is at once the most *self-centred* and the most *unselfish*,—therefore, the most like God. If I err not, this is the divine meaning hidden in this marvellous reply of Socrates. [See Ælian. Var. Hist. 9, 29. Diog. Laert. ii., 27.]

But it is the *character* of Socrates, as shown in his life and death, rather than his sayings and thoughts, however grand, that I wish now to illustrate; and since character never reveals itself more completely or more sincerely than at home, let us look, so far as we may, into his domestic life. The unmarried man can neither know himself, nor be known by others, for married life applies peculiar and most searching tests of character. Not much is recorded of the married life of Socrates; yet what is recorded is of the highest importance to our inquiry. The wife of Socrates was named Xantippe (Ξανθίππη), and bore him three sons, Lamprocles, Sophroniscus, and Menexenus.* According to all accounts, she was a woman of most ungovernable temper; and her name has become another word for *vixen* or *scold*. But the gentleness and patience of Socrates are no less proverbial than the passionate temper and furious outbreaks of Xantippe. He bore the hurricanes and tornadoes of her wrath with amazing equanimity. She was at times so transported with rage as to tear off his cloak in the open street. One day, having vented in words of reproach as much of her anger as she could, and finding this means of relief quite inadequate to the needs of the occasion, she seized a slop-jar and poured its contents all over him. But Socrates only laughed, and, wiping his head, good-naturedly remarked that "so much thunder must needs be followed by a shower!" At another time, having received from her a smart box on the ear, he coolly said, "'Tis a great misfortune not to know when to put on a helmet!" [Sen. De Ira, i., 11.] When asked how it happened that he married so fierce a virago, he is reported to have given this jocose reason for his choice: "Those who wish to become skilled in horsemanship select the most spirited horses; after becoming able to bridle these, they believe they can bridle all others. Now, as it is my wish to live and converse with men, I married this woman, being firmly convinced that in case I should be able to endure her, I should be able to endure all others." [Xen. Convivium, i., 5.]

Notwithstanding the freaks of Xantippe's temper, there seems to have remained some true affection on both sides. Cato the Censor, according to Plutarch [Cato the Censor], "used to say . . . that he admired nothing more in Socrates than his living in an easy and quiet manner with an ill-tempered wife and stupid children. When he had a son born, no business, however urgent, except it related to the public, could hinder him from being present while his wife washed and swaddled the infant. For she suckled it herself; nay, she often gave the breast to the sons of her servants, to inspire them with a brotherly regard for her own." [See also Ælian. xii., 15.] This glimpse into the home of Socrates gives us a beautiful insight into his character, and inspires involuntary respect for the genuine human quality of the man. It is further stated by Plato [Phædo, 9], that, on the day when Socrates was to drink the poison, several friends assembled early in the morning before his cell, and, after waiting a while, were admitted. "When we entered," says Phædo, "we found Socrates just freed from his bonds, and Xantippe (you know her) holding his little boy and sitting by his side. As soon as Xantippe saw us, she wept aloud, and said such things as women are wont to say on such occasions, as, 'Socrates, your friends will now converse with you for the last time and you with them.' But Socrates, looking towards Crito, said, 'Crito, let some one now take her home.' Upon which some of Crito's attendants led her away, wailing and beating her breast." A striking illustration of the generous and forgiving spirit with which Socrates regarded his scolding wife, the forbearance he showed towards her faults, and the appreciation he had of her virtues, is found in Xenophon's defence of him after his death [Mem. ii., 2]. Lamprocles, his eldest son, had been angry with his mother, and shown her some marks of disrespect. Socrates endeavors to awaken contrition in the young man's mind, by appealing to his sense of gratitude, and depicting the unselfish care and continual sacrifices of mothers for their children. To all this Lamprocles demurs, saying, "Even if she has done all you say, and many times more than this, no one could stand her ill-temper." "But," said Socrates, "which do you think the harder to bear, the ill-temper of a wild beast or that of a mother?" Lamprocles is frank, to say no more,—"that of a mother," he replies, "at least, of a mother like mine." "Has she, then," asks Socrates, "ever bitten or kicked you, as wild beasts have often done to many?" "No," answers Lamprocles; "but, by Jupiter, she says such things as no one could put up with, to save his entire fortune." "But," argues Socrates, "do you forget all the trouble and pain you have caused her from your infancy by your peevish words and actions, in the day and in the night, and all the anxiety she has felt for you in sickness?" "But I never have done or said anything," pleaded Lamprocles, "at which she could feel ashamed." "What of that?" replied his father; "is it harder for you to bear what she says, than for actors to hear themselves abused on the stage?" "But actors," says Lamprocles, "know that stage threats and reproaches mean nothing." "Yet you," Socrates rejoins, "are *angry* with your *mother*, although you know that, whatever she says, she not only means no harm, but wishes you more good than any other human being! Or do you really suppose that your mother wishes you evil?" "No, indeed," exclaims Lamprocles, "I cannot suppose that." "Do you say, then," replies Socrates, "that this mother who is so devoted to you, who takes care of you in sickness to the best of her ability, that you may get well again and may lack nothing needful to your recovery, and who, moreover, implores the gods for many blessings on your head and pays her vows for you,—do you say that she is a harsh mother? For my part, I think that, if you cannot endure such a mother, you cannot endure anything that is good! Do you think that you ought to pay no respect to your mother, who loves you more than any one else? If you are wise, my son, you will entreat the gods to pardon you, if you have been guilty of disrespect to your mother."

Is there not more practical religion in this conversation of Socrates with his son than in a hundred average sermons? What a proof it gives of almost unexampled greatness of soul, thus to defend a scolding wife, who made his home a place of daily torment for him, against the natural effects of her own stinging tongue! Jesus was never subjected to the daily martyrdom of an unhappy marriage, though, if he had been, I doubt not he would have endured it with a similar noble spirit. But even he could not have shown a nobler or diviner.

Whenever Athens called upon her sons to bear arms in her service or defence, Socrates never turned a deaf ear to her appeal. On more than one occasion he proved himself a cool and intrepid soldier. His physical courage and power of enduring the hardships of the camp were remarkable even in those days, when every citizen was expected to be brave and hardy. He fought at Potidæa and Amphipolis in the earlier years of the Peloponnesian War. Alcibiades, a young Athenian of high birth, great wealth, and brilliant talents, who was a pupil and ardent friend of Socrates, was his fellow-soldier during the campaign in Thrace, and bore testimony to his fortitude and valor. [Plato, Sympos.] Although the Thracian winters were very severe, Socrates used to walk barefoot on the ice and to wear only his customary cloak, while the other soldiers put fleeces under their feet and wrapped themselves in hairy skins. In a scarcity of provisions, there was none who could endure hunger like him. He was observed standing in one spot during the whole of a summer's day, and the night that followed, engaged in profound meditation; nor did he depart until sunrise, when he offered a prayer and went to his tent. The intrepidity he manifested at the battle of Potidæa, B. C. 429, a very hard-fought field [Plato, Charm. §2], has been especially recorded. "When the battle took place after which the generals decreed to me the prize of courage," says Alcibiades [Plat. Symp. §43, Plut. Vit. Alcib., vol. II., p. 39], "Socrates alone of all men was the savior of my life, standing by me when I had fallen and was wounded, and preserving both myself and my arms from the hands of the enemy. On that occasion I entreated the generals to decree the prize, as it was most due, to him. And this, O Socrates, you cannot deny, that when the generals, wishing to conciliate a person of my rank, desired to give me the prize, you were even more anxious than they that this glory should be attributed, not to yourself, but to me."

Several years afterwards Socrates took part in the disastrous invasion of Bœotia, and displayed the coolest and most determined valor on the fatal field of Delium, B. C. 424. Here he saved the life of another of his disciples and friends, Xenophon, who, falling from his horse in the heat of the conflict, was rescued from the foe by Socrates ("ἀφ' ἵππου πεσόντα . . . . διέσωσεν ὑπολαβών." Diog. Laert. ii., 22, Smith's Hist. Greece, 386.) Alcibiades was present also at this engagement, and bears witness again to the heroic conduct of his friend. "To see Socrates," he says, "when our army was scattered in flight at Delium, was a spectacle worthy to behold. Here I happened to be on horseback among the cavalry, he on foot, heavily armed. After the total rout of our troops, he and Laches retreated together; I came up by chance, and, seeing them, bade them be of good cheer, for I would not leave them. Here, then, I had a better view of Socrates than at Potidæa; for, being myself on horseback, I had less concern for my own safety. In the first place, how greatly did he surpass Laches in presence of mind and bravery! . . . He bore himself with a lofty air, and glanced his eye around, quietly surveying both friends and foes; so that it was evident to every one, even from afar, that whoever should venture to attack this man, must gird himself for a desperate struggle. Hence both he and Laches retired in safety; for scarcely any one who thus conducts himself in war is touched; but the pursuit is of those who turn and run away." [Plat. Symp. 43.] To this testimony of Alcibiades may be added that of Laches himself, the companion of Socrates in his retreat, who says: "Moreover, Lysimachus, do not omit the acts of the man; for I have elsewhere beheld him, not only giving a support to his father, but to his country likewise. For, in the flight from Delium, he retired along with me; and I tell you, that if the rest had been willing to be such as he was, our city would have stood erect, nor would so great a disaster have befallen it." [Plato, Lach. 4.]

Not alone in the uproar of battle did Socrates prove himself a man; for his moral was even greater than his physical courage. There is no severer test of a man's bravery than to be obliged to face a furious mob. A mob has no more conscience or compassion than a pack of hungry wolves; and he who, supported solely by his own inward conviction of right, can hold them in check and foil them in their bloody purpose, has mastered every fear. The wild passions of the populace beat as idly against Socrates, as the breakers in a storm beat against a rock. One event in his life shows his moral courage in so magnificent a light, that it would be impossible to pass it over in silence. It was a matter of religion among the Greeks to bury the bodies of the dead with pious care, since the ghosts of the unburied were believed to wander a hundred years on the banks of the Styx; and the Athenian commanders were required after a battle to discharge this duty most scrupulously. Towards the close of the Peloponnesian War, B. C. 406, the Athenians won a victory over the Lacedæmonians in the great sea-fight of Arginusæ. A dozen Athenian galleys were floating about in a disabled condition after the battle; but, in consequence of a violent storm that ensued, no attempt was made to rescue the survivors or pick up the bodies of the dead for burial. The six generals were summoned home to answer for this conduct. The friends and relations of the deceased appeared in public in black clothes and with shaven heads, and their lamentations in a season of festivity and universal rejoicing inflamed the passions of the fickle multitude against those whose valor had saved the State. At the next meeting of the great Assembly of the people, Callixenus moved to pass immediately a verdict of guilty on the six generals, though they had been only partially heard in self-defence; and, what was not only flagrantly unjust, but also directly counter to Athenian law, he moved to include them all in one sweeping sentence of death. Socrates was at that time a member of the Senate, the only public office he ever held; and, in accordance with the custom of Athens, he happened that day to be Epistates, or presiding officer of the Assembly. It became, therefore, his duty to put to the vote every motion that was made. But he refused point-blank to put to the vote the illegal and unjust motion of Callixenus, and thereby to become an accomplice in the murder. The other officers uttered threats of having him indicted himself for opposing the will of the people; the Assembly surged with passion, and demanded in tones of thunder that the vote should be put. But, calm and inflexible as a cliff of granite, Socrates steadfastly persisted in his refusal, declaring that he had taken an oath to obey the laws, that the motion was contrary to the laws, and that he chose to observe his oath rather than to please the people in what was wrong or to seek safety from their threat; adding that the gods know all things, both what is said and done and meditated in silence, and are present everywhere. "He would not," says Xenophon, "permit the people to give a vote contrary to the law, but encountered such a

*The story that Socrates married a second wife also, Myrto, grand-daughter of Aristides, though sanctioned by Plutarch [Aristides] is refuted by Panætius, and is otherwise incredible. [Athenæus, xiii., p. 555. Plut. Arist. i., Diog. Laert. ii., 26.]

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storm of rage in defence of the laws as I think no other man could have withstood." [Mem. iv., 4, 2.] For that day Socrates conquered; but on the next day another Epistates came into office, and the vote was put and carried; the generals were executed, and another act of infamy was added to the long list of Athenian crimes against their benefactors. [Smith's Hist. Greece, p. 342: Lewes' Hist. Phil., p. 131: Plat. Apol. Socr. 62: Xen. Mem. i., 1, 18: Plat. (?) Axioch. 12: Diog. Laert. ii., 22.]

After the downfall of Athens, the abolition of the democracy, and the establishment of the cruel oligarchy known as that of the Thirty Tyrants, Socrates was compelled to assert his manhood in a different manner. Critias, a leader of the Thirty, and formerly a disciple of Socrates himself, conceived a violent hatred against him, knowing him to be a man who would never sanction acts of oppression. Among the laws of the new oligarchy, therefore, Critias caused one to be inserted declaring that "none should teach the art of disputation." The Thirty Tyrants abandoned themselves to every species of extortion, pillage, and bloodshed; in the course of a few months they are said to have put to death fifteen hundred persons, a large proportion of them merely for the sake of confiscating their property. With his wonted freedom, Socrates continued to discourse on all subjects, including that of good government. On one occasion he observed: "It seems surprising to me, if a man, becoming herdsman of a number of cattle, and rendering the cattle fewer and leaner (*χείρους*), does not confess that he is a bad herdsman; but it seems even more surprising, if a man, becoming ruler of a city, and rendering the inhabitants fewer and leaner, neither feels shame, nor thinks himself a bad ruler of the city." Soon afterwards, Critias and Charicles summoned Socrates before them, showed him the law, and forbade him any longer to discourse to young men. "I am prepared," said Socrates, "to obey the laws; but, that I may not transgress through ignorance, define for me the age at which I must consider men to be young." "Do not discourse," replied Charicles, "to any under thirty years of age." "But," said Socrates, with provoking coolness, "if a young man asks me 'Where does Charicles live?' or 'Where is Critias?' may I not answer him, if I know?" "Yes, such questions as that," replied Charicles. At this point, Critias interposed: "You must stop talking about those everlasting shoemakers and carpenters and smiths; they must be pretty well worn out from being so often in your mouth." "You mean," Socrates answered, "that I must cease using them as illustrations on justice, piety, and similar subjects." "Yes, by Jupiter," retorted Charicles; "and you must abstain from illustrations taken from herdsmen; if you do not, *take care lest you yourself make cattle fewer.*" From this threat of Charicles [Xen. Mem. i., ii., 31–37], it is plain that the Thirty Tyrants feared the effects on the young men of Athens produced by the free and fearless speech of Socrates, and therefore they resolved to silence him at once.

There is no evidence to show that Socrates directly disobeyed this law against freedom of speech. Yet it may well be doubted whether he obeyed it. When, only a very few years later, he stood before his judges in the open court, on trial for his life, he said to them with uncompromising frankness: "If you should acquit me on condition that I cease my instruction of youth, I should say to you, 'O Athenians, I honor and love you, but I will obey God rather than you; and as long as I breathe and am able, I will never cease to philosophize, and to exhort, and to say to every man I meet, Oh friend, do you feel no shame, striving for money and reputation and office, but caring nothing for wisdom and truth and your own soul, how to make this as noble as possible?—, For be ye well assured, O Athenians, the God commands me thus to live." [Plat. Apol. xvii.] If this was the temper of the man, when he knew that to utter such words was to pronounce his own death-sentence, it may well be doubted whether he obeyed the mandate of the Thirty. I surmise that he still continued to discourse as usual, and that some lingering and invincible reverence in the mind of Critias for his old instructor,—for this man whom he knew to be incorruptible, whether by hope or fear,—deterred him from staining with blood the gray hairs of Athens' greatest son.

However this may be, another trial of his integrity followed shortly afterwards. In order to implicate as many as possible in their own crimes, the Thirty Tyrants used to compel others to become involuntary coadjutors in committing them. With this purpose in view, they ordered five distinguished Athenians, Socrates among them, to go to Salamis and fetch home from there Leon, a man of character and wealth who had fled thither for safety. "But," exclaimed Socrates, in his Defence, "the government, although so severe, did not terrify me into an act of injustice; but when we left the government-house, the four indeed went to Salamis and seized Leon, but I went quietly home. And perhaps I should have perished for this, had not the government been speedily overthrown." [Plat. Apol. Socr. xx. Cf. Xenophon, Mem. iv., 4, 3: Hell. ii., 3, 39. Plat. Epist. vii. Diog. Laert. ii., 24.]

Thus for physical and moral courage alike,—for that nobility of spirit which makes a man despise danger and death and, above all, dishonor or wrong of any kind,—Socrates was preëminent. But many who can stand erect before a storm of passion succumb before the light breeze of ridicule. Perhaps there is nothing harder to bear than a laugh. Wit is rarely just; and he who can endure to be publicly laughed at without losing his equanimity is either exceedingly stupid or exceedingly wise. This trial of character also had to be undergone by Socrates, whose awkwardness of figure and carriage, and whose eccentric mode of life, especially exposed him to the jests of the keen-witted Athenians. Often, also, the mortification and rage of persons whose weaknesses or follies he so mercilessly exposed brought upon him occasional assaults of a violent nature. Sometimes he was even struck, or subjected to other personal insults [Diog. Laert. ii., 21]; but he bore all such indignities with good-humor [Diog. L. ii., 27, 21], sometimes with a withering sarcasm. On one occasion, a young man went so far as to kick him in public, at which the bystanders were so incensed that they wished to prosecute him; but Socrates effectually punished the young fellow, by dryly remarking to his friends, "If a jackass had kicked me, would you have had me kick him back?" [*"τοῦτον ἠξιώσατε ἂν"*; Plut. De Educ. Puer. §14. *"δίκην ἂν αὐτῷ ἐλάγχανον;"* Diog. Laert. ii., 21]. Plutarch adds that the young man was so cut by this retort, and by the nickname of "the Kicker" which stuck to him ever after, that he at last went off and hung himself; but this addition has so strong a flavor of the imagination that it may be regarded as apocryphal. The reply of Jesus—"Why smitest thou me?" shows equal resentment, less wit, but more dignity.

The work to which Socrates felt himself appointed by the gods,—which he believed to be truly a divine mission,—was of a nature, as we have seen, to create a host of enemies. No one saw this more clearly than he. With a certain mixture of playful humor and deep conviction, he used to say that the God had sent him to the city, as a gadfly to a large and noble horse that had grown sluggish and needed to be aroused. [Plat. Apol. xviii.] The unpopularity of Socrates was, it must be confessed, no less natural than that of the gadfly to which he likened himself. Could anything be more exasperating than to be button-holed at the street-corner by a man whose object was to prick the iridescent bubble of your self-conceit? To be sure, his motive was to make you nobler, by showing how absurdly you were living, and how ignoble the ends at which you were aiming. But then how impudent it was in the fellow, to busy himself with reforming your character? Why could he not be like other people, and mind his own business? With all my admiration for him, I fear I must admit him to have been to the average man an *awful bore*. When this gadfly by profession came buzzing about the streets of Athens, who can wonder that there was a stampede among the horses it was his mission to sting? How the quacks must have scattered at his approach! How the great popular teachers of the day, the so-called "sophists" with their fine airs and elegant attire, must have hated this homely, ungainly, barefooted, and meanly-clad man, who exposed to public ridicule their overstrained pretensions! It is very easy to see why Socrates was unpopular.

But this unpopularity was intensified into malice and envy, when the great god of Greece, Apollo, speaking through the lips of the inspired Pythian priestess at Delphi, declared to Chærephon that of all living men Socrates was the wisest. [*"Ἀνδρῶν ἀνδίστων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος."* Diog. Laert. ii., 37.] There can be no doubt that the people of Athens, who were always jealous of superiority of any kind, and belonged to that class of democrats who cannot endure to see any one richer or happier or wiser or more admired than themselves, conceived a strong dislike to Socrates on account of this oracle. A rich man's property they could confiscate with ease; but how could they confiscate Socrates' wisdom? Or what could they have done with it, if they had got it,—having no use for it themselves? Those pretentious impostors and wind-bags whose characters Socrates had exposed to the people took advantage of the popular jealousy, and prevailed on Aristophanes, the wittiest and most brilliant, perhaps, of the comic poets of that or any other age, to satirize him in a comedy, and bring him on the stage before the public in a false, absurd, and totally unjust light. As a specimen of the comic drama, the Clouds of Aristophanes is of unsurpassed ability and genius; but as a picture of the character of Socrates, it is an utterly unscrupulous libel. It introduces the philosopher in a basket, hoisted up among the clouds, and selling his instructions to an old scapegrace called Strepsiades, for the purpose of enabling him to cheat his creditors by legal subtilties. The old man himself proves too stupid to be taught, and therefore sends his son Pheidippides to learn in his stead. The first use to which the young man turns his new accomplishments is to beat his own father, and then to prove by invincible logic that this course of treatment is eminently just and right. In every scene where Socrates appears, he is made to utter a thousand impieties against the gods, and to talk like a man of the greatest vanity who boasts of his ability to confound truth with falsehood, and make the worse appear the better cause. The populace were carried away by the audacious wit of the comedy, thundered their applause, and ordered the name of Aristophanes to be set above that of all his competitors for their favor. The comedy happened to be first represented at the time of the Dionysiac festival, when Athens was filled with a vast concourse of strangers. A great crowd, therefore, poured into the theatre to behold the new play. It was seldom that Socrates went to see the pieces of the comic poets, because his sense of justice was offended by the unscrupulous misrepresentations of which they were guilty. But with his characteristic coolness he is said to have gone to the theatre on this occasion; and when the strangers, not knowing him, began to make some disturbance inquiring who this Socrates was that was thus lampooned, he calmly rose and remained standing during the rest of the piece, in order to gratify their curiosity. [Ælian. Var. Hist. ii., 13.] Some one of those near, amazed at seeing his indifference to ridicule, asked him whether he were not angry at the impudence of the poet, to which Socrates replied, that he was made fun of in the theatre as if he were present at a great drinking-party: *"ὡς γὰρ ἐν συμποσίῳ μεγάλῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ σκώπτομαι."* [Plut. De Educ. Puer. §14]; that one should know how to take a joke. He once remarked, also, doubtless with reference to this play of Aristophanes, that we ought to offer ourselves to the comic poets of our own accord; for if they spoke the truth, we should correct the faults they satirized; but if otherwise, what they said was nothing to us. [Diog. Laert. ii., 36.] Such superiority to ridicule as Socrates evinced by this conduct seems to imply almost as great a moral character, as complete a moral equipoise, as is manifested by his heroic conduct before the mob and before the Thirty Tyrants.

I will close what I have to say concerning Socrates this evening with a few anecdotes and detached sayings that have come down to us.

Once, while looking at the great multitude and variety of the articles exposed for sale in the shops, he was heard to say to himself,—"How many things I have no need of!" And one of his favorite quotations was as follows: "Silver plate and fine purple are useful on the stage, but not in real life." [Diog. Laert. ii., 25.] Yet on occasion, as when, for instance, he attended a banquet at the house of Plato, he did not disdain to clothe himself handsomely, out of respect to his host. [Ibid. 27.]

"Leisure," he once said, "is the finest of all possessions." [Ibid. 31.]

Some one once said to him that Antisthenes (the cynic), a man of sterling character, had had a Thracian mother; to which Socrates replied, with a characteristic sarcasm on his own countrymen, "Did you suppose that so noble a man could have been born to two Athenians?" [Ibid. 31.]

In his old age he learned to play on the lyre. [Diog. Laert. ii., 32: Plato, Euthyd. 4: Quint. i., 10, 13.] When asked if he were not ashamed to learn such an accomplishment, he replied, "There is no disgrace in learning what one does not know." [Diog. L. 32.]

Being once asked what was the especial virtue of a young man, he replied, "Freedom from excess." [*"τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν."* Diog. Laert. ii., 32.]

Somebody once inquired whether it were better to marry, or not. "Which ever you do," said Socrates, "you will repent it." [Ibid.]

He once remarked that the young ought continually to survey themselves in the looking-glass, in order, if they were handsome, to be worthy of it, but if otherwise, to conceal their ugliness by their good education. [Ibid. 33.]

Having once asked some rich men to supper, Xantippe was in great trouble at the meagreness of her larder, until Socrates remarked,—"Never mind about that; if they are temperate, they can get along well enough, but if greedy, we need not care for them." [Ibid. 34.]

"Other men," he said, "live to eat; I eat to live." [Ibid.]

His disciple Æschines, seeing how his rich companions, like Alcibiades, gave presents to their teachers, once said to him, "I am poor, and have nothing else to give, but I give you myself." "Do you not see," replied Socrates kindly, "that you have given the best gift of all?"

Some one once remarked to him, "Does not so-and-so curse you?" "No," was the sublime reply of Socrates, "for his curses do not reach me."

And with that great saying echoing in our souls, we will take our leave of him to-night.

[For The Index.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

Evolution is to be added, as previously shown, to the Concrete and the Abstract, as a third term, or third member of a trio of fundamental discriminations. It is semi-concrete and semi-abstract (still without being the Abstract-Concrete of Spencer, which is merely a branch of the Concrete). It is Concrete as to the materials involved, within or among which the evolution takes place; and it is Abstract in respect to the *laws* guiding, or involved in, the process. If we were to say that the Concrete is One, and the Abstract Two, then Evolution is Three, as a new Concreting of the One and the Two.

Let us now denominate the Concrete, this (as it were) *new* domain of "Nature" (now including, also, "Mind" or Human Nature) the Naturismus, as embracing all natural objects, *bunched*, concreted, or grown-together; let us call the Abstract the Scientismus, as peculiarly the domain of *Scientifics* properly so-called; and let us then call the Evolutionary the Artismus—of universal being—the region of what is *accomplished*, or of what is wrought or is being wrought into "the thing of beauty" which is the Cosmos. In this sense Nature has her own domain of Artism, or of ideal perfection *achieved, or undergoing the process of achievement*, and this is Evolution.

We may now leave the domain of language, and pass over to that of the human body, taken as a type of living bodies generally; and so of Biology, the science of living things. The human body has also, necessarily, as everything else has, a Without, a Within, and a Between. The withoutness of the body is the fleshy envelopment of the bony structure, essentially what in the animal carcass is called the meat (the muscle, fat, skin, and other tegumentary substances). The within of the body is the *viscera* (viscerismus), or in the blunt language of common life, "the inwards," as the without might then be called *the outwards*. In fine, the betweenity of the body is the bony framework itself, or what is known as the skeleton.

But here, as in the cases of the Universe, at large, and of language, previously considered, the Without and the Within fall together into a single larger class of being, what, in this case of the body, we denom-

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inate "the Soft-Solids." The bony framework, by itself, then substantially contains the true "Solids"; and a third department now comes in, to complete the new trigrade arrangement; namely, "the fluids" of the body. This last class signifies nutrition, or life, circulation, growth, change, in a word Evolution, or *dynamis* expressed in new conditions.

We find ourselves here in the presence of the most externally simple, primitive, and obtrusive of physiological discriminations. Every student of medicine recalls the fact that the first idea taught him in this department of science was the distribution of the materials of the body into Solids, Soft-Solids, and Fluids. (Even this little change in the order of their mention, by which the Solids are now the first to be named, has a significance, which I will indicate subsequently.) It will be new, however, when we are required to observe, as we now are, that the skeleton of the man is the abstract man (as to his body); in other words, that the skeleton coincides with, or repeats, within the human body, "the Abstract" of Spencer in his classification of the domains of universal being, furnishing the Sciences; that the Soft-Solids of the body coincide, in like manner, with, or repeat. "the Concrete," and that the fluids of the body are, in like manner, analogous with "Evolution."

This as between the human body and the world of being taken as a whole. But, again, as between both these and language; it now appears that the Grammatico-logical domain of language (the form) coincides with, or repeats, the skeleton, within the human body, and the Abstract in being, at large; that the lexical domain of language (the matter) coincides with the Soft Solids in the body, and the Concrete in the world at large; and, finally, that Etymology, or phonetic growth and decay, the internal history of language, coincides with the fluidic circulation within the body, and with Evolution in the world at large. If we were to say the evolution of the world at large, the evolution of language, and the evolution of the human body, we should have no great difficulty in being comprehended. Hearers or readers would understand, without a word of explanation, and would spontaneously recognize that there is something in common, in these various spheres of being, which authorized us in applying the term evolution to all and to each of them. The point of newness here is in determining what this common element is, and in arriving at the observation that it is identical or coincident with some sort of fluidic condition such as is most favorable to change; the culmination of which state, I may add, is in that unstable equilibrium of prox-elementary substances which is peculiarly adapted to the advent of life—and, also, to that of the death of the prior conditions.

It is a greater strain upon existing habits of thought to recognize that a *skeleton* is literally an *abstract man*; and so, a type, sample, or analogue of Abstractness, universally. Indeed, the idea that there are types, symbols, or real analogues of things, in Nature, has been heretofore a poetic, or, at best, a mystical or cabalistic, rather than a philosophico-scientific conception, or discovery. We are now to accustom ourselves to look for these types and symbols on every hand, until the universe which we are inspecting will undergo a magical change to our view, as if the light were being turned upon the interior of a great cathedral, so that we rapidly *sense* the wonderful correspondence of architectural details and the unity of design, in phenomena which had previously lain in shadow, and appeared as a confused mass of unrelated parts. It is Universology which will be the new and revealing light to the understanding, and Universal Analogy—the answering of infinite resemblances, in becoming contrasts, in subordination to the rule and plummet—will be the architectural plan which is the burden of the new revelation. It is this inherent permeation of a universal symbolism, as new scientific discovery, resting on, and derived, in an orderly manner, from a few simple principles, which constitutes Scientophilosophy, in a higher or transcendental sense; and to the further exposition of which the patient attention of the reader is solicited. It is by this means that we shall lay the foundation for a new and wonderful system of classification, uniform in character, while yet adapted to all the sciences.

We have already found a *pou sto*, or a starting point of scientific certainty, in the perception that everything must have a Without, a Within, and a Between; that the Without and the Within fall together as a Concreteness, while the primitive Between remains, or is developed, as Abstractness (the Skeleton); and that a new and third term then declares itself as a Fluidity, a condition of change, and the sphere, therefore, of Evolution.

We have also got on a scientific track when we recall human attention to the fact that all our broad philosophic discriminations have their origin in the simplest class of our ideas, and that they can be brought back to their origins in connection with primitive, and especially with primitive mathematical forms of thought. *Affirmative* and *Negative* mean merely *yes*-y and *no*-y; *synstatic* and *analytic* mean *one*-y and *two*-y; *static* and *dynamic* (or better *motic*) mean *stay*-y and *go*-y, etc., etc., until we shall have exhausted the list of these governing terms of thought, reducing the formidable technicalities of all philosophy to such a bald simplicity that we incur the opposite danger of falling into some contempt for making much ado about such trivialities. When the world find that they have been talking prose, all along, they may fall, for the moment, to value the excellences of good prose. The question arises: What of it! if this is all you mean by your high-sounding phraseology? A third stage of reflection will bring us, however, to perceive that the most important things are always the most simple, at least from one point of view; and that such words as *prime*, *radical*, *elementary*, and *principle* relate to simplicity, beginning-point or origin; and are, therefore, of this childlike or incipient character. Indeed, in philosophy, as in art, it will be found that the most important if not the most difficult step is to regain a certain lost natural simplicity in the mode of looking at things.

What, then, we are now led to inquire, *are* the primitive and simple ideas which underlie and gave origin to the two formidable scientо-philosophical technicalities — the Concrete and the Abstract — which Spencer, as we have seen, makes to lie at the basis of the classification of all the departments of human knowledge. It may be a little startling to get for reply, that the real discrimination of thought here is simply that which we ordinarily express by the seemingly unimportant little Anglo-Saxon words, *thick* and *thin*.

Thick and thin are terms designative of Form. With them, therefore, we make the transition to a new department of being—not the world at large, not language, not the human body, not anything that we have previously considered, but—that of figure, shape, or form the admeasurement of which furnishes the science of Geometry, the central science of the Mathematics; which was shown, as previously dealt with, to be itself the middle of the betweenity, of the universal scope of being. It is, at all events, to this domain of form to which we are to look for the most definite instances and illustration of Analogy.

To the thickness and thinness of Form (geometrical solidity and superficiality, the Concreteness and Abstractness of form) both static, there must now be added a third variety which is Motion. Motion, though it may not have been precisely so conceived of or defined, is no other than *changing Form*, Form itself being taken in that largest of senses in which Position is one of its subdivisional departments; so that fluidic or fluent form is motion, which again is the developmental or evolutionary aspect of form; for the most general type of motion is Circulation, Revolution, Evolution, or, in a word, Volution (roll or turn); and so motion is the third term in this trigrade scale of these fundamental departments of Form.

To restate, with a slight change or order: *Thin* or geometrically superficial or "plane" form is the Analogue of the Abstract. *Thick*, geometrically "solid," or stereometric form is the Analgoue of the Concrete; and fluent form, motion—dissolving and reconvolving scenery—is the Analogue of (dissolution and) Evolution.

It is now quite important to observe that these same discriminations transfer themselves *by a spontaneous recognition of the inherent analogy* from the domain of Form to the domain of Substance—from the Geometrical to the Chemical realm,—and that scientific discovery here consists merely in the intellectual recognition of what our minds have instinctually or naturismally already accomplished. The same word, *thick*, which, geometrically speaking, is "solid"; that is to say, having three dimensions measurable in feet and inches, means, substancively (or chemically speaking) Colloid, pasty, or non-crystalline, but of a "solid" consistency (mark the difference now in the meaning of *Solid*.) So, *thin*, which before meant having two dimensions only, measurable also in feet and inches, now means diaphanous or crystalline (or would more correctly mean that, though with the usual inaccuracy of processes naturismally accomplished this meaning is here usually carried over and confounded with the third term, next to be stated). Finally, *fluent*, which was before applied to dissolving and reappearing forms merely, is now applied to a second variety of substancive consistency called fluid—the Colloid and crystalline being confounded under the one name of solid (consistency); while yet they are the analogues of Soft Solids, and Solids, respectively, in the Physiological domain.

This commingling of transcendental philosophy, logic, grammar, anatomy, physiology, morphology, or geometry, hylology, or chemistry, etc., may seem at first to tend more to confusion than to elucidation; but it is no small matter to obtain principles which are common to them all; and it is by this road that we shall bring philosophy down into the particular realms of all the sciences, and raise all the special sciences into the sublime sphere of universal philosophy.

THE INDIAN POLICY.

The President during his entire administration has manifested intense interest in the Indian policy of the government, and it is, therefore, a matter for surprise that in his review of his civil career his reference to this subject is so brief. His reticence, however, is explained when we come to read the report of the Secretary of the Interior. The Secretary's presentment of the Indian question is so full and so intelligent that the President had no need to do more than refer to the report as embodying his own views. In committing himself to the conclusions of the Secretary he adopts a far more progressive policy than he has favored in his previous messages. It is more business-like and sagacious and less sentimental than the original Indian policy of his administration. It is brought forward under propitious circumstances, in spite of the disastrous summer campaign on the Yellowstone and the exploits of Sitting Bull. As we used to say in war-time, the backbone of the Sioux rebellion has been broken, and there is every indication that Gen. Crook's winter campaign will result in the surrender of Custer's murderers. But this is not all. The scandals which once clouded the Indian service have been dispelled. The statesmanship which assumes the title of Christian lies no longer under the reproach of lacking honesty and common decency. The Administration is at last in a position to define its Indian policy without being forced to apologize for gross mismanagement and corruption.

What Mr. Chandler regards as the true Indian policy is very clearly outlined in his report. Its crowning aim is to teach the Indian to support himself. But the logic of self-support points unerringly to the rights of citizenship. If we can train an Indian to feed and clothe himself we can educate him to be a useful citizen. The Secretary recognizes this, for he declares, without reservation, that the tribal system must be abolished. This has always been the fatal defect in our Indian policy. We have treated the Indians as independent nations; we have made treaties with them, and whenever it was convenient we have broken the bonds and shot them down if they ventured to accuse us of treachery. The Canadians have done better than this. They have kept faith with the red man. He has not been regarded as a member of an independent tribe, but as one of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. The success which they have achieved in dealing with the Indians and converting them into peaceable citizens throws light upon our own failures and blunders. When the Secretary advocates the extension of the privileges of citizenship to the Indian Territory he goes to the root of the matter. He well says: "The sooner the idea of considering and treating the various tribes in the Indian Territory as possessing a sort of independent power and nationality is done away with, the earlier we will reach some practical solution of the embarrassments which now surround the question of their government." This is the point which good Bishop Whipple in the North-west has raised again and again. The missionaries who labor among the tribes preach to those who believe already the cardinal doctrines of the immortality of the soul and the existence of the Great Spirit, and it is not strange that they are wonderfully successful in their work. Many of the Indians at White Earth and in the Indian Territory have made great progress in civilization, and are now ripe for citizenship and self-government. There is no reason why they should not have the privileges of citizenship. There is no reason why the jurisdiction of the United States courts should not be extended over them. There is no reason why they should not have some form of territorial and representative government based upon republican ideas.

Mr. Chandler seems to think it necessary to protect the Indian Territory from the encroachments of white settlement. He would give a certain amount of land to every Indian, and prohibit its transfer to any white man. Indeed, he would restrict the transfer of land from one Indian to another, and would people the whole Territory with tribes. We are not sure that he is right in these respects. If black and white can own land and vote together under State laws, red and white can do the same in the far West. The Indian should be trained up to the obligations and privileges of American government—not red men's government. We do not lay the same stress upon the exclusive occupancy of the Territory by Indians that the Secretary does, and we incline to the belief that it will be wiser to concentrate the Indians upon a few large reservations than to overcrowd the Indian Territory. We commend his suggestions, however, to the thoughtful consideration of all who are interested in one of the most complex problems of American government and civilization.—*Tribune.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

CHRISTMAS.

'Tis Reason's era; out of date are grown
The Babe and Virgin, manger and the star,
Which led the wise men from the East afar,
The quiring angels and the shepherds lone,
The peace they heralded is still unknown;
E'en peasants dull, suckled in faith, begin
To see truth's light through hallowed, mythic haze,
Impervious no more to Reason's rays,
Which to all souls will soon an entrance win.
The Christmas carol and the Christmas hymn
Are voices of the past, the twilight dim
Of rude, unreasoning, marvel-loving days.
We know the clock-work of the heavens; then why
Do we still date from the nativity?

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 30.

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N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, alway give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 4, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FENY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

MR. UNDERWOOD has been lecturing at Denver, and the *Rocky Mountain News* gives a very fair report of one of his boldest lectures.

THE ASHTABULA railroad disaster, following so close on the burning of the Brooklyn theatre, is too horrible to think of. One turns away from the theologians with bitterness, and asks himself: "When will the people spare enough time from money-making and soul-saving to protect human life from the selfish and murderous carelessness of corporations?" If every railroad company were held inexorably to a fine of (say) ten thousand dollars for every life lost on its road, no matter what the cause, the companies would soon devise ways and means of preventing such agonizing accidents. But these very companies prevent such righteous legislation by their power over the lobby and the press; and the people still passively submit to periodical butcheries of this awful and unpardonable sort.

IN THIS first issue of the eighth volume of THE INDEX, we begin the publication of a series of three lectures: the first two on "The Character of Socrates," and the third on "Jesus and Socrates in the History of Religion." Written before or about the time when THE INDEX was first established, they have been hitherto withheld from publication in the hope that, some happy day, they might be used as the nucleus of a small volume on the subject, for which copious materials had been accumulated. But the years are fleeting by, and exigent duties which never relax their pressure have made the hope grow fainter every day. Without even having had an opportunity to revise the lectures or to verify the references they contain, we have therefore concluded to tender them as a modest New Year's offering to such of our friendly readers as may value them. Imperfect as they are, they may enable us to spend together a pleasant hour or two in the presence of one whom the world, heedless and selfish as it is, has yet been unable to forget or cease to honor.

IN A LETTER which is altogether too good not to be quoted, Mrs. Stanton writes as follows: "I was much amused to learn that some of your subscribers gave up THE INDEX because its pages did not fully reflect their opinions. These people must have read your paper to little purpose that they could not tolerate a difference of thought. A person cannot be very well fortified in a position that he is afraid to discuss with his adversaries. The best way to be sure we are right is to read the opinions of the opposition. Floundering as we are in the depths of speculation in politics, religion, and social ethics, we should sedulously encourage rather than repress individual freedom of thought. I wonder that these men who cannot read a paper unless it reflects their mental likeness consent to walk the streets of a city, where they never meet a face precisely like their own. Remembering that it is through this endless variety of thought that truth is, evolved, we see the wisdom of toleration." These wise words are just as applicable when the difference turns on moral convictions as on intellectual beliefs. If any man held that murder or theft is right, and in defence of that thesis wrote a paper of proper tone and requisite ability, we should not hesitate to give it place in THE INDEX; for the result would be, by inevitable reaction, to strengthen respect for sound morality. Virtue and truth need never fear the light; for light cannot make beautiful that which is devoid of beauty, or ugly that which is fair.

THE POWER OF IDEAS.

Few men know what it is to live by ideas. It is easy to live by conventional rules, by traditional precepts, by fashion, by habit, by imitation, by thoughtless impulse or by cunning self-interest. But it is not easy to live by ideas, deliberately adopted as general laws of conduct, carefully applied to life's ever-changing situations, and enforced upon self by reason and conscience in opposition to all lower promptings. Very few men know what it is thus to shape a whole life by universal principles, ordained deliberately in their naked abstractness by the moral intelligence as the authoritative laws of action, and, because deliberately adopted as supreme authority at a time anterior to the conflicting desires and impulses of special exigencies, invested with a certain august majesty which instantaneously commands reverence and obedience in the face of all temptations. Yet nothing else than this fixed loyalty to ideas deserves the name of virtue. It is not virtue to do thus or so because another wills it, or because men applaud it, or because it pays or is pleasant: virtue consists in doing what is right simply and solely because nothing else squares with the immutable principles of moral harmony, justice, truthfulness, benevolence, purity. And all these are merely ideas, representative of supreme realities.

It is in this manner that the virtuous man becomes a law to himself. His personal intelligence comes to comprehend the fundamental moral relations that must, regarded or disregarded, subsist among all personal intelligences as such; his conscience recognizes, reverences, and freely reënacts the natural laws of conduct which are constituted by these uncreated and necessary moral relations; his will accepts the guidance of his reason and conscience in all the affairs of life; his affections find their satisfaction, their serene and peaceful and delightful exercise, in the sweet personal ties and sympathies which never fail to accompany and beautify a life thus ordered by ideas. In all cases of dubious duty, when a subtile net-work of moral relationships embarrasses or perplexes his decisions by its complicated ramifications, he has recourse, not to any sort of "Divine Revelation," but to the great principle of *Moral Equations*, or equal individual rights, by which he works out the value of the unknown quantity, x,—that is, his practical duty in the specific case in hand. He may make mistakes in the operation, and fail sometimes to solve the moral equations with absolute accuracy; but his method is right, and becomes daily more useful as he grows more skilled in its practice. Every upright man uses this method of determining his duty in doubtful cases, though it may be in total unconsciousness of the processes he actually performs; just as men altogether ignorant of logic frequently carry out long trains of reasoning in perfect accordance with logical laws, and arrive at correct conclusions without a suspicion of the method they have actually pursued. In no other way than by constant reference to principles or ideas of universal validity, and by shaping conduct accordingly, can any man become virtuous; for virtue consists in the expression and exemplification of such ideas in concrete acts. He who performs an action simply because it is commanded plays the *rôle* of a mere hand or foot; he is not a virtuous man, but only an obedient slave executing the purpose of a superior will. But he who intelligently and freely governs his conduct among his fellows by reducing to practice the universally valid laws of righteousness establishes a new individual character as one of the motor forces of the world, and shows afresh that virtue is voluntary allegiance to ideas.

The word "ideas," however, seems to those who have been reared under the training of the churches to be a cold and lifeless one; it denotes to them a mere "abstraction," powerless to move the will or stir the emotions; it represents nothing that is familiar to the religious experience they have been taught to consider as essential. Instead of ideas, Christianity presents Persons, three in one, and especially the one Person which to popular imagination takes the place of all three—Jesus Christ. Here, we are told, is inspiration, stimulus, life; here is that which can fire the heart of man with unquenchable enthusiasm for holiness; here is that which can save the world from sin, and transform the sinner himself into a saint. And the question is triumphantly put: "What power can you show in your 'ideas' to match the power of this personal Savior in the work of regenerating the world by righteousness?"

It is enough to point out that, without being aware of it, those who put this question assume the presence of those very ideas which they despise. To "convert the world to righteousness" is the object of the Christianity they profess; but "righteousness" itself is an idea, and means the conformity of heart and life to the abstract "right." Unconsciously Christians themselves make large use of the very abstractions—truth, purity, justice, etc.—which they yet distrust and depreciate, as used by non-Christians. The real difference in this matter between Christianity and Free Religion lies here: both inculcate righteousness, but the former teaches that a love for and devotion to the personal Christ is the only way to it, while the latter teaches that the shortest and best way to righteousness is learning to love and seek it for its own sake. The one demands righteousness just as much as the other, notwithstanding the fact that it is an abstract idea; but, while Christianity teaches that the genuine love of righteousness is a secondary matter, in fact only possible as a sort of reflected love of Jesus, the other teaches that it is the main thing, and that no love of it is genuine in the full degree, if it is made secondary or subsidiary to anything else. Hence the one preaches the love of Jesus as the root of all true righteousness; but the other teaches that the love of righteousness for its own pure sake, as an idea shining by its own eternal refulgence, is rooted in nothing but the inherent beauty and ineffable attractiveness of its object. It is true that whoever comes to love a righteous person is helped thereby to love the righteousness which glows visibly in his character; but it is also true that no one can love a righteous person who has not learned to love righteousness itself beforehand. The love of the idea precedes the love of the person, and he who once learns to love the idea supremely for its own sake finds himself, by the free-masonry of virtue, admitted thereby into the high fellowship of all virtuous souls. When, therefore, we are asked: "What power can you show in your 'ideas' to match the power of the personal Savior in the work of regenerating the world by righteousness?" we answer that the power of the great moral idea lies in its own intrinsic sublimity, its own unutterable loveliness, its own eternal and majestic fascinations for all who can discern it,—in short, in what even the English Bible itself, with a momentary glimpse of the soul of Free Religion, designates as the "beauty of holiness." And for proof of this power we need only point to those great spirits of the past who, like Socrates, without even having heard of the "Savior," have yet been mastered and transfigured by the self-shining IDEA OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Nor is any rebuttal of this testimony made by adducing the fact that the great majority of mankind are insensible to the power of abstract moral ideas, and live lives stained with the shame of gross departures from virtue. This practically limited influence is no more characteristic of the power of ideas than it is of the power of the "personal Savior." Saints are as rare in the Church as in the "world." A thousand are "converted"—made to glow for a time with a sincere and passionate love of the "Savior"—for one who is thereby led into a true and permanent righteousness; and this one is in every case unconsciously made righteous by the *power of the ideas* which his "Savior" merely represents in an illustrative character. Not until these ideas become the regulative laws of conduct by virtue of their own unborrowed sanctity and natural supremacy, can any one, Christian or otherwise, become a truly righteous man. There is no such thing as a sudden conversion to righteousness. This is a matter of growth, of slow development, of long and painful education in self-control. The bulk of mankind are still moral infants; they can be developed into genuine righteousness neither by the power of ideas nor yet by the power of the "Savior"; they are essentially immature in their moral natures, and the religious craze of revivalism is no substitute for natural maturity. There is but one way to "regenerate the world by righteousness," and that is the difficult way of *education*. The "Savior" is powerless to make mankind holy, as is proved by the long failure of two thousand years; and, if this is no reproach to him, neither is it a reproach to abstract ideas. But the false, foolish, and disastrous expectation of ultimately succeeding in the attempt to make mankind righteous through the mere power of a personality stands fatally and lamentably in the way of a purer social state. It dissuades from that humbler but wiser means of universal education; it draws off attention and effort from the one indispensable requisite of *early and continuous moral culture;* it keeps men morally ignorant and weak and childish by teaching them to hoist themselves into holiness by the waistband of "conversion," instead of climbing up to it

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by long, self-denying obedience to abstract moral laws. The power of ideas is omnipotence itself, if the conditions of its exercise are only complied with; they can be taught, explained, illustrated, and set forth in their natural majesty, even to the minds of the young; and there is no substitute for this early discipline and training. If the world is ever to be made righteous, it can only be by recognizing the power of principles, by ceasing the idle folly of substituting for it the illusive power of the "Savior," and by taking up in good earnest the task of educating children in the practice of self-government by abstract moral ideas. There is "no royal road to learning"; and there is no royal road to righteousness. The long moral night of Christianity is slowly passing away; the dawn of Free Religion, with its substitution of the power of ideas for the powerlessness of the "Savior," and of steady, persistent, universal education for the mischievous spasms of revivalism, is already begun; and, despite all discouragements, the disciples of ideas may rest assured that their toils cannot be in vain in the end. For Truth is on their side, and the interminable future, paved with successive victories, is only her long pathway to a triumph that can never be reversed.

AN EVANGELICAL PREDICAMENT.

It is related that on one occasion Sadducees, who denied the resurrection, came to Jesus, who, being a Pharisee, admitted it, and propounded the following riddle: A man died, leaving a widow, but no children. His brother, in compliance with the Mosaic Law, marries the widow and dies without issue; a third brother repeats the experiment of ceremonial obedience, with the same result; a fourth flings himself into the gulf, but fails to perpetuate his brother's line; a fifth devotes himself, a sixth, a seventh; for there were seven of these Orthodox bachelors. Now arises the question: Whose wife will the woman be in the resurrection? Jesus parries the thrust by denying the relevancy of the inquiry. In the Messiah's kingdom the institution of marriage is not recognized. Temporal arrangements do not hold in the spiritual sphere. Death cuts the knot that life cannot untie.

This incident came freshly to mind the other day on reading of the predicament in which an Indian prince unconsciously placed the missionaries who had been laboring with him even too successfully for his peace or their own. The Thakore of Brownugger became a Christian. No Christian, he was told, could have more than one wife at a time. The Thakore, following the venerable usage of his country, had four; three, therefore, must be put away. Which three? Their ages were respectively, twelve, fifteen, sixteen, and twenty-two. Fifteen he loved, and did not feel disposed to part with. Sixteen was rich, and could not be spared. Twelve had a claim on him on account of her tender years; twenty-two had a claim quite as good on the score of her defenceless age. He must wrong somebody or hurt himself by compliance with the Christian requirement. By non-compliance he wronged nobody, and probably contributed to maintain the time-honored institutions of his country, of which polygamy was one, and not, it is probable, one of the most degrading. The command to divest himself of three-fourths of his married estate was not laid upon him because he was dissolute. His transgression was against a dogma. The report does not say how the debate in the young man's mind ended, nor does it tell what answer the missionary made to his scruple. What answer could he make? If he took example by Jesus in the kindred dilemma, he must have decided that the question was irrelevant; that by becoming a convert to Christ he had passed into another intellectual sphere, where feelings and motives alone were important,—where the external relations that he was born into, and maintained as part of his official rank, were significant only as they compromised the interior purity of his mind; that, in so far as they failed to implicate his new humanity, they might be innocently retained; that, in so far as they afforded opportunity for applying his new humanity, it might be even incumbent on him not to break them abruptly, but to use them honorably for Christ's service and sake. Some such ground the missionary ought to take, if he were a wise man. But he could not take it without abandoning completely his dogmatic, sectarian, technically Christian position. He must rise to a purely intellectual, national, spiritual sphere, and to do that he must cease to believe in the literal obligation of every New Testament precept, in the strict inspiration of the Scriptures, in the technical authority of the Church, in the sovereign efficacy of the "Christian" institutions. That is to say, he must adopt the principle that forms, rites, modes of custom, and belief are to be regarded and respected in places where they are native and providential; that only the cardinal and absolute can be insisted on as of universal validity; consequently that attempts at remodelling institutions and substituting new dogmas for old ones are reprehensible. But this is the ground of Free Religion. Free Religion, by discarding all that belongs to the special form of religion—the dogma, the rite, the tradition, the reliance on ordinances and opinions, and insisting only on general sentiments and universal principles,—avoids the embarrassments to which "evangelical" religion is exposed. It can appeal to considerations of reason, and can use what is best in all institutions. "Christianity" must have the whole or nothing. Free Religion builds on the foundations that are laid, and is hopeful of erecting some kind of spiritual structure on soil formed by the deposit of rotten leaves or of mud which ancient rivers bring down in their flow through primeval territories. Its faith is rather in evolution than in revolution.

O. B. F.

WHOM SHALL WE TRUST?

"Miss Susan B. Anthony has lectured on two successive evenings in the Paine Hall course, on 'The Sixteenth Amendment' and 'Women want Bread, not the Ballot.' Not being able personally to attend, as we should have been glad to do, we can only judge of her lectures by imperfect reports in the press; but these show that Miss Anthony is as able and as earnest as ever. Her statement that she would have voted for General Butler for Congress, however, raises some queries respecting the 'purification of politics' by woman's influence. We fear that such votes would not purify them much."—THE INDEX.

There has never been a man in Congress who has treated the demand for woman suffrage with more honest consideration than the Hon. Benjamin F. Butler. His minority report on our memorial, presented to Congress in 1871, is one of the most able arguments on woman's right to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment ever made on the subject. When Miss Anthony was fined a hundred dollars for voting, by Judge Hurd, she appealed from his sentence to Congress, and again Mr. Butler championed woman's cause.

As Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, he made another equally able argument in favor of her fine being remitted, and, as he stood alone in the position, he brought in a minority report. If we test Mr. Butler's morality and statesmanship by his loyalty in such cases to the great fundamental principles of justice and democracy, women-citizens have no cause of complaint; and, if ever enfranchised, would prove themselves absurdly stupid if they did not cast their ballots for such champions.

It may be a great breach of political honor and party faith to outgeneral a Republican clique in Massachusetts, and to vote with a majority in Congress to double his own salary; but to Miss Anthony's mind these are minor vices, compared with robbing one-half the citizens of the republic of all their inalienable rights, as the mass of our rulers are now doing. We can more safely pardon rulers for individual lapses from principle than for an incapacity to see their general application.

Suppose Mr. Butler had been as true to the National Liberal League, and had presented the Religious Freedom Amendment to Congress, passed it to a vote, and, if lost, made a masterly minority report in its favor, would not the editor of THE INDEX have given him his vote for Congress, and made honorable mention of him in his journal? Might not Mr. Butler's clear perception of that great truth, and his courage in advocating so unpopular a measure, have somewhat modified the editor's condemnation of any lack of political honor in minor matters of which he might justly or unjustly be accused?

Moreover, do we not secure a "purification of politics through woman's influence," when representatives who are accused of being false in all other interests are invariably true to her? Honesty in one direction is the bud of promise that may in time come to a full fruition of all the cardinal virtues.

E. C. S.

[Mrs. Stanton has our sincere thanks for so frankly replying to editorial views from which she differs; and we cannot do better than to imitate her frankness.

It would be very unjust for us to bring charges against General Butler which we do not personally know to be true; and it would be equally unjust to withhold approval of the good things he has unquestionably done. He has the reputation, however, of favoring and of employing those political methods which will destroy the republic, unless it can reform them out of existence; and the voter must act on such knowledge of candidates as he can obtain. If General Butler were to render to the Liberal League and the Religious Freedom Amendment all the services Mrs. Stanton suggests, nevertheless we could not cast a ballot for him with our present (just or unjust) impressions of his character. We hope yet to see that Amendment carried, but *non tali auxilio*. For his services to it we should feel and express great gratitude; but if they were accompanied by equal disservices to political honesty and public morals in other matters, we are not yet such a devotee of the Liberal League movement as to seek its triumph by voting for him. Even for that triumph, we can afford to wait until it can be won without abating a jot of that stern, proud integrity which disdains to carry the noblest ends by a trick, or to soil the victory of the right by a compromise with the wrong. Perhaps we feel the sting of humiliation under the political wrongs of freethinkers quite as keenly as Miss Anthony does under those of women; yet we choose to bear them rather than to sanction political corruption by so much as a vote. Mrs. Stanton may possibly think us very Quixotic in all this, as indeed we may be; but we are learning, somewhat sadly, that one cannot always live in strict accordance with a high ideal of duty without incurring the malicious slanders of enemies, the stupid misjudgments of friends, and the risk of furnishing to the public the spectacle of a wholly incurable Quixotism.—ED.]

ENGLISH SKETCHES.

BY MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

LONDON, Dec. 15, 1876.

We think and speak of little else here in England but the "Eastern Question." You will have heard of the "Conference" at St. James' Hall. It has given great occasion to the enemy to blaspheme by the lack of courage and openness shown by those who had the management of it. It would be most unjust to blame in any way the eminent literary men whose names were connected with it, for, beyond lending it the sanction of their names, they had nothing to do with the arrangements. It was all managed by two or three individuals whose names are known in the country more by their fondness for pushing themselves into notoriety than by the work they do; on these alone must fall the blame of making the liberal party ridiculous by a "national conference" which was neither national nor a conference. The *Standard*, the government organ, has printed various letters from Radicals, and one from a delegate, complaining that the meeting was only a packed demonstration against the government, and that, so far from its being a conference, no discussion was permitted, and only those selected by an unknown and irresponsible authority were allowed to address the meeting. A demonstration against the government is a perfectly legitimate thing, and at the present time such a demonstration is sorely needed; but it makes the whole affair ridiculous if such a demonstration be carefully packed and labelled a "conference." Numbered tickets were issued, and every difficulty was put in the way of obtaining them. Delegates were called from all parts of the country, and then found their mouths closed; in fact, the machinery of election and delegates was a mere farce, got up to impress the public by a pretence of representation. No resolutions were submitted to the meeting on the important subject of our foreign policy. A certain number of propositions were laid down, chosen speakers supported them, and the delegates were not even allowed to give a silent vote upon them; the only resolution proposed was one to form an association to carry on a system of agitation; but of what steps have been taken towards this end the public is profoundly ignorant. Since the "conference" silence has reigned, and whether there is an association, what it is going to do, of whom it consists, I know nothing. Never was a "national" movement carried on with such wonderful secrecy.

Mr. Gladstone's speech at St. James' Hall redeemed the whole matter from insipidity. It was simply splendid. Mr. Gladstone spoke very quietly, but with a determination and a restrained force which enchained his audience. Step by step he traced the Prime Minister through all his windings, with the patience and unerring instinct with which the greyhound follows the doubling of the hare. One by one he unveiled all the inaccuracies, the sophisms, the evasions, of the Earl of Beaconsfield. He dragged his manifold self-contradictions into the daylight, and showed the dangers of his devious policy. As an impeachment by a pure and high-minded statesman of a political charlatan, Mr. Gladstone's speech left nothing to be desired; it was moderate, logical, weighty, and solemn in its gravity of indignation. The ex-Premier's eloquence is of a singularly pure type, and his rhetoric is severely simple; his voice clear, full, and soft, audible and sustained throughout; his face not handsome, but thoughtful and grave, and lighting up at moments almost into beauty with a singularly attractive smile, the head well-modelled, and with a large reserve of physical power. Mr. Gladstone is still vigorous, and has many a year of life before him yet. His temperate habits and purity of life have rewarded him with

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a healthy age, and the man who could speak, as he did, for an hour and a half, to so large an audience, has clearly no right to retire into private life while his country needs him so sorely as England now needs one of the noblest of her sons.

The pamphlet on the Eastern Question and Mr. Gladstone's fall, which I mentioned to you some little time back, is having a very large sale, and is attracting much attention. I have heard it ascribed to various authors, and even to writers so opposite as Mr. Bradlaugh and the irrepressible *Ginx's Baby*. In a discussion I overheard in a railway-carriage the other day, one of the speakers thought it was written by Mr. Freeman, the historian, who has taken so prominent a part in the movement against Turkey. One satisfactory point may be noted in connection with it,—the thorough endorsement of its views in regard to Russia, and of its appeal to Mr. Gladstone, in the various reviews of it that have appeared in the press. Over and over again the opinion is repeated that only at the head of the people can Gladstone return to power, and that the people would gladly hail his leadership, and loyally support him in the struggle.

We are watching with great interest for the news of your Presidential election, and are admiring the quietude and patience with which the nation bears the strain of the prolonged incertitude. Many thoughtful English people hope to see Tilden elected, although their sympathies are with Hayes, simply because the Republican party being in power, they fear the suspicions of the fairness of the election will be strong if Hayes succeeds to the Presidency. It is said that "Republican institutions are on their trial." Important as their triumphal and peaceful issue from the difficulty may be, I cannot admit that a failure would entail a condemnation of Republicanism. Many have been the failures of monarchical institutions, and yet advocates of monarchy do not therefore condemn it as a principle; at the utmost they strive to improve the part of the machinery which has broken down. It should be just the same now with Republican institutions. Republicanism is not bound up with one special system of voting, or with the habits of one country. The lesson we Republicans learn from "the present distress" is only that certain institutions need improvement, and that they want to be made *more Republican* than they are. Yet, with the prejudice against Republicanism, with the rejoicing of all anti-democrats (using the word in its wide sense) over every trouble in a free country, we naturally watch with intensest interest for the issue of your present difficulty. But our watch is full of hope, and full of faith; full of hope in that we believe in the triumph of free institutions, full of faith in that we trust the peaceful strength of the mighty American Republic.

Communications.

THE MAN WHO WAS NOTHING.

John White had no religion. He really believed something of everything; he denied no facts; still he had preferences as to which facts he should practise. His creed was so general, so formless, compared with any of the sectarianisms that divided the village, that he appeared to his neighbors to have none,—and so he had not, in the sense that they had. "What's John White?" "Well, I guess he don't lean noway pertickler; he's not a religious person; see him goin' fishin' Sundays; guess he's nothin'. Very clever, good-hearted feller; pity he don't jine." This was about the average village verdict. He was not reputed a prodigy in any line; he was not the person you often hear mysteriously mentioned in little inland towns as secretly studying Hebrew, or the invention of a new heresy, or an improved dog-churn, or perpetual motion. He was no student; he only read lovingly the smiling sky, the green earth, the hearts of wife, children, and friends. He was in the same predicament in regard to his occupation as to his religion; he had no trade, but was pretty good at almost all trades.

Elmwood was a good illustration of what Thoreau says of the natural coexistence of no shade-trees, high Calvinism, and hard drinking. It was called Elmwood (*lucus a non lucendo*) because its length and breadth held just one tree, a scrubby, unregenerate white-elm, so tough and gnarly that no one had ever thought it worth while to attempt converting it into rails or fire-wood. The tenacious clay subsoil of the hill-country roundabout seemed matched by a certain heavy stubbornness of opinion in the minds of the inhabitants; the hard-pan was popularly said to "come up to the third rail of the fence," and the hard-pan in the average brain could generally be struck without much digging. The skies there, during a good part of the year, waterlogged with dark vapors from the lakes, wore an obstinate gloom that justified for many an indulgence in the congenial horrors of a profoundly demoniacal theology, and for others desperate recourse to the cheap Lethe of new "old rye."

The particular morning in June of which I wish to speak was John's first Sunday in his new house,—the first house he had ever owned. He had built it almost entirely with his own hands during the past year. It was a common enough affair, built of second-class lumber, but it was home, and John was lying on the grass in the front yard admiring it and the world in general. Wind and rain in the night had swept and washed clean sky, air, and woody hills; only a few ragged ravellings of the tempest scurried along the southern horizon as if in haste to overtake the rack that had gone before. The newness of Eden filled the world; John could hear his wife crooning to her baby; he heard the pleasant droning of the morning church-bell and the dreamy hum of the insect myriads all around; all was warmth, life, joy, and peace, and John never for a moment reflected that he had no religion.

A certain personal synthesis of mottled jowl, brass-headed cane, hedgy eye-brow, and magisterial paunch, known to Elmwood folk as Judge Durham, now perambulated dogmatically past, never once looking to the right or the left. He was almost the only man in the place who never spoke or nodded to John. He did not on this occasion; yet his frowning reserve was more eloquent than words. It said: "Here this John White, an improper, heathenish sort of person, has got to owning a house and lot, which is monstrous. Did he not refuse once before me to kiss the Book? Who knows what pernicious opinions he may not entertain? He is undoubtedly a secret rebel against all that is good; he is of no family; he is little better than a foreigner. Somehow he has got hold of this house and lot, but I trust it is mortgaged. For one, I will never recognize such trash." Thus having made his internal confession, he passed,—John having noticed or thought little about him.

Next came along the Rev. Mr. Perkins, the Congregational clergyman, a sleek, smiling, mercantile-looking gentleman. His salutation was: "Good morning, Mr. White; I see you have taken up quarters in your new house. A very pleasant place. I am glad to see that you are being prospered, and trust your heart may be gratefully inclined toward the Giver of all good."

"Well, yes, I can't say that I ever feel ill-disposed toward anybody that I know has done me any good. I don't know who the Giver of all good is. Generally it isn't given, but has to be worked for. That house has cost me considerable labor. Gratitude won't build a house, nor insure it, and keep it in repair after it is built. If I was really able to do much in the way of gratitude, I shouldn't know any better way than to help some other man who needed a house to get one. Words don't amount to much; and we have no reason to think that the Lord estimates them any higher than we do, seeing he gets plenty of 'em, and little else from most of us. However, you and I have hummed over these things often before; it really is too fine a day to waste in argument. Don't you think so?"

The Rev. Mr. Perkins saw the force of this, bade John good-day, and paced slowly and sadly on toward his meeting-house. He was a good man as the world goes; safe, fatally safe, never to sink or soar. His idea was that religion and morality were a higher sort of policy and etiquette. He wondered that John could be so wanting in formal respect for the Almighty. He thought how much nicer it would be if he would only be a decorous member of his church; would stop saying rough-sounding, original things, and let matters go in the smooth and pleasant channel which to Rev. Mr. Perkins seemed God-appointed. It would be better for John in a business point of view, better every way. He felt sometimes an uneasy suspicion that John really had a religion; but then he comforted himself with thinking of Dr. —— and Dr. ——, learned and talented men, LL.D.'s and Presidents of colleges,—pshaw! what was John White's opinion against theirs?

Next, Jerome Kidder, sharp-featured, dark, a little hectic patch over each cheek-bone, deep cavern-eyes burning with a slow fire, straight and shining black hair; general aspect meek, earnest, introspective; commonly considered "cracked" on religion. Slacking his course, in response to John's friendly challenge, he was speedily launched on a fervid tide of so-called religious exhortation,—a queer mixture of benevolent, threatening cant which John had often heard before. He wondered then and now how the half-crazed enthusiast could project his whole being into that imaginary future of ecstasies and horrors; but this he certainly did. Heaven and hell were very real to him, and the present only a fleeting dream. He was utterly in earnest, and commanded the respect that earnestness always does. The point of John White's financial condition did not present itself to him with any force; it was the interests of his immortal soul that he was thinking about. He could not stop long; he would not for anything miss a groan or shout of the earlier or later prayer in its season. No argument with him, either; he said his say, and went on.

As John lay thinking, it seemed to him that the lovely gracious present was as holy and an infinitely pleasanter dwelling-place than Jerome's chimera-world. The masses of cool beechen foliage yonder on the hill-side, indented by many an alcove of deep green shadow; the feeling, half sensation, half memory, of his pleasant relations with friends and neighbors; the subtile smells from soil and herb; the majesty and purity of the stainless ether; the festoon-like flight of the yellow-birds, lazy and happy as himself; the old summery sentiment of home and happiness fed from a thousand impossible-to-be-hinted sources,—all was very present to him now, expunging Jerome's hell from fancy and memory, and casting even his heaven far into the shade. John lay luxuriously letting his thoughts wander where they would on the wings of the hour; he pitied Jerome, but not nearly so much as he did Judge Durham; and Rev. Mr. Perkins' shallows—profitable and satisfactory as they appeared to the view of common sense—seemed more contemptible than ever compared with Jerome's intensities. Suddenly he became aware of some one looking over the fence upon him, and raised himself on his elbow to see who it was. He saw a shabby, slouching shape; a meagre, colorless face, with thickish lips, and passionate, melancholy eyes; a dirty, woe-begone, sensitive man, evidently hard-used by the world and himself; in short, a failure, a tramp, one who had no rights save to jail or hospital or cheapest drudgery,—if he could get it. He stared at John with incredulous impassiveness, and said not a word. John accosted him in rustic slang: "Well, cap'en, which way you travelling? Live far from here?" For answer the stranger climbed over the fence (such men will always climb a fence sooner than go through a gate), sat down on the grass, tailor-wise, opposite John, and said in a hollow voice: "Do you know me?" "No," said John, "I don't." "Well, I am one, probably the worst one, of the prodigal sons of Elmwood returned to claim my fatted calf, which appears to have been kindly prepared—and eaten—in advance for me. You remember that harmless, dreamy boy that sat the third seat front of you in the old red school-house? You were older than I, so we were never particular cronies. I say I am the worst one; I am the most unfortunate, the softest. All the real hard cases like Deacon Flint's boys have no doubt 'steadied down,' joined the Church, and got property. That's the way it generally goes. I never was a hard case; I was a real good boy; I never wanted to hurt any one, and for that very reason the world found it safe to hurt me. I am bad, or unfortunate enough now; but I am done. I never shall do good or harm any more."

"O no, you can't say that yet safely; why, you can't be over thirty-five; you are a young man yet. I remember you now perfectly. Edwin Storm is your name. You left here, I think, the summer I was working out in Pennsylvania. Where have you been this many a year?"

"Everywhere, and nowhere, to any good. People have always said to me everywhere: 'Why, you have got a good education; why don't you clerk in a store, or preach, or practice law, or medicine? Darned 'f I'd break my back maulin' rails, if I had the book-larnin' you have.' Everybody seems to think the only proof of superiority to your fellows is in your power to injure them; and that the sole aim of knowledge is to enable the possessor to subdue the common run to his selfish uses. To make money in this world, or, in other words, to get a luxurious living without earning it, one must peddle lies or poison; preach, or practice law, or politics, or sell whiskey or medicine. I never wanted to cheat anybody, and had no faculty for doing it; besides, I was so unfortunate as to be radical and heterodox in everything. I could not fall in with the common ways in anything. I was *out* everywhere. I was an unwelcome stranger everywhere. I have earned a poor living by the most wearing, poorest-paid, manual labor; one cannot even 'clerk it in some store' unless he is a fawning liar. I inherited a taste for stimulants that helped to drag me down; or, say more correctly, in common with most nervous, poetical persons, I have been blessed and cursed by a joy-hunger that has cruelly mocked me with beauteous visions, only to tear them away and leave in their stead the eternal horrors of reality. Despairing long since of the ordinary well-founded happiness that the meanest and weakest of mankind seem to attain—except me,—I have madly drunk to the dregs. Now all is past. I sincerely wish I was dead; yet the weak habit of life remains. I saw these hills yesterday for the first time since I left them, fifteen years ago. I had a talk with Judge Durham. You know the details of his dealings with our family. Twenty-five years ago, when I was ten years old, we were living on the Knowlton place, which comprises what is now the best part of the village. Father had bought it of Judge Durham, paying him all the money he had—seven hundred dollars,—and giving a mortgage to secure the payment of the balance. This he could have made in the ordinary course of events, but he was seized by a slow disorder, which killed him after three years of torment. As soon as he could do it legally, Judge Durham foreclosed the mortgage, and in a time of the greatest financial depression. No one had money to pay down for a farm, and he bid it in at his own price. That seven hundred dollars was gone, and all our personal property, stock, tools, etc., —all this legally, mind you. I reminded Judge Durham of these things yesterday, and asked him for what, do you think? Old clothes, broken victuals, money? No, I asked him to give me work to keep me from starving. As well ask shelter of the winter skies! Now do you know what I am going to do? I am going to run mad. I am going to tell the whole story to everybody in town. Then I am going to curse him, invoke the vengeance of heaven upon him, haunt him, and at last kill myself at his door, and smear his threshold with my blood."

"I don't think you will do anything of the sort. That wouldn't hurt Judge Durham at all. He is a hard-hearted old man, really more unfortunate to-day than you are. He can't be hurt or helped in any way any more than a boulder stuck in a hill-side. As for work, I have got lots of it. I am everlastingly whittling at chairs, brooms, axe-helves, and so forth. I am a Jack at all trades, and good at none. Come and work with me and you can have a choice of trades. I smell dinner; let's go in and have something to eat."

This was too much for poor Storm, who hadn't heard a kind word for years, and had grown so hardened that he never wanted to hear one. Hysterical with long tramps, poor whiskey, and almost no food, he gave way all at once, fell upon his face, clutched hard into the grass with his bony fingers, and his whole awkward frame was convulsed by voiceless sobs that seemed as though they would take his life out with them. John said no more, but went into the house and soon came out with a tray loaded with savory viands. This he set down on the grass by the now motionless, prone heap of man, went back into the house and quietly ate his dinner. Three-quarters of an hour afterwards he came out; Storm was sitting up, looking rational, subdued, and slightly sheepish. The tray was swept clean,—nothing like extreme grief to give a man an appetite! But he would

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not go into the house; no, he said he was not fit to go into any decent man's house. He had resolved to travel on up into the hills to some old acquaintance, poor and not very respectable, like himself; after a few days perhaps he would come down and go to work with John, and see if it were possible for him to take a new start in life. So he passed and John was left alone thinking. He did not think much in words,—nor perhaps in very definite ideas. He felt a profound pity for the man who had just left him. It seemed to him that here was a case of a man who had no religion,—if religion is the term to use; who had somehow lost his religion, more's the pity, and yet seemed to have lost it by having nursed ambitiously so unattainable an ideal that he had fallen in his unequal combat against the dragging worldly average, into depths that the world knows not of.

John was somewhat puzzled, but came back, as he always did from casual encounters with troublesome problems, to his natural, simple, unreasoned faith in every-day happiness and good-will. He had a sort or religion after all; and I think that, take mankind as they run, it is about as safe to risk dealing with people who have no particular form of religion as with any others. What has been your experience in this respect? Reliable statistics as to actual relations between creed and conduct are much to be desired.

G. E. T.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

TWO OF THE NOTABLE BOOKS OF 1876.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I have just finished reading *Transcendentalism in New England*, by O. B. Frothingham; and, finding it a brave, broad, and inspiring book, I desire to call the attention of the readers of THE INDEX to it, that others may share in the pleasure I got from its perusal. So many new books from well-known authors drop from the press nowadays that it is nearly impossible to select according to one's taste without knowing somewhat about them before buying, since the titles of so many books are either misleading or non-committal as to the contents. If we know the author, we know only the manner, not at all the matter of which he treats.

If any one wishes to learn the history of transcendentalism, and the stories of those great-thoughted men of all nations to whom it owed its rise and progress, sketched in a few bold, strong strokes from a masterly pen,—if one wants to hear the true story of Brook Farm,—if he would like to see Emerson, Alcott, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, and Ripley, each made a study in their appropriate characterizations as the poet, the seer, the preacher, the critic, and the man of letters,—if he longs for the latest and loftiest ideas on most of the religio-philosophical questions of the day,—if he likes brave, buoyant, hopeful, truthful words upon every subject treated of in the book, he will find all this, and more, in *Transcendentalism in New England*.

I have read with pleasure and profit many of Mr. Frothingham's previous literary efforts, but never have I seen him appear to greater advantage as thinker and writer than in this his new *rôle* of historian of a grand phase of religious feeling; a phase he has studied carefully, and one with which it is evident he *has been* in full accord and sympathy.

So much has been said and written about George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, and so many guesses have been made as to the hidden purpose of that powerful novel, that I think it will not be deemed presumptuous if I add my little mite to the ocean of conjecture that surrounds *Daniel Deronda* as an island. I fancy half-a-dozen morals may be hid in the story; I only desire to point out one which is very plain to me, but which it seems has been overlooked.

In *Daniel Deronda*, as in the *Spanish Gypsy*, it seems to me that she is desirous of showing that the law of inheritance, which Darwin lays such stress on, is as powerful and well-defined in methods of thought and emotional traits as in physical structure and intellectual development; that no education, however careful and complete, can wholly eradicate inherited tendencies of any kind, at least in one generation; that there is always danger of reversion to the primal type in morals as in physical forms. The Spanish gypsy girl, brought up from infancy in the most cultured and courtly society, surrounded by wealth and refinement, beloved by and loving one not of her own race, taught to abhor that race, of which she was unknown to herself one of the highest dignitaries, yet no sooner does she learn that she is of the despised race than all the inherited love for and sympathy with that race springs up into fresh life and undying strength in her nature, and she sacrifices to those inherent prejudices love, wealth, home, and luxury, and takes upon her the burden of the life that she finds most in accordance with her inmost sympathies.

So Daniel Deronda, brought up in the highest circles of the most refined English society; purposely kept in ignorance of his origin; educated carefully in the tenets of Christianity as understood by the Anglican Church; taught by class education to look down upon the despised Jew; brought into contact with the flower of English beauty and breeding, yet finds himself in full sympathy with that wild dreamer, Mordecai, and is attracted towards him from the first in spite of the apparent folly of such associations; falls in love with the pretty and rather insipid Jewess, Mirah, in preference to all the lovely Englishwomen by whom he is surrounded, in preference even to the surpassingly lovely though faulty Gwendolen; and when he at last discovers his heartless and frivolous mother, and she imparts to him the secret of his Jewish origin, the inherited tendencies within him make him glad and triumphant over a discovery otherwise calculated to fill him with regret and mortification. He accepts with eagerness his rightful place and faith, and marries Mirah in her poverty and in the face of her disreputable relations; nay, is more than ever her brother's dear friend and faithful admirer. On the one side lies all the superficial good of life for him,—all the wealth, honor, comfort, and culture; but all these have not power to make him swerve from the gratification of inherited sympathy with his race.

That the portrayal of the strength of these inherited sympathies on the human mind is one of the lessons George Eliot wishes to inculcate in *Daniel Deronda* is, I think, sufficiently indicated by the words she makes her hero address in grateful gladness to Mirah's brother:—

"It is you who have given shape to what, I believe, was an inherited yearning—the effect of brooding, passionate thoughts in many ancestors,—thoughts that seem to have been intensely present in my grandfather. Suppose the stolen offspring of some mountain tribe, brought up on the city of the plain, or one with an inherited genius for painting, and born blind,—the ancestral life would lie within them as a dim longing for unknown objects and sensations, and the spell and habit of their inherited frames would be like a cunningly-wrought musical instrument never played on, but quivering throughout in uneasy mysterious moanings of its intricate structure that under the right touch gives music."

Respectfully yours, SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.

REMONETIZATION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The remarks of your correspondent, "R. C.," upon the Silver Bill, seem to me to imply a misapprehension of both the economic and the moral law applicable to the question. Our coin will go abroad as bullion, or, rather, will refuse to circulate as currency while it is worth more in the market than "legal tender." There is no way to make a more valuable dollar circulate only to take away by law the less valuable one. While the law declares a paper promise to be "legal tender" for debts, the thing it promises will never circulate by its side. The duty of government is to take away the fictitious dollar; *i. e.*, repeal the legal tender act; not, however, making the repeal retroactive. Then coin will *per force* come into circulation to discharge new promises.

Demonetization was a stupendous legislature immorality in its retroactive character, and an equally stupendous economic blunder in every other aspect. The optional dollar of 1862 is the *thing* which justly pays the promise of the greenback made by government in 1862. Let government stick to the standard of weight and fineness of the bi-metallic statutory dollar of 1862. All inquiry into *value* is irrelevant as a question of equity.

But it is not error to *call* the changed ratio in the value of the two metals a change in the value of silvers. By the standard of the silver dollar, has not gold behaved badly as a measure of value?

E. D. STARK.

CLEVELAND, O.

A CHRISTIAN COMMA.

NEWPORT, R. I., Dec. 19, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—The Revised Statutes of Rhode Island of 1857 provided (Sec. 16, Chap. 216) that "if any person shall do or exercise any labor or business or work of his ordinary calling . . . on the first day of the week . . . he shall be fined," etc., etc. The Supreme Court of the State decided in the case of Allen *vs.* Gardiner, *et als.*, of Rhode Island, p. 23, that under this section the only prohibited labor, business, or work was that of a person's *ordinary calling*.

This state of the law did not satisfy the anti-Sabbath-breakers; and so, in the General Statutes adopted by the legislature in 1872, a comma was ingeniously introduced after the word "business," making the statute to read: "Every person who shall do or exercise any labor or business, or work of his ordinary calling . . . shall be fined," etc.

Whether the insertion of the comma at the place named really has the effect of altering the construction given by the Supreme Court to the law, may be a question; but that such was the intention can scarcely be doubted.

It is by these insidious attacks that the liberties of the people are gradually encroached upon.

Yours, SAMUEL R. HONEY.

WANTED—ONLY THE FACTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

If trouble grows out of the political situation it will be simply because the American people are not honest enough to abide by the truth and the foundation principles of their government.

If, instead of trying to discover how Gov. Hayes or Gov. Tilden can be put into office, whether fairly elected or not, the aim were simply to discover which one has been elected by the people; or, if neither, then determine that, the whole contest could be settled in ten days to the satisfaction of ninety-nine hundredths of the people.

Instead of talk of war and preparation for conflict, the people should demand of Congress that, as patriots instead of partisans, they shall get at the facts and decide according to truth and right.

There has been an election, and there is now nothing to be done but *determine facts*.

If public meetings are held, it should be to declare that the country *shall not* be plunged again into war, but that truth and right shall prevail, and the man inaugurated President who has, *in fact*, been elected. Are there not men enough in the country that regard fairness and right more than partisan success, to give the country the relief that honesty alone will give? A. J. WARNER.

MARIETTA, O., December, 1876.

NO ACQUIESCENCE IN FRAUD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—There is no part of THE INDEX that I read with greater satisfaction than "Current Events." I must, however, take exception to the instruction in the last number, that almost any settlement of the Presidential question would be welcomed by the majority of the people. The controversy has reached a stage beyond this. If it is true, on the one hand, that it was by fraud or intimidation that Connecticut, New York, or Louisiana gave a majority for Tilden, we ought to know it; or if, on the other hand, it was by fraud that his majority was thrown out in Louisiana, we ought to know it. Acquiescence in fraud is a most demoralizing thing, as it proved when the country suffered Polk to be elected by fraud in 1844.

But while the present situation should not admit of any chance or *ex-parte* solution, it is eminently a case for compromise. Manifestly, if either Hayes and Wheeler or Tilden and Hendricks are declared elected there will be suspicion and heart-burning, which will be long in passing away. But if it were possible to declare a failure to elect, and either remand the question back to the people, or give the choice to Congress (in which case we should have Tilden and Wheeler), we might arrive at a peaceable and satisfactory settlement. A.

MADISON, Wis., Dec. 25, 1876.

WANTED—MORE KNOWLEDGE.

TO THE LIBERALS OF MASSACHUSETTS:—

A petition to the legislature of this State, concerning an extension of the powers of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor is in circulation. It is petitioned "so to extend the duties and powers of the statistical Labor-Bureau, that it, for the purpose of a full and reliable report, shall investigate not only the condition of the working population, but also that of the manufacturing establishments erected by capitalists by whom this population are employed."

When through such an investigation it is learned what profits, after deduction of all the costs, and a moderate interest on the employed capital, the capitalists, as such, draw from their establishments, it will then be easy to estimate, in how far they are able, and how far justice can demand from them, to bring the wages of the laborer into a just proportion to his work performed.

The practical importance of such a step cannot be over-estimated, and liberals are expected to aid this scheme. All those who favor it will promote it by putting their signature to the petition. To this end they are cordially invited to call at the office of the *Pionier*, 33 LaGrange Street, or to address the undersigned, who will cheerfully furnish copies to those willing to gather signatures.

IVAN PANIN,
1 *Crescent Place, Boston.*

A COMPANY gathered at the residence of August Hilz, in Bocrum Street, Williamsburgh, on Sunday, to attend the christening of an infant. Assessor Kiehl was chosen godfather, and the assistant of Pastor Weisel, of the Lutheran Church, began the ceremonies. To the usual question to the sponsor: "Will you renounce the devil?" the godfather, Mr. Kiehl, said that he didn't have anything to do with the devil; that he didn't believe in the devil, and so he needn't abjure him. The pastor answered, that if Mr. Kiehl did not answer the question, the child could not be baptized into the communion of Christ's people. Mr. Kiehl said that he would answer any other question, but he wanted to be left alone as far as the devil was concerned. The young pastor turned on his heel, saying that he would not baptize the child, and left the house. The festivities proceeded without the christening.

MR. TALMAGE thinks that Satan is a fool. The particular Satan, however, that excited the minister of the Brooklyn tabernacle is the editor of a Cincinnati paper, who recently tried to persuade people not to go to hear Mr. Talmage speak on the Bible and common school question. In spite of the editor's (or Satan's) warnings, people thronged Exposition Hall, and, according to the editor of the *Christian at Work*, were deeply impressed by his lecture. Moral: "Let all Christian men go straight on to discharge their duty. No permanent harm can befall them. The heathen may rage, but God rules, and the devil is a fool"—and Mr. Talmage will still be heard.—*Liberal Christian.*

A CLERGYMAN, in Wyoming Territory, received $5 for preaching a funeral sermon, which he did very acceptably. It was the first money he had received for a long time for professional services, and he concluded to put it where it would increase and multiply. So after spending a few minutes in prayer, for Divine guidance, he arose refreshed, and, girding up his loins, he went forth among the by-ways and boldly entered the haunts of the wicked. When he returned to his humble home he found $5 had increased many hundred-fold. He had cast himself upon the turbid waters, so to speak, of a game of draw poker, and had scooped the boys out of $1,150 and some cents.—*Exchange.*

THE MOST remarkable speech ever made by a presiding officer has just been delivered in Florida. The man who made it is a member of the Legislature, and he was called to the chair unexpectedly at a convention of his constituents. Here it is in full: "You know I can't make a speech. We came here for something else. I hope you will not make asses of yourselves and break up the party." It is safe to say that more good advice was never crowded into so short a space.

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Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

THE INDEX must not be held responsible for any statement made by advertisers, who will in all cases accept the responsibility for their own statements.

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TO ADVERTISERS.

The following states the experience of a successful Bookseller who has advertised in THE INDEX:—

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TO THE INDEX ASSO., Toledo, O.:

Gentlemen,—Having had occasion to advertise in your paper during the past two years quite largely, I take pleasure in stating that I have always obtained very satisfactory returns—better in fact than from book advertisements in any other paper I have advertised in. Not only have I obtained immediate results, but orders have frequently been received *months* after the insertion of the advertisement, showing that your paper is kept on file and referred to by your readers.

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It is edited by FRANCIS E. ABBOT, with the following list of Editorial Contributors:—

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient coöperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE RADICAL CLUB of Philadelphia is announced to have been dissolved.

MRS. VAN COTT has been to Washington to convert President Grant, but reports him as refusing to talk about his "need of grace or his soul's welfare."

THERE IS an old story that a member of Congress in a debate shouted: "*Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed major veritas.*" The reporter next morning made his speech read: "I may cuss Plato, I may cuss Socrates, said Major Veritas."

A CHARTER has been sent by the National Liberal League to Mr. Anton Braasch and nine others for the formation of a new local League in Mishicott, Wisconsin; and Mr. Braasch writes that the application for another "will soon be sent from this county." It is evident that Wisconsin has some genuine radicals to boast of.

SWINBURNE the poet has published an abusive attack on Thomas Carlyle, in which he declares that he would have been a follower of Pilate, if he had lived in the time of "the communist and stumporator of Nazareth." But Mr. Smalley, the London correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, says that these latter appellations "must be understood as meant for eulogy upon the founder of that Christianity of which he insists that Mr. Carlyle is the foe."

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, who was fifty years old on the eleventh of August last, received a birthday present of nine or ten thousand dollars from about two hundred and fifty of his admirers and friends, in this country and abroad. Among the contributors are reported the names of George Ripley, O. B. Frothingham, the Countess of Caithness, Baron Aksakof, and William Green (whose contribution was three thousand dollars). Mr. Davis is one of the most gentle and unpretending of men, and multitudes will feel great pleasure in this tribute to his writings and his personal merit.

THE SOCRATIC method of teaching by interrogation has maintained an unrivalled supremacy in the art of education, and this is what the *Educational Journal* has just said of it: "By skilful questioning the pupil is led to discover truth, and trained to think. Subjects are developed from the stand-point of the learner. The teacher stimulates and directs, but never crams. Pupils are encouraged to present their own thoughts. If correct, the teacher deepens and widens these views by suggestive illustrations. If incorrect, the absurdity is shown by leading the pupils to discover the legitimate consequences. Thus the burden of thought and research is thrown upon the learner, who, at every step, feels the joy of discovery and victory, and the conscious pleasure of assisting the teacher."

REV. JOSEPH COOK alluded, on the next day, to Mr. Frothingham's lecture on "Jesus," the opening one in the Horticultural Hall course of this winter, as treating the subject in "a certain small, light, and inwardly coarse way, of which the world has had enough, and is tired," etc. Misrepresentation and effrontery answered the purpose of eliciting the "loud applause" in which His Lectureship delights; what need was there of grappling the subject on its merits? Orthodoxy still continues to worship an impossible Lord, and the "elephantine tread" is quite heavy enough to crush a man of straw.

REV. CHARLES F. DEEMS, D.D., at the funeral of Commodore Vanderbilt, said "that his last moments were happy because Christ had tasted death for him and was his redeemer, and that he could, 'like a child, lay his head upon the bosom of Jesus and go to sleep'; also that the Commodore had 'a singularly child-like faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as Savior, and that, having yielded him such faith and trust during all his life, he is numbered now with the saints in glory everlasting.'" The full beauty of these encomiums is only brought out by the fact that the Commodore bequeathed to the Doctor a legacy of twenty thousand dollars. The general principle might be thus stated: Every man who bequeaths twenty thousand dollars to his pastor is sure to be numbered with the saints in glory everlasting.

A LOUISIANA correspondent informs us that the Catholic Archbishop in that State has "vigorously assailed the common schools," and that "circulars have been sent out directing petitions to be signed and forwarded to the Legislature for the school fund and draining it into religious channels." Under such perpetual irritation as the Catholics are creating on this school question, does not every one see that the Protestant Evangelicals will be goaded into action of some sort? The result will be a Bible amendment of the Constitution, unless a strong public opinion can be roused for a purely secular one. This is no "dagger of the mind"; it is a most real and grave peril. Will not *you* do your part in circulating the petition of the National Liberal League for the Religious Freedom Amendment? It will help to stimulate thought now, and be a greatly needed protest by and by.

REV. ISAAC M. SEE, of Newark, N. J., has been found guilty by his Presbytery of "violating the Scriptures," inasmuch as he has allowed two women to preach temperance from his pulpit. In the report adopted, the Presbytery disclaim "the idea of condemning him as guilty of conscious and wilful disobedience of a Divine ordinance," but holds that "the passages of Scripture referred to in the charge do prohibit the fulfilling by women of the offices of public preachers in the regular assemblages of the church." Such action, proscriptive as it is, and absurdly unjust to women, we nevertheless believe to be the necessary result of a fair and unprejudiced interpretation of the Bible. The woman movement rests on moral considerations unrecognized by the Bible,—in fact unknown when the Bible was written; and the friends of this movement gain nothing with the majority of Christians, but lose much with thorough liberals, when by strained interpretations they extort from the Bible ideas it did not and does not teach. Put the woman movement on its just and dignified basis in the nature of things—the independent individuality of woman, and the fundamental rights which belong to her as an independent individual. On this ground the woman movement is invincible, and must prevail; on merely Scriptural ground it ought to be, and will be, defeated.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 5, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Jesus and Socrates in the History of Religion.

A LECTURE DELIVERED IN THE SECOND COURSE OF SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES IN HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, FEB. 27, 1870.

BY FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

It is no new thing to compare Jesus and Socrates. So far, however, as my knowledge extends, it is a new thing to compare them from the point of view to which we are conducted by the spirit of this age. The same landscape wears widely different aspects, as seen from different hills; the same characters create widely unlike impressions, when studied from the summits of unlike experiences. Much depends on the post of vision,—more on the beholding eye. Never, in my opinion, have the conditions existed hitherto for an approximately just comparison of these two great men. The optical apparatus necessary for measuring the relative magnitudes of the stars of history is still imperfect; the laws of spiritual astronomy are still poorly understood; the astronomers themselves are unfitted for the task of scientific observation by blinding theories inherited from the astrology of the Church. The dust of prejudice must be carefully wiped from the lenses of the telescope; the cobwebs of theology must be swept clean from the brain of the observer. Notwithstanding the oldness of my subject, I have found myself not infrequently pursuing an untrodden path. Comparisons have been made between Socrates and Jesus, especially by Dr. Priestley and Jean Jacques Rousseau, which are familiar to all well-read persons; but they seem to me characterized by inappreciation and injustice. Believing the supernatural claims of Jesus, Dr. Priestley sacrifices Socrates at the shrine of theology; while Rousseau, emancipated from supernaturalism, yet a slave to sentimentality, immolates him on the altar of rhetoric. The one coolly cuts his throat with the butcher-knife of a dogma; the other gracefully pierces his heart with the rapier of an antithesis. Each comparison is apprenticed to a foregone conclusion; it is set methodically to work, and accomplishes its stint. The chief difference is that Priestley ekes out a deficient argument by a blunt assertion, while Rousseau concludes a dramatic contrast with a pyrotechnical exclamation. "Both the discourses," says the dogmatic Englishman, "and the general manner of life of Socrates and Jesus have an obvious resemblance, as they both went about doing good, according to their several abilities, situations, and opportunities; *but we see an infinite superiority with respect to Jesus*, though he had no such advantages of education and instruction as Socrates had." [Socrates and Jesus Compared. Philadelphia: 1803. p. 36.] "Yes!" exclaims the theatrical Frenchman, "if the life and death of Socrates are those of a sage, the life and death of Jesus are those of a God!" [Emile, in Œuvres, iv., 101: "*Oui, si la vie et la mort de Socrate sont d'un sage, la vie et la mort de Jésus sont d'un Dieu!*" Cf. Corresp., in Œuvres, xx., 246.]

The truth is, that every Christian, being by the very fact of his Christianity pledged beforehand to render a certain verdict, is disqualified to sit as a juror in the case. He has expressed his opinion, and cannot be impartial. The first requisite for a just decision on the respective merits and demerits of Socrates and Jesus is freedom from discipleship to either. Partiality is quite as fatal to equity as prejudice; and every disciple is partial to his avowed master. The bystander alone can be unbiased. There is a fable of Æsop which has point in this connection. The forester and the lion were disputing which was superior in strength, a lion or a man. Having the worst of the argument, the forester led his grim opponent to a piece of statuary, representing a hunter standing over a prostrate lion. "There!" he cried triumphantly, "you see the man is victorious." "True," replied the king of the beasts; "but the case would be reversed, if a lion had been the sculptor." The great difficulty hitherto in the way of a just comparison between Socrates and Jesus, is the fact that *Christians have been the sculptors.*

A just comparison, however, between the two loftiest characters in point of moral grandeur which humanity has yet produced, would be of great value in the settlement of living issues. Believing, as I do, that the Christian world is entering upon a tremendous religious revolution, the forces of which have been slowly and silently preparing for five centuries, I see in such a comparison great practical uses. It will set before the popular mind, more clearly than any abstract statement can do, the nature of the vast conflict of ideas and institutions which, if I mistake not, is already begun. Hitherto Christianity has had for competitors only various special and historical religions, limited in fellowship and inferior to itself in spiritual purity and power. To-day it must meet the universal religion of humanity, boundless in fellowship, independent of local history, equal to itself in spiritual purity and power, superior to itself in freedom, expansiveness, and truth. Hitherto Christianity has been the Mississippi matched with sister rivers. To-day it is the Mississippi matched with the parent ocean. For Free Religion is simply religion itself, freed from the limitations which cling to all its special historic forms; and as the rivers of the earth both originate in, and return to, the one ocean that embraces the globe, so all historical religions, Christianity included, have both their origin and goal in the struggle of the human race after ideal perfection. Religion in its infancy is under the authority of individual teachers or Messiahs; in its maturity it becomes free faith in universal humanity. From childhood to manhood,—from subjection to liberty,—from persons to ideas,—from Christianity to Free Religion,—that is the order of Nature and the course of history; and because the hour has come when not merely isolated souls, but the people also, have become more or less conscious of reaching the period of full spiritual enfranchisement, I believe that a comparison between Socrates and Jesus, sketched from the point of view I have been led to occupy, will be of some practical utility in making plain the great living issue of the times. To perform this task with thoroughness would be impossible in a single lecture; I shall not be able to use even a tithe of the materials I have collected. Far from aiming at exhaustiveness, therefore, I propose merely to emphasize a few leading points in this comparison, and to contribute a few thoughts on the subject in the hope they may prove suggestive to other minds.

Jesus is confessedly the *historic ideal man of the Christian religion;* the reproduction of his character and spirit is the prime duty of his followers. He stands to all Christians as the "great Exemplar," the supreme and perfect type of spiritual excellence, the absolute and changeless standard by which all human goodness must be measured. To be sure, Jesus is reported to have said—"Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father who is in Heaven is perfect"; but the comment of Christianity on this precept is, that Jesus himself is the supreme revelation of the Father, and that the character of Jesus, therefore, is the sole exponent of the Father's perfection. We are thus brought back to the former rule, and perceive that Christianity holds up the character and spirit of its founder as the absolute, fixed ideal of humanity in all ages.

Now Free Religion can have no *historic ideal man*, since it entirely discards the notion of any fixed ideal for all mankind. Humanity is myriad-sided; and the only ideal which the race can have must be the combination of the highest possibilities of human attainment in all directions,—a combination impossible to be realized in any historic person. Furthermore, the ideal of the private soul varies in the case of each individual, and is dependent on its individual capacities; it cannot be cast in the mould of another's nature, nor forced without desecration into another's likeness. Nothing, therefore, could be farther from my purpose than to hold up Socrates as the absolute or fixed ideal of Free Religion. Having thrown off the yoke of one spiritual Master, I do not put my neck into the yoke of another. Although the erect attitude of him who trusts his own individual ideal, as his only Lord and Master, is incomprehensible to Christians, this is nevertheless the attitude which alone befits the spiritual freeman. Free Religion knows no hero-worship,—adores no human idol. But while all this is true, it is in my judgment also true that, of all men who are well-known to history, Socrates stands on the most commanding moral heights. Notwithstanding blemishes and limitations which I am by no means disposed to wink out of sight, the character of Socrates presents to my mind, without any exception, the finest historical illustration of some of those virtues which Free Religion must regard as most fundamental. It is, therefore, not merely a comparison of *two individual men* that will engage our thought, but rather, after all, a comparison of *two religious ideals*, so far as exemplified in them. Christianity holds up Jesus as a model for imitation perfect in all respects,—denying in his character the faintest fleck or flaw; Free Religion holds up Socrates, not at all as a model for imitation, whether perfect or imperfect, but as perhaps the grandest known instance of certain virtues which belong to humanity in its highest development. Each of these two characters is superior to the other in certain points; neither is perfect in all points, and I am far enough from seeking to idealize or to idolize either. But a comparison of them will throw strong light on the nature of the conflict between Christianity and Free Religion, waged half-consciously for centuries, and now for the first time breaking forth openly and in complete consciousness. It will show that this conflict is vastly more than a clashing of merely intellectual convictions, and reaches down deep into the moral and spiritual nature of man,—that it is not a war of philosophies alone, but touches the very heart of ethics and religion,—in short, that it is carrying the great struggle for liberty up from the plane of political and social life to the higher plane of moral aspiration and religious sentiment and spiritual character. This great conflict between Christianity and Free Religion means more than the emendation of Genesis by Geology, or the abolition of Sabbatarian statutes, or the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools,—more than the accomplishment of some petty improvement in church organizations,—more than the triumph of Temperance or Free Labor or Woman Suffrage or any other special reform. All these it covers and includes; but, more than these, it means the grand resolve of humanity to break every chain that hinders it of free development, whether political or social or ecclesiastical or intellectual or spiritual. It means the total reconstruction of human society on the basis of faith in man,—the reconstruction of human character on the basis of self-reliance and faith in universal Nature,—the grand consecration of human life to freedom and truth on the ruins of dynasties, churches, and creeds. This is what the conflict means; and a comparison which thus profoundly touches the greatest interests of the world needs no apology for public presentation here.

The sources of our knowledge, both with regard to Jesus and to Socrates, are, by a singular coincidence, merely second-hand. Neither of them left anything in writing. ["*Cujus, t. e. Socratis, ingenium variosque sermones immortalitati scriptis suis Plato tradidit, quum ipse litteram Socrates nullam reliquisset.*" Cicero, De Orat. III., xvi., 60.] They wrote only on the tablet of the human soul,—on the minds

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and hearts of those who heard their living words. The four gospels of the New Testament are the only books that give any knowledge of the life of Jesus; but these, quite as much as the so-called apocryphal gospels, are permeated with a mythical element which seriously damages their historical character. If we turn for information concerning him to the non-Christian writers of the first two centuries, we are completely disappointed. Even the allusions to Christianity and the Christians themselves are exceedingly scanty until towards the close of the second century. Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, Œnomaus, Maximus Tyrius, Pausanias, are silent; Aulus Gellius and Apuleius are silent; Juvenal, who not infrequently refers to the Jews, only once refers to the Christians, and then indirectly. The only allusions to the Christians which have come down to us from heathen sources during this period are found in Tacitus [Ann. xv., 44], who briefly mentions the execution of Jesus by Pilate and styles Christianity a "deadly superstition" [*exitiabilis superstitio*]; in Suetonius; in Pliny the younger; in a quotation from Hadrian in Vopiscus and another in Eusebius; in Arrian; in Galen; in Marcus Aurelius; in Crescens, in Fronto, and in Lucian. [See Tzchirner, *Græci et Romani Scriptores cur rerum Christianarum raro meminerint.*] But these allusions to the early Christians, rare and obscure at the best, throw no light on the biography of Jesus himself. How much in the New Testament is historical, it is impossible to tell; but, inasmuch as my purpose concerns only the *gospel portrait* of Jesus, which Christianity claims as historical and holds up as its ideal character, I waive all historic doubts, and in this lecture shall treat the gospels as authentic in all respects.

Concerning Socrates, however, we have trustworthy accounts, if any ancient writings can be so regarded. Xenophon and Plato were eye-and-ear witnesses of his life and teachings; and Mr. Grote considers them as in the main worthy of credence. No miracles or fabulous tales create suspicion of their narratives; and the same high authority regards their accounts as complementary, not contradictory [Hist. Greece, 8, 404.] We have thus weighty reasons for regarding the actual character of Socrates as far better known than that of Jesus; but I will treat them to-day as if they were known with equal certainty. For my object is in a few main points to compare the *gospel character* of Jesus, which is held up by Christianity as its acknowledged ideal for all climes and times, with what is represented as the character of Socrates, which may fitly stand as in some very important respects the best individual exponent of Free Religion. Not in *all* respects,—for I hold that no one man can, in the nature of things, be a perfect ideal for all men. I would be blind to none of his defects,—would magnify none of his excellences. If Christianity loses the gospel ideal, whether as in fact unhistorical or as morally imperfect, it loses its avowed corner-stone; but even if Socrates should be proved a myth or convicted of great moral depravity, Free Religion would still have its corner-stone intact; for this is no individual man, but universal human nature itself. I use Socrates as an illustration only; and no failure of a supposed illustration can be the failure of a universal truth.

Let me first point out some striking coincidences in the careers of these two men.

Both Jesus and Socrates were "graduates of the work-shop,"—the one a carpenter, the other a statuary. Both received the elements of what was regarded in their respective neighborhoods as a decent education, without receiving the special training enjoyed by some of their contemporaries. They belonged, therefore, to that sturdy middle class in society which has given to mankind almost all their greatest benefactors. Free from the grinding bondage of utter poverty, and equally free from the dangerous seductions of wealth, they grew up under conditions most favorable to the development of natural individuality. Hence they both respected labor and reprobated idleness. "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," says Jesus, enlarging the idea of work to include spiritual as well as material industry; and again,—"No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." In like manner, Socrates asks, in the Memorabilia of Xenophon [II. vii., 8]: "In which condition would men be more temperate, living in idleness or attending to useful employments? In which condition will they be more honest, if they work, or if they scheme how to live in indolence?" But notwithstanding his own early training, Socrates, in common with most of the ancients, esteemed agriculture as higher and more honorable than mechanical occupations; saying, as recorded by Xenophon in the Œconomicus [iv., 2]: "Those arts which are called handicrafts are objectionable, and justly held in little repute in communities; for they weaken the bodies of those who work at them or attend to them, by compelling them to sit and live in-doors,—some of them, too, to pass whole days by the fire; and when the body becomes effeminate, the mind loses its strength."

Furthermore, both Socrates and Jesus conceived a higher idea of their own special work than that of practising the mechanical arts to which they were bred, and by which they might have secured a comfortable and permanent livelihood, in order to embrace the vocation of public teaching. Poverty was the reward of each. "The foxes," said Jesus, "have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the son of man hath not where to lay his head." "From my occupation," said Socrates [Plat. Apol. ix.], "I have no leisure to heed the affairs of the state, nor yet my own affairs; but I am in the uttermost poverty through my service of the god." But accepting with equal cheerfulness the privations before them, they both sacrificed the ordinary ambitions and common luxuries of mankind, in order to devote themselves to universal ends. Socrates steadily refused to accept any pecuniary compensation for his labors of instruction, and there is no record that Jesus accepted any; but they both accepted the voluntary contributions of friends, without which neither could have continued his vocation. Poor as they were, they counted poverty no disgrace. According to modern ideas, there was something a little quixotic in the obstinate refusal of Socrates to accept the proffered wages for services actually rendered; but there is something sublime in the spirit which prompted the refusal,—something that extorts our reverence, even if it moves a smile. The so-called "practical men" of to-day, who always keep an eye on the "main chance," would sneer at him as a visionary enthusiast for thus despising what in the estimation of the average mind is the chief good of life,—money. But it is precisely these impractical and unworldly people, caring nothing for their private interests in comparison with what they see to be universal interests, who are remembered in after-ages as the great unselfish friends of their race. Humanity loves those who love it,—and has no memory for those who love themselves alone. "Pshaw! Men of one idea,"—that is the secretly pronounced verdict of the business-world on characters like Jesus and Socrates,—at least, if we may judge by the verdict it has passed on Garrison, Phillips, Sumner. But the large, warm heart of the people honors these servants of an idea,—deems it nobler to have only *one* idea and serve it in unselfishness, than to have no idea at all and serve self alone. Strike out of history the men of ideas, though they be only men of one idea,—and you would quench the brightest and most beautiful stars that light up the firmament of the past. Jesus taught for nothing,—Socrates taught for nothing,—but posterity has paid them both with undying admiration and love.

Furthermore, in making the highest welfare of man the great business of their lives, neither Socrates nor Jesus made any distinction among those whom they sought to benefit. The enemies of Jesus brought it as a charge against him that he sat down to eat with the outcasts of society,—that he was a "friend of publicans and sinners." He taught all alike. So also Socrates declares at his trial: "Nor do I discourse when I receive money, and not when I receive none; but I allow both rich and poor alike to question me, and, if any one wishes, to answer me and hear what I have to say." [Plat. Apol. xxi.] In this respect Dr. Priestley, anxious to prove the superiority of Jesus, is guilty of a gross misrepresentation of Socrates, when he says that his pupils "appear to have been confined" to persons of the better class. [p. 44, sect. viii.]. Socrates made no more distinctions than Jesus, but imparted freely to all alike. Each in his own peculiar way, they equally "*went about doing good*"; and nothing could be more ignorant or prejudiced than the common assertion, which has been repeated even at the Boston Radical Club, that Socrates did not, like Jesus, "go about doing good." Xenophon gives proof after proof of the contrary. Socrates deters Glauco from foolish rashness [Xen. Mem. iii., vi.], encourages Alcibiades and strives most tenderly to reform his vices [Plat. First Alcib. 55, 56: Plut. Vit. Alcib.: Ælian. Var. Hist. ii., 1], reconciles the two brothers Chærophon and Chærecrates after their feud [Xen. Mem. ii., iii.], shows Aristarchus how to help his poor relatives [Ibid. ii., vii.], helps Hermogenes in his poverty [Ibid. ii., 10], reforms the immoral Lysis [Diog. Laert. ii., 29], shames his own son Lamprocles out of unfilial conduct to his mother [Xen. Mem. ii., ii.: Diog. Laert. ii., 29]; rescues Phædo from captivity [Diog. Laert. ii., 31, and 105], and in countless ways made men better in their character and condition [Xen. Mem. i., ii., 61: iv., 1, 1: iv., 7: Plat. Apol. Soc. xxii.]. Socrates, no less than Jesus, was preëminently a *moral reformer*, and aimed at the highest spiritual welfare of his fellow-men without distinction of persons. "The common people heard him gladly," says the second gospel of Jesus. "Others were not, like him, friends of the common people," says Xenophon of Socrates [Mem. i., ii., 60: Plat. Apol. Soc. xxvii.]. Young and old, rich and poor, heard them both and shared equally their benefactions.

Both also, stood aloof from politics, and for the same reason; namely, that to take part in the politics of their day, with the principles they cherished, would have been sure and speedy death. The only occasion on which Socrates held office came very near proving fatal to him because he steadfastly refused to do an unjust action at demand of the mob. I mention this voluntary avoidance of politics merely as a coincidence, without, of course, claiming any credit for either of them on account of it. Strange to say, however, both Socrates and Jesus owed their death quite as much to the offence they gave to the political, as to the religious, ideas of their countrymen.

Again, Jesus and Socrates each cherished a deep and settled prejudice against an influential class of the communities in which they lived. Socrates was prejudiced against the sophists, who were merely the paid teachers or professors of his time. He made a merit of teaching gratuitously, and blamed the sophists for accepting large compensations. His feeling on this subject strikingly resembles that of the Quakers against what they call a "hireling ministry." But many of the sophists were excellent men, who instructed the young Athenians in useful branches of practical education; and Socrates himself was popularly classed among the sophists also, as appears in the comedy of Aristophanes entitled the "Clouds." He somewhat unjustly condemned the whole profession of paid instructors,—a profession which to-day is as honorable as any other. In the same manner Jesus was prejudiced against the Pharisees, who were merely the conservative Jews of his time, with the common faults and virtues of conservatism, and who probably were quite as good and moral people as any other class among the Jews. They were preeminently the national party of the Hebrew nation, with a record for patriotic devotion to their country and its ideas as honorable as that of our own Republican party to-day; and they had received their name of Pharisees, which means *the separated*, because, in the fierce persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes two hundred years before, they had separated themselves from the recreant or "copperhead" Jews who succumbed to the oppressor and abjured the laws and duties of the national religion. Their chief distinction from the rest of their countrymen consisted in a belief that, besides the *written* law preserved in the Pentateuch or so-called "Five Books of Moses," the great founder of Hebrew nationality had also transmitted an *oral* law to complete and explain it. This oral law was the body of *traditions*, against which Jesus inveighed so vehemently, and which doubtless had indeed becomes a burden too heavy to be borne. But the Pharisees, as individuals, were probably no worse men than the rest of the Jews; they were by no means all "hypocrites" or "whited sepulchres"; and Jesus yielded to a passionate and undiscriminating prejudice in his wholesale denunciations of them. His natural and justifiable impatience of their conservatism led him into the common fault of radicals,—bitterness and injustice to men, as individuals or as members of a class; his contempt for their principles passed over into undiscriminating abuse of themselves. Hence he applied to them the most opprobrious epithets,—"fools, blind guides, hypocrites, whited sepulchres, serpents, generation of vipers," and so forth. It is never just to judge men by the wholesale,—to condemn them by classes. The vices of the Pharisees were more in their system than in themselves. They were not, as a class, insincere or unconscientious men; they were simply formalists and bigots, more attached to ceremonies than to ideas. Of how many excellent men of our own day must the same be said! It is the dictate of calm wisdom and real justice to condemn the bigotry and the formality, without accusing too severely the men who know no better than to be bigots and formalists. Thus Socrates and Jesus alike had their weak side, and showed something of that bitter party-spirit which it is never beautiful to behold.

One other striking point of resemblance remains to be touched upon,—I mean, the profound, all-controlling faith which both of these great men cherished in the fact of their own divine mission and the dauntless courage and fidelity with which they devoted themselves to the fulfilment of it at all hazards. The persuasion of this special divine mission was wrought into the very soul of each. That this is true of Jesus, there is no occasion to show; but it is equally true of Socrates. If Jesus believed himself called by his Father to the great and unparalleled task of establishing on earth the "kingdom of heaven," no less was Socrates convinced that he was sent by the gods to the Athenians to labor for their good. This conviction, which seems to have been ever-present to his mind, made him, in the language of Mr. Grote, "not simply a philosopher, but a *religious missionary*, doing the work of philosophy." His mission was to convict his fellow-men of *ignorance of themselves*, to the end that, by knowing themselves better, they might become both happier and more virtuous. It was not the mere love of disputation that sent him, day after day and year after year, into the gymnasia, the agora, and the streets, cross-examining and exposing every pretender to science, and pitilessly pricking the bubble of his conceit. No—it was far more the deep interior conviction that this process, like a needed surgical operation, must be undergone by every one, before true self-knowledge and real virtue should be possible. This was his great life-work,—to be the merciless revealer to every man of his utter ignorance of those things which touched most nearly his character and happiness; and it was a life-work enjoined upon him by the gods in every possible way,—by dreams, by oracles, by the mysterious monitor or "voice [*φωνή*]" which is popularly, but erroneously, called the "demon of Socrates." I cannot go into any lengthened discussion of this peculiar consciousness, which has given rise to so much controversy among scholars; it is enough to say that, in his defence before the judges, Socrates declares that the cause of his unique mode of life has been "a certain divine and spiritual something [*θεῖόν τι καὶ δαμόνιον*]," which "began with me from boyhood, being a sort of voice which, when it comes to me, always diverts me from doing what I propose to do, but never urges me on." From the manner in which he speaks of this voice or influence, never personifying it or treating it as a distinct being, I am inclined to believe that he means the profound inner impulse to choose the right and shun the wrong which we are wont to call *conscience*,—that "still, small voice" which eternally forbids the desecration of the temple of the heart,—that secret inward monition which, in a deeply religious nature, seems at once personal and impersonal, and in some way, beyond the power of intellectual analysis, appears to connect the individual soul with the Infinite and Universal One. That Socrates meant what would be understood as a guardian spirit or little private god of his own, I see no reason whatever to believe; on the contrary, he seems to describe, in a manner doubly impressive because of its reverential reserve, the deepest experience of every human soul. Who ever yet attempted to express in words his own profoundest life, that did not at last retreat into more expressive silence? But be the explanation what it may, the consciousness of a divine mission was every whit as powerful and pervading in Socrates as in Jesus. For the faith, cherished equally by both, that a certain task or life-work was set before them as the will of a higher Power, created in both alike the same absolute purpose and indomitable resolve to perform this task at any and

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every cost. I cannot see that the fidelity of Jesus to this ideal work was in any degree higher or more complete than that of Socrates. On the contrary, had it been possible for them to have met and understood each other, I cannot see how they could have met or spoken except on the level of perfect spiritual equality, though it would have been easier for Socrates to understand Jesus than for Jesus to understand Socrates. With all the differences between them (and these were vast), I recognize in each the same incorruptible allegiance to the best and highest in his own soul. Beyond this who can go? It is this which equalizes all who have it, and establishes that absolute democracy of pure religion which abolishes forever all spiritual distinction of higher or lower. The pathway of each must end, it was plain, in death; but none the less did each pursue it. From the hands of their own countrymen, whom they had done their utmost to benefit and bless, they met their doom; but, with the same magnanimous and beautiful spirit, they died with words of kindness on their lips. "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!" exclaimed Jesus on the cross. "I bear no resentment towards my accusers or my condemners," said Socrates to his judges. [Plat. Apol. Soc. c. xxxiii.] Jesus prayed God to forgive his murderers; Socrates forgave his murderers himself.

It would be possible to multiply indefinitely the points of parallelism between the greatest of the Jews and the greatest of the Greeks; but I forbear. The unity which makes all mankind a brotherhood exists most conspicuously in the noblest of the race. But none the less do differences exist. A few of these also I must note.

A striking feature of the public discourses of Jesus is their parabolic style. He spoke to the multitude in parables, and reserved explanation of these for the inner circle of his disciples. Like Pythagoras and others of the great instructors of antiquity, he maintained in his instructions that baleful distinction of *exoteric* and *esoteric* which has its origin, everywhere and always, in distrust of the common people. When his disciples asked him why he taught the people in parables, he replied,—"Because it is given unto you to know the *mysteries* [τὰ μυστήρια—mark the word] of the kingdom of heaven; but to them it is not given." [Matt. xiii., 11.] But Socrates kept no secrets in religion,—had no *mysteries* too sacred for the uninitiated,—formed no little royal court of apostles to receive announcements too high for the common ear. He spoke, to all that chose to hear, the best and highest of his thought; and on his trial he lays emphasis on this noble peculiarity of his teaching: "If any one says that he has ever learned or heard from me in private anything which all others have not learned or heard [in public], be well assured that he does not speak the truth." [Plat. Apol. Soc. xxi.] It is needless for me to say how much higher and nobler appears to me the grand faith in the power of Truth which Socrates thus evinced, than the deep distrust of it evinced by Jesus.

Again. In claiming to be the Messiah or King of Humanity, Jesus depended for the success of his mission on the public recognition of his claim by mankind. He could be in no true sense the King of those who should refuse to acknowledge their allegiance. Hence he was not in the best sense *independent*, but depended on a triumph outside of his own soul. I cannot but connect the fact of his outward failure with his despair upon the cross. "My God!" he cried in a terrible eclipse of faith, "My God! My God! why hast thou forsaken me?" Words more full of pathos never fell from human lips, for they are the confession of irretrievable failure wrung from the depths of his very soul. He depended on others than himself,—and therefore failed. But it was otherwise with Socrates, who depended on himself alone and therefore could not fail. He sought no confession from others of any personal claim of his; it was his duty to instruct the world, but it was not his duty that the world should be instructed. That was the world's business,—it was his business to obey the god, and if he obeyed him, he achieved the only success at which he aimed. In his own hands he thus held the alternatives of failure or success; he was independent of all outside of his own soul, and therefore he succeeded. His last words, compared with those of Jesus, are a grand pæan of triumphant joy. "Crito," he said to his faithful friend, as he lay dying on his couch, "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius; pay it, therefore, and do not neglect it." [Plat. Phæd. 155.] Strange that any one should be blind to the meaning of these words! Æsculapius was the god of health; and to pass out of this lower life into the larger powers and higher opportunities of the life to which he looked with calmest hope, was indeed like a recovery from disease. "DEATH IS CONVALESCENCE,"—that is the burden of these sublime words, the grand death-song of the dying swan.

But we shall miss the chief lesson of our comparison, unless we set in contrast the great predominant aims of the two, and the methods which their aims required. These aims were wide as the Northern from the Southern pole. Jesus aimed to establish the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth, in which he himself, by the grace of God, was to wear the diadem of absolute power. This was the will of God, and to that he bowed with perfect submission. The conception that power over all things was his by Divine appointment and Divine right, which is conspicuous on every page of the gospels, was wholly free from all that could with propriety be called *selfish*, in any bad sense of the word; but it was nevertheless intensely egoistic. It pervaded his whole consciousness, lent a certain majestic dignity to his mien and tone, and clothed him with a spiritual royalty of demeanor that has scarcely been equalled before or since. It gave the peculiar coloring to his parables, so many of which represent the "Son of Man" as a nobleman or king. It gave the peculiar character to his whole method of instruction, which is in the highest degree didactic, regal, and authoritative. Nowhere is this more strikingly evident than in the Sermon on the Mount, which is so often appealed to to prove his freedom from Messianic self-assertion. The simple statement at the end that he "spoke as one having authority" shows how completely the kingly consciousness had uttered itself to the people. "Verily, verily *I* say unto you,"—how frequent is that phrase upon his lips! Nor is its frequency explained by the theory that he was simply announcing his private intuitions on their own intrinsic authority. The true seer simply announces what he sees, and forgets himself,—is false to his high office, if he emphasizes his own personality in the matter. He states the objective truth as he beholds it, and never obscures it by calling attention to his own eyes or lips. The seer-theory is no explanation of the ever-recurring—"Verily, verily *I* say unto you." That phrase is the Messianic equivalent of the legal prefix—"Be it enacted." It carries with it the whole authority of God, in whose name Jesus speaks. Declaring himself to be "greater than Jonah and greater than Solomon" [Matt. xii., 41], Jesus, as a teacher, lays down the divine law,—he never argues. He states the truth, which must be accepted on his word. His entire method of instruction, therefore, is that of dogma,—the proclamation of eternal verities by one who is divinely authorized to proclaim them. He only once appeals to the active reason of man; he speaks to his receptive faculties,—deals out his gracious and benign truths, as he bestows the miraculous loaves and fishes on the starving multitude. It is all grand and beautiful and tender,—but he is surely blind who fails to recognize in all this that air and tone of dogma which has always been a peculiarity of the Christian Church, and has made "salvation by belief" its most marked characteristic. The Church came honestly by it. It was an inheritance from its founder. We intend no reproach whatever to Jesus, when we say that the—"Verily, verily *I*"—is the key-note of his whole religion. But truth itself, if accepted on the pure—"I say so"—of a teacher, becomes falsehood in the end. It paralyzes, suffocates, kills. The vast sandy Sahara of the Middle Ages, when Christianity had the whole Western world at its feet, is the natural accompaniment of the sirocco-wind of dogma. Because spiritual royalty was the essential idea of Jesus' mission, dogma pure and simple was necessarily the method of his instruction; and he who sees no connection between his aim and his method must be blind to relations of cause and effect.

But with Socrates the case was the reverse of this. The divine mission which he believed to have been assigned him was not that of a Christ or King,—far from it. In his own metaphor, it was that of a gnat, stinging the noble but lazy horse of Athens into activity. [Plat. Apol. Soc. xviii.] Or, in a still homelier metaphor, which contains an allusion to his mother's occupation, he was sent to be the *accoucheur* of thoughts in the human mind,—to be the midwife of the pregnant intellect in the birth of its own offspring. [Plat. Theæt. 17–22.] Stripped of all metaphors, the great aim of Socrates was, not to impart truths to his hearers outright, but by skilful questions and mortifying refutations so to develop the thinking faculties, as to enable his hearers to discover truths for themselves. In this view, therefore, his mission was, in the highest and noblest sense of the word, that of *education*,—the cultivation of germinal powers into conscious and vigorous maturity. *Free development of the human mind*,—that was the ideal end followed by Socrates with such untiring and unselfish zeal. More truly than any other human being, Socrates has earned the title of the GREAT EDUCATOR of the human race. He was the father of modern civilization as truly as of ancient philosophy, for his method was, and is, the only one that can develop the human mind. Dogmatism kills the mind,—education brings it into life. These, however, are the two contrasted methods of Jesus and Socrates, viewed as moral instructors,—the two contrasted methods, also, of Christianity and Free Religion.

Now comparing the conception which Socrates had of his great object,—namely, the free development of the mind,—with the actual method he pursued in carrying it out, we see at once the same correspondence and logical connection which we discerned between the object and the method of Jesus. If free mental development be the object, the proclamation of truths to be passively received would be defeat of this object. The mind must be thrown upon itself,—compelled to rely on its own resources. Familiar conversation, action and reaction of mind on mind, frequent question and reply, is manifestly the best method possible. Now this was precisely the method of Socrates. He never preached,—he conversed. He never dogmatized,—he argued and cross-examined. His mien was modest, his dress plain, his tone familiar. There was no imposing majesty about his manner or speech, no impressive authority which awed the people, no kingly egoism which proclaimed—"Verily, verily *I* say unto you." He never issued a manifesto like the Sermon on the Mount. But his conversations, fertilizing the intellects of his listeners, and compelling them to act on the great ideas of justice and injustice, honorable and base, right and wrong, and so forth, produced, I cannot doubt, as Xenophon declares it did produce, a great moral improvement in his companions. [Mem. i., 2, 61: iv., 1, 1: iv., 7.] Let me emphasize the natural connection I have pointed out between the aims and the methods of the two greatest teachers of the world,—Jesus the spiritual King teaching by dogma, Socrates the practical Educator teaching by conversational cross-examination. Of course I do not deny that Jesus taught also by conversation; but nevertheless, I do mean that the ever-repeated—"Verily, verily *I* say unto you"—is the language of the dogmatist; and that his Messianic claim necessarily made Jesus a dogmatist to a very great extent. Hence we find him with an organized band of apostles, initiated into the "mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," and superior in rank to the other disciples; while Socrates organized no such band, and refused even to have disciples. "Ye call me Lord and Master; and ye say well, for so I am," says Jesus, in the fourth gospel; and again in the first gospel,—"Neither be ye called Masters, for one is your Master, even Christ." How different was the tone of Socrates! So democratic was his spirit, so jealous for the spiritual freedom of his companions, that he declared in his defence: "I never was the *teacher* of any one; but if any one wishes to hear me talking and *attending to my own business*, whether young or old I have never grudged any body." [Plat. Apol. Soc. xxi.] Jesus proclaimed himself the King and Lord of his followers; Socrates refused to take the title even of their Leader, Master, or Teacher, and chose rather to regard himself as their familiar friend. Here we have the two extremes of Monarchy and Democracy in religion, illustrated in two great typical characters; and in this illustration is set before us the profoundest difference between the spirit of Christianity and that of Free Religion.

An incident, however, taken from the life of each as handed down to us, will reveal this deep dissimilarity between Jesus and Socrates, more clearly than any mere analysis.

The second gospel [xiv., 3–9] relates how a poor woman whose heart had been filled with enthusiastic love for Jesus, came into the house of Simon the leper in Bethany, where Jesus sat at table with his host, broke a box of costly spikenard, and poured the ointment on his head. She meant by this act to express her own devotion to one whose words had stirred the depths of her very soul, and probably also her own confession of him as the promised Christ,—the Anointed One of God. The other guests were indignant, and murmured among themselves, saying, "Why this waste of ointment, which might have been sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?" Jealousy of the young claimant of the Messiahship, doubtless, added intensity to these murmurs, which, however, were probably sincere. How did Jesus receive this homage to himself? "Let her alone," he said to the complainers; "she has done a good action. You always have the poor with you, and may help them whenever you please; but you will not always have me with you. The woman has anointed me beforehand for my burial; and wherever the gospel of the Kingdom is preached, this deed of hers shall be told as a memorial of her."

A parallel story is told of Socrates by Ælian [Var. Hist., 1, 16], which has as fair a claim upon our credence as the foregoing. "When the ship had arrived from Delos," says Ælian—I quote his words, "and it was now time for Socrates to die, Apollodorus, the friend of Socrates, came into the prison, bringing a costly and fine-woven tunic of wool and a mantle to match; and he begged Socrates not to drink the poison till he had put on the tunic, and wrapped the mantle about his person. For he said to him that he would not be unadorned with magnificent burial clothes, if he should die in these; and that his body would not then be laid out altogether without due honor. This Apollodorus said to Socrates. But he would not consent to it, but said to Crito, Simmias, Phædo, and their friends,—"Do you think that our friend Apollodorus here judges wisely, if he expects to see *Socrates* laid out after the execution of the Athenians' sentence? For if he thinks that the corpse soon to lie at his feet is *I*, it is plain that he has never known me."

Now these two anecdotes, whether historical or not, illustrate in a very striking manner the difference between the two characters. With the egoism inseparable from the Messianic consciousness, Jesus accepts, without a particle of hesitation, the costly offering of the woman, as a fitting tribute to himself,—accepts it without a blush or modest disclaimer of any sort,—accepts it as his rightful due, and promises the woman the reward of everlasting fame. The action itself he pronounces good,—deserving of eternal praise. The suggestion of the spectators that such wild a waste is at the cost of widows and orphans crying for bread, finds no favor with him. The poor are always at hand,—their wants are quite prosaic and common,—they can wait. The expenditure is to the glory of the Messiah; he is to die, and his burial must be provided for with kingly magnificence. Let the poor wait till he is dead and buried with befitting honors,—their miseries are not so *very* pressing after all, and relief had better be postponed for the sake of honoring his own high office. It is more important that the body of the Christ be richly anointed for his burial, than that human tears be dried and broken hearts bound up. Now all this sounds harsh, I know, when thus put into plain English; and I may seem to you insensible to the despair turned into hope, the tender love, the passionate devotion, the upsurging aspirations and self-consecrations and prayers that burst from the depths of that repentant woman's heart as she poured the ointment on his head. But I am not. All this I reverence. But the more beautiful the woman's impulse, the more beautiful would it have been in Jesus to have tenderly restrained it, to have gently guided her enthusiasm into worthier channels, and to have refused a homage which one human being should never pay to another. Taking the story as it stands (and we agreed not to challenge the record), there is a tacit usurpation, an intensity of egotistic assumption in Jesus' acceptance of this homage, that must offend every liberated and liberty-loving mind. Only belief in his right to Messianic honors

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could have thus extinguished the natural modesty of his character. The woman's tribute was the excess, the wild extravagance, of a gratitude which greater wisdom would have checked and greater modesty would have disclaimed,—which it was weakness to accept, and intoxication to glorify. I turn with a sense of relief to the manlier Socrates, gently repelling an equally loving but equally foolish tribute, and preserving the dignity of his own self-respect without wounding the heart of his friend. The Doric grandeur of his character was incompatible with the acceptance of gaudy trappings for his body. What mattered it to him whether his corpse should be arrayed in the magnificence of kingship or laid out in the simple decency of honorable poverty? The old cloak he had lived in was good enough to die in. That fine sense of the becoming which grows out of reverence for humanity shielded the grand old man from the foolishness of his friend. If Jesus had shown an equal sense of the becoming, and kindly rejected an over-costly gift to himself that it might alleviate the wretchedness of the poor, should we not all have thrilled at sight of his nobility? The highest self-respect is that which refuses all personal homage out of reverence for the universal humanity in man,—which cannot without an indignant blush behold another kneeling at its feet. In this supreme virtue of a *self-respect which is respect for humanity*,—in the sublime grace of *reverence for universal spiritual freedom*,—I count Socrates superior to Jesus, and Free Religion superior to Christianity. These two anecdotes illustrate the baleful reaction of the Messianic idea on the spiritual character of Jesus,—the nobler and more robust and more heroic spirit of Socrates.

To each of them, however, I would accord superiority in his own sphere. There is a tenderness and benignity and delicacy of spiritual perception in Jesus,—a wealth of sentiment and imagination,—a fervor of devotional life and a profound consciousness of God,—of which I find only hints in Socrates. Both were preëminently moral reformers,—but they represent respectively the morality of the brain and the morality of the heart. To Socrates, virtue is knowledge; to Jesus, virtue is love. Hence from Socrates dates a great philosophic movement,—from Jesus a great religious movement. Each occupies a partial stand-point, and the future must combine them both. The true morality is that which springs neither from brain nor heart alone, but is the outgrowth of the entire man. The true culture of humanity must be integral, inclusive both of Socrates and Jesus, the intellectual and the spiritual. For these two men are each one-sided; Socrates has too little of the woman in him, while Jesus has too much. Of the two, Socrates stands for the larger liberty,—Jesus for the larger love; and these must yet be joined forever in one, without sacrifice of either to the other. Free Religion alone has the possibility of uniting in itself these diverse elements so long held to be contradictory in the Christian Church. It will yet prove that humanity, vaster than any man, is capable of a unity more powerful and more beautiful than the divinest vision of the divinest dreamer; and its root is no historic name or fame, but that universal soul which lives in you and in me and in all, but rises from unknown depths in the abyss of Eternal Being. Not to Jesus or to Socrates, of whom I must leave unsaid so much I would gladly say,—not to any single spirit of our race would I point for supreme guidance or perfect light; but rather to that great Soul of Humanity which throbs in all ages with the life of God, which fills our own arteries with the universal tide, and which makes of one brotherhood all the children of men.

THE NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY.

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This Society is called "The National Secular Society."

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Any member may, in the discretion of the Executive, be admitted a member of this Society who shall sign a form of Declaration as follows:—

"I declare that I am desirous of joining the National Secular Society, in order to promote the improvement and happiness of myself and fellows; and I pledge myself to do my best, if admitted as a member, to coöperate with my fellow-members to attain the objects of this Association."

Name:
Address:
Occupation:
Active or Passive:

This Declaration, signed by the candidate, shall be transmitted to the President, or to Mr. G. Standring, Secretary, with one shilling for a quarter's subscription; and, if the Executive accept the candidate, a certificate of membership will be issued, the total subscription being four shillings per year. Persons too poor to pay this subscription, in addition to their other burdens, may be enrolled free on satisfying the Executive that they do real work for human advancement. Affiliated societies whose members join the National Secular Society only pay one-third of the above subscriptions.

If the person desirous to join be already an enrolled member of some local Secular Society, he can, on that local Society becoming affiliated as a branch of the National Secular Society, join and pay his subscription through a local Secretary. In this case the branch will retain in their own hands two-thirds of the above-mentioned subscriptions, to meet local expenses, one-third only—that is, at the rate of fourpence per quarter—being remitted to the parent Society. In all cases the local organization is of the highest importance. Without efficient district organization the National Society can effect little good.

The members are either active or passive.

The active list consists of those who do not object to the publication of their names as members of the National Secular Society. An active member's duty is to send, as often as possible, reliable reports to the President of the doings of the local clergy, of special events, sermons, lectures, or publications affecting secular progress. He should also aid in the circulation of secular literature, and generally in the free-thought propaganda of his neighborhood. Where a local Society exists he ought to belong to it, whether or not it be a branch of this Society.

The passive list consists of those whose position does not permit the publication of their names, except at risk of serious injury. The knowledge of these names is confined to the Executive, and the members are only referred to by initials. It is earnestly requested that persons in a good position in society will only enroll themselves as active members.

Members' subscriptions are payable quarterly, on December 25, March 25, June 24, and September 29.

Any member more than six months in arrear may —provided due notice of his default shall have been sent to him, and disregarded by him—be erased from the roll of members, if the Executive shall so direct.

The Executive shall have power to expel any member, but the member so expelled shall have a right of appeal to the next general meeting of members of the Society.

Executive.

The Executive shall consist of a president, vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer, and members of the council, who shall hold office for a term of one year —*i. e.*, from one annual conference until the conference next succeeding,—all the members of such Executive to be eligible for reëlection.

The president, vice-presidents, treasurer, secretary, and auditors shall be elected by a majority of votes at the general annual meeting of members.

The members of the council shall be severally elected within twenty-one days after each such annual general meeting, by the several branches and affiliated Societies, one member for each branch or Society. All members of the council so elected, and resident more than twenty miles from the place of meeting of the Executive, shall be termed Corresponding Members, but shall, nevertheless, have full right to attend, speak, and vote at all Executive meetings.

Once at least in each year—and, if possible, to be held on the day of, and immediately after, the general annual meeting of the members of this Society —the Executive shall convene a conference of all freethinkers in the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Principles and Object.

The National Secular Society has been formed to maintain the principle and rights of freethought, and to direct their application to the secular improvement of this life.

By the principle of freethought is meant the exercise of the understanding upon relevant facts, independently of penal or priestly intimidation.

By the rights of freethought are meant the liberty of free criticism for the security of truth, and the liberty of free publicity for the extension of truth.

Secularism relates to the present existence of man, and to actions the issues of which can be tested by experience.

A secularist is one who deduces his moral duties from considerations which pertain to this life.

The object of the National Secular Society is to disseminate the above principles by every means in its power.

Offices: 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C.

OFFICERS OF 1876–77.

President: C. Bradlaugh, Esq., 29 Turner Street, Commercial Road, London.

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Poetry.

[For The Index.]

THE SWAN AND EAGLE.

FROM THE GERMAN OF A. G. SCHLEGEL.

The Swan.

My days serenely on the waters glide,
Which leave in ripples light my plumy breast,
While imaged in the scarcely-ruffled tide,
As in a glass, I see my form expressed.

The Eagle.

The lightning-splintered crag is my sojourn—
Abroad upon the tempest's breath I fly,
And where the fires of battle fiercely burn
With pinion bold I wing the murky sky.

The Swan.

Me with delight the azure heavens fill,
While flowers with sweet breath draw me to the shore,
Their balm inhaling, float I poised and still
Upon the stream, with sunset purpled o'er.

The Eagle.

When from their roots the forests gnarled are rent,
And wild tornadoes crushing tear a path;
When from the rifted clouds red bolts are sent,
I jubilant dare the elements' fierce wrath.

The Swan.

At bright Apollo's invitation sweet,
In waves of harmony I bathe and swim,
Or with furled pinions listen at his feet,
While charms his lyre the shades of Tempé dim.

The Eagle.

My perch the throne itself of Jove I make,
His bolts I with my talons clutch and bring;
And when my filming eyes their slumber take
I veil his sceptre with my flagging wing.

The Swan.

The stars and blue vault, imaged far below,
In hours of musing often I survey,
And feel a longing in my bosom glow,
Which calls me to my fatherland away.

The Eagle.

With glance undazzled, on the noontide sun
E'en from my infant years I dared to gaze;
High o'er the dust of earth, its vapors dun
I soar allied to the Celestial race.

The Swan.

Calmly to death I unreluctant bow,
And, when the hour arrives which sets me free,
A dirge-note then I warble, wild and low,
So that my latest breath is melody;

The Eagle.

Chainless and free my spirit darts away,
Leaving behind, below, the extinguished pyre;
It swiftly mounts, till in eternal day
It finds of its lost youth again the fire.

B. W. Ball.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 13.

Frank L. Pope, $3.20; S. Webster, $3.20; G. K. Withington, $20; Rev. Fiske Barrett, $3.20; Miss L. B. Atwill, $3.20; Justin Rideout, $50; W. S. Babcock, Jr., $5; G. H. Foster, $1.10; J. C. Learned, $3.20; Y. M. F. C. Union, $9.40; W. R. Morgan, $3.20; H. H. Everts, 75 cents; A. M. Lee, $3.25; Mrs. J. E. Judd, $3.20; Jona. Sawyer, $10; W. F. Freeman, $3.20; W. C. MacDonald, 80 cents; C. Buffum, $20; T. Hughes, $3.20; C. H. White, $3; W. J. Phillips, 70 cents; T. C. Hayward, $3.20; R. A. Buxton, $2.40; W. Fisk, $6; Hon. A. Cazabat, $1.75; W. Berrian, $10; Mrs. J. P. Angier, $3.20; John Wiley & Son, $3.04; F. H. Isham, $4.25; James Thompson, $3.20; W. R. Foster, $3.20; Prof. J. E. Oliver, $16; J. C. King, $3.20; H. P. Nicholson, $3.20; Geo. W. Julian, $3.20; Seth Hunt, $3.20; E. R. Wicks, $3.20; J. W. Scott, $1; E. Bissell, $3; Fred Miller, $6.50; W. H. Coffin, $3; Emerson Bentley, $1.50; H. D. Maxon, $3; Philena Carkin, $3.20; Rev. F. Frothingham, $3.20; E. C. Niles, 45 cents; William G. Snow, $3.20; Cash, 41 cents; B. Ormiston, $10; C. A. Gurley, $12.80; C. N. Overbaugh, $3.30; M. Einstein, 35 cents; Mrs. E. L. Saxon, $3; L. S. Judd, $3.10; Charles Nash, $6.40; A. C. Davis, $2; John Curtis, $6.40; Thos. Ranney, $4.40; J. P. Ingols, $3.20; W. Wickersham, $1.25; Maurice O'Connell, $3.20; J. L. Stoddard, 75 cents; Louise M. Thurston, $5.20; B. Hallowell, $13.10; L. G. Hoffman, 75 cents; Mrs. Ella St. John, 50 cents; Rev. J. M. Barnes, $7.15; J. K. Rose, $6.40; J. T. Sutton, $3; Jacob Hoffner, 10 cents; Joseph Marsh, $4; A. S. Latty, $3.25; Jas. Williams, $3; S. G. Morgan, $6.40; M. H. McKay, $5.15; Mrs. C. H. Chace, $3.50; G. A. Lane, $3.20; J. A. Chandler, $3.20; T. H. Matthews, $3.20; Prof. Ezra Abbot, $3.20; Wm. A. Jenkins, $3.20; Mrs. J. E. Laundon, $3.20; W. E. Harriman, $3.20; J. C. Godfrey, $3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

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The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 18, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

"KEEP RIGHT ON," says a subscriber, renewing his subscription; "make O. W. Holmes' advice to the students the motor of this century: 'Think what you like, and speak what you think.'"

ATTENTION will doubtless be given to Mr. B. R. Tucker's "Prospectus" on our last page, which fully explains itself. Mr. Tucker commands great respect by a character of singular sincerity and fidelity to conviction, and deserves great success in his venture.

SAYS A cheery correspondent: "I enclose you eighty cents for three months subscription for THE INDEX. Would be better pleased if I could send you fifty times that amount. But I do the best I can. 'Angels can do no more!'" True—and very few of them do as much.

THE PAINE BUST, which was paid for last summer by the liberals of this country, and presented to the City of Philadelphia simply as a mark of grateful recognition of Thomas Paine's important services on behalf of our national Independence, has been deliberately rejected by vote of the Select Council. We have seen no report of the proceedings, and cannot therefore state the ostensible reasons for this act of damning ingratitude to one of the purest patriots of the Revolution. But who can doubt the real reasons for it? Insolent Orthodoxy sets up a public statue in Philadelphia to Witherspoon, the one clergyman who signed the Declaration of Independence, but refuses to let grateful liberals place in Independence Hall even a bust of Thomas Paine, who did fifty times as much as he did to found this great Republic. If there were only a Liberal League in every town, as there ought to be, we should expect to see a storm of indignant protests sweep over the land; as it is, we expect to see nothing of the sort. If the liberals of America can quietly submit to be taxed for the support of Orthodoxy, as they are by church exemption and the prostitution of the public schools to sectarian purposes, it is quite unlikely that they will do anything very vigorous under the new indignity thus contemptuously put upon them. It takes combination and coöperation to vindicate equal rights.

ONE OF the few men in this wicked world for whom it is impossible not to cherish profound and unalloyed respect writes thus from Ithaca, New York: "A Free Religious movement here may grow out of a Sunday P. M. 'Religious Association for Free Discussion,' which has had two meetings and just got fairly organized. We first discuss Immortality. Other subjects proposed are Sunday Laws, Civil Service Reform, the Basis of Morals, etc. Prayers, debates, and written essays are equally in order. The day's subject is assigned beforehand, and one is appointed to introduce it by a short essay or speech; and then all may speak, but no one for more than ten minutes at a time, nor any one a second time till all who wish have had a chance to speak once. Thus far Presbyterians, Pantheists, Deists, men and women, townspeople and students, work together with harmony and enthusiasm, agreeing to hold nothing too sacred to be respectfully and candidly discussed. Indeed, I think the thing was initiated by a liberal Presbyterian lady. How long this 'unity of the Spirit' can continue, with such diversity of opinion, we shall see. If it does continue, I shall think that the 'good time coming,' for which prophets and martyrs have looked, is near at hand. In the half-belief that indeed the good time, the reign of a free, rational, earnest religion is at hand, I wish you, who have done so much to hasten it, a happy new year and good-night."

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix, Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals"; by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

INTELLIGENT SUFFRAGE.

In his last Annual Message, President Grant made but a single recommendation for specific action, as follows:—

"The compulsory support of the free schools, and the disfranchisement of all who cannot read and write the English language after a fixed probation, would meet my hearty approval. I would not make this reply, however, to those already voters, but I would to all becoming so after the expiration of the probation fixed upon."

Of this recommendation the New York *Tribune* has said: "This suggestion in the Message has, so far as we have seen it commented on, been very favorably received. We do not indeed recall a word of opposition to it from any quarter." Without doubt there is a predisposition to acquiesce in it by a very large class of the population, especially by that class which believes itself to represent the mental and moral strength of the nation. But we differ from these persons with regard to the propriety of an educational test of suffrage, and believe that their approval of it is a mere hasty inference from the admitted necessity of education rather than the result of a wise weighing of all that is really involved. It may be well, therefore, to state a view of the case which, however little it may find public expression, probably determines so many minds against the educational restriction of suffrage as to render it a mere theoretical hobby, little likely to become the practical mischief or practical nullity which experience would soon show it to be.

1. There is and can be no difference of opinion among intelligent people as to the imperative necessity of intelligent suffrage. Without this as the basis of free institutions, such institutions must be short-lived. The greatest dangers to republican government do not flow from the people's wickedness, but from the people's ignorance; for it would be manifestly impossible to combine a whole people in a wilful conspiracy against their own liberties or prosperity. But a whole people, or a majority of them, may be easily ignorant of the necessary *conditions* of their own liberties or prosperity; and this ignorance can easily be taken advantage of by the unprincipled few who have only selfish and destructive purposes to carry. So far, then, as the necessity of intelligent suffrage to the stable prosperity of the republic is concerned, we unqualifiedly agree with President Grant and those who approve his recommendation.

2. But there are two possible ways of aiming to secure intelligent suffrage. One is to restrict suffrage to those who are intelligent, leaving a more or less large *ignorant and disfranchised class*. The other is to make suffrage and intelligence equally universal, disfranchising only minors, criminals, idiots, lunatics, and insisting on the education of all children, who are all destined to become voters under this system.

3. To the first of these two methods, although recommended by thousands of bright people who ought to do better thinking, there are insuperable objections.

In the first place, there is no possibility of establishing a real test of intelligent suffrage. The reading and writing test is no test at all. It is a dead letter wherever it is tried, because it is absurd to attempt to convert the registration offices or the polls into primary schools. Nothing is easier than to evade the merely formal examinations at such places, and multitudes who can neither read nor write will inevitably vote notwithstanding.

In the next place, the impracticability of the reading and writing test extends beyond this impossibility of excluding illiterates from the polls. The worst trouble is that literates themselves are by no means all intelligent; and even if it were possible to draw the suffrage line with absolute accuracy between the literates and the illiterates, no real advance would be thereby made towards securing intelligent suffrage. *Too many fools are able to read and write; not a few persons who can do neither are far more intelligent than many who can do both.* The reading and writing test of intelligent suffrage, even when tried, proves a miserable failure to exclude the unintelligent from the polls; such a limit is too low, and yet it is impossible to fix any other limit which would secure the weeding out of unintelligent voters.

Lastly, even if the reading and writing test could be enforced, and even if it did actually secure the suffrage of all the intelligent, and no others,—even then, we say, the reading and writing test of suffrage would be a seed of terrible peril to civilization and to republican institutions. There would be then a well-defined "ignorant class," as well as a "criminal class" and a "pauper class"; and these are indeed the "dangerous classes." That the existence of an "ignorant class" should be guaranteed by the laws, which would in fact create it by arbitrary and indefensible and useless discriminations, would be a fact which only unintelligence of the lowest kind, however literate, could regard with satisfaction. It is surely time for American citizens to comprehend that the community is a unit, that its highest interests are identical for all classes, that no class can be excluded from the national life with impunity to the rest, that the basis of republican institutions must be the broad basis of the whole people,—in short, that no community is civilized, or can become civilized, which permits within itself the existence of a *permanently uncivilized class.* In fact, civilization must be measured, not by the exceptional elevation of a few, but by the elevation of all without exception to intelligence, virtue, happiness; and that country should rank the highest which comes the nearest to this attainment. To acquiesce in the existence of an ignorant and disfranchised class by formal statute, under plea of securing intelligent suffrage (which nevertheless could not be secured by it), would be a blunder which the American people will never as a whole commit, unless it has already entered upon a downward road.

4. On the contrary, the whole logic, genius, and spirit of true republicanism lead in the other direction. The Commonwealth is bound by the very ideas which gave it birth to declare emphatically: "There shall be no ignorant or disfranchised class within my limits. The utmost energies of all shall be concentrated upon the problem how to secure the *maximum* of intelligence, virtue, happiness, for each and every member of the body politic, no matter how humble or despised. Schools shall be everywhere maintained by me, the State, on the broad basis of equal secular justice to all; no citizen shall be exempted from his school tax; no child shall be exempted from the obligation of becoming educated at least to a certain point; no parent shall be exempted from the duty of giving this education, or else of permitting the State to give it at the public expense; no priest, no church, no institution, no sect, no party, shall utter a word of control over the schools; nothing but wisdom, experience, knowledge, patriotism, humanity shall administer the schools I have established for the purpose of educating all my citizens to discharge the high duties of citizenship in the spirit of justice, liberty, and mutual good-will. Every citizen shall vote, and every citizen shall become qualified to vote by early and thorough training in the duties of

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his destiny. Suffrage shall be universal; and it shall be made safe by universal education."

5. This is the only wise way to secure intelligent suffrage,—not to introduce now an educational test under the hallucination of thereby securing it, but rather to accept the irreversible fact of universal suffrage, making the needed extensions, and then see to it that education is impartial to *all*. We are by no means blind to the perils of universal suffrage as now partially and haltingly established, for the people hesitate still to make it safe by "compulsory education." But this they must yet advance to; they must yet establish a great national system of education for all, exempting none; and this system must be grounded on equal rights in religion. It is childish and reactionary to dream of securing reform, peace, safety, civilization by enacting a new limitation of suffrage; the republic is irrevocably committed to the principle of universal suffrage; and "returning were as tedious as go o'er." Universal education by a national system of free secular schools is the manifest demand of our entire political system, and why should we waste our energies in wrestling with Destiny? Look forward, not backward, for safety from the evils we see all about us lies only in the courage of a new advance. Intelligent suffrage we must have; let us secure it by pouring out knowledge for all.

DUTIES TO OURSELVES.

It has been the great distinction of religious teaching to lay much stress upon our duties to others,—upon self-abnegation and forgetfulness. There is, in the lower stages of human development and culture, constant need of this inculcation. The tendency of mankind, under these conditions, is to be swayed almost exclusively by personal considerations. The thought of self is so absorbing that the sentiment of humanity and justice exerts but feeble influence upon conduct. It becomes, therefore, the first requisite to the existence of society that men should recognize that something is due to others as well as themselves. But the human mind is prone to extremes. It renounces one to flee to another. It is thus that the corrective for the evils of personal aggrandizement and exclusive self-seeking became at length the depreciation and subordination of the individual,—self-subjection and sacrifice the prime virtues, the one and only end of life. All individual purposes and aims were to be converted to the glory of God and the service of others; even the individuality itself was to be extinguished, so far as possible without surrendering all place in this world. It was thus alone that celestial approval in this life was won, or peace hereafter insured! It is true that, with all the emphasis which this principle as a rule of life received, and the baneful consequences which ensued, as manifested in monkish and manichean asceticism, and the like, it has never obtained such complete acceptance in the human mind but that the natural intelligence and individual instincts would more or less assert themselves and override it. There has always been a sufficient balance of sanity among mankind to prevent it, with all its aberrations, from irrecoverably forsaking the path of common sense and progress.

The principle of self-sacrifice, in its best and most rational exercise, is a very noble and attractive one. It is impossible not to admire it. But it needs to be supplemented by its opposite, in order to attain the true equilibrium of character. Without this, life is liable to assume a warped and one-sided development, even in instances which elicit spontaneous reverence. It is in danger of falling into contempt of the world and life in general, and neglect of the claims of one's own personality. There has never been at any time too much enlightened and well-poised self-sacrifice; but there has always been too little perception or maintenance of its counterpart, the rights of the individual, the reflex duties which every one owes to himself. And this is as true at present as it has been in the past. Notwithstanding the selfishness which so largely prevails (and no one can help wishing there were less), the old conception of self-surrender and sacrifice as the preëminent virtue, the one which may be permitted to swallow all the rest, exercises an undue influence upon the human mind, and operates as a detriment to the broadest and most perfect culture.

There are thousands to-day who believe and act upon the supposition that charity—in the more ordinary use of the word—covers a multitude of sins; that if they only give evidence of this virtue it matters little what they are besides; that a donation to this or that object which it is popular to commend, to a fashionable church, a missionary, Bible, or benevolent society, or a liberal endowment of a sectarian college, atones for a life of gross and hardened sordidness; or that zeal in behalf of some public cause or reform supersedes personal and private shortcomings. It is thus that Mrs. Jellyby and my Lady Southdown are types of character more or less manifested in actual life not unfrequently.

There is great need in our day of emphasis upon genuine personal ennoblement of those traits without which no one can be what he ought to be, though he conform never so closely to a traditional or inherited conception of excellence. There is great need of correcter views of personal culture, of clearer perceptions of the rights of the individual, the duties which we owe to ourselves as well as to others. We need a a more exalted estimate of the sacredness of the individual, notwithstanding all that has been vaguely taught in respect to this.

It is true that these two phases or aims of life, self-sacrifice and self-ennoblement, are involved in, are in fact but different manifestations or terms for, the operation of the same ruling motive or principle when intelligently combined. The one in reality an exemplification of the other. But as they have been presented there is need of discrimination in respect to them, in order that each may be truly apprehended and receive due consideration.

The tendency of religion and ethics to discourage self-assertion, to suppress individuality, to make one feel that he possesses but little dignity or value in his own nature, and that his own life should be merged in the life of those about him, has been an influential cause of much of the servitude into which mankind has fallen, and to which the individual still surrenders. It has contributed more than any other, and all others, to make men the slaves of civil and ecclesiastical systems,—to render them the willing subjects of custom, fashion, and blind leaders of the blind.

The absence of a proper sense of what is due to ourselves is frequently strikingly exhibited in the regard which persons suppose they should render to the opinions and ways of their kindred or those who sustain near relations to them. I vote with such a party, says one, because my father does; or I go to such a church to please my wife or mother. I am a liberal, but I never introduce any liberal books or papers into my family for fear of displeasing them. Sometimes these representations are sincere, sometimes they are but the excuses of needless timidity or selfish policy. It behooves every one to remember in these relations, as in all others, that there are rights and duties which belong to our natures, to our individual convictions and culture, which are superior to the claims of any human being upon us, be they as dear to us, even, as wife, father, or mother; and that, while we are bound to render them our profoundest respect, and sedulously endeavor to avoid whatever may unnecessarily be a cause of pain to them, more than this should not be exacted and cannot be granted without the loss of a brave and sincere manhood and character. It is here that, if we take up the words of Jesus, and (with a broader meaning than they were probably intended to convey) substitute for the "love of me," the love of truth or fidelity to convictions, as more binding than even relations of the most sacred affection or kindredship, they contain a principle which applies to all the exigencies and tests of intellectual progress. The same truth is embodied in this quotation from Emerson: "Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind"; and in this from a younger thinker: "Religion is the effort of man to perfect himself." The full rounding out and perfection of individual life is the supreme end of human existence.

D. H. C.

COLLEGE POETRY.*

Perhaps the *Harvard Advocate* contributors may not take it as a compliment, when we say that the charm to us of this book of verses from its columns is their flavor of boyhood. But as those young gentlemen grow into the blue-green (not to say the sere and yellow) leaf, they will then surely feel a like pleasure in that fresh verdure of early spring, when the leaves seem full of sunshine in their delicate cells, and the face of Nature wears a bright smile of exuberant life, and has not a trace of economy in its prodigal expression. It is the time when all the powers of life seem to vie in expenditure of their own being, and to revel in the bliss of giving, hoping for nothing again. Such is the feeling which young life breathes upon us all, as we see our own youth in retrospect, and wonder if we ever seemed to our predecessors like these gay young fellows, spendthrift in wit and imagination as well as in fun and frolic and their father's greenbacks. They have not yet learned to save up their ideas as current coin of the realm, and to dread a bankruptcy of brains as the daily drain of mental powers continues.

Far be it from us to say that the four years of college are the happiest part of a man's life. He knows little of the deeper happiness which wife and home bring with them, who can say so. But metaphysicians may say what they please about our having more happiness than misery. Few thoughtful men reach middle age without an experience that in darker hours makes them sometimes wonder if the game be worth the candle, and in their wiser moods makes glad that it has an end. Certainly it is a shallow soul which does not see that, as death is a blessing to the race, so it becomes welcome to those who must die, not only for the hope which looks beyond, but for the surfeit of living which is thereby relieved. But this gravity is hardly in place now, though it has a certain subtile connection with our topic.

Twenty-one years ago, the wise and venerable old man who himself was Harvard College for nearly a generation, preached a baccalaureate sermon on the young man's dream of life. Looking down from the old chapel pulpit on the upturned faces of the boys who, on that last day, could not fail to hear and to remember, he said, with an almost mournful emphasis, and that "wan, despairing look" which none who ever saw it could forget: "I would speak with all reverence of that dream, for I believe there is often more religion in the young man's dream of life than in the old man's philosophy of life."

In the varied pages of this little book, Dr. Walker's words find illustration; though in the changed form of thought and aspiration which shows the atmosphere in which men's souls breathe to-day to be so different, that a century back none would see any religion in these lines. With the joyous activity of mind and fancy which distinguishes bright youth, is mixed the awe and unshaped melancholy which weighs on the boy, as he sees manhood and the world all untried before him. We should be unjust to the book, if we did not recognize the poetic merit, and much more the honest fervor, which marks some of these poems; and we are glad and proud of our old *Alma Mater* that she cherishes the spirit which gives them birth.

But, after all, while youth can afford to be sad over imaginary woes and to make sonnets to its lady's eyebrow, maturer life prefers comedy to tragedy. We well remember the contempt which filled our soul when we heard a gray-headed old gentleman say so, as he sat behind us in the parquette, during the period when our first stove-pipe was still glossy. But we ask his pardon now, and confess that enjoyment of the exquisite humor, of the charming, delicate fancy, and really brilliant wit of some of these pieces, leads us to review the book to-day.

Chief among these delightful fellows is F. W. Loring. It gave us who never saw him a pang to remember that the hand was still forever which wrote so gracefully and easily, and with a taste as fine as the wit was keen and the humor delicious. In his death by Indian violence in the far West, we lost one whose youth gave promise of rare literary sweetness and excellence. His free power of language and verse reminds one of the exhilaration of sleigh-bells under the stars and over the crisp snow. We do not know in the language more clever bits than his contributions after the style of Holmes, Whitman, and Browning. The genial and bashful doctor must really be in doubt whether he did not himself write for the *Advocate*.

But Loring is not the only one who has given us good things. What fun Messrs. Morison and Tiffany must have had in jointly producing "To My Queen"! What could be more clever in its way, more finished and sparkling, than this little piece by Mr. A. L. Fiske of 1869. We cut it from a newspaper-corner years ago, and were glad to find it in its own place. Hardly a word in it could be changed without loss. It is a model of such composition.

MY LADY.

Morocco soft that doth inclose
The white whereon my lady goes;
High heels that lift her lips to mine;
And eyelets with a silver shine,—
Fall not, malignant evening daws,
Lest you should wet my lady's shoes!

O purple grape-leaf on her head,
In silken benediction spread
With wreathes and ribbons, knotted, curled,
The colors of a magic world,—
Oh weep not, summer rains, upon it,
Lest you should soil my lady's bonnet!

O nameless art that makes her slim,
Laces in which her shoulders swim,
The daring graces that combine
The "Grecian-bend's" delirious line,—
Leaves, spare her as you nestle down,
Lest you derange my lady's gown!

Complexest wonders of the time,
Inspirer of my fervid rhyme,
What odds and ends make up the show,
The gracious lady that I know!
Confusion bright of sex and dress,—
To woo is sweet,—but to possess?

Our space is filled, or we would quote more. Of course college men whose hearts warm towards their old rooms and friends, as they recall the four years more of boyhood which they owe to Harvard, will enjoy this book most, because it wakes so many memories of men and places. But the flavor is too genuine not to please all who relish the fruits of cultivated mind in its early periods of development.

CLASS OF '55.

*VERSES FROM THE HARVARD ADVOCATE. Cambridge: Charles W. Sever. 1876. 18 mo. pp. 264.

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Communications.

PHILADELPHIA LETTER.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—For the last eight weeks prior to the close of the Exposition, my house was so constantly filled with Centennial visitors that it was utterly impossible for me to find either time or place to arrange my Exposition notes properly for publication. But as my letters were intended for information rather than gossip, they might be just as acceptable to THE INDEX reader now as before the formal closing of the Centennial Exposition, were it not that this is a time and age when great and important events, all-absorbing to the public mind, succeed each other with startling rapidity. The great question which occupies the mind of the thinker to-day, is not so much what the American Republic has achieved during the last century, as whether she possesses sufficient intelligence and virtue to work out the great problems of freedom yet unsolved, and to make practical application of the results to humanity. If the people are to be judged by their executive head or by their representatives, whether in Congress, State Legislatures, or City Councils, the outlook is dubious.

Your readers doubtless wish to know what has become of the bust of Thomas Paine. Immediately after sufficient funds had been raised to pay for it, it was formally presented to the city by Mr. Kilgore, the appointee of the resident committee having the matter in charge, with the request that it be placed in Independence Hall with appropriate ceremonies. The Mayor sent the communication, accompanied by an appropriate note, to the Councils at their next meeting, when, on motion of a bigoted member, the whole matter was laid upon the table, where it remained for two weeks. Mr. Kilgore then sent a second communication, giving some of the more distinguished names of the donors to that body, requesting them to take such action as would dispose of the matter and relieve the committee from the unpleasant position in which we were placed.

Upon motion of Mr. Shoemaker, a noted citizen of Philadelphia, the attorney of the Centennial Commission, who was the best friend of Thomas Paine in the Councils, and who died last night, the former communication was taken from the table and the whole matter referred to the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall. At a subsequent meeting of that committee a resolution was passed directing that "the bust of Thomas Paine be received with thanks and be placed in the National Museum."

The National Museum is a room, owned by the city, adjacent to Independence Hall, and equal to it in size, which has been fitted up during the last two years for the reception and preservation of the Revolutionary mementoes and relics for which no space could be found in Independence Hall. It is in this room that the old Independence bell is placed, with its original crack,—a monument of its false notes in pretending to ring out liberty to *all* the people while the mothers of the land were still left subject to their sons. And here, among many other portraits, hangs the portrait of Thomas Paine, which, by the way, was smuggled in. It was suggested to the committee that the bust could be placed there in the same way; but we felt that justice to liberal thought, as also to the memory of Thomas Paine and the donors of his bust, demanded that the presentation be openly and nobly made, and the city be compelled either frankly to accept it and place it in its proper place, or as openly to reject it. Of course the action of the Restoration Committee is subject to the ratifying action of both the Common and Select Councils. This action the former body has taken; but the Select Council has met from time to time and postponed and laid over the matter, until it is now evident, whatever may be its final action, that they do not design that this great patriot shall be thus honored during this Centennial year. What ought to be the fate of a nation which can thus unworthily treat the memory of any one of its patriots on account of different but not extremely radical religious views? True, this is but the action of a small body of officials; but the great nation has done no better.

Every nation at the Centennial exhibited in some form a representation of its God or gods and its religion. The Christian religion being the religion of all the nations of North and South America here represented, and of all the European nations save Turkey, the Christs and crosses were most numerous. The English, French, and German Christs were finer specimens of humanity than those of the Spanish; but, as representations of Deity, or even the divine in the human, all were insipid and disgusting. In the French department was a worn-out, cheerless, wooden stable, in which were the wise men of the East, doing homage to the new-born Christ. It was amusing, yet painful, in this great Exposition of the wonderful resources of the earth and the god-like power of man for their development and utilization, to see the crowds of religious devotees gazing long and admiringly, with solemn and tearful faces, at this exhibit, as if it were the veritable birthplace of their Savior. I could scarcely resist the temptation to destroy its sanctity to some of the bystanders, by telling them of the construction of the stables as also of the houses of Palestine, hewn out of the solid rock.

In the Spanish department of the Art Gallery was an oil-painting representing the Trinity. A cross, crabbed old man, dressed in the usual style of frock-coat and turn-down collar, possessed of less than ordinary intelligence, his head in a triangle of light, represented *God the Father!* In front of him, in a kneeling posture, was one of those horrid Spanish Christs, but nevertheless the better God of the two, upon whose head was descending the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. Such representations of the Christian's God made me wonder more than ever that I, and not only I, but you and many of the strong-thinking men and women of to-day, ever did believe in the Christian religion. We should be exceedingly charitable toward the bigot, yet lose no opportunity so to enlighten the public mind that the children of the next generation shall not be educated into such paganism.

Every European nation save England and Turkey surprised us with its exhibits, some not equalling, others surpassing our expectations. Of Turkey we expected nothing but glitter and sham trinkets from the Holy Land, and were not disappointed; and our knowledge of England's resources and productions prepared us for her excellent exhibit. But we did not anticipate so fine a display from her colonies from all parts of the world (of which we shall presently speak) as was here made.

France and Italy did not satisfy us with their art exhibit. Probably they did not send their best work. It is often said that American sculptors cannot endow marble with the soulful expression given it by European artists; but Mr. Graeff, of New York, in his life-size marble figure of a child taking its "first step," proved this a mistake. The real living soul of the child speaks through this marble, and to my mind this piece of statuary was not equalled by any piece from any foreign country. The value of Bohemian glass and garnets are well known, of which Austria and Hungary made a fine exhibit. Four beautiful pieces of glass, in the decorations of which could be seen in any light all the colors of the rainbow, claimed to be a reproduction of one of the lost arts. We anticipated much from the educational exhibit of Germany, but Russia, Canada, and many of our own States did as well, and Belgium much better. We were prepared for the exquisite beauty of Belgium laces, but did not anticipate so perfect a display of the technical system of training by which the uses of natural products and their process of utilization are taught to children. I was only pained by the representation of Christ on the cross hanging beneath the clock in their school-room. When will the nations learn that schools should be for the teaching of science, not religion? The progressive educational system of Russia, though not equal to that of Belgium, the magnificence of her furs, and her exceeding mineral wealth with its artistic uses, surpassed our expectations. To say nothing of her silver, gold, and more precious stones, her malachite tables, vases, clocks, boxes, and jewelry were the admiration of all. Russia surely must be a much greater power among the nations of Europe than she has hitherto appeared.

The characteristic exhibit of Switzerland was, of course, her watches and carved wooden clocks, ornaments and light furniture; of the Netherlands, her system of dykes and docks, scientifically illustrated. The latter country exhibited quite an unexpected collection of parlor screens, one of which, beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl, illustrating the story of William Tell, far surpassed even those of China, indeed anything of the kind upon the grounds. The furs and groups of figures illustrative of real life from Norway and Sweden attracted much attention. Even Denmark (in which we found a characteristic exhibit from Greenland), Spain, and Portugal disappointed us with the good quality and variety of their manufactured goods, which by no means equalled those of other European nations. In the Spanish Building, located upon the hill above Machinery Hall, was Spain's very meagre literary exhibit, and her elaborate armory, occupying nearly the entire building. In this department, slightly represented, were Cuba and the Philippine Islands, their exhibits consisting mostly of minerals. One of the most delicate pieces of embroidery in the Woman's Pavilion was, however, a handkerchief made from the fibre of the pineapple-tree and embroidered by a lady of the Philippine Islands.

Canada, Jamaica, Trinidad, the Bahamas, the Bermudas, Ceylon, Mauritius, and the Archipelago of Seychelles, New Zealand, Australia, and India are the colonies of Great Britain represented at the Exposition whose exhibits I have not previously described. The natural and manufactured products of the first five of the above mentioned colonies are so familiar to us that I will mention only the lace bark peculiar to Jamaica, which is used for articles of both use and ornament. This bark is a natural curiosity, consisting of numerous concentric fibres so interwoven by Nature as to present the appearance of lace. It is said that a cravat frills and pair of ruffles made of this material were presented by the Governor of Jamaica to Charles II.

The exhibits of Mauritius and Seychelles consisted principally of native implements and images of male and female deities, akin to those of the native African, while the exhibits of Ceylon, consisting of shells, woods, tropical fruits and spices both in their natural and prepared state, identified her with more intelligent and cultivated Asia. The contrast was the more striking, as their exhibits were arranged in close proximity upon the same table. The fossil skeleton of the "moa," one of the nineteen wingless birds inhabiting the island of New Zealand prior to its habitation by man, which stands twelve feet high, with a fac-simile of its egg dug up on the islands a few years ago, measuring twenty-four inches in circumference, and large quantities of "kauri gum" (the fossil resin of a coniferous tree peculiar to the islands of the Pacific, taken from the soil in masses of from one to three hundred pounds weight), were the characteristic features of the exhibit of New Zealand.

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

Very truly, CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 29, 1876.

P. S.—The Select Council has met to-day and by vote rejected the bust of Thomas Paine. What now shall be done with it? C. B. K.

A RETROSPECT.

The "Centennial Year," with its great expectations, outbursts of patriotic enthusiasm, and displays of national pride, has come and gone. It may be profitable now, after the smoke has disappeared, the noise ceased, the fireworks vanished, and the voices of the many orators been silenced, to review this eventful year, in order to ascertain our position, or, as a shrewd and careful merchant, to take an inventory of our stock on hand, to compare our action with our passion, our assets with our liabilities. Braced by mid-winter's keen atmosphere, and not influenced any longer by the exciting scenes, after calm deliberation, we may ask ourselves the questions: What is the result of our meditations? What lessons have experience and observation taught us? Have we made progress? Have we advanced?

In a certain sense, we can answer the last question affirmatively. We have undoubtedly shown to the world what immense progress we have made, especially in the useful arts and sciences and manufactures; we have demonstrated to the European scoffers and sceptics our remarkable material growth, and all that sort of thing, and we can cheerfully admit that even the crowning event of this eventful year, the Centennial Exhibition, in spite of many drawbacks, shortcomings, and blunders, was on the whole a grand success.

But we should not stop with these pleasing mementoes. The most interesting feature connected with this memorable Centennial Year, the most important aspect, to the lover of free institutions, was the opportunity offered to study these "free institutions," to convince the European republicans as well as monarchists that this great representative Republic is not a sad failure; that this "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" is no longer an experiment, but on the contrary a solemn *fait accompli*. Whether in this respect our expectations have all been realized remains, we presume, at least doubtful with many honest and thoughtful people. It won't do to repeat that *ad nauseam* preached excuse any longer: "America is a young country; it has a new country's faults and defects, and it may possibly lack some of the finish, polish, elegance, and culture of older and more experienced nations." What we wish to know is whether America really has that very courage of ideas which is so necessary, whether our citizens are not afraid of innovations and reforms.

An able writer in THE INDEX, some time ago, came to the conclusion that "whatever else America lacked, it had got far on the road towards accomplishing three results; namely, political, religious, and social freedom." We wish we were able to subscribe to this *dictum*, but from our point of view, examining stubborn facts, we feel constrained to form a different opinion.

By the Constitution of the United States, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." Now, to the casual observer, this appears to be sufficient to express the idea that this country grants full religious liberty and unconditional liberty of conscience to every inhabitant. Full religious liberty, we say, not merely toleration; the latter is guaranteed by most of the constitutional monarchies of Europe, while they at the same time favor a State religion. This fundamental law does not recognize the Christian Sunday, nor the Jewish Sabbath, nor the Turkish Friday as a public religious day; the framers of our Constitution were particularly anxious not to recognize any religion, church, or sect whatsoever, and yet we all know that in nearly every State of our Union there exist statutory, prohibitory Sunday-laws. *De facto* the Christian religion is recognized as the religion of the State, not only by these Sunday laws, but by various other laws and enactments. We are all taxed to pay for the religious services of so-called chaplains, ministers of the gospel, who have to show by their prayers at the sessions of Congress and State Legislatures, that in this respect the Constitution of the United States is disregarded, that a religion is established, and that all our boasted religious liberty is a mere sham. According to the Constitution, and it is in strict accordance to its own provision "the supreme law of the land," perfect religious liberty is guaranteed, according to facts, this most important pledge is openly violated. It is not necessary to recall other flagrant contradictions and inconsistencies, such as the retaining of the Bible in our public schools, the exemption from taxation of ecclesiastical property, etc., etc. Readers of THE INDEX need not to be reminded of similar beautiful examples; but all these are only the legitimate fruits of the union of Church and State.

Yes! In this "land of the free and home of the brave" every man and woman (?) has a constitutional right to take care of his or her salvation himself or herself, without the assistance of clergyman or priest; and this great blessing the very same man and woman may enjoy also in England or Germany. It was, as everybody knows, Frederic the Great who proclaimed that in his country everybody was permitted to be saved according to the dictates of his own conscience; so we really fail to see what progress we have made since. To-day, at the one hundredth birthday of American freedom, in this land of religious liberty, a National Liberal League must be organized to save this country from the united attacks of religious bigots and fanatics, who, not satisfied with their past victories, are now coming to the front demanding a recognition of the Christian religion in the Constitution of the United States! And the harvest will soon be ready; no matter what the history of France and Spain may teach to the thoughtful, Tom, Dick, and Harry—the majority must rule!—continue to whistle "Yankee Doodle Dandy"! We leave to

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others the great crime of discussing the benefits of such a proposed recognition of the Christian religion, of such a union between Church and State. "There are some things," says Mr. Partridge, "not to be argued about, but to be destroyed."

Eternal vigilance, we all admit, is the price of liberty. A great mission is appointed to this Republic, and great obligations, important duties rest upon every individual of which it is composed. But unless the people realize the dangers, the rocks ahead, this experiment will also result into failure. As long as the Christian or any other religion is taught in our public school, as long as religious test-oaths are required, as long as tax-paying citizens are compelled to pay for chaplains, churches, etc., there will be a constant source of irritation. We demand right and justice; we cannot admit that from the Papists alone come the greatest perils. A sentence from a recent sermon of the Rev. John Cotton Smith shows the stand-point of the average Christian statesman: "If we are obliged to accept a state of things which we believe to be wrong, we must do so, but never admit it to be right,—the consequences are too terrible. A nation can never cast loose from God. Macaulay may ridicule the idea of a union of Church and State; but, are there no divine institutions, such as the home and the Church? Is not the State a similar institution?" As we said before, there are some things not to be argued about. If any man, capable of studying the science, the philosophy of history, can only draw such conclusions, he becomes a very dangerous element in a country founded on free institutions. De Tocqueville said: "The republican form of government seems to me the natural state of the Americans, which nothing but continued action of hostile causes, always acting in the same direction, could change into a monarchy."

Among the "hostile causes" we may briefly point to a few other significant agencies which continually work to destroy this republican form of government. This nation has shown true heroism in war and self-control in peace. Every good citizen hopes for the peaceful triumph of order, law, and justice, and during the present great trial public opinion remains confident and calm. We do not belong to the army of alarmists and political pessimists, but we believe it to be our duty to expose the evil tendencies and corrupt practices wherever we discover them. The courts of this country are not permitted to elicit testimony from the priests of the Roman Catholic Church. They cannot force them to betray the secrets that they have learned in the confessional; yet the post-office and the records of our telegraph-companies are ransacked for secrets which, in a civil point of view, are certainly of equal sanctity. The excuse of the party adopting such expedients, that the other party had done likewise, is too puerile and contemptible to be noticed, especially when we remember that this excuse comes from a party glorifying in the epithet of "the reform party"! What have we done in the way of civil service reform? Our duty is plain enough: we must put the right man in the right place; we must abolish all favoritism, and we must hold our public officers responsible. When we look at the present political situation, we may well feel discouraged. For the first time in the history of our Republic it appears to be a settled fact that, whoever may be the President for the next four years, he will have to thank the ballot-stuffers and corrupt party manipulators and not the people for such a distinction. It is not important to know whether this election was a close one or not, but it is highly important to know the fact that both parties have conducted the election by fraud and corruption! These are indeed times resembling those of 1776 in more than one respect, times that try men's souls! The crisis will come; let us hope that this Republic will survive the present state of affairs. We say with noble John Brown: "Give me men of good principles, men who respect themselves, and with a dozen of them I will oppose any hundred such men as these Buford ruffians!"

HUGO ANDRIESSEN.

BEAVER, Pa.

THE CHELSEA LIBERAL LEAGUE.

MR. ABBOT:—

In a quiet way, the good word got abroad in Chelsea, that there would be a meeting of progressive and radical gentlemen at the residence of D. G. Crandon, Bellingham Street, Thursday evening, the 11th inst., to consider the propriety of organizing a Liberal League. A goodly company came early in the evening, and formed a thought-exchange association,—a brief conference, each speaker being in sympathy with the objects of the League. It was a fine illustration of strongly marked characteristics in search of a *new* "Catholic Union." The discussion was brief, but all present seemed to understand that the League had an intellectual as well as a reformatory necessity for its existence, as some of the oldest and boldest workers for *secular* rights were not in sympathy or association with any of the liberal religionists—*as such*.

At 8 o'clock D. G. Crandon directed the attention of the company to the propriety of organizing an auxiliary Liberal League in Chelsea, in the full belief, that the effort and the organization were alike needed to lessen sectarian influence and aid in preventing the religio-political party from making the Constitution of the country a theological instrument. His approval of the efforts of Mr. Abbot in behalf of the National Liberal League was earnest and emphatic, and drew from the other gentlemen a sympathetic response. At the close of his remarks, by general consent, Mr. Crandon was made the Chairman of the meeting. A committee was then appointed to nominate a list of officers for the regular organization.

During the absence of the committee, Prof. Toohey occupied the attention of the company, at the suggestion of the chairman. He said he was glad the time had come for organized effort, and that attention was to be given to secular rights as well as spiritual wrongs. Not that he regretted the much that had been said and written on the abstract issue of religious freedom, since there was so much to learn and unlearn on the subject. He felt free to make the acknowledgment, having had to work his way from the Roman Catholic side of the controversy before taking a position outside of all religious organizations. He was equally free, however, to recognize the preferences of others for such associations, though his best judgment support the opinion, that the demands of the hour favored secular rights instead of ecclesiastical interests. He was opposed to the further union of Church and State, and thought the future welfare of mankind would come through a scientific rather than a theological education; and was hopeful for that time when the religious convictions like the other affectional relations of the individual, would be *private* as well as personal, and not as now, public and professional. He found pleasure in seeing that the young men were taking hold of this subject, and bade good-speed to the liberal movement; the more, as he could see no good reason to prevent every liberally disposed religionist from coöperating in the good work proposed by its constitution,—a work that would end only when freedom from ecclesiastic rule was accomplished, and the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness was as practical and real as it was now theoretic and commonplace.

The Committee's report was accepted, resulting in the election of the following officers:—

PRESIDENT, D. G. Crandon.

VICE-PRESIDENTS, W. H. Hamlen and P. C. J. Cheney.

SECRETARY, J. H. W. Toohey.

TREASURER, Russell Maston.

DIRECTORS, E. F. Strickland, J. A. J. Wilcox, and Alfred V. Lincoln.

The constitution for the formation of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues was then re-read, and after some discussion approved and adopted. The only amendment made was to the effect that one or more Vice-Presidents be appointed to hold office, instead of *one*, present reading. The constitution was then signed by every person present, and the Chelsea Liberal League became an institution in fact if not in law. To that end, the Secretary was instructed to apply to the National Liberal League for a CHARTER, that the organization might have a legal, as well as a sympathetic right to existence. All seemed confident of success, and the Chairman read one of many letters received expressing sympathy with the movement. The writer was said to be a person of eminence, and intended to become more prominently associated with the organization at an early day.

Messrs. Dodge and Toohey were appointed delegates to wait upon and inform the ladies and gentlemen assembling in Liberty Hall, Sunday evenings, that a Liberal League had been formed in Chelsea, and would hold its next meeting the 29th instant, at the residence of D. G. Crandon, where all would be welcome to join the League, and take part in celebrating the birthday of Thomas Paine.

The Secretary was instructed to prepare reports of the meeting for THE INDEX and *Investigator*, and send them for publication. The meeting then adjourned.

Coöperatively yours,

J. H. W. TOOHEY, *Secretary*.

167½ BROADWAY, Chelsea, Mass.

"CELLS FOR SUPERSTITION."

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Jan. 5, 1877.

DEAR INDEX:—

A sentence in Mr. Frothingham's article in your last number—"the clearest heads will have a secret cell for superstition"—recalls an experience of not many years ago which illustrates it.

One of the guests at a dinner-party, I sat chatting with the hostess, awaiting the tardier ones, when a gentleman came in, and, after greeting the lady, apologized for the absence of his wife, whom a headache kept at home. As he left her to speak to others, my hostess turned to me and, with anxious face, said, "What *shall* I do?" "Do?" I replied; "why? Because L—— has come alone? Have you no lady to balance him with?" "Oh! it is not that, but we are thirteen!"

"Well, what of it? 'There's luck in odd numbers,' says Rory O'Moore." "But my husband charged me not to allow it to happen. He would not sit at table with twelve others."

I am afraid my mouth stood open as well as my eyes, while she spoke.

I said, "You do not tell me seriously that Mr. —— attaches any importance to that absurd superstition." "Indeed he does; so much that nothing would induce him to have thirteen at table. What *shall* I do."

I wished myself away, but would not increase distress by proposing to be taken suddenly ill. After whispered consultation, the matter was settled. "A—— is to stay away from table."

Men, for once what women always are—in excess,—was not as alarming as a Judas feast.

The sacrificed one was the daughter of the house, a girl of eighteen. The guest of the occasion being a live Prince, member of one of the three oldest royal families of Europe, I think it quite likely she meditated upon the consequences of maintaining in the head "cells for superstition."

The dinner, as one would imagine, was an uncomfortable one. Inquiries of course were made; excuses were lame; and all knew "something had happened."

Do you ask if this occurred in a *pueblo* of New Mexico?

No, in one of the most elegant houses of one of the largest cities in the Union, a house filled with books and pictures collected by its owner in half the countries of Europe; that owner, a New Englander, graduate of one of its oldest colleges, bred to the law, trustee of a university, and of a dozen literary, scientific, æsthetic, and charitable institutions, a bank president, and at various times a legislator for his fellow-citizens.

When such crude superstition as this is possible at the top of the ladder, among the educated and in some respects most intelligent *men*—observe, I have not told you of a *woman*,—the natural leaders of others, it is not difficult to understand that in the same city Moody and Sankey should, from the bottom of the ladder, have a following of eight or nine thousand.

A friend writes from Chicago: "The Moody excitement is still in full blast. M. and I went to hear him. We were unfortunate, for we agreed that on that day his speaking was often distasteful, sometimes disgusting, and generally dull. I really think, making allowance for all the good it may do, that Chicago is laboring under a sort of insanity. It is undergoing at the hands of Moody a sort of religious *bulldozing*. When one thinks of a city of half a million inhabitants with but one library, it an infant and not receiving its appropriation, he cannot help thinking what might have been accomplished, if all the money, energy, and enthusiasm that have been put into this revival had been turned into some channel whose waters would not dry up when the excitement is passed. The present terrible depression of business accounts, in a large degree, for the effects of the revival; and while I cannot blame persons for seeking some consolation, I wish it were in a more rational way, and am quite sure, if affairs were bright and prosperous, some of the enthusiasts would relax their religious tension. One gets terribly wearied with the daily iteration of 'souls saved in an instant,' 'drunkards reclaimed,' 'splendid sight of eight thousand persons gathered together in worship,' and 'the meetings,' 'the meetings!'"

Moody has wrought our miracle. He has made the pilgrimages to our Lady of Lourdes respectable.

Mais que voulez-vous? "You cannot expect to get out of a stupid people the effects of intelligence, and to evolve from inferior citizens superior conduct."

Yours, KATE N. DOGGETT.

LOUISIANA NOTES.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The New Orleans *Bulletin* of June 25, 1876, published a list of the real estate of that city exempted from taxation, on the plea of being church property or owned by charitable associations. The list, which subsequent inquiry proves to have been incomplete, represented near $20,000,000 of a total valuation for the city of $119,000,000, about *one-fourth of the whole!* Of course, all denominations are included in the list, but the greater portion is owned by incorporations of the Roman Catholic Church. The Jesuits Church owns Gallier Court, a very valuable property, rented for business uses. The property of the Ursuline Nuns included *fourteen stores* on Magazine Street, *forty squares* in the Third District, besides other valuable property. The Church reaps a golden harvest, and extends her lines in fruitful places. When the Liberal movement takes good root here, there will be a strong host to contend with.

The Roman Catholic Church is the leading one of the State, in wealth and numbers.

The holiday of Mardi Gras (Shrove Tuesday) is legalized by the State.

In common with the Church at large, the Archbishop has vigorously assailed the common schools. Circulars have been sent out directing petitions to be signed and forwarded to the Legislature for division of the school fund, and draining it into religious channels. Anathema is preached from the pulpits against parents who send their children to ungodly schools.

The most violent utterances on the Presidential imbroglio have come from the official organ of the diocese, the *Morning Star*. It exceeded the partisan press in denunciation of the President, the Senate, and submission to legal forms. Father Ryan, while its editor, delivered an "eloquent eulogy" upon the White League, and its record of September 14, 1874, in New Orleans.

The readers of the press, upon the new Louisiana unhappiness, will please notice that the body claiming to be the legal Legislature, holds its sessions in *St. Patrick's Hall*. Let them remember that this hall is located on a principal street (Camp), and is owned by Hibernians, an auxiliary society of the Church, and is exempt from taxation. The hall is rented, likewise store-rooms on the first floor, to public uses. Traffic on the first floor, revolution on the second, what a satire on the proper relations between the Church and State! But I have given enough to think about at one time. The facts apply here heavily against the Catholics; but the principle involved knows no sect, and Protestants are not blameless.

Very respectfully,

EMERSON BENTLEY.

MORGAN CITY, La., Jan. 5, 1877.

MR. TALMAGE takes no stock in "unsectarian schools." He has gone out West to stir up the people about the enormity of such an offence as taking the Bible out of the common schools. "Insult the Lord by expelling his only book from the schools, and he will be no longer on our side. Is the Bible such an unsafe book that we must chain it? Will it bite? Will it hook? Will it sting? What our common schools most need is a larger dose of it." So, fired by this lofty ambition, Mr. Talmage rushes about to give "a larger dose" of God's "only book" as the sole cure for the wickedness of the times.—*Liberal Christian*.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE STORY is told of Archbishop Wood (Roman Catholic), of Philadelphia, that, when informed of the approaching cremation of Baron de Palm, he answered: "And his soul will be burning in the other world, probably, for I learn that he was a member of a society of unbelievers." What delicious logic in the Archbishop's "for"!

SIR WILLIAM THOMSON, one of the most eminent of the scientific men of Great Britain, says that there prevails in America "the truest scientific spirit and devotion, the originality, the inventiveness, the patient persevering thoroughness of work, the appreciativeness, and the generous open-mindedness and sympathy, from which the great things of science come."

MR. E. C. STEDMAN, the poet, has published a most interesting letter on "The Treasure Tombs at Mykenæ," with reference to Dr. Schliemann's remarkable discoveries, which is the best possible answer to the *Saturday Review*'s amusingly ill-natured sneers at American scholarship. Mr. Stedman's versions of Homer and Æschylus are done with exquisite taste; and his luminous account of the great part played in Greek literature by the crimes and woes of the House of Atreus must give instruction to many and pleasure to all.

THE QUESTION of church taxation cannot be kept out of sight, but comes up continually in new forms: "A peculiar case is pending before the Quebec courts, involving the point whether a religious corporation, whose property is exempted by law from the burdens of taxation, should be allowed to compete in the manufacture of goods with those who pay taxes. A wholesale drug firm in Montreal has demanded an injunction to restrain the Sisters of Providence from making and selling a certain syrup, on the ground that, being exempt from taxation on account of their religious character, while holding property to an enormous amount, they enter into unfair competition with people who are forced to carry a great weight of taxation on account of such exemptions. In Quebec fully half of the assessable property is exempt, and many millions' worth in Montreal. The decision in the case will be an interesting precedent."

SINCE OUR LAST issue, the newly formed Chelsea Liberal League has applied for and received its charter from the National Liberal League, thus entering in a cordial, helpful, and generous way into the national movement for which the latter was formed last summer. The Chelsea League holds a public meeting on January 29, the birthday of Thomas Paine, and we trust it will make its protest against the rejection of the Paine Bust by the Philadelphia Select Council. That matter ought not to be allowed to rest. Philadelphia should be made to understand how small and contemptible her action appears to the better class of citizens throughout the country. Public opinion may yet secure a proper recognition of great public services, irrespective of religious beliefs. It will be a burning disgrace to the country, if a simple tribute of gratitude for Paine's patriotic devotion to the republic and to universal liberty should remain permanently rejected by the nation he so faithfully and unselfishly served.

THERE IS no little audacity in the Jesuitized Catholicism of to-day. *Harper's Weekly* says: "With a courage which amounts to hardihood, the court of Rome has, it is said, resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the humiliation of the German emperor, Henry IV., at Canossa. The event is of so old a date, and has for so many years been suffered to pass unnoticed, that this recalling of attention to it will be construed by all Europe as an act of defiance to Germany. The *Osservatore Romano*, the papal organ, expresses its approval of the project in the following terms: 'At the moment when a new and still graver period in the great struggle between the Church and the anti-Christian State, between Catholic liberty and pagan Cæsarism, is commencing, nothing, it seems to us, could be more opportune or more salutary to the spirits of the combatants for the cause of God, of the Church, and of true human liberty than the remembrance of the great moral triumph at Canossa.' The Castle of Canossa is about seven miles from Parma. Here, in the year 1077, Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), protected by Mathilda of Tuscany, brought Henry IV. in humiliation to his door, and compelled the ill-starred monarch, habited as a penitent, to stand for three days, waiting till it should be the papal pleasure to absolve him. Prince Bismarck expressed a few years ago the German feeling in relation to this passage of their history, by saying, 'We are not going again to Canossa.'"

PRINCE NAPOLEON'S speech in the French Assembly in support of the motion to suppress the Budget of Public Worship seems to have been trenchant and radical in the extreme. The Prince inveighed against the "aggressiveness of the clerical party." In reviewing the recent history of France, he said: "In 1828 the Jesuits were repelled. Where and what are they now? They are all over France, and are all-powerful; they brave the civil law, and say, 'We have our own religious laws; the rest are nothing to us.' . . . When you sow Jesuitism, you reap revolt." *Harper's Weekly* says: "The effect produced by this savage assault upon the clericals and the Bonapartists in the Assembly was almost indescribable. For a time the members were in a tumult of confusion. Although the motion for the suppression of the Budget of Public Worship was lost, by a vote of 448 to 62, yet the Assembly obviously sympathized with the radical party. The unfortunate order of the Minister of the Interior, M. Marcère, forbidding the usual military escort at the funerals of the members of the Legion of Honor, excepting in the cases of soldiers dying in actual service, precipitated the crisis. For some time this escort had been refused to deceased members of the Legion who were buried without religious ceremonies. These examples of the influence of the clerical party over the government have very properly aroused the indignation of the liberals, and they have overthrown the ministry. The cabinet just formed leaves out MM. Dufaure and Marcère, whose subservience to the Church aroused the storm of passion which has been so fatal both to them and their colleagues."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

On Making the Education of Children Rational, Free, and Religious.

BY MISS ARETHUSA HALL.

The chief hope of reform and progress lies in what can be done for children. It is rare that much impression can be made upon those whose opinions and whose round of ideas are already crystallized by maturity.

There seems very little encouragement in laboring for the poor who are already *established* in poverty. Hard-hearted as it seems, it may be better to let them suffer, and thus learn a salutary lesson, than to relieve them. Reference is had, of course, to those who are in poverty through their own improvidence, indolence, or extravagance; for, if well-disposed to take care of themselves, there certainly is no need, as a general thing, that any one under our free government should suffer for the necessaries of life. And it is undoubtedly true that the passive reception of relief, by those who could provide for their own wants somewhere in this vast country, if not in the particular spot where they have planted themselves, is an injury rather than a blessing. So of all efforts to reclaim those already established in vice. It seems to be labor almost in vain, so far as general reform is concerned. It is merely clipping the tips of the branches, while the roots are left in all their strength and luxuriance the more ready to put forth fresh growth from the pruning. All efforts that have been made to remedy the "social evil," as it is termed, are eminently an example in point. What the courage of those engaged in the establishment of "Magdalen Retreats," and the like, is based upon, it is difficult to see. All the results would seem but as a drop to the bucket. It is a benevolence so short-sighted as to afford very little stimulus to one intent on making the mass of society really any better. If the evil is to be eradicated, it is a grave mistake to confine efforts to the one party alone, as has always been done, and to ignore entirely the existence of the other. It seems a wonderful obtuseness on the part of thoughtful men and women, in earnest for this reform, that we never hear reference to any but the "fallen women," the "abandoned females," not recognizing that the chief root of the evil lies elsewhere, and to attempt its extermination with any hope of success efforts must be made in the direction of civilizing man's animalism.

It is the same in regard to the treatment of all evils. What is needed is to go to work *radically*. If vice were forestalled by indoctrinating the young into the inexorable connection between crime and its penalty, *prevention*, which is so much better than cure, even if that were feasible, would in a great measure be secured. If the laws of health were well understood and heeded, there would be little need of hospitals. If the certain miseries of intemperance were engraven upon the mind of the child, few inmates would be furnished for inebriate asylums. And our prisons might well-nigh become tenantless, if the young, instead of receiving so much drilling in catechetical dogmas, were more enlightened as to the inflexible laws, both moral and physical, which in the end connect, as with a chain of adamant, suffering with transgression.

But, without farther prelude, to come to the subject in hand: "The Making of the Education of Children Rational, Free, and Religious." It might seem that the whole could be included in one word—make it *rational* and it will be free and religious. For, to every individual human soul, is not freedom to think its own thoughts, to follow out its own convictions, one of the most obvious dictates of reason? And, to the mind observant of Nature, in all her microscopic operations no less than in the mighty forces which sustain and control the whole universe of worlds, moving on under the guidance of harmonious laws, with no trespass of one of its departments upon another, but each conducing to the beauty and welfare of the whole,—what more rational than the religious impulse and the fixed determination to seek knowledge of the Inspiring Cause of all, and to work in with the ruling purposes of the great Spiritual Architect in forming this wonderful system of which we are a part?

First of all, then, let the reason of the child be developed. Instead of thrusting ideas into his mind, call it forth to act for itself. Lead him to inquire, to seek, even if his questionings look toward what is called infidelity. For what reverence can he have for truth, if he may not even question where it is? At the same time, he should be made aware that there are things beyond the knowledge of any one. Teach him to be scrupulously accurate in all things, in his perceptions as well as in his use of words. Dr. Johnson is reported to have said: "If the child says he looked out of this window when he looked out of that, whip him." It is not supposed that this direction was intended to be taken literally, rough and severe as the old doctor was at times, but only as an indication of the value of exactness.

As favorable to the development of the child's reason, his earliest teachings should be from visible objects, and this in no vague, half-way manner. He should be led by the action of his own mind carefully to discriminate among them, to analyze their properties, and to describe them in words exactly suited to the purpose. The sacredness of truth in words should be early and deeply impressed upon him. Their origin and root should be unfolded to his understanding as far and as fast as his mind is able to comprehend such explanations. There should not be used to him, and he should not be suffered to use, a word that is not fully understood. In his reading he should be led to feel that he cannot pass over a word without comprehending its force. He should be given no definitions whose meaning he does not fully grasp, nor be presented with formulas or abstract propositions from which he can get no definite ideas. In all his early years, let Nature, in her varied departments, be prominent among the subjects presented to the thought and study of the child. Deeply impress upon him, as a fact, the existence of an inexorable law, firmer by far than that of any pretentious Median or Persian one, which chains cause to effect, and whose inflexibility is maintained as surely in all the *minutiæ* of the moral world as in its physical action which holds planets to their centres, and binds together suns and systems. And thus impress upon his mind that the only rational course for him to pursue throughout the ages that he may exist, is to study sedulously the laws of his physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual being, to reverence them, and with fixed purpose to chime in with them, as the only means of carrying forward what is noblest in human capacity, and most promotive of all that is attainable in human perfection.

And so, secondly, at the same time that all the light possible from reason and experience is thrown upon the child, respect his own personality. Leave him free to think and act for himself. If the conclusions he arrives at seem false to wider experience, show him the flaws in his logic, scrutinize his premises, and lead him to repeat his process. If he acts contrary to right reason, that is, wrong, make him see and feel the consequences. Teach him early to exercise self-control. Show him his power freely to do so, and his duty to become complete master of himself. Do not put him in bondage to ideas concerning which he is incapable of exercising any just thought of his own. What is believed to be truth and goodness make clear to his comprehension, and, leaving free the action of his mind, trust to the fidelity of his natural, unbiassed instincts.

At the same time that children should be taught to reason, judge, and form opinions for themselves, they should be guarded against pronouncing opinions where they have not the adequate qualifications for judging, or arrogantly setting up their ideas against those of persons who have had better opportunities for forming correct judgments. They can be made to appreciate it as a reasonable fact that those who have lived years to their months have had the means of arriving at more correct conclusions than theirs, and that long and patient investigation of a subject is rightly entitled to respect for its results which is justly denied to pretensions where only crude and transient thought has been bestowed. And thus modesty, which is certainly a most reasonable virtue, is acquired. It will be seen that deference to experience, to superiors in age and knowledge is reasonable, while at the same time it is most comely and graceful. They can be made to see that it is rational to take some things upon trust. They can understand that the world would have remained in perpetual barbarism if the experience and acquirements of one age and generation had not been transmitted to those that succeeded; that, coming into the world as bare of knowledge as of clothing, each one has had to begin anew for himself, and that, without the resources arising from those who have lived before to draw upon, the race of man would forever remain in the infancy of its powers, and very little elevation would it ever attain to beyond the brute creation.

It may be that much of the evil existing among the young comes from *over-governing*. That is, they are so little made to feel their own responsibility, and so much plied with the idea of passive obedience, that, the natural instinct of personal freedom asserting itself, they come to think they are good fellows so far as by prevarication, overreaching, falsehood, and deceit, they can break away from the restraints imposed upon them.

Herbert Spencer, in discussing the rights of parents and children, questions whether parents, strictly speaking, have any right to coerce their children. He does this on the ground of the natural right of every human soul to personal freedom,—a right which forbids one individual from encroaching upon the personality of another individual. Mr. Emerson says: "If I am wilful, the child sets his will up against mine, one for one, and leaves me, if I please, the degradation of beating him by my superior strength. But if I renounce my will, and act for the soul, setting that up as umpire between us, out of his young eyes looks the same soul; he reveres and loves with me." The late N. P. Rogers once stated that, after pursuing for a time the traditional way of governing his children, he came to the conclusion that it was not right, but that, on the contrary, they should be left free to choose and act for themselves. He therefore called them together, explained to them his ideas on the subject, and told them that for the future they must bear the responsibility of their own doings. He said the children trembled under a sense of the obligation thus laid upon them, and, so weightily were they oppressed by it, they would gladly have thrown the burden back upon him. So in most cases it might be, if at the same time freedom were given to the child he were taught to exercise it according to the principles of reason and conscience. He would come to understand the responsibility involved, and would feel it to be the most solemn duty that could be laid upon him to govern himself rightly.

Respect for the freedom of the child would seem to forbid the infliction of corporal, or any other kind of punishment, except in cases where his act so impinged upon the freedom or rights of others, as to forfeit his own claim to liberty. It is much to be doubted whether corporal punishment is ever of any moral benefit; whether it is not the rather deleterious, taken all in all, and demoralizing upon the nature of the child. If extreme measures must be used, it would seem better to resort to the depriva

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tion of liberty, on the ground, made intelligible to the child, that it was endangering the rights or the well-being of others to let him go at large. And this truth should ever be made a prominent one in his mind,—that the exercise of his own freedom must always be stayed at the limits which bound the rights of others; that here there must be no trespass; and that, if he ventures to transgress these, he forfeits his own right to liberty.

And so, by allowing to children their own freedom, they will learn to respect the rights of others. Domineered over, they in their turn naturally seek to find objects over whom they may exercise the same power. It comes to be to them a matter of course, the order of Nature, that the stronger should make the weaker subservient to their purposes. And, if human beings fail on which to exercise this disposition, brute animals and inanimate things are made the subjects of it. Who has not seen the little girl scold and chastise her dolly for assumed disobedience to her will? Or the boy cruelly abuse his pet dog from the love of exercising power over the weaker? But in rare cases would such things be, if these children had not, in the first place, had this same kind of power, as it seems to them, exercised upon themselves. Partly in revenge, it may be, and partly as considering it a thing of course, they enact the counterpart.

And now as to the religious element in education. There exists in the perception of every human being, it is believed, a distinction between what he considers right and wrong. Persons may differ in their application of these terms, while the distinction is perceived. Accompanying this discrimination as to the quality of actions, there is felt to be an obligation to conform to the right, and to refrain from the wrong. The most hardened criminal will, as a general thing, acknowledge this. The young child soon comes to recognize its force, and when earnestly appealed to, and pinned down to the point, he feels constrained to yield to what he sees is on the side of right. The highest reason sanctions this. Wrong is seen to be violation of law, suffering, chaos, and, in the end, destruction. And what is religion but the carrying out of the principle of right—the perfect standard of truth and justice,—in all its minutest ramifications, of our relations to God, to our fellow-men, to ourselves, and even to the brute and inanimate world around us? This will differ in its manifestations according to the temperament of the individual, accordingly as the emotional and the intellectual elements stand related to each other. Where emotion, sentiment have the ascendency, there will be a tendency to pious revery and ecstasy. The natural human affections will go out and rest upon the spiritual ideals of the soul. But these experiences are neither here nor there in making up the just estimate of the truly religious element, whose essence consists in the fixed purpose of living up to our convictions of right, at all hazards whatsoever.

On this basis the child can, from his earliest years, be intelligently indoctrinated into the fundamental principle of religion,—a ground so broad as to embrace all the varieties of so-called "religions," and all the sectarian differences existing amid each variety. And upon this rational basis he should be left free to adopt such a philosophy of religion as best he may, or to indulge in such intellectual speculations as he is led to by the peculiar character of his mind. There will thus be no clashing between the inculcation of the religious element in the education of the child and the development of his rational powers in perfect freedom. Impress him with a sense of the immutability and the sacredness of truth. Show him that it consists in the reality of things, is firm as the universe itself, and that to discover it, and to live up to his best convictions of it, should be the great aim of his life. Let him understand that he has the same means of getting at truth as those who have gone before him; and that, as he comes to the maturity of his powers, he is under no obligation to take anything as truth, merely because somebody who has lived before him, perhaps ages ago, or some one else at the present time has asserted it. In regulating his own moral character, the child can be made to understand by his own consciousness a certain duality of his nature,—that there exist within him elements which, on the one hand, draw him upward, and give him aspirations to attain to all that is purest, noblest, and highest in his conceptions; while, on the other, there are impulses which, if he abandons himself to them, will drag him down even below the level of brutes, since they live up to their highest endowments, and he prostitutes himself to his lowest. Let him therefore be stimulated to obey, from free choice, the behests of his spiritual nature, and steadfastly to put under his feet all inclinations to the exercise of his selfish propensities, or to the undue indulgence of his sensual appetites.

The great evil in the education of the young is, that religion is made to consist in *belief* rather than in character. Hence, creeds, catechisms, dogmas which, in the first place, the child cannot understand, and next, if he does get any glimmerings of their sense, they are of little or no stimulus to him in right-doing. They serve only to cripple and fetter all his natural and better aspirations. And yet this to him is religion, with all its superincumbent weight of outward forms and observances which seem to rob him in large measure of the joy of life. Of the true idea of religion, he gets by such teachings no notion whatever. Neither by the example of parents or teachers does he see those lineaments of real religion depicted, which, if presented truthfully, could not but win his reverence and love by their reasonableness and beauty. The teaching by example is to children far more powerful than any other, and all that can be done by precept is as nothing compared with the influence they receive by what they witness in daily life in their own homes, among their nearest kindred and friends. And here, parents and friends, with strange insensibility to the existence of the sins in themselves, and to their depraving influence upon the children, practice selfishness, deceit, falsehood, pride, injustice, and other vices, in utter unconsciousness of their tremendous responsibility, and of the baleful consequences which must inevitably result to their children.

We come then to this: that parents and teachers must first *be* that which, in the course of educating children, they would wish them to become. If they are rational, free, and religious, so in most cases will their children learn to be. Here and there such examples are to be seen; but few, indeed, compared with the generality of households and of schools. May the time speedily come when there shall be a general awakening to the claims of reform in this respect, as one underlying all others that can be attempted in carrying forward the elevation and perfection of the human race.

1871.

[For The Index.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

To restate, in simpler terms, somewhat of what has been previously stated: The Without, the Within, and the Between of Universal Things are represented by Matter, Mind, and Law, respectively, yielding the three corresponding sciences "Physology" (Elsberg) or materiology—the science of all material things, Psychology (better called, in this large sense, Mentology), and Logic, in more than the Kantio-Hegelian sense, including all that, in conjunction with Mathematics and Philology—as prefigured in the double meaning of the Greek *Logos*, which means the Word, first as the logical reason or *meaning* of words (whence logic), and then in the common linguistic or grammatical sense.

Secondly, the Without, the Within, and the Between of the human body (as a type of Universal Things) are represented by the Flesh (the fleshy mass or brawn enveloping the skeleton), for the without, the "Inwards," viscera or viscerismus, for the Within, and the bony Skeleton, for the between. A more precise statement will be required here as we proceed.

Nothing can be more natural, indeed indispensable, than that we should speak of the material world as something without, or outside of us, and of the mental world as that which is within. Auguste Comte, with no theory of correspondences or analogy to maintain or recur to, uses habitually "the Without" as synonymous with the Objective World, and "the Within" as synonymous with the Subjective World. Other writers and speakers unconsciously do the same, and thereby imply a much larger scope of correspondences, extending, as in fact, it does, to the total distribution of all things, and to the unity of the sciences.

It results, then, in the first place, that the Flesh (of the human or other animal body) is the Analogue or repeater of Matter, or of the Objective or Outer World at large; or, inversely, that the Objective World is the analogue or repeater of the Flesh of the animal body; that the Viscera of the animal body are an analogue of Mind as the Inner or Subjective World at large; or, inversely, that Mind is the analogue of the Viscera; and that the Bony Skeleton or framework of the animal body is the analogue of Logic, as one of the three grand divisions of universal things; or, inversely, that Logic, in the world of universal things, is the analogue or repeater, in that total sphere, of the skeleton within the human body.

Secondly, it results, that the Flesh of the human body, and Objective Matter in the world at large, are analogues or repeaters, in their separate spheres, of the Outerance or Utterance of language, as abstracted from meaning; or, inversely, that the Outerance of language is their analogue; that the Viscera of the body, and Mind among universal things, are analogues, in their separate spheres, of the Vital Meaning of words and speech; or, inversely, that Vital Meaning in language is their analogue; and that the Bony System of the Body (with its articulations or jointings) and Logic, in the general world of being (with its "categories") are analogues of Logic in the more limited sense and Grammar, in language; or, inversely, that the Grammatica-logical Domain of language, is the repeater of the Bony Skeleton, in the body, and of Logic in the extended meaning of the term.

Thirdly, it results that the Soft Solids of the body, including the flesh and the viscera, the General Concrete World, including matter and mind, and the Lingueo-Concretismus, including the Outerance or Utterance of language and its meaning are mutual analogues, or repeaters of each other, in their several spheres; that the Solids of the body, including mainly the bony skeleton under another presentation, Logic in the world at large (special abstract) and the Logic and Grammar Domain of language are likewise analogues or mutual repeaters; and finally that the Fluids of the body, including mainly its circulations, Evolution in the Cosmical universe, and the Fluency of Speech, extending to etymology, rhetoric, music, and song, are, again, also analogical with each other.

Fourthly, it is to be observed, that we have carried these same analogies, more or less fully through several other domains; namely, Form and Substance, or Geometry and Chemistry.

We are now prepared to enter upon a more formidable task, and to apply the laws of analogy thus partially discovered and illustrated, to the domain of Mind, itself, to the study of which we revert, however, armed with a new weapon, in the possession of so much of analogy as we have already established. Mind, itself, must have, it now appears, a Without (of its own, or within itself) a Within and a Between. This, indeed, is, in one sense, a fact recognized and established by Hegel, whose first division of Mind is into the Objective Mind, the without-ness mind, the Subjective Mind, the within-ness mind, and the Absolute Mind, or the between-ness mind. But what Hegel virtually does in this classification is to discriminate between the mind of Collective humanity, or Society at large, which is the objective mind, from his point of view, the mind of the individual man—his subjective mind—and mind independent of this discrimination—his (Hegel's) Absolute Mind. Taking the more restricted view of Mind, and confining ourselves to that of the individual man, we may then study its withoutness, or study it, in other words, from the point of view of matter, with Bain and the whole modern school of physio-psychologists; or we may study its withinness, or study it from the point of view of mind as such the introspective or metaphysical method; or, in fine, a third way of comparing the two former views, the betweenity of their points of view is open to us, and is adopted by Phrenology.

It is not, however, in either of these senses, but in a still more restricted sense, in that of mind as such, and that as confined to the individual, that I mean, just here, to consider the subject of mind; passing afterwards back to the broader discriminations. Within the individual mind studied as mind, or from the strictly subjective and psychological point of view, we have still to discriminate this typical division of mind into a Without, a Within, and a Between.

The Without of the Psychologic Mind is the Spontaneity of the mind; unconscious mentation; or, if we discard this new technicality, we are driven to the paradox of saying *unconscious* consciousness. Carpenter affirms unconscious cerebration. Hegel calls this lowest and outermost form of mind the Soul, which as he shows, first exists in a *quasi*-identification with the body, and so, we may add, with Matter or the universal without. It includes, with *other activities*, the vital instincts which preside over the formation and functional activities of the body. Swedenborg affirms that, at Conception, the soul enters the womb, and builds or constructs its own body. From the point of view of the body and the outer world the soul is that which is inmost, but from the point of view of the mind (the withinness of universal being) which is our present point of view, the soul is the outerness of Mind, from which the mind as it becomes *conscious* and then *self-conscious* withdraws itself, or recoils, more and more interiorly. This act of withdrawal is a *reflection*, a bending-back, upon its own self-centring entity, of that which had gone forth into a sort of blind, thoughtless identification with the maternal environment.

The Within of the mind in this sense is, therefore, Consciousness, also rightly called Reflection or the reflective Consciousness. This is *the phenomenismus of the mentismus;* the domain or realm of the distinctly recognized phenomena of mentation. It is the domain or realm covered by Hegel's first great but introductory work, entitled *The Phenomenology of the Mind.* He furnishes in it a history of the phenomenal Consciousness in its progress from mere perception up to philosophical knowledge.

The Betweenity of the Mind, in this sense, that which intervenes between the Spontaneity and the consciousness, while yet it clasps and embraces them both, is the Mind *proper*, the subject-matter and domain of the common and well-recognized science which unfortunately we must continue to call "Psychology," giving it inappropriately, in view of these distinctions, a name derived from the Greek word for the soul.

(Mentation for the processes of activity and mentismus for the realm are then applicable to the general aspecting combinedly, of the without, the within, and the between of the mind.)

These three great departments of the individual psychological mind will be more distinctly apprehended if we go a step farther and divide each of them into its own without, within, and between; thus I. The Spontaneity or Soul subdivides into 1. The Unprompted or Unsolicited Spontaneity, moved by the mere casual influences of outer Nature—"the natural soul" of Hegel; 2. The Prompted or Solicited Spontaneity, moved by some inner or mental prick of motivation—"the feeling soul" of Hegel; and 3. The Betweenity—and—mutual clasp of the former two—"the *real* soul" of Hegel; II. The Consciousness subdivides into 1. The Simple Consciousness, objective—The Object; 2. The Self-consciousness, subjective—The Subject; and 3. The Rational Consciousness—Subject-Object; III. Finally, the Mind proper (psychology) subdivides into, 1. The Susceptibility, 2. The Intellect (Sense, Understanding, and Reason), and 3. The Will (—Hickok).

The Objective or outer Consciousness again subdivides into 1. Sensation, its outerness or without; 2. Observation, its notice-taking, or within, like a sentinel posted for an outlook; and 3. Comprehension, the take-together (according to the etymology) of the former two, their betweenity, relation, and mutual clasp or embrace.

Sensation is the impression from the direct impingement of the external objective world upon mind having its capacity for consciousness, which capacity this impingement is instrumental in arousing into action. Sensation is, therefore, the Outermost, or the *Special* Without of the entire mind *proper* (the proper domain of "Psychology"), and it is often put therefore in the place of the Object, of which it is strictly only the outerness. Consciousness, on the contrary, of which both object and sensation are strictly only outer and still outer unfoldings, standing as a Within in original antithesis with Spontaneity or the Soul, as a Without, acquires a general representative meaning of *withinness*, and so comes to

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be habitually contrasted, as a Within, to Sensation (strictly only a ninth part of its own self) as its Without. Hence it happens that Sensation, Consciousness, and, as their betweenity and mutual clasp or embrace, Intelligence (covering vaguely the intellectual domain) come to stand, in a sort of general epitome, for the Without, the Within, and the Between of the Mind. Such interblendings and overlappings come from the constant expansions and contractions of these imaginary spheres of thought, and also from the felt necessity of epitomizing numerous discriminations, and representing them all in a sort of miniature expression.

For an exhaustive treatment, however, these convenient epitomes of thought do not suffice. They are themselves, con-fusions (pourings together) and they tend to produce confusion. We need here ample caution at every step; and one of the clues that will help to safely guide us is Etymology, *revealing the law of metaphor*. For example, the betweenity of mind, in this new sense, is Intelligence (*the tie-together-inter-ligence*), the lowest form, or commencement of which is Perception (*the taking-in-through-per-caption or ception*), as the end of a string must be taken in through the loop formed for it, as the first step towards tying, netting, or knotting it. Perception is, therefore, the middle of the betweenity, in this connection; and this accounts for the fact that nine-tenths of the forces of all metaphysical philosophy have been expended upon the consideration of Perception, or upon the question of: *How do we begin to come to know things?* how, in other words do we thread the needle for all the subsequent *intrications*, nettings, knittings, or con-*nections* of the mental process and faculty?

One of the worst Confusions, from the habit of epitomising, in treating of the mind; from lack of radical and clean-cut discrimination; and from the lack of proper technicality should here be pointed out, and emphasized; and I am glad to find it done to our hand. For a cautious, well-considered, and all-important discrimination between (individual) mind at large and consciousness, as only part of the mind, the reader is referred to an admirable philosophical tract, by William B. Greene, entitled *The Facts of Consciousness and the Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer*, published in the work of Mr. Greene, entitled *The Blazing Star, The Jewish Kabbala*, etc., p. 112 *et seq.*

In respect to the precise definition of Consciousness, there is a perplexing diversity of conceptions. Hickok, instead of conceiving it as the total Innerness of the mind, or indeed as any special faculty or action of the mind, regards it as a light within the mind, within the radiance of which all the mental phenomena become obvious to the thinking subject. See *Empirical Psychology*, p. 89. He does not inform us from what source this light emanates. The conception of consciousness "is not," he tells us, "of a faculty, but of a light; not of an action, but of an illumination; not of a maker of phenomena, but of a revealer of them as already made by the appropriate intellectual operation." (p. 90.) But *that which is so revealed* is precisely that which Greene denominates Consciousness; and there is, therefore, this approximation to accord between these two philoeophers. "The Content in Sensation," he adds, "appears under this illumination as the objective, and the agency accomplishing this work, appears in the same light as subjective, and thus both the object and the subject, the not-self and the self, are together given in the same revelation of consciousness."

ABOUT THOMAS PAINE.

LETTER FROM MONCURE D. CONWAY.

LONDON, Nov. 28.

It has sometimes been a matter of wonder to Americans why it was that Thomas Paine should have been singled out from his many heretical contemporaries for the especial horror and detestation of Christendom. Some who were, indeed, much more heretical than he have been treated with comparative leniency. Thomas Paine was a devout believer in God and immortality, and died with the expression of that faith on his lips. But an examination of the history of religious liberty in this country reveals the explanation of the particular odium which fell upon Paine. It was upon his works that the battle of freethinking, begun in Milton's time, was eventually fought out and decided. Flushed with the victory which had been achieved for freethought in America by the founding of a republic without any established Church, Paine came back to the Old World and began his assaults on the conventional creeds with his *Age of Reason*, his heresies being not unnaturally associated with his revolutionary political views which had been formidably enunciated in the American and French Revolutions. The recoil of this country from the scenes manifested by the popular madness in France enabled the Tories and reactionists to influence the entire middle class to unite in severe repressions of the circulation of Paine's works in England. I have myself known old English radicals who remember well the time when it was the chief occupation of the English police to ferret out not only all places where his works were sold or distributed, but also to detect and arrest all who were found even reading those books. Of course these stupid oppressors made the people hunger after the books, and they found the forbidden apples all the sweeter because they were stolen. Thomas Paine seemed to the lower classes the greatest man and author that ever lived, simply because all their Herods were pursuing him. I have been informed on sure authority that it was the custom in those days for groups of men who had in common a volume of Paine to go beyond the precincts of their town or city, chiefly on Sundays, and then one would read aloud to others, while one or two more sat several hundred yards off to give signal if the detectives were approaching. When the light became too dim for further reading the volume, which no man dare have in his house, was laid in a box and carefully buried until the next opportunity for a reading.

As my enjoyment of the Centennial has consisted mainly in fumbling over the musty files and records where are traced the vestiges of American freedom, I hope my readers will pardon my antiquarianism, if I pursue the matter a little further by reciting some of the trials and punishments which preceded the right of free discussion in England. I could easily fill an entire copy of your paper with them, but will limit myself to only six months,—the last half of the year 1793. On July 18 of that year, Mr. Cook, a baker of Cambridge, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for having three years and a half previously—viz., on the 29th of January, 1790—said that "he wished all the churches were pulled down to mend the roads with; and as to the King's Chapel, he should like to see it turned into a stable." On July 13 (1793), Mr. Grimwood, an eminent manufacurer, was indicted for having a copy of Paine's *Rights of Man* in his possession; but being well enough off to employ a shrewd lawyer, who discovered a flaw in the indictment, he escaped. Two days after, at Chelmsford, Christopher Payn, bookseller, was charged before quarter sessions with selling one of Thomas Paine's pamphlets, and also got clear by a similar clerical error in the indictment. Similar escapes on technical grounds having occurred at Knutsford and elsewhere, the persecutors became more careful in drawing up the indictments; but at Derby they were encountered by another and more serious difficulty; namely, a jury which had become tainted with Paine principles, and who there infuriated the magistrates by acquitting two men for selling the *Rights of Man*. At Nottingham, August 1, Mr. Holt, printer of the Newark *Herald*, was convicted and punished for selling Paine's *Letter to the Addressers*. In the same month, at Taunton, Messrs. Robinson, eminent publishers, were tried before a special jury and sentenced to fines of £100 to one and £50 each to three others for selling the second part of the *Rights of Man*. A Mr. Pile, bookseller, testified that he ordered three copies of the book from the accused, two of which he delivered to his employers, but being "threatened by some gentlemen of the country with hanging, transportation, or being sent to the devil," he gave the remaining copy to the Solicitors of the Treasury. A boy in Sutton was sentenced the same August for "avowing himself a Paineite,"—£20 and twelve months' imprisonment. George Eden, for a similar offence, was fined one shilling and six months' imprisonment. Messrs. Peart and Belcher, booksellers at Warwick, were sentenced each to three months for selling the *Rights of Man*. On the 30th of August, Thomas Muir, of Huntershill, was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation for advising and exhorting persons to purchase and peruse the works of "the wretched outcast, Paine" [the Lord Advocate's expression]. When this ferocious sentence was given the people in the gallery of the court began to hiss; the Lord Advocate, in great wrath, ordered the tipstaff to take the persons who hissed into custody, on which that worthy replied, "My Lord, they are all hissing."

At Perth (September 13), Mr. Palmer, an educated gentleman, was for the like offence sentenced to transportati n for seven years. After sentence Mr. Palmer addressed the Court in the following words: "My life has for many years been employed in the dissemination of what I thought religious and moral truths of the greatest importance to my fellow-creatures. I consider my politics as the cause of common justice, the cause of benevolence, and the cause of human happiness. I thought that Parliamentary reform would enhance the happiness of millions and establish the security of the empire. For these reasons I joined the society of Jow weavers and mechanics, as you, my lords, call them, and assented to the publication (of Paine's works) to reanimate the exertions of our fellow-citizens. It is my utmost ambition to endeavor to add to the sum of human happiness; and I shall suffer not only with courage, but with cheerfulness, in the hope that my sufferings will not be lost, but be as efficacious to the general good as my most active exertions." A paragraph (in October) shows that Mr. Phillips, a bookseller, of Leicester (now represented in Parliament by a theist), was undergoing then his seventh month of imprisonment for selling Paine's works. November 27, Daniel Holt, for publishing a pamphlet (*Address*) by Paine, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and £50 fine, and two sureties for his good behavior for five years. In December three indictments were preferred against Mr. Spencer for selling the *Rights of Man*. He was punished, to what extent I do not know; but it is notable that it is very near where he used to sell heretical books at a heavy cost to himself that Mr. Truelove now sells books tenfold more heretical than Paine's with impunity; while with equal impunity in the same building the Free Sunday League meets to devise the overthrow of Sabbath Laws, and George Jacob Holyoake edits his interesting weekly, *Secular Review*.

The above summary of only a portion of the persecutions of six months against the sellers of Paine's works will show how exceedingly mad the clergy (of whom the country magistracies were and are chiefly composed) were against all who discussed the institutions which the American and French revolutions had threatened. At that time no aristocratic dinner was ever held without the toast, "Damnation to Tom Paine." An old radical writes: "My Father was annoyed and subject to espionage from the Tory party. Many of my friends were driven away from their native soil, and took shelter in America. I myself, being of advanced political principles, have suffered in position through the finger of scorn pointed at me by the Tory faction. Nearly all the views I entertained fifty years ago are now the laws of the country. In 1811 the then borough-reeve of Bolton, who was my father, was instructed by the then Home Secretary of State to call in all the publications of Thomas Paine. Accordingly 'Old Sam,' the bellman, was sent around Bolton; and ringing his bell, announced that 'Any one having the publications of Thomas Paine—namely, *The Age of Reason, Rights of Man*, and *Common Sense*,—is to bring them to the borough-reeve of Bolton, and if he does not, he will be prosecuted according to law.' Sam, after having patrolled the town all day, waited upon the borough-reeve, and said: 'Well, mester, aw've been o' round Bowton, and I connot find nother th' age of reason, the rights of man, nor common sense in it.'"

This kind of persecution went on with undiminished ferocity,—always about Tom Paine's works. The clergy fully believed that the freedom to write and circulate such things would be fatal to them—and, no doubt, many of the freethinkers agreed with them,—because, unlike the metaphysical and philosophical heretics, these works stirred up the common people. It went on until, fifty-six years ago, Richard Carlile, for selling the *Age of Reason*, was fined £1,500, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment, his sister also being imprisoned two years and fined £500,—her imprisonment having been prolonged because she could not pay the fine. Then the public mind recoiled. Miss Carlile wrote a petition to the House of Commons from her prison in Dorchester, stating that her two years having expired she was detained for a fine she had no means of paying. The public spoke then, as it generally speaks now, through the *Times*, which said: "The consequence of these absurd persecutions has been the propagating of infidel opinions to an extent they could not otherwise have reached, and at length to the interference of persons in a way calculated to call public attention more closely to matters which those who promoted the persecutions wished should be suppressed. These facts speak for themselves." But the mischief was done. All the Prince Regent's and Bishop's horses and all their men could not mend the matter.

While Carlile was passing his closing month in jail, his sister's petition to Parliament had so moved the community that a number of gentlemen who possessed the means purchased a good situation for a bookstore, and when he was released set him up in business there, when he sold the works of Paine to his heart's content, next door to St. Bride's Church. And so it has gone on until to-day the only man in prison for his religious opinions is John Robert Downes, whose offence was to have believed the Bible when it told him to treat his sick child by prayer and anointing, whereof she died.

Thomas Paine was thus the battle-field of an English revolution; on the right to sell and circulate his works was fought and won through an entire generation the struggle for freedom of thought, speech, and printing. And as he was hated by the clergy more than all other heretics for this, his memory has further survived in the clerical pillory, because from that struggle has been bequeathed all those clubs in and by which hatred of the Church is carefully nursed. One of these clubs is called "The Codgers," and another in Chelsea is called "The Eleusis," and there are many others throughout the kingdom. The two I have mentioned indicate the secrecy amid which they once had to work. "The Codgers" is an abbreviation of "The Cogitators,"—*i. e.*, men who could not talk out loud, but keep up considerable thinking, and "Eleusis" also suggests secrecy.

The latter club is just now especially alive, and, I may add, kicking. It consists chiefly of working-men, who have obtained some education, and who by debating in their club have trained a number of vigorous orators, and they are making themselves felt in the School Board Canvass which is to terminate in an election next Thursday. It is to be hoped, if not expected, that you will all be eating your Thanksgiving turkeys on that day in a political calm; but it will not be the case with London, which is altogether given up to a severe struggle with the clergy for the possession of the schools. In Chelsea the Radicals have nominated a Quaker named Firth, of whose committee Admiral Maxse, R. N., a well-known freethinker, is chairman. An eminent Canon of the district, Cromwell by name, last Sunday evening denounced Firth, the Quaker candidate, as an infidel and an atheist! The result was that a meeting of the clerical candidates last night, when I was present, was fairly besieged by the champions of Firth and by the Eleusis Club. Canon Cromwell was challenged to sustain his slander, and being unable to do so was hooted, and the Vicar of Kensington, trying to make a speech, had his every sentence punctuated with a caricatured "Amen" uttered from an Eleusinian in the audience. When the main resolution was proposed in support of the clerical nominees, up leaped another Eleusinian, an eloquent mechanic named Merrill, who proposed as an amendment, "that this meeting, observing the efforts of the clerical party to overthrow the national schools, pledges its support to Mr. Firth." With a voice of thunder he declared that the Church had always, and without variation, resisted every effort to advance or enlighten the people, and were still at their old work. This brought out a storm of applause. It was in the Kensington Vestry Hall and under the shadow of the parish church; a score of clergymen were present, and the commotion caused by such an utterance in a meeting called by themselves must have convinced them that the soul of Thomas Paine is marching on.

The facts I have stated above concerning Paine have not been collected in any volume, and, old as they are, they have appeared to me of sufficient present importance to be recorded.—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

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THE HAWAIIAN MISSION.

To determine the question as to whether the Hawaiian Mission has been successful, all the facts in connection with that work must be taken into consideration. And to state the facts fully, any writer may expect to incur the displeasure, and perhaps the attacks, of that portion of the Christian public accustomed to look upon this work as the very crown of missionary effort in this century. "Yes," cries the Protestant pulpit from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast, and perhaps even in the remoter parts of Christendom, "the Sandwich Islands mission has been a grand success. The missionaries there have done a great and glorious work." And the Christian public takes up and echoes the statement far and wide. "The Sandwich Islands are disenthralled and redeemed," shouts a recent writer who is engaged in and truly devoted to missionary labor. Now, in discussing this subject, I do not propose to detract in the least from the honor of those to whom honor is due. But I deem it my duty to let the world know facts, however unwholesome the truth may be to a part of it. And I shall simply state the facts such as came under my own observation during a recent tour of the islands, and the observation and experience of those who have travelled there before me, or in company with me, and of many who have long resided there. And all those who profess to possess the spirit of that Master, in whose name this enterprise was undertaken and carried on, probably have a desire to know the whole truth that they may form a correct opinion as to whether the money which they have contributed has been judiciously expended. I do not say that those who have told one side of the truth intended to obscure the other, but it is quite natural that they should see only from the standpoint of their own interests. Men are apt to look at every question from a position most in harmony with their own sentiments or policy. The first thing to be noticed in connection with the Hawaiian mission is that the natives had already become

DISGUSTED WITH THEIR IDOLS,

and had abandoned idolatry, when the missionaries first reached them, and they were at that very time in search of a better God than their own. Therefore, while the missionaries cannot claim the honor of having turned the natives from idolatry, they did unquestionably direct their attention to the Christian's God, to whom great multitudes professed at least a formal conversion, because it was one of those popular movements often recognized as the rage of a community or nationality; but, while the natives abandoned their idols at their own instance, and accepted the Christian's God as a substitute, many of them, and especially the earlier generations, still cling tenaciously to many of the superstitious fancies connected with idol-worship, which the missionaries have proved themselves unable to eradicate. As an illustration of this we have only to recur to the heathen orgies which occurred at the death of King Lunalilo two years ago. That the younger portion of the population are less superstitious may seem credible because they are more under the influence of an enlightened civilization with which they come in constant contact. But surely the missionaries cannot claim more than their meed of praise for what must be the abnormal condition of every well-regulated community. What then is the mental and moral condition of the native population? If a stranger should put this question to an Island missionary he would be informed that ninety *per cent.* of the natives can read and write. Judging from such a statement one would suppose there must be no small degree of mental culture among them. But instead of this we find no native authors, poets, or painters, and comparatively few at all versed in scholarly attainments. The people are almost universally

AS SIMPLE-MINDED AS CHILDREN.

They talk and act like lads and lasses in their teens. Beyond the circumscribed limits of their own native homes, they seem to know but very little of the great worlds which lie across the oceans, and which are to them incomprehensible geographical mysteries which they hardly attempt to solve. Their reading furnishes them with but little information, because they read but little, and their untutored intellects are too much like sieves, which retain but little of what passes through them. In looking over the library of a daughter of one of the nobles of the realm, that young lady informed the writer that she read with pleasure only two inferior novels, to which she pointed. Of course, in the matter of education there are exceptional, and a few notable, cases of a contrary character, but I speak now of the population as a whole. They acquire very little general information, and what they do know is of very little advantage to them. It makes no change in their almost servile condition. What they do know is from the natural rather than the educational development of their intellects, under the influence of a higher knowledge than theirs, which surrounds them, which they inbreathe, and are expanded and enlightened by it. But this is the knowledge of civilization as truly as of Christianity. The missionaries say they reduced the language of the natives to writing, but this did not require a missionary any more than a school requires a minister to teach it. Secular knowledge may be imparted by one who is not a church member as competently as by one who is. That the laws of the Hawaiians were formed after the pattern of the civilized nations does not prove that such would not have been the case but for the missionaries. Still I would not deprive the missionaries of any honor in this respect, but accord it to them rather as enlightened than Christian men, though they may be both. If, however, the education of the natives were strictly a Christian education, we might expect it to have a wonderfully elevating influence upon their moral and religious character. But what is the fact in this particular? The missionaries publish and tell those who go there that the native Christians are not better nor worse than Christians in other lands. This may be true. And yet they are

VERY POOR SPECIMENS OF CHRISTIANITY.

A recent writer says that not a few of the professors of religion among the negroes of the Southern States hate the morality of the New Testament, their religion being solely of an emotional type. This is more or less true of all illiterate people, and it is forcibly true of the Kanakas. They go to church on Sunday because it is a kind of gala-day with them, and affords them an opportunity to see and be seen. In this respect they differ very little from the whites. Men, women, children, and dogs collect in large numbers at the numerous sanctuaries, which so abound that they are sometimes called Hawaiian mile-stones. The people join heartily in the singing and seem to enjoy it; they listen carelessly to the praying and preaching, and then go home to violate every principle of New Testament morality, for their licentiousness is universally known and acknowledged; and when a man-of-war is known to have come into port at Honolulu, the women gather there from all over the islands. Almost any husband or father will sell a bed-right to his wife or daughter for a small consideration, and brothers will barter away the virtue of their sisters. Plenty of white men and Chinamen each keep three or four or half-a-dozen native women. And the natives themselves live almost as promiscuously as the animals about them. In some instances they claim the marriage bond, but nothing is thought of its violation. A Christian and wealthy gentleman on Hawaii told the writer that one of his hands came to him one day, and, with dejected mien, said that he did not want to be stingy, but he would like to have an equal chance with the rest of the plantation men; that he had now been deprived of his matrimonial privileges for six months! The gentleman told him that he would see that his wife was more faithful. Another instance came to light where a mother urged and almost compelled a reluctant daughter to sacrifice her virtue to a white man for the sake of a few dollars. It is a prevalent custom for a *kane* (a man) and a *wahine* (a woman) to live together without any formal marriage as long as he takes care of her to her satisfaction; and if another man comes along who can give her a better position she simply goes along with him. This is found much more

CONVENIENT THAN MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

And if the union produces offspring they are given away. And in this promiscuous intercourse, the half-casts are said to be even worse than the full-bloods. Therefore, whatever may be their religious views and impulses, it is quite evident that their morality is opposed to that of the New Testament. Indeed, they think so little of violating the teachings of that record that their lewdness is commonly spoken of as a part of their religion. And a lady of position down there went so far upon one occasion as to say she did not believe there was a virtuous native woman on the islands. This remark is doubtless too sweeping, and yet, with rare exceptions, true. Under such circumtances we can hardly wonder at the generally diseased condition of the people, or that the population is diminishing so rapidly. Nor can we accord to their religious teachings that honor which proclaims the Sandwich Islands "disenthralled and redeemed." As to truth-telling, the judges say it is almost impossible to get at this, even on the witness-stand. One prominent justice told me he had often accused one of falsehood in the midst of his testimony, and had him acknowledge it. Then he would fine him for contempt, as it was quite impossible to convict one of perjury before a native jury. The cruelty of the plantation hands, even of ministers and missionaries, is something fearful toward their animals, and shows that they are ignorant of, or in no sense appreciate, that wise saying that the merciful man is merciful to his beast. Now, if these traits were only incidental we might pass them over as more or less true of all Christian peoples; but they are the prevalent and predominant traits of that people,—traits which make up

THE CHARACTER OF THE NATION.

And however valuable their religion, or however serviceable the missionaries have been to them, does not appear in the morals of the people. A son of one of the missionaries—the manager of a large plantation, and a competent judge—told the writer that they were all hypocrites, and that he had no confidence in any good of them from their church attendance, from which they would go home to their immoralities and all their evil ways. It is a pertinent inquiry, therefore, "How high in the scale of Christianity missionary instruction has raised them?" Certainly not above the level of the morality of an enlightened civilization; nor even up to that standard. If, then, the missionaries have done but little or nothing to improve their mental or moral condition, what have they done for their material interests? I say unhesitatingly, almost nothing at all. In the towns, the natives have learned from the civilized whites, who dwell among them, to build wooden houses. But this can hardly be called missionary work. The natives have learned to conceal their persons with clothing in the towns. This the decencies of civilization required. But in the rural districts, especially on Hawaii, the writer saw scores of men and women as nude as when their mothers bore them, with the exception, in some instances, of a breech-clout so slender it could not be seen at a short distance away. In the rural districts the natives live in thatched huts, floored with hand-made mats, and live on *poi* and raw fish as in the days of Kamehameha I., a hundred years ago. Their possessions are limited to their small taro patches along the water-courses, and the natives are almost all as poor as they were a thousand years ago, so far as we know. Some years ago Kamehameha III., I think it was, divided his lands on the island of Maui among his native subjects, and to-day they do not own a foot of it. What has become of it? The missionaries, or their sons, or relatives, and a few other whites have gobbled it all up, and the

NATIVES HAVE BECOME THEIR SLAVES,

who serve on their plantations for such wages, or none at all, as their owners see proper to give them. They are also heavily taxed to support the government, and are but little better off in this world's affairs than the Southern negroes. On the other hand, all the missionaries are well-to-do in the affairs of this world, and some of them are wealthy. Their children occupy the lands and offices, and may be said to be well provided for. One of the oldest missionaries in Honolulu is said to pay taxes on $90,000 worth of property. And yet, when a brother minister was there in distress, who had contributed many a dollar to the support of the Hawaiian missionaries, this good old brother would not give a single dollar to help the unfortunate one back to his native land, though he brought a letter of introduction to him from one of his own friends in the States. With such examples of Christianity among them we need not wonder at the low standard of morality among the poor, ignorant, degraded native population. Men whose religious teachers are worldly-minded money-graspers, can hardly be expected to create a very spiritual frame of mind among the taught. In this particular the Roman Catholics seem to have the advantage over the Protestants, because they do not conceal their desire to get possession of the property of the natives; but, instead of seeking it for their own personal aggrandizement, they claim it for Holy Mother Church, in which they assert that all the members have an equal interest. In conclusion, I wish to say that this article is not written in a malicious or unkind spirit, but simply to disabuse the mind of the public of a very grave fallacy in supposing that the Sandwich Islands are disenthralled or redeemed. They are nothing of the kind. The whole native population, with a few rare aristocratic exceptions, are poor, degraded, ignorant, and immoral slaves of their white and pious masters. —*Dinwiddie, in Sunday Chronicle.*

CATHOLIC REACTION IN BELGIUM.

In Belgium the Catholic priesthood have gained, on the whole, the most remarkable of all the triumphs which they have secured in our time. The University education of the country is, to a great extent, under their control. Over the rural districts they have gained a political mastery as remarkable as the feebleness of their political power in the corresponding districts of France. They dictate how the peasants shall educate their children, how they shall vote. They exercise great and visible authority in town councils, and they have often the dominant power in Parliament. Sometimes the Ministries are distinctively clerical. Yet all the while the Catholic party are armed with no other weapons than the freedom of discussion and combination, which liberalism is bound to put in the hands of all. Naturally the liberal party is as vehement as its opponents, and the combat embitters every relation of life. The elections are contested on religious grounds; the Parliamentary debates are scarcely concealed sectarian battles; the granting of University degrees brings the Catholic and the Liberal parties into collision; the pulpit is half political, and the press half religious; even the customary impartiality of trade is disturbed by theological rancor; and family peace is broken up by the heat of the contest for the mastery. In the country districts, to quote our correspondent, "feeling is said to be so strong that there are 'Liberal butchers' and 'Catholic butchers,' 'clerical washer-women' and laundresses employed by those of the other way of thinking." It is quite natural, then, that the Catholic clergy should preach against the rejoicings in honor of the man who tried to make the religious factions forget their theological animosity.—*London Times.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 20.

D. M. Martin, $6.20; Jerry Brockway, $4.45; Mrs. A. E. Tucker, $3; Mrs. M. G. House, $3.10; S. M. Green, $3; H. Thomas, 20 cents; T. W. Higginson, $20; Geo. Severance, 15 cents; E. Burnham, 80 cents; Mrs. F. Wason, $3.20; Miss Jessie Wilcox, $3.20; Mrs. Benj. Ireson, $3.20; W. H. Hamlen, $1.50; Cash, $3.01; Dr. G. F. Matthes, $2.91; J. F. C. Burnet, $3.20; M. P. Hayward, $3.20; Etta and Lizzie Marshall, $3.20; F. M. Vaughn, $3.20; Smith Wright, $3.20; Jos. Beck, $2.25; G. H. Foster, 77 cents; Mrs. L. E. Blount, $13; A. D. Perry, 20 cents; Mrs. J. G. Grinnell, 20 cents; Harvey Moore, $5; U. H. Crocker, $3; Mrs. John Hurst, $3.20; S. Corner, $3.25; H. B. Thomas, $3.20; D. G. Francis, $3.20; A. S. Thacher, 75 cents; J. Barnsdall, $3; C. B. Collins, $3.20; H. Heylman, $1; G. Stickney, $2; Dr. E. Moyer, $1.50; J. L. Zimmerman, $3; Wm. Newman, $3; T. L. Mann, $1.60; Geo. W. Park, $3.20; Chas. Richardson, $3.20; Mrs. M. E. Brown, $3.20; C. Cowing, $3.20; W. C. Benedict, $3.20; Dr. M. S. Blake, 40 cents; John Wilson, $3.20; F. E. Kittredge, $1; L. R. Brown, $3.40; D. B. Humphrey, $3.20; Mrs. C. Gerlaugh, $3.20; E. C. Darling, $3.20; D. Sandman, $3.20; D. Muncey, $3.20; J. C. Grierson, $3.20; F. H. Buchanan, $3.20; L. P. Babb, M.D., $3.20; A. S. May, $3.20; Henry T. Wright, $3.20; Herman Lieber, $3.20; A. B. Swaine, $3.20; F. O. Dorr, $3.20; E. C. Stedman, $3.20; G. L. Watson, $3; Dr. Mergler, $3; M. P. Barber, $1.70; Caroline E. Serrill, $3.40; A. Bate, $6.40; T. Douglass, $1.25; Theo. Brown, $10; Karl Schemann, $4.80; Jay Patrick, $4.90; C. H. White, 20 cents; S. Durst, $5; Jas. Eddy, $6; Geo. Allen, 25 cents; W. H. Saxton, 75 cents; A. J. Belknap, $1.55; Mrs. K. Harrington, $3.10; L. F. Robinson, $1; W. H. Walworth, $1.60; Clara W. Rotch, $53.20; J. Churchill, $3; J. Borneman, $2; S. C. Gale, 10 cents; Chas. Almy, $4; N. C. Nash, $103.20; Arethusa Hall, $4.40; S. P. Andrews, $3; S. A. Mason, $3.20; Mrs. W. P. Southworth, $3.20; S. W. Allen, $3.20; C. A. Simpson, $4.20; George Dimmock, $4.50.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 25, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognises no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

MR. CHARLES ELLIS will deliver a free lecture in Paine Memorial Hall, Appleton Street, Sunday afternoon, Jan. 28, at 3 o'clock. Subject: "Thomas Paine's Religious Belief and Unbelief."

WE ARE requested to announce that the New England Labor Reform League will hold their annual convention in this city, Jan. 28 and 29,—place not mentioned. John Orvis, Bishop Ferrette, E. H. Heywood, and others, are expected to speak.

THE FIRST NUMBER of the *Hampshire County Journal*, issued January 6, takes as its motto these words of Charles Sumner: "Stand firm in those principles which are the life of the republic." A better motto could not be found; and, if comprehended in all its breadth, it will make the new paper a devoted friend of the Liberal League.

THE BISHOP OF MINORCA illustrates the "true inwardness" of Catholic liberality. He excommunicates "heretics of every sort, kind, and description, their pupils or adopted children, their fathers, mothers, preceptors, and all who sit at meat with them; all who aid or look kindly on them; their domestic servants; all who dare to let a house to a heretic or Protestant for school or services; every one who gives money, or makes a loan, or leaves a legacy to such persons; every one who lives on terms of friendship with such heretics, and every one who dares to say or write one word in their defence."

MR. ZERAH MASTERS, formerly the Unitarian minister at Waupaca, Wisconsin, proposes to enter the lecture field with lectures on the following subjects:—

1. The Liberal League Movement.
2. The Demands of Liberalism.
3. The Christian Amendment.
4. The Despotism of the Christian Church.
5. Darwin and Moses, or Naturalism in Life and Doctrine *vs.* Supernaturalism.

Mr. Masters has forwarded testimonials of the strongest kind from influential citizens of Wisconsin as to his sterling character and ability. He has shown himself every inch a man in his public course, and, commanding our own profound respect, we trust he will everywhere be welcomed and aided by friends of THE INDEX.

WHAT PERTINENCY there is, at this time of foolish and wicked war-talk by angry politicians, in the following letter of John C. Calhoun to Dr. Channing!—

WASHINGTON, 20th February, 1835.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for a copy of your Sermon on War, which I will read with care the first leisure moment.

Permit me, in return, to present you with my report on Executive patronage. Though the two subjects are apparently entirely disconnected, he who will look below the surface will see a most intimate relation between them. We would have few wars if there did not exist in every community a body, separate from the rest of the community, who have a direct interest in War. That body is the great and influential corps of office-holders and office-seekers, contractors, agents, jobbers, speculators, to whom War brings an abundant harvest. This corps, as you will see by the report, is already very formidable, and will be ready to plunge the country into war either to prevent reform or to increase their gain.

With respect, I am, etc., etc.,
J. C. CALHOUN.

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix, Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals"; by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

MR. MORSE ON THE PAINE BUST.

We earnestly second Mr. Morse's protest, given below, against bringing the Paine Bust away from Philadelphia. Let it stay in that disgraced city to preach an eloquent lesson of equal rights in religion, until the stain of its rejection shall be wiped out by the repentance of the Select Council, and a hearty welcome to the now despised memorial. It would be a terrible blunder to bring it away for any cause—a cowardly and mortifying back-down of Paine's friends.

MY DEAR ABBOT:—

It does not in any way belong to me to say what disposition shall be made of the bust of Paine which the Select Council of Philadelphia rejects for Independence Hall; but I will venture to express an earnest hope that there will be found for it some temporary asylum in Philadelphia. The time will arrive when the people of that city will be glad to reverse their present unfortunate decision. We can all wait and be patient, nor despair of seeing, even in our day, so large a growth of liberal sentiment. If we may judge by the past, it is hardly possible to over-estimate the change in popular sentiment that will occur within the next quarter of a century. Already in Boston evangelical leaders are uttering their meed of praise of Theodore Parker, declaring that, in spite of his theological speculations, there was that in him which "forms a figure to be venerated." They will yet see their way to some similar recognition of the memory of Paine. At all events, there is a certain missionary service now possible to this memorial bust by virtue of its rejection, and it should not, in my judgment, be withdrawn from its present position, to be housed in Boston, or elsewhere. Let it be understood that the rejected marble will be carefully preserved in Philadelphia until the good time when that city shall make up her mind to ask for it. She will one day do this. She cannot avoid it, because she will desire, when she sees what justice is, to do it. S. H. MORSE.

BOSTON, Jan. 21, 1877.

ENGLAND TO AMERICA.

In token of cordial and sympathetic reciprocation, the Directors of the National Liberal League have voted to publish in THE INDEX the following letter from Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, President of the National Secular Society of Great Britain:—

29 TURNER STREET, COMMERCIAL ROAD,
LONDON, E., Dec. 11, 1876.

TO F. E. ABBOT, Esq.:

My dear Sir,—I am directed by the Executive of the National Secular Society to invite the coöperation of the Liberal League so far as our common purpose is concerned of freeing humanity from the yoke of superstition. It is felt that the two bodies working together may aid each other, and I shall be glad to have your views as to the best way of securing united and useful action. Yours sincerely,

C. BRADLAUGH.

To the above letter a cordial answer has been returned, in compliance with the instructions of the Directors. This graceful act of courtesy by the National Secular Society (whose circular, giving its Constitution and List of Officers, was published in last week's INDEX) will be duly appreciated by American freethinkers, and tend to cement a pleasant and strengthening bond of international fellowship in the great objects common to all lovers of religious liberty.

PRAYER.

What is prayer?

Worcester defines it in its general sense as "the act of asking with earnestness or zeal; entreaty; supplication; request; petition; suit." In its special sense he defines it as "a petition or supplication to God; orison."

In both these senses the word prayer signifies the solicitation of a boon or favor, the urging of a request for something to be done as a direct consequence of the request itself. In the special sense, it signifies such a request addressed to God, as a Being exorable by nature—susceptible to the influence of human desires expressed in supplicatory words. It implies belief not merely in a personal God (for the word personality has many meanings, some of which are quite incongruous with exorability), but also in such a personal God as is conceived to be in fact only a man of larger mould, capable of forming purposes which are not absolutely wise or good, but can be made more so by being modified at the suggestion of human beings. This conception of God necessarily underlies all belief in the "efficacy of prayer." If prayer is considered as exercising a real influence in modifying or changing the Divine purposes, no believer in the Divine goodness would admit that this change could possibly be for the worse; it must be for the better alone, and it must therefore be possible for man to suggest to God a higher and larger goodness than his will would execute in the absence of such suggestion.

To this it may be replied that the modification or change of the Divine purposes in answer to prayer need not imply either a higher or lower degree of goodness in the purposes so changed, as compared with the purposes prior to the change; that absolute goodness might require a certain course in the absence of those spiritual dispositions in man which are implied by prayer, and yet might require a very different course if those dispositions are present in him; in short, that prayer is a necessary condition of man's highest good, yet not at all essential to the highest possible goodness of God's purposes or action.

But this reply is inadequate to meet the difficulties

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of the case. It is conceded that man's highest good requires that he should pray, and thereby so change God's purposes as to accomplish this highest good of man. It is clear, then, that the highest good of the universe, which of course is defeated if man misses his own highest good, cannot be accomplished unless man takes the initiative—unless he practically deters God from a course which would accomplish only an inferior good of the universe as a unit. That is, by his prayer, man makes possible to God a higher course on the whole—a better course on the whole—a course which is demanded of God by his own absolute goodness, since he is pledged by this to secure the highest possible good of the universe itself. If the efficacious prayer of man is the necessary condition of his own highest good, and if the highest good of the universe must remain unattained without it, then it follows that by prayer man not only suggests but renders possible to God a goodness he could not attain without man's help. There is no escape from these conclusions. Belief in the efficacy of prayer implies a belief as to God which makes him dependent on man for the opportunity of being himself absolutely good.

It is certainly well to point out that whoever would believe in an absolutely good God can but defeat his own desire by cherishing a doctrine incompatible with that belief—the doctrine of the efficacy of prayer. An absolutely good God cannot be subject to the influences of human petition. He must govern himself by universal ideas or laws, admitting of no change, but establishing in and by themselves the highest possible good of the universe as a whole. All of good that the nature of things permits must be ordained and maintained by an absolutely good God, without the slightest reference to man's limited insight or varying desires. Human prayers can have no influence on the general course of things, unless man possesses some power of making it better than it would otherwise be. What dreary egotism to imagine this! If the vast unitary Power of which the universe offers only such manifestations as are compatible with inevitable conditions of limitation, and which in all these manifestations is thus conditioned upon an unalterable Nature of things, is in any degree analogous to that power which we know as the human mind or soul, then the doctrine of the "efficacy of prayer" is an audacious and beggarly detraction from its awful majesty—the impertinence of conceited ignorance rushing forward to take on its ant's back the administration of a cosmos. Such a spectacle brings only disgust to the instructed intellect and a melancholy recoil to profound religious reverence.

So far we have accepted the dictionary meanings of the word prayer, as implying in all cases some form of petition, entreaty, or request. Perhaps it is unfortunate, on account of the danger of popular misapprehensions, that the word should ever have been taken in a larger significance. But this is the fact notwithstanding, and should be considered in this connection. Prayer has come to mean many things besides mere supplication or petition. The old *laborare est orare*—"to labor is to pray"—is only one of these multiplied enlargements of meaning unrecognized by the dictionary. Emerson exclaims: "In what prayers do men allow themselves! That which they call a holy office is not so much as brave and manly. Prayer looks abroad and asks for some foreign addition to come through some foreign virtue, and loses itself in endless mazes of natural and supernatural, and mediatorial and miraculous. Prayer that craves a particular commodity—anything less than all good—is vicious. Prayer is the contemplation of the facts of life from the highest point of view. It is the soliloquy of a beholding and jubilant soul. It is the spirit of God pronouncing his works good. But prayer as a means to effect a private end is meanness and theft. It supposes dualism, and not unity, in Nature and consciousness. As soon as the man is at one with God, he will not beg. He will then see prayer in all action."

Consider also this noble outburst in a Chinese book of worship, of so lofty and pure a spirit as to put to shame the grovelling follies of Moody-and-Sankey revivalism: "O Thou Great-Compassionate-Heart, never will I seek nor receive private, individual salvation—never enter into final peace alone; but forever and everywhere will I live and strive for the universal redemption of every creature throughout all worlds. Until all are delivered, never will I leave the world of sin, sorrow, and struggle [*i. e.*, to enter Nirvana], but will remain where I am."

Here, in this Buddhistic manifestation of a transcendent public spirit (which makes our selfish Christianities, theisms, and atheisms look so starved and wolfish), we find *prayer without petition*—a simple outpouring of the inner life to the "Great-Compassionate-Heart" of the universe, seeking no return, but uttering the sublimest passion of the human soul in a great surge of self-dedication to the universal. In the glow of such luminous aspirations as these, prayer puts on a new guise; it ceases to be the miser's clutch after a spiritual penny in the Divine hand, and becomes the free gush of the fountain of humanity's love for its kind, throwing up its glittering drops to win a new glory and lustre in the beams of the Sun. It is idle to ask: "Shall we, then, pray such prayers as these?" If they fitly utter the quality of your innermost life, you cannot help it! Prayer of this sort is never a duty: it is either a necessity or an absurdity. Given that out of which such prayers can alone spring, you can no more help praying them than you can help breathing; in one form or in another, in word or in action, the great thirst for righteousness burning at the core of your being will burst forth in some form of speech, giving utterance to all the like-minded (whether finite or infinite) of that which you cannot conceal. But if the ideals you cherish are nothing but the interests of your miserable self, you can no more pray such prayers than an empty well can pour forth water. You may mouth eloquent orations to the Deity in public or in private, and wind them up with all the doxologies extant; but, in the sense that prayer is any outward utterance of the inward striving after the divine, you vex the air with inanities and are dumb. The whole teaching of Free Religion respecting prayer is concentrated into this short maxim: "Never pray—*if you can help it!*"

FREE RELIGION IN PARIS.

Something less than one year ago we received from a friend a pamphlet entitled *La Religion Laïque et l' Eglise Unitaire*, a pamphlet of thirty-six pages, setting forth the plan of a religious association on a basis of reason. It contained an introduction; an appeal to religious men unattached to any religious system; a declaration of fundamental ideas; a profession of faith in moral principles addressed to right-minded people (*hommes de bonne volonté*); remarks on religious worship and observance; a series of questions and answers unfolding the rationale of religious belief; notes of a critical and explanatory kind; an appendix, giving the opinions of a portion of the press on the new enterprise, and presenting its points of essential agreement with similar movements in England and America; and a brief summary of the cardinal points involved in the scheme. The presentation of so many important matters in so short a compass must necessarily be sketchy; more is suggested than explained; but a great deal is suggested. Very few books contain so many vital thoughts in so small a number of pages. The results of much reading and of profound reflection are stated in a luminous manner and with that freedom of touch peculiar to French men of letters, which is so easily mistaken for lightness and superficiality.

On the first page the writer says: "The pamphlet we issue here contains the prospectus of an important religious revival in our country. Although the doctrines of this new Church are scarcely more than outlined, the papers which we shall submit to our readers will enable them to comprehend the bearing and the reach of a work that is nothing less than an attempt at social renovation through the action of the religious idea. Whatever may be the *actual* fortune (the immediate visible success) of this experiment, one cannot be indifferent to a scheme, which offers a religion without miracle, from which the supernatural is banished as completely as it is from the domain of science,—which affirms religion to be eternal as God, immortal as humanity, progressive as the mind of man, having a church without a priest, a faith without a confession.

"We offer neither a new religion nor a new Church. Religion is always the same eternal thing; but the religion we avow has reached that stage of development where it can meet the demands of enlightened and superior reason; it has become *laical, secular*.

"As to the Church we call it *Unitarian*, as declaring at once its philosophical monotheism, and as affirming its place in the development of the religious idea in the line of Christian tradition whereof *Unitarianism* has thus far been regarded as the most advanced and liberal phase." Adverting then to the fact that similar projects have been started and continued for several years, in England and the United States, the writer concludes: "All such enterprises have in fact a common aim, the solution of what the sagacious Professor John Tyndall calls 'the problem of problems' which especially concerns our generation; namely, 'the reasonable satisfaction of the religious sentiments.'"

In August appeared the first number of a monthly magazine, of about the size of the pamphlet just noticed, and each succeeding month has brought its number. There are now five issues, each richer and more significant than the number that went before. It is called *La Religion Laïque Organe de Regeneration Sociale*. The contents are varied, embracing theology, politics, literature, criticism, correspondence, prose and verse, book reviews, studies in comparative religion and mythology; the whole animated by a hopeful, aspiring, believing temper, and characterized by a singular brightness and elasticity of treatment. There is no reticence, no disguise, no affectation. An air of candor marks every article, giving a persuasive tone to the pages, delightful to readers of the cultivated class, and attractive to less practised students and inquirers. There is no trace of assumption or of pedantry, but a happy combination of ease and strength is apparent on every page. A similar journal here would meet a want that is generally felt among the unestablished rationality.

The editor of the magazine, the author of the first pamphlet, the writer also of important articles from month to month, is M. Charles Fauvety, a man of intelligence, culture, and experience; well-known in the liberal circles of Paris as a champion of free-thought, a friend of free institutions, a benefactor and helper of free men, brave, humane, enthusiastic. He is possessed of pecuniary competency, and thereby able to maintain the enterprise he has started without appeals for assistance to the general public. He would nevertheless be glad, no doubt, to receive subscriptions and contributions, both as augmenting his resources and as demonstrating the success of his work. There is no evidence of power that is a substitute for a large subscription list. Not that he is without supporters at home. A committee of publication and extension is composed of a philologist, a "corrector of the press," a man of letters, an advocate, a publicist, a physician, a historian, a merchant, a banker, and an *ancien instituteur*. The writers are accomplished men, whose names are unknown in this country, and need not be mentioned. Louis Guyot, banker, 65 Rue Mont Martre, receives subscriptions at the very moderate rate of five francs, a silver dollar, per annum. The friends of freethought in religion will perhaps take a warmer practical interest in their home publications, if they consider and uphold the efforts made by foreigners in the same worthy cause.

O. B. F.

Communications.

"THE BLAND SILVER BILL."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Sir,—Mr. A. J. Warner, in THE INDEX of January 11, finds some fault with my comments on Bland's Silver Bill, as passed by the House of Representatives. He affirms that it is undoubtedly within the domain of law to make a certain weight of silver equal in exchangeable value to a certain weight of gold, "not, of course, by one country alone, but by the concurrence of all countries," etc. He then quotes, from M. Cernuschi, several paragraphs referring to the effect of legislation upon the relative values of gold and silver, reaching finally the conclusion, in the language of M. Cernuschi, that "'if there is a bimetallic international legislation, the relative value of the two metals can no longer vary.'"

Admitting this statement, for the sake of the argument, I should like to ask in what way Mr. Warner manages to wrench out of it the remarkable conclusion that "the Bland Bill, *for this very reason*, will not work an inflation." The very big hole between this sentence and the premises upon which it assumes to be founded is indeed distinctly pointed out by Mr. Warner himself in the phrase, "not, of course, by one country alone, but by the concurrence of all countries," and is also made evident by the passage from Cernuschi, "*If* there is a bimetallic international legislation," etc. But neither Mr. Warner nor any one else ever heard of any "bimetallic international legislation," or ever knew of the relative value of gold and silver being determined "by the concurrence of all countries." The little "if" in the sentence from Cernuschi is of immense significance in this connection.

Mr. Warner has failed to inform the readers of THE INDEX—and you will allow me, therefore, to supply the omission—that one object of M. Cernuschi's present visit to this country is to urge our government to take part in his proposed international legislation; and that M. Cernuschi, moreover, to the great chagrin of Western inflationists, is decidedly opposed to Bland's Silver Bill, maintaining very earnestly that one country alone cannot successfully adopt a bimetallic currency,—in all of which I cheerfully agree with him.

Allow me in conclusion to express my thanks to

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Mr. Warner for his kindness in recommending a course of reading. I should be happy to reciprocate, but refrain through fear that he might regard the works mentioned by me as altogether too elementary.

R. C.

BOSTON, Mass., Jan. 13, 1877.

PHILADELPHIA LETTER.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

As I noted the exceedingly interest exhibit of Australia, so expressive of wealth, culture, and refinement, I could not help wondering that this far-off island continent, itself nearly as large as all Europe, with harbors which in magnificence and utility surpass those of any other known portion of the globe, should be subject to the British crown; and still more surprising is it that the people, high and low, rich and poor, should be satisfied with this subjection. They feel themselves, however, as I learned from one of the commissioners, but nominally subject, as they pay no tribute to the British crown, elect their own native Parliament and ministry, with whom the governor appointed by the crown is obliged to advise in all matters pertaining to the government. By being obliged to receive their chief officer from the crown, they are at least saved from the kingly appointing power of a United States President, and the business depressions, broils, and perhaps war, attendant upon his election by a majority vote.

The characteristic exhibits of Australia were of its mineral, agricultural, and pastoral wealth. For a long time it was supposed that the principal source of Australian wealth was from its mines, that the soil was ill-adapted to agricultural and pastoral pursuits; but now wheat-growing is in point of value its leading industry. Nowhere upon the ground, save from Oregon and Washington Territory, was so fine wheat to be found, both in size of kernel and weight to the bushel, as from the provinces of Australia. Some specimens in Victorian Court weighed sixty-eight pounds to the bushel, and in the year 1874 South Australia alone exported over one hundred and eighty thousand tons of breadstuffs. There the operations of agriculture and husbandry are never suspended on account of winter, as crops of some sort can be grown from January to December. Other grains of an exceedingly fine quality were here exhibited, nor were the products of the vineyard, orchard, and garden wanting in this exhibit. The exhibit of her pastoral wealth was extraordinary, there being now over sixty millions of sheep, mostly merinos, upon the island. Each province save Victoria represented the amount of gold taken from its mines since 1851 by a huge gilded pyramid, formed in sections showing the entire amount and the amount taken out each year. Victoria failed to make this representation, because, say her commissioners, the pyramid would have reached through the roof of the Main Building. She, however, exhibited a model of the largest nugget of gold ever taken from her mines, which weighed 1743 ounces, and was valued at $34,500. No wonder that it was named the "Welcome Nugget." The utilization of the skins of birds in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, by manufacturing them into door-mats, muffs, collars, and collarettes, also the egg-shells, especially of the emu, set in solid native silver for mantel and table ornaments, were exceedingly interesting. Upon the bases of these ornaments were full relief figures amid palm-trees and fountains of silver, illustrative of real life.

The railroads and telegraph lines in Australia are owned and worked by the government. This is as it should be. Railroads are but public highways, and telegraphic communication but a quick mail-system for the public good. They should therefore be owned by the people and held in trust for them by the government. This in the United States would greatly lessen the burdens of taxation.

India, the country of the ancient Aryans, was represented by an exhibit from British India and Siam; that from British India having been put up by the directions and under the supervision of the India Museum of London. Its mineral and agricultural products, including its spices, many varieties of rice, and the ancient millet so often mentioned by Greek writers; its plants, medicinal and those used for dyeing purposes; its manufactured goods, with a profusion of India shawls, scarfs, carpets, camels' hair shawls, gossamer embroidered with silk and beetles' wings,—this embroidery exclusively the work of men; its carved black-wood furniture rivalled only by China; its carved sandal-wood and ivory inlaid boxes; its jewelry of rich yellow gold; its primitive agricultural implements and no less primitive musical instruments,—all expressive of the customs, character, and habits of the people, were of great interest. But, surpassing all these in interest, were those portions of the exhibit bespeaking the religions, ancient and modern, of this people. These consisted of photographic representations of temples and modes of worship, photolithographic representations of deities, and stone carving from the Tope of Amravati, an ancient temple. Prominent among the stone sculpture, were the feet of Brahma carved from the solid stone, surrounded by a miniature mythological representation of the order of creation proceeding from the bowels of this deity. Of course, in this collection was the sacred elephant, both in stone and ivory.

The exhibit of Siam did not arrive until a short time previous to the close of the Exposition; but as it has been presented to our government and is to be placed in the Smithsonian Institute, United States citizens will yet have the opportunity for its examination.

In no part of the Exposition grounds was there such a constant crowd as in China and Japan of the Main Building. Japan does not like to be mentioned in connection with China, so much farther advanced does this nation believe itself. But to us they are both pagan nations, and may therefore be very properly spoken of together. In everything exhibited by China, so thoroughly has this strange and peculiar people excelled, that no nation need be ashamed to be mentioned in the same connection. Every one knows that the special exhibit of both these countries were silk, lacquer-work, carved work, and porcelains; and that China especially excelled in the two latter, and Japan in lacquer-work. The quantity and quality of these exhibits were such as to elicit constant expressions of surprise and admiration from visitors. The lesson to Christians must have been valuable; an aged, white-headed gentleman, as he stood by the pagoda-shaped case containing the carved ivory work, so magnificently fine as to hold the visitor almost spell-bound, exclaimed, *"I have given the last dollar I ever will give to convert these heathen; we need to learn of them."* To the liberal thinker and social philosopher, the lesson was entirely different; for, while he could not help admiring the inexpressible beauty and fineness of this work, it spoke to him of an over-populous country, and years of toil and penury for the masses. The carved bedsteads, tables, dressing-cases, etc., told the same story. Miniature pagodas, supposed to represent temples of worship, but which seem much better adapted as watch-towers, were here represented and so located in the pavilion that, from the summit of each one, another was visible. Some of the porcelain articles exhibited were representations of household divinities and objects held as sacred by these people, but did not seem half so absurd and blasphemous as did the Spanish oil-painting before described. I should rather have these divinities, with the Chinese philosophy of government by moral agency, incorporated into the United States Constitution, than this Trinitarian God with his Scriptural commands. I inquired of the Commissioner for the sacred works of the Chinese, and was directed to the educational department of Connecticut in the southern gallery of the Main Building. These works, regarded by them as of inestimable value, they dared not keep in the space allotted them, so great was the crowd and so little faith have they in the moral rectitude of the Christian.

Among the lacquer-work of Japan, some of which is eleven hundred years old, but which you could not distinguish from that of more recent date, were two pieces claiming to be the finest work ever produced in that country. One of these, the "damask patterned" vase, is constructed by soldering together three plates, respectively of white silver, red copper, and dark blue "shakado"—an alloy of copper and gold,—thus forming a compound plate upon both sides of which irregular figures are scratched here and there so as to show the metal underneath; the plate is then stretched by hammering, thus making the various metals visible in spots and meandering lines. This process is repeated until the proper pattern and desired thickness of the plate is obtained. The result is very beautiful. The other extraordinary piece of work is a cabinet, its four sides illustrating the four different kinds of lacquer-work; that is, the gold inlaid, the gold, the black, and a combination of the red, green, brown, and gold lacquer. The edges of this cabinet were trimmed with carved tortoise-shell. Japan exhibited bronze, coral, silver, and gold personal ornaments, a rock-crystal cup set in gold, and many large and small porcelain and metal vases, candelabras, garden and parlor ornaments upon which were representations of their national, mythological legends. A bed dressed in a blue embroidered silk quilt, white silk sheets, pillow, and bolster-cases, attracted much attention. The style of the Japanese bedstead is not unlike that of the American; but those from China so exquisitely carved, were of cane-seat bottom, and required no mattress. Both countries exhibited a large number of screens and pictures of embroidered silk in carved ebony frames, and their agricultural products consisting largely of tea and rice; but that exhibit which expressed the most progress was the governmental educational exhibit of Japan, which greatly surprised me. Here were not only apparatus and charts for teaching the various branches of science, perfect miniature ivory skeletons, but vegetable fibres and other natural products with their uses and the processes of utilization demonstrated. This system of teaching practical industry, engrafted upon our common school system, would vastly increase the general intelligence and usefulness of our citizens. The exhibits of both China and Japan were at least highly creditable to *pagan* nations.

The exhibit of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands attracted much attention, partly because of its own intrinsic interest, and partly as coming from the land of King Kalikaua, whose recent visit to this country is fresh in the minds of all.

Upon the wall of the enclosure hung a wreath of mosses, white shells and pink coral, in the centre of which, in coral and moss, were the words "Aloha America, 1876," which, translated, means "Love to America." The enclosure was of course surmounted by the flag, consisting of eight stripes of red, white, and blue (representing the eight inhabited islands forming the group), upon which was the cross of St. George and the motto, "Righteousness is the life of nations."

The exhibits consisted of many specimens of ferns, mosses, and lichens, carefully put upon cardboard and labelled with their botanical names; most beautiful specimens of that variety of pink coral found only on the reefs of the Micronesian Islands and surpassing in beauty anything of the kind ever before seen here; many specimens of melted lava, showing the various forms which it assumes; cases of birds with their nests and eggs, among which was the bird's-nest made entirely from that form of melted lava resembling horse-hair and known as "pele-hair," together with quaint manufactured articles as robes made of cloth, manufactured from the bark of the cocoanut and other trees by the felting process, these robes trimmed with shells; hats of the bamboo leaf trimmed with the banana leaf; cloaks made entirely waterproof by tying in each knot of a common fish-net a bunch of seaweed, and other domestic articles expressive of the habits of the people.

Queen Emma, the wife of the former king, exhibited royal robes, "kahelas," and many relics of the ancient days of the island, among which was the war-club of an ancient king, a model of his bed and pillows, and a wooden spittoon inlaid with human bones, disproving the statement of recent travellers that the Sandwich Islanders never were cannibals. The "kahelas," or royal plumes, are borne in front and over the heads of royal personages on state occasions as emblems of royalty, and, like the robes, are made of brilliant-colored feathers, the lemon-yellow feather predominating. This feather is obtained from the "mami," or royal bird, under each of whose wings is found a single yellow feather. Of course very many of these birds must be taken to make a royal robe, or even a "kahela." At the death of her husband, Queen Emma, not being willing to be divested of the semblance of royalty, strove for the possession of the crown; but already Christianity had been sufficiently ingrafted upon the institutions of the island to demand that sex should determine rights; she therefore failed.

While examining these novel exhibits, I met the daughter of a former missionary. This lady, now a resident of Washington, but who was born upon one of these islands, seemed to be as proud of her birthplace as are the natives of Massachusetts. From her I gained much information relative to the customs and habits of the people.

The specially interesting portion of Mexico's exhibit were her splendid specimens of onyx and her model representations of the treasures of the ancient Aztecs.

But what of the United States? Although from the exhibits of many countries valuable suggestions were made to the American social scientist, philosopher, and worker, yet United States citizens might well feel proud of their country and its resources. Foreigners, impressed with the youth and weakness of our government, were evidently surprised at the progress and development expressed by our exhibits. Much art was displayed in the selection and arrangement of the exhibits; yet the special characteristic of the United States exhibit was practical utility. In this particular the manufactured goods of the New England and Middle States, from the Arundel tinted eye-glass, so well calculated to preserve and restore the failing eyesight, to the most elaborate philosophical instrument; from the American Inside Window Blind, combining the most perfect ventilation and adjustment of light with beauty and cheapness, to the most elaborate house, office, and church furniture; from the tiny tape to the best cassimeres and beautiful qualities of figured and plain American silks,—all favorably compared with the manufactured products of those nations which we are pleased to call foreign civilized peoples, while the exhibits of the resources of the great West was not equalled by those of any country. Nearly every State made a characteristic exhibit in Agricultural Hall of its agricultural products, some States supplementing this with a special exhibit in its own State Building. Wisconsin did not do herself justice; Iowa, in addition to her many hundred varieties of grains and seeds, exhibited three hundred varieties of apples and specimens of her soil to a depth of eight feet; while Kansas, with a more favorable climate, made a fine exhibit of luxuriant vegetables, fruits, grasses, and grains. Of course we expected from California a fine display of apples, pears, peaches, plums, prunes, figs, quinces, pomegranates, grapes, apricots, and almonds (all of which grow in Kansas), and were not disappointed. Of the varieties of California grape, the Tokay (exhibited in clusters of ten pounds each), the Muscatelle, Muscat, Alexandria, or raisin grape, were the most delicious I ever tasted. With all this power of delicious production, why is it that so many mechanics eke out a miserable, half-starved existence in our Eastern cities? To say that they are mechanics and not farmers does not answer the question, if they have any versatility of brain-power.

The Kansas and Colorado State Building attracted more attention than any other State building, partly from the unequalled luxuriant growth of Kansas productions, and partly from the museum of Colorado animals, all of which were killed and mounted for exhibition by a Colorado woman. And here I cannot forbear to say a word, perhaps a harsh word, of the Woman's Pavilion. This building, so diminutive as compared with the other Exhibition buildings, with its school-girl contents, continually pained me. It gave no idea of woman's work, her heart, or her brain, but was rather the exhibit of the work done by children in blind and orphan asylums. It is futile to attempt to separate the work of men and women, for they are by Nature combined. The exhibits in all departments of the Exposition were the result of their joint labor, and many of both sexes were constantly employed, especially in Machinery Hall, illustrating the processes of this work. Many women, feeling this truth, did not attempt to place their exhibits in the Pavilion; and others, failing to make a favorable impression upon the ladies having the matter in charge, were refused the opportunity. Of this latter class was Mrs. Ella Haller, of New York, who exhibited over two tons of the finest fruit in patent jars of her own invention. It was the finest exhibit of the kind upon the grounds, and her jar, being self-feeding, by which the fruit is contin-

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ually kept covered with syrup, deserves the attention of housekeepers and those engaged in the business of fruit-canning.

Nearly opposite the above exhibit, in Agricultural Hall, was the exhibit of Baker's chocolate, etc., which so well illustrates the general character of the Exposition I cannot fail to mention it. Of course every one is familiar with chocolate, cocoa, and cocoa-butter, but few know how the cocoa-bean from which the articles are manufactured grows. This firm exhibited not only the manufactured products and the bean, but the gourd in which the beans are found, both in its dried and natural state, as preserved in alcohol, distributing to visitors a pamphlet-circular giving encyclopædic information as to its cultivation, growth, and process of manufacture.

But it is useless to attempt without much time and space to give any accurate idea of the United States exhibit. In every department, in art no less than manufactures and agriculture, did her exhibits entitle her to at least equal respect with the older and most advanced nations of the earth.

The Centennial Exposition has been a great educator. No one could visit it, however carelessly, without learning something of the resources of the nations here represented, and to the student it has been a rich feast. Its effect must be to increase individual sympathy with, and charity for, all nations and peoples, of whatever religions or type of civilization. But when you appreciate the many and unusual demands upon our time this season, with no abatement of home or business duties, but the added work of the Liberal League, both local and national, you will not wonder that we are weary and worn, and heartily glad that the Centennial Exposition, with all its lessons, pleasures, and opportunities, is past, and with it so much of the Centennial year. It will take a large part of the next century for Philadelphians to become sufficiently rested to desire its repetition.

Very truly,
CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 29, 1876.

"REASONS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE" CONSIDERED.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Taking a philosophical view of the matter, it is to me always amusingly refreshing to note the charming air of disinterested yet kindly unconcern which one class of human beings can exhibit in denying to another class the rights and privileges which they themselves already enjoy. It always reminds me of Artemus Ward's ardent patriotism during the war, which worked him up to such a pitch of reckless enthusiasm as to make him declare himself ready to see all his wife's relations shed their last drop of blood in defence of the dear old flag.

Mr. Mead has, I confess, "put his case" very cleverly and adroitly. On the surface of it it looks reasonable, philosophical, and unbiassed by any but philanthropic motives; and if I were a man, already in possession of a vote, or if men were the disfranchised class, I am not sure but that I could appreciate the full force and cogency of his appeal to that disfranchised class to stand aside at this crisis and forget their own grievance, and to wait for that "more convenient season"—the "good time" which is always "coming," but which experience teaches us never does come, until by persistent effort we *make* it come. But you know it makes a vast amount of difference as to whose ox it is that is gored.

I cannot promise Mr. Mead, indeed I haven't the slightest hope of, anything like a millennium when we women get the ballot in our hands; in fact, I do not share in Mr. Mead's avowed belief that we are "far ahead of the fathers, brothers, and sons of our own race" in the particulars of honesty, virtue, purity, and uprightness. The sexes are by force of natural law too closely identified in aims and pursuits to allow either to excel the other in virtue or sink into lower depths of vice. That which uplifts one must necessarily elevate the other; what degrades the one must lower the other. But, though even the worst that has been prophesied of woman's suffrage were sure to happen, I would none the less work and plead and insist on giving it to her, for it is always a step forward in mental progress whenever any old wrong is righted. The bestowal of it may, by upheaving old landmarks, pulling down old shambles of a cruder civilization, cause for a time a little extra dust and dismay. But these things will be gradually adjusted,—the unsightly evil thing is removed, and the ground cleared for the upbuilding of a nobler structure. If momentary anarchy succeed this upheaval, let it come. We know that the principle underlying our action is right and just, and in time all will be harmonious.

I am sorry that Mr. Mead's personal observation and experience of the practical workings of woman suffrage should have been so unfortunate as to change his views, and thereby lose to our side the able efforts of his pen in behalf of that movement; for if he can plead so ably and subtly on the wrong side of the question, what a power might he not become with the right to inspire him! But he should remember that it is the part of philosophy to look beyond any little first mistakes or misdirection of the workings of a true principle, and trust to the principle itself for the future. It is not often that even the best-planned and best-adjusted machinery in the world moves on smoothly and evenly at the start; there are always minute inequalities which at first clog a little the workings of it,—inequalities, however, soon worn away by the friction of use.

America has little to boast of in the removal from her escutcheon of the foul blot of negro slavery, which so long made her vaunted republicanism a glittering falsehood. It was no result of a wise statesmanship which relieved this fair land from that tyranny of race which was slowly sapping the foundations of its energy and uprightness. The emancipation of the slaves was forced upon us by the stern necessities of war, instead of being, as it should have been, the result of the wise dictates of a far-seeing political sagacity. If the freeing of the slaves and the consequent placing of the ballot in their hands had been accomplished in a time of peace, when the wise men of the State could have given their best to meet the exigencies of the case, and to guide aright the masses of ignorant and brutal manhood so suddenly let loose upon us, the legitimate outgrowth of the "beneficent" system of slavery,—Mr. Mead would not have such a show of apparent justice at this time in his philosophic determination to struggle against another accession of "untrained voters"—the mothers, wives, sisters, and educators of the dominant sex.

While slavery was still an "institution" in this so-called Republic, it cast so deep a stain on the fair flag of our liberty as to cause it often to be greeted, not with the admiring reverence of the freedom-lovers of other lands, but with sneers at its pretensions, and such taunting epigrams as Capt. Marryatt (I think it was he) composed in its honor:—

> "The white man's liberties in types
> Are blazoned by your stars;
> But what's the meaning of your stripes?
> They mean—your negro's scars!"

It seems to me that the mistakes of the past ought to teach men wisdom for the future, but it does not always have that effect. Already America is again being shown from foreign sources how unsound are her claims to true political equality and genuine republicanism, so long as she denies to woman an equal voice in making the laws which she is obliged to obey. The flag is not even now the "flag of the free" which it so proudly boasts of being, so long as woman is allowed no word in the counsels of the land. Says Harriet Martineau: "I declare that whatever obedience I yield to the laws of the society in which I live is a matter between, not the community and myself, but my judgment and my will. Any punishment inflicted on me for a breach of those laws I should regard as so much gratuitous injury, for to those laws I have never actually or virtually assented. I know there are women in England who agree with me in this. I know there are women in America who agree with me in this."

Mrs. Mary Somerville, one of the brightest lights of British science, who deeply felt the injustice done her sex by the denial of the franchise, in her *Personal Recollections* remarks: "The British laws are adverse to women; and we are deeply indebted to Mr. Stuart Mill for daring to show their iniquity and injustice. The law of the United States is in some respects even worse, insulting the sex by granting suffrage to the newly emancipated slaves, and refusing it to the highly educated women of the Republic."

Mrs. Besant, another English woman, has also spoken her rebuking word against this flaw in the American assumption of a true republicanism, a rebuke which has brought forth this reply from Mr. Mead. She will, I am sure, be abundantly able to take up the gauntlet in defence of woman's suffrage which Mr. Mead has thrown down to her; and willing also, in spite of the pretty personal compliment he pays her, and which (man-fashion) he fancies will reconcile her or any woman to partial acquiescence in his argument.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Jan. 12, 1877.

WHY A SUBSCRIBER STOPPED HIS PAPER.

SALEM, COLUMBIANA CO., Ohio, Dec. 26, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:—

By referring to the tag on my paper, it appears that my subscription runs out on the 31st instant. You will please discontinue my paper for the present, not because I have ceased to respect its high-toned literature or your honesty, but because of your leaning towards your enemies in a political sense has made many of your former friends think that your indirect efforts to sustain the Democracy for a long time past, and especially during the last campaign, has done more harm by bringing about the present state of political affairs than any other man in this whole country. I get a Democratic paper myself, not because I respect it, but to make a *reconnoissance* of the enemy. I have been a life-long reader of the *Investigator;* I have also been a reader of both INDEX and *Truth Seeker* since they were born; and it is with mortification and astonishment that I behold you sitting on the fence, leaning over on the rebel side. What have you to expect from the Democrats? Have you not been exposing that party by warning us of the dangerous elements it contains, Catholicism, slavery, ignorance, etc., etc.? If the two parties were divided, would you not risk your fate with the Republicans? Was it not the spirit of Republicanism that educated you, established your paper, and sustains it at present? Every Democratic subscriber you have has received his liberal ideas from Republican teachers. I do not say that Republicans are all right; but when we think of the struggle they have had for their own existence, and to save the country from its enemies, it is astonishing that the party is so good as it is. If there was any chance of a better party arising, I would join it immediately; but I have no idea of progressing, crab-fashion, back to the Democratic party, which, if let alone, would land us back in the sixteenth century.

Yours respectfully, DAVID PORTER.

P. S.—We know that the danger you fear is great from the Republican party, but the history of the world and experience in our country show us that the Democratic party must not be trusted.

[Mr. Porter will do exactly as he pleases about reading THE INDEX, but he is all wrong as to his facts. We have had no "leaning" whatsoever towards the Democrats; what we had was towards the Republicans; as stated in these columns frankly, we voted for neither party, but cast a protest ballot. Is there no limit anywhere to the tendency of mankind to misunderstand plain language? We are acquiring an enormous respect for clear-headedness. The above letter reminds us of Mr. Emerson's suggestion to bend down and look at the landscape between one's legs.—ED.]

A NEW BOOK SUGGESTED.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

On reading your lecture upon "Jesus and Socrates" in the last INDEX, the earnest desire which I have often felt comes up afresh; namely, that you would give to the public, in book form, collections from your writings which have been from time to time presented in your paper. The readers of THE INDEX, I am sure, would greet with joy two or three volumes, classified as to subjects, from this source. I have known persons to cut out from the paper, and preserve as best they could in scrap-books, articles of yours which they felt they must have at hand. Others, with the same feeling, have procured extra copies of THE INDEX containing to them most valuable thoughts and sentiments which they wished to have within reach at any time.

So, judging from my own limited observation even, I cannot but believe that there would be a hearty echo from the readers of THE INDEX generally to my own wish to have, in a compact, durable form, that I could readily lay my hand upon, collections of certain lectures, discourses, and editorials which have been to me so great a joy, and have aroused enthusiasm for noble action. And, in addition to any merely personal wishes, is the importance to humanity of preserving, in a more permanent form than the ephemeral pages of a newspaper, views and principles which it would be a sin against posterity to allow to perish.

Will you not please to give serious consideration to this proposal, and thus gratify one who has been from the first a subscriber and careful reader of THE INDEX, and who is deeply your debtor for what you have given of advanced, logical thought and of noble principles whose roots strike down to the hard-pan of the nature of things?

T.

Jan. 21, 1877.

[That the wish above expressed should have been felt even by a few, is a source of gratification we will not pretend to conceal. But we have no reason to suppose that many share it; and it would be quite impossible, we presume, to find a good publishing house willing to assume the pecuniary risks of so dubious an investment. Numerous unorthodox books are published; but publishers see clearly what so many unorthodox thinkers and authors like to make light of—the significance of names and the fatal importance of a sharply defined position. The hopes of authorship were part of the price paid for the establishment of THE INDEX.—ED.]

QUESTIONS IN RETURN.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In THE INDEX for December 28, 1876, Mr. Preston Day asks: "Cannot an individual inherit eternal life in another sphere of existence dependent on the conditions in which it is manifested?" "May not mind in that sphere be related to an organism with a nervous system?"

Now I should like to ask in return: "Does any science teach where that sphere may be? By what means is this eternal life or immortal soul going to get into this 'sphere'? How is it going to adapt itself to said conditions? How is the mind, which inherits an organism here on earth till the death of such organism, going to get into the new organism in another sphere? What is going to develop a new organism ready for said mind to take possession of? And when said mind does take possession, what becomes of that which developed said organism? Is it 'shoved out'? And does it develop another organism to be shoved out of by another usurping mind? Will he throw the light of *day* on these questions, that they may be 'fully and satisfactorily answered'?"

Truly yours,
G. H. PARKHURST, M. D.

AN EXPOSTULATION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

To what blasphemous utterances your heretical teachings lead! One of your followers tells me that the stone in the fable of "Stone Broth" prefigures the Orthodox Christ as plainly as does the stone which David tells us the builders rejected; that, by exciting their curiosity, love, or fear, men are led to do unwittingly all those things which are attributed to Christ's aid. In other words, that the Church uses Christ as the beggar used the stone.

O, that you might hear the voice that Paul heard and cease your work of persecution!

NAMELESS.

A GENTLEMAN, watching the lady cutting paper flowers in the Woman's Building, said to his friend: "I can cut out the devil with scissors;" and, after a pause, said to Miss Scissors, "I suppose you couldn't do that, could you?" "I think not," was the reply, "but I hope I can cut his acquaintance!"

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

MOODY AND SANKEY began their campaign in Boston last Sunday. For a time they will be the "last sensation."

M. ERNEST RENAN, the author of the *Life of Jesus*, is to deliver a lecture on Spinoza at the Hague, February 21, the two-hundredth anniversary of the great philosopher's death.

ROWLAND HILL was once requested to preach a sermon to the elect. He promptly replied, "Have the goodness to mark the elect with a piece of chalk, so that I may know them, and I will preach to them." The request was not insisted on.

"THE GREAT DEBATE on spruce gum," writes a Quebec correspondent in the Montreal *Evening Star* of December 23, "ended in the passing of Mr. Taillon's bill to authorize the Nuns of the Providence to engage in all kinds of industries, and the consequence will be that the manufacturers of Montreal will in future have to compete with a gigantic organization carrying on trade with pauper labor under exemption from taxes. Much was said about the excellent work the Providence Convent has done in the direction of charities, but not a word was uttered on the deplorable effect the institution has exercised by depreciating the labor of the poor classes such as the seamstresses and needle-women with whom it comes directly into conflict." In this way the Catholic Church aggrandizes itself at the expense of the poor it professes to befriend. When will mankind come to perceive that the prosperity of the Church as an institution, whether Catholic or Protestant, is always at the expense of their own secular interests? Probably not till the falsity of the Christian creed is thoroughly understood by the people.

A DISPATCH to the Boston *Herald* reads as follows: "Philadelphia, Jan. 28.—The Liberal League of Philadelphia celebrated the one hundred and fortieth birthday of Tom Paine to-day, and the occasion excited much interest, in consequence of the indignation of Liberals over the rejection of a testimonial bust of Paine by the city government, and the announcement that Walt Whitman would speak. The attendance was very large. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the rejection of the bust as cowardice, bigotry, and injustice. The poet Whitman then gave a reminiscence of Paine, telling how he became intimate with Paine's most intimate friends at Tammany Hall, New York, thirty-five years ago. After speaking of Paine's conviviality, Whitman said: 'I dare not say how much of what our Union is owning and enjoying to-day—its independence, its ardent belief in and substantial practice of radical human rights and the severance of its government from all ecclesiastical and superstitious dominion,—I dare not say how much of all this is owing to Thomas Paine; but I am inclined to think a good portion of it decidedly is. Of the foul and foolish fictions yet told about the circumstances of his decease, the absolute fact is that, as he lived a good life after its kind, he died calmly, philosophically, as became him. He served the embryo Union with the most precious service, a service that every man, woman, and child in the thirty-eight States is to some extent receiving the benefit of to-day, and I for one here cheerfully and reverently throw one pebble on the cairn of his memory.'"

HUNTINGTON, Long Island, was the scene of disturbances at a Methodist "watch-night prayer-meeting," on New Year's Eve, which were disgraceful in the extreme. The law was appealed to by the church trustees, and twenty-four of the thirty disturbers apologized and paid their fines. The New York *Sun* of January 10 says: "These twenty-four repentants do not include all the disturbers, as the surreptitious pencil of the good brother who planned their day of reckoning and discomfiture recorded the names of thirty of the scions of the first families of Huntington. There are six, all young men, who are still stiff-necked and rebellious. These young men have not visited Lawyer Platt, nor have they penned words of contrition, and, moreover, they declare that they will not. They further say that the church has no right to compromise with them if they have done wrong, and is itself doing a wrong by offering such a compromise. They further explain that the church exercises are always so ludicrous that their merriment is aroused, and, once aroused, they plead the difficulty of allaying it. This, they say, has been true of the devotions of this congregation since the conversion of a man named Weeden. Mr. Weeden, when inspired by the spirit of an excited meeting, dropped on his hands and knees and crept on all fours to illustrate how the sinners groped in darkness. Equally effective in provoking the laughter of the young visitors was Mr. Weeden's delineation of the distress of the unregenerate, when overwhelmed by the waters of affliction, and without the consolations of religion. This was pictured by Mr. Weeden, by falling flat upon his face on the floor, and kicking and sprawling in imitation of the motions of swimming. Mr. Weeden is no longer conspicuous in the meetings, but his place is supplied by a Mr. Harry Sammis, who is distinguished from him only as mental gymnastics are distinguished from physical ones. It was Mr. Sammis, the young men say, who innocently started the merriment that afterward assumed disgraceful proportions on New Year's Eve. He did it by a description of his fight with the devil. He was graphic, and told how he had grasped the Evil One in his hand, and wrestled with and overcame him; and how he had at length driven his infernal majesty into the leg of a boot, and, closing the top with his hand, had held him prisoner. This started the hilarity that even the actors themselves admit was uproarious. Much mischief was done by a young man with a spool attached to a string. By rolling the spool under the seats and carefully pulling it back he created the impression that a mouse was running about the floor, and great commotion was excited among the women. Coughing and laughing were prolific sources of annoyance, and the young man with a clay pipe, already mentioned, was abetted by companions with canes, who pushed the hats over the eyes of the ladies in front of them and pulled down their back hair. As the faithful were called closer to the altar, three of the sisters innocently added to the mirth by bearing placards inscribed, 'Real Estate for Sale,' 'C. O. D.,' and 'No Trust.'"

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

Influence of Christianity in Practice.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

The question has repeatedly been raised whether civilization is more indebted to Christianity, or Christianity to civilization. It is to be hoped that some competent person will give us, in a volume devoted to the subject, an abstract or summary of the evidence on both sides of that important question. Testimony, on the popular side of it, is abundant, on the surface of our literature; but as this testimony proceeds chiefly from professional propagandists of Christianity, and consists chiefly of assumption unsupported by evidence, even that side of it needs an accurate restatement; while the other side, on which very much is to be said, scarcely appears, at present, in popular literature. The mass of the population in any country, having been educated more or less by the religion of that country, are likely to credit it with at least as much beneficial influence as it really exercises, probably with more; while such portions of truth as may exist on the other side are likely to be unwelcome to such a population, and so the presentation of them to be discouraged, if not absolutely forbidden. Judging by the attitude of the officials of all our popular sects, as displayed in their annual meetings and their periodical literatures, the free expression of freethought in regard to their doctrines is as much feared and discountenanced here as the preaching of their missionaries is in Rome or Constantinople. These things being so, it may be well to look at some of the particulars in which Christianity, *as seen in the practice of the people who claim specially to represent that system*, exercises an unfavorable influence, mental, moral, and spiritual, on those its professors, and thus on the community at large.

Here let it be said in explanation,—I do not at all mean to take advantage, in the examination here proposed, of the confessions of short-coming or wrong-doing customarily made by pious people in church-services and prayer-meetings. I shall found nothing on the habitual admission of some that they are "miserable sinners," or of others that they are "vile worms of the dust." What I propose to show is that some of the allowed and systematic practices of these people, some of the methods which they habitually employ in propagating their theology and religion, are injurious, mentally, morally, and spiritually, to themselves and the community, through the disregard of truth displayed in them.

I have intimated above that the eulogies of Christianity made by its professional propagandists consist chiefly of assumption without adequate evidence. I now affirm that most of the items of theological doctrine which they insist on as the foundation of Christianity are of this same sort, assumption, unsupported by evidence; and I affirm further, that many of these items may be and have been *disproved*, shown to be utterly without foundation, by evidence within the reach of every one who knows how to read.

One of the biographers of Jesus represents that great teacher as saying to his disciples, "The truth shall make you free." No doubt it is truth which liberates, enlarges, enlightens, and benefits mankind, and by their conformity to which institutions and associations are to be judged. Yet reverence for truth in itself, search for it as for a pearl of great price, and estimate of customs and institutions in proportion to their conformity or want of conformity to it, are conspicuously wanting among the people who call themselves "professing Christians." It will seem unjustifiably harsh to say that, among these people, indifference to truth, disregard of truth, and violation of truth are habitual and allowed, in their doctrine and practice in the departments of theology and religion; it will seem thus harsh, not only to the parties accused, the teachers and "professors" of Christianity, but to the public at large, for a reason hereafter to be mentioned. But the fact may be proved, and I proceed to give some specifications.

1. The foundation, the very corner-stone of Christianity, the doctrine that Jesus of Nazareth was "the Messiah" of Hebrew prophecy, is utterly untrue.

He has never been, in any sense, the King of the Jews; he has never been the deliverer of the Hebrew people from Gentile oppression; he has never gathered that people into "their own land," beginning there a government of peace and righteousness to last forever; three particulars which formed the main features of Messianic prophecy. Moreover, there is no evidence that he was descended from David, as the Messiah was to be, unless he was the son of Joseph; a theory utterly rejected by Christians.

2. The propagandists of Christianity make a pretence absurd as well as false when they represent themselves as following "the religion of the Bible," and claim that collection of writings, containing the principles and rules of two diverse and mutually antagonistic systems of religion, as one authoritative code, divinely inspired, infallibly correct in doctrine and fact, perfectly consistent with itself, and binding upon all mankind. The position of these people displays yet more absurdity and more falsity in their pretence of following Jesus, who freely criticised the Hebrew half of their infallible Bible, and prescribed for his disciples rules not only varying from that, but sometimes contrary to it.

3. The sabbatical doctrine of the Protestant propagandists of Christianity is so astonishing a compound of falsity and self-contradiction that no brief statement could fully express it. I will mention a few of the contrarieties included in it.

Pretending to follow "the Bible," the doctrine and practice of the people in question disobeys the injunctions of both Old and New Testaments in regard to sabbatism.

Pretending to regard the fourth commandment of the Hebrew decalogue as a law imperatively binding on them, these people work without scruple on the day expressly designated by that commandment for rest, and abstain from labor and business on one of the days appointed by that commandment for work.

Pretending to follow the example of Jesus, they make a merit of being Sabbath-keepers, though he was known to the pious Jews of his time as a Sabbath-breaker.

Pretending to consider Paul's precepts divinely inspired and obligatory, they claim that one day of the week must be separated as sacred, while he argued strongly against sabbatism, rebuked the Galatian Church for its observance of days, and expressly vindicated those Christians in his time who made no such distinction, but "esteemed every day alike."

Pretending to consider the Bible not only authoritative but "sufficient," as a rule of faith and practice, they enjoin as a duty a method of sabbatical observance at variance with the doctrine of both Old and New Testaments.

Their doctrine of Sunday-sabbatism receives no countenance from any portion of their "inspired and infallible rule," and their representations respecting "God's day" and "God's house" are in absolute conflict both with Old Testament and New Testament, which also are in conflict with each other upon those subjects.

4. Claiming to be "followers of Jesus," the people in question habitually violate his rules and deviate from his examples both by omission and commission. They habitually and systematically do things which he has forbidden, and refuse to do things which he has commanded.

Calling Jesus "the Prince of Peace," and claiming him as the introducer of a system under which war was to be abolished, these people still, as they have always done, favor and take active part in whatever wars are waged by the civil rulers of the nations to which they belong, hold commissions in their armies and navies, help to support their military schools, and send their children to learn the art of war there, intending that warfare shall be their life-long occupation and means of support. Moreover, when exceptional Christians, or philanthropists not claiming to be Christian, have made organized efforts against war, the people in question have been the most energetic and persistent of their opponents.

But Jesus enjoined not only peace, as opposed to armed contests between nations, but absolute non-resistance to, and forgiveness of, all intentional injury, precepts conspicuously enforced by his example. Both precepts and example are utterly disregarded by the vast majority of his self-styled "followers." Their clergy try to conceal this apostasy by elaborate representations that Jesus did not mean what he plainly said; and the contempt and persecution directed by these Christians against a small sect of their fellow-Christians two centuries ago was largely due to the fact that the latter followed Jesus, in this particular and others, more faithfully than the former.

Other characteristic precepts of Jesus forbade laying up treasure on earth, forbade taking thought for the morrow, discountenanced prospective supplies of food and clothing, and enjoined that any small present possessions should be freely shared with whoever might ask for them. His self-styled "followers" utterly disregard and habitually violate all these injunctions, and their clergy try to justify their conduct, and at the same time to represent it as not disobedience.

Some of the most obvious cases in which the self-styled "followers of Jesus" systematically violate his precepts while professing to obey them, are found in the department of religious observance. Their punctilious Sabbath-keeping, though he was a Sabbath-breaker (calling himself "Lord of the Sabbath" for the express purpose of showing his right to disregard it), has already been noticed. But Jesus favored the theory of holy places no more than that of holy days. Denying the claim of both Jews and Samaritans for the sanctuaries specially venerated by each, and claiming sincerity and earnestness instead of separated time or place as the requisite for acceptable worship, he seems to have recognized the fact that special consecration of a day or a building inevitably involves the comparative desecration of other days and other buildings. When Stephen and Paul declared, in direct contradiction to the belief they had previously cherished, that "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands," no doubt they followed the teaching of their new master, Jesus; yet Christians nowadays comprehend his doctrine so little that they think it essential to frequent a consecrated place on a consecrated day, and demand that these shall be venerated by the community as "God's house" and "God's day."

In what they call "divine service," still other violations of their Master's doctrine are manifest. Jesus made emphatic protest against public prayers, long prayers, and repetitions in prayer. But in all these things the Christian clergy are as conspicuous offenders as ever the Jewish Pharisees were. They weekly pay elaborate verbal compliments to Jesus in public prayer, not only doing the things he forbade, but purposing to do them in his honor, and representing it as a duty to do them.

Justice to the lay-members of the various Christian churches requires the distinct admission that most of them are quite unaware of the characteristics of their faith above-mentioned. They know that that faith includes "mysteries," and that the scriptural record of it contains apparent discrepancies. As to the former, they are quite satisfied not to understand matters beyond the scope of the human mind, and they are easily persuaded to class direct contradictions under the head of mysteries; as to the latter, they accept with implicit confidence the assurances of their clergy (in "commentaries," sermons, and sectarian periodicals), that these discrepancies are only appar-

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ent, a full and fair solution of each being attainable without prejudice to their theory of the infallible inspiration of the Bible. Easily accepting these assurances—for, they think, why should they not believe one so pious and so wise as their own minister? and making one other comfortable assumption; namely, that, whatever may happen to other people, they themselves are sure of "salvation,"—they find their religion a comfortable one, and desire to maintain an undisturbed possession of its satisfactions.

Does it seem harmless as well as comfortable, this acceptance, without question or scrutiny, of the theological system in which hereditary tradition has nursed you? Consider that you are cherishing precisely the same state of mind which makes the Mussulman, the Buddhist, the Brahman refuse to receive or even listen to the doctrine offered him by the Christian missionary. If you are right in adhering without comparison, examination, or inquiry, to the religion first presented to you, is not he right in doing the same? On the other hand, if this attitude is wrong and hurtful in him, is it not wrong and hurtful in you?

Consider, again, what would have been the effect upon arts, trades, sciences, and by necessary consequence upon domestic, social, and civil life among us, if all Christians, say since the time of Calvin and Luther, had assumed in these departments, as they have in the departments of theology and religion, that the existing amount of knowledge and mode of action were satisfactory and sufficient, and hence that all change and all scrutiny which might lead to change were to be avoided and discouraged. Is it wise for fallible beings like us to assume, in regard to any department of human welfare, that we already know accurately and certainly all that can be or needs to be known? Again, is it reasonable to assume that research and scrutiny are likely to do harm rather than good in religion, when they do good rather than harm in all the other business of life?

The great majority of the people who call themselves Christians stand, and choose to stand, in one of the attitudes above described; either abiding in contented ignorance of the grounds and the details of religious duty, or assuming that all needful knowledge of them is already attained. The disadvantage of this attitude is seen plainly enough by the obvious ill result of its adoption in matters of art or science; but, religiously considered, this attitude is sinful also, being the keeping unused in a napkin of the talent given by our Creator for increase by active use. The sin and evil of contented ignorance and inaction are not, however, the worst features of the case we are considering.

The Christian propagandist, lay or clerical, in conference with one who, theoretically, admits his pretensions (as the great majority of our population are trained to do), has his own way entirely, and can assume the superiority of a teacher over a pupil. It is thus that such men as Moody in this country and Varley in England confidently summon the whole people to come to them for spiritual direction; and it is thus that such vast numbers obey the call and submit to the manipulation. Self-advertised piety is supposed by many people to imply real superiority in wisdom and goodness; and such people, ignorantly confessing themselves to be "impenitent sinners," submit to be lectured and dominated accordingly. But occasionally the propagandist meets with an intelligent person who, instead of accepting his assumptions with the desired docility, asks for the grounds of them, and then shows the exhorter wherein and how far those grounds are insufficient. In such conference it is sometimes demonstrated to the exhorter that certain of his premises are directly contradicted by the "infallible" Bible to which he appeals as authority; or, again, that the many statements mutually contradictory which appear in various parts of that Bible prove it *not* infallible. In such exigencies, the lay exhorter may fall back on the counsel given at a General Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations, to "talk kindly, but avoid argument," and the clerical exhorter may brazen it out on the ground that the objector is "carnal," and incompetent to judge of spiritual things; but, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the exhorter of both classes will continue to uphold and proclaim his church's doctrine, even when he has seen it to be contradicted by his assumed infallible rule, and will also maintain that rule to be infallible, even after he has seen it to be self-contradictory.

This is the evil fruit naturally produced by the assumption, in each of our Christian sects, that its church-doctrines and church-customs are absolutely correct, and that neither change of them nor scrutiny in regard to them is needed. The churches constituting each sect have so long assumed that every statement in the Bible is and must be true, that they believe, and hold it a duty to believe, affirmations contrary to each other; and they have so long assumed that their creed and customs are a faithful summary of the duties prescribed in that Bible, that they hold to the former even where it is flatly contradicted by the latter. Indeed, one cause of the voluminous character of the commentaries on the Bible is the necessity felt of *adjusting* the statements of Hebrew infallibility, and the materially different statements of Christian infallibility, into some show of agreement, first with each other, and then with the creed and customs of the commentator's sect; a work which of course requires a great deal of explanation.

Among the curious inconsistencies of teachers of Christianity is their systematic disparagement of reason in the interest of religion; their representation of man's duty to God as including the acceptance of a religion at variance with reason, although nothing can be plainer than that reason is God's gift to man, bestowed for the very purpose of discrimination between true and false, and of decision between two varying ideas or courses of action. In the name of allegiance to God, they demand a renunciation of God's prescribed rule and method, and an adoption of their own different rule and method. When hard-pressed with argument, they will even take the ground that reason may properly guide us in the temporal, or less important affairs of life, but must be distrusted when the matter of highest importance, our duty to God, is in question; as if God's plan would work well in trivial affairs, while their own better method must be resorted to in matters of consequence.

Jesus taught that "truth" was the appointed agency through which men were to be made free, and that "right" as well as truth could be discerned by men "even of themselves"; that is, by the reason and conscience which God has given them. But circumstances, in the period of time intervening between Jesus and the present generation of his self-styled "followers," have brought about this strange state of things; namely, that these "followers" undervalue, disregard, and violate truth in the very matter in which adherence to it is of chief importance. It may be well here to glance at some steps of the process through which we have reached this state of things.

Jesus, speaking to the Jews with an air of "authority," due, no doubt, to his vivid perception of truth, freely criticised the rules and precepts ascribed by that people to Moses, and referred his hearers to their own reason and conscience for decision in regard to duty. It was no easy thing, however, to change their life-long habit of depending on authority in religious matters, and the result was that those who recognized in him a better teacher than Moses, leaned on him instead of on Moses. His teaching having shown his disciples the imperfection of that Hebrew Scripture which they had supposed infallibly inspired, their allegiance was transferred from that to himself; and after his death, through the operation of the same principle, Peter and Paul, James and John, were accepted as authoritative leaders by the converts they made. When, however, the doctrines taught by Jesus and his disciples had been committed to writing, and ultimately (no one knows when or by whom) collected in a volume, this volume came by degrees to be regarded as an authoritative code in religion and morals. Luther, Calvin, and others succeeded, at the risk of their lives, in resisting the claim of the Roman Church to be received as an infallible interpreter of Scripture; but they made the mistake of still assuming Scripture itself, both the Old and the New, to be infallible, and the sects they founded have never outgrown that error. Instead of doing this, they repeated the blunder of the Roman Church, manufactured formularies which they assumed to concentrate the essence of Scripture doctrine, and demanded an acceptance of these formularies as the indispensable condition of admission to their churches. This practice, continued from the time of the Protestant Reformation to our own time, has gained such credit and such entire acceptance in the churches of every sect, that their members not only make no question of the absolute correctness of their own creed and ecclesiastical customs, but treat inquiry or scrutiny in regard to them as an unauthorized intrusion. People in the Church, lay or clerical, who raise questions of this sort, are looked upon by their "brethren" as suspicious and dangerous persons; and outsiders who do the same thing are regarded as "infidels," even when the scrutiny has arisen in the legitimate course of literary or scientific research, or when it was necessitated by self-defence against ecclesiastical attempts to bar the progress of literature or science.

I have said above that the accusations made in this paper will seem harsh and unfounded, not only to church people but to outsiders. The reason is that the great majority of both these classes have unconsciously imbibed acceptance of the main doctrines here in question, through their mental and moral environment from childhood upwards. They have grown up theoretical Christians by inhalation of a Christian atmosphere, without once recognizing the need of such personal scrutiny for attainment of individual knowledge there, as they see at once to be indispensable in all other branches of knowledge. While science, through perpetual questioning, research, comparison, and experiment, has been steadily making progress in the countries called Christian, and while the intelligence thus diffused among their inhabitants is boasted of by Christians as due to the superiority of their religious system, the strange spectacle is presented of a systematic discouragement of the application of such scrutiny, examination, and comparison to Christianity itself, except for the purpose of vindicating and extolling it. Research into that faith with the avowed intention of maintaining its superiority to all other religions is esteemed creditable and praiseworthy; but the research of unbiassed inquiry, the attempt to ascertain whether or not the system is founded in truth, in short, any manner or degree of scrutiny which considers the question an open one, to be decided affirmatively or negatively according to evidence, meets with prompt and firm opposition from the professional teachers of Christianity; it is first discouraged as useless and dangerous, and stigmatized, if persisted in, as an evil act prompted by an evil purpose.

Jesus taught, and exemplified, the pursuit of truth by the use of reason. The theological system now popularly associated with his name disregards truth and denounces reason wherever these conflict with the traditions which it teaches as authoritative. Judge, reader, whether the instances of this sort above given do not prove the proposition with which I began, namely, that Christianity, *as seen in the practice of the people who claim specially to represent that system*, exercises in some respects an unfavorable influence, mental, moral, and spiritual, on those its professors, and thus on the community at large.

[For The Index.]

"NOTES OF A SERMON."

HINTS ABOUT MIRACLES.

Perplexed by a sermon, or for the sake of introducing his subject, rhetorically purporting to be so, "M. B. S.," in The Index of Dec. 28, "having not at hand the necessary books to ascertain just what the best critics have proved concerning the facts of the New Testament, especially miracles," "would be glad to have some one who can give a brief account of the matter in The Index." I suppose I have read, in my time, about all that has been said on the subject. But this was years ago; and for years past I have laid books aside, being tired of them. My erudition, once not contemptible perhaps, has faded, and is fading still with constantly increasing rapidity. If there was a book of which I knew every verse and tittle, it was the Bible, the whole of which I have read at least fifty times in various languages, and its principal parts hundreds of times probably. Yet I discover in myself a growing similarity with Christ and his apostles in not misquoting, for they never misquoted, but in quoting the Bible with a degree of accuracy superior to that of the text. This leads me to the hope that my answer to "M. B. S." may disappoint him and those who may be, he thinks, his fellow-inquirers to their advantage; for what they ask I have found to be a stone, and what they will receive might perhaps be bread.

The miracles of Jesus! Oh, he made miracles. The changing of a heart of stone into a heart of flesh is a miracle which happened in his time, and happens every day, through him. Of other miracles "an adulterous and perverse generation" asketh for them, but none shall be given unto it. But an adulterous and perverse generation who wants miracles and can obtain none, invents them.

Many miracles, no doubt, were put to the credit—we might now say to the charge—of Jesus, which neither he nor his apostles ever claimed that he made. Many such miracles are found in the apocryphal gospels. Shall I say the same of those which are related in the four canonical gospels?

Without answering this question directly, let me observe that those who wrote the books of Scripture, even if they knew or suspected that it was Scripture they wrote, had not, of the sense in which it behooves Scripture to be true, the ideas which have been put in vogue by modern Protestant teachers.

According to those teachers, to prove that the Bible is true is to prove that every fact related in it has the historical accuracy which we should demand in a good report of a railroad accident. Assuming that our regret for the Bible can demand no less than a belief that every one of its statements is true in that sense, those Protestant teachers are greatly scandalized by the liberties which the Fathers of the Church, and all commentators on the Bible, both Jews and Christians, prior to Luther's Reformation, constantly take with the texts without the least apparent remorse, and with hardly the possibility, for such learned men, of such an excuse as gross ignorance or absolute stupidity. Those apparently distorted interpretations, however, were, during many generations, a true spiritual bread whereby men lived. How was that?

While our "Orthodox" Protestant theologians may have to stop to solve that riddle, let us open the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, the father of ecclesiastical history and the friend of Constantine. Prominent among the subjects which he treats is Philo's account of the philosophical life of the ascetics of Egypt; which ascetics Eusebius contends, from Philo's description, to have been Christians. In claiming this, Eusebius was right, I have no doubt. Any one who can find the miracles of Jesus, as stated by Matthew, literally and minutely foretold in the book of Psalms, will have no hesitation in recognizing in Philo's Therapeuts a Christian community. Here is the Christian life of purity and contemplation of things invisible. Of blood atonement, it is true, not a word: this might scandalize our Protestants of the straight school. But what may "atone" for this deficiency is our Therapeuts' diligence in "searching the Scriptures."

"After other matters," says Eusebius, "he [Philo] adds: 'The whole time between the morning and evening is a constant exercise. For as they are engaged with the sacred Scriptures, they reason and comment upon them, explaining their national philosophy *in an allegorical manner*. For they consider the verbal interpretation as signs indicative of a *secret sense* communicated in obscure intimations. They have also commentaries of ancient men who, as founders of the sect, have left many monuments of their doctrine *in allegorical representations*, which they use as models, imitating the manner of the original institutions.'"

"It is highly probable," Eusebius adds, "that the ancient commentaries which he [Philo] says they have, are the very gospels and writings of the apostles; and probably some expositions of the ancient prophets, such as are contained in the Epistle to the Hebrews and many others of Saint Paul's epistles."

After quoting another passage to the same effect, Eusebius in conclusion says of the Therapeuts: "That Philo, when he wrote these statements, had in view the first heralds of the Gospel, and the original practices handed down from the apostles must be obvious to all."

The word allegory, as used by Philo, and by theologians generally, has a broader meaning than it has in rhetoric, where it is restricted to a continual metaphor. The theological meaning of allegory is simply the etymological one: *allos*, other; *agoreuo*, I speak. An allegory consists in saying a thing while meaning another; and in this sense allegory embraces not only all kinds of figurative speech, but all kinds of insinuations, of which the Bible is full.

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When the books of the Bible were written, there were things which it was not safe to say; it would have cost the writer his head. Those things the Bible insinuates, leaving it to the wise of other generations to trace out the faint lines which run continuously under the black ink of the text. An insinuation of foul play runs, for example, under the narrative of the lapidation of Achan by Joshua "by order of the Lord"; of the "accidental death of Nabal" which came so opportunely to enable David to marry his rich and clever wife; of the crucifying of the male posterity of Saul, always "by order of the Lord." A hardly repressed insinuation runs through the book of Jeremiah, that the prophet was, within the walls of the city, an agent of the besieging army; and that if the King of Judah had had the manliness to hang the traitor who preached insubordination to the people, Jerusalem would not have been destroyed. A like insinuation, hardly repressed, runs through the Bible, through Homer and through Herodotus, that priests, with their lying oracles, are the real causes of most of the wars and crimes which desolate mankind.

For his conclusion, on such premises as we have seen, that a sect of Jewish ascetics were Christians, Eusebius never was, that I am aware of, found fault with by any Christian author, unless by Christian authors we mean the Protestants of the three last centuries. But Protestants who find fault with all Christians before them for interpreting the Bible allegorically and, as Protestants will say, arbitrarily, must find fault in this respect with Christ and his apostles, for they never interpreted otherwise what was Bible in their time. The liberties they took with texts may have been due, in some cases, to the effect of a failure of memory; but in most cases, I believe, must be attributed to another cause. It was an intentional neglect of accuracy; and, in the broad sense of the word allegory, an allegorical way of intimating that they did not care much how they quoted; for the truth which they spoke was superior to the Bible itself, and needed not the authority of any text. It was in more than one sense that Jesus "spoke to them in parables, and without parables he spoke not a word unto them." And when he sent his apostles to preach, how were they to preach? As Christ had preached, or otherwise?

Shall we say, then, that all that the Gospels relate of Jesus' miracles must be interpreted allegorically? I make no such broad statement; and yet, some transactions might have happened which, in kindness to persons then yet living, it was impossible to relate otherwise than in a form which, to an outsider who lacks the key to the real meaning of the Scriptures, might appear to involve an assertion true or false that a material miracle had taken place. Let us put a case.

Jerusalem, of course, like Rome seven years ago, or Paray-le-Monial to-day, was full of humbugs: lame men, blind men, one-eyed men, lepers, paralytics, begging, with the pharisees and priests half and half in the fraud and the profits, at every street-corner and at every gate of the temple. Now comes Christ, the hater of all humbugs, and is he to be imposed upon by the priestly fraud? When the pharisees challenge him to make a miracle, he has merely to send the first he meets of their blind beggars to wash his eyes at the pool of Siloah, under the threat lest something worse happen to him, and does he not know that the blind will recover his sight? So will the lame and the paralytic walk, and the leper be cleansed. Were they not lepers? were they not paralytics, or lame, or blind? They were, morally; and Christ, in turning impostors into men obliged to earn their bread by honest labor, had truly healed the paralytic, and the leper, and the lame, and the blind. The priests, in order not to plead guilty of imposture, had to own that their enemy had wrought a miracle. With more sincerity the blind man himself might have said: "I know that I was blind and now I see." The impostor had now become a true believer in the power of Christ. But when the anecdote had to be put in writing in the original documents from which our Gospels were made, it was necessary to cast upon its particulars a veil of allegory; not in order to deceive the faithful, nor even the people, who, with infinite mirth, and yet fear to say what they thought, perfectly understood the situation, but in order not to further provoke the infuriated priests to procure the lapidation of their new converted accomplice.

In some of the miracles, indeed, the veil of allegory is so thin that he who cannot see through it appears to me like a man who is looking everywhere after his spectacles, while he has them on his nose. Take the resurrection, for example. Had not Jesus said that, "*as* Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, *so* shall the son of man be three days and three nights in the belly of the earth"? Now, whoever reads the book of Jonah can see with half an eye that Jonah never was in the belly of the fish except in an allegorical sense. *As* the transaction was allegorical in the case of Jonah, *so* did Jesus, by his reference to this fact, intimate that he was to rise in some allegorical sense. That this was exactly what happened, we have the testimony of Saint Peter, who ought to have known, for he was the chief witness. He says in his epistle that Christ was "put to death in the flesh and restored to life in the spirit."

Nothing certainly can be more clear than this, unless it be the minute explanation of how, in particular, this spiritual resurrection took place. Does not Christ, do not his apostles, inform us that his body is his temple, his church? "Pull down this temple and I will rebuild it in three days. But he spoke of the temple of his body," that is of his Church. Did not Christ, in his body which is his Church, rise on the third day?

The resurrection of Christ is a case, not only of miracle performed, but of prophecy fulfilled. In order to understand how all prophecies were fulfilled in Christ, a little common sense is all that is required. Is it not evident, for example, to the simplest observer, that Christ was born of a virgin as foretold? Surely mankind had never borne such a son before. That he was a priest according to the order of Melchizedek, is as evident. Melchizedek, of whom no genealogy is recorded in the Bible, appears in it as a priest, not by priestly descent, but by his own merit. So was Jesus. And was he not also a priest forever? We know at any rate that we are to-day in the 1877th year of his priesthood, and of his power there is yet an increase.

The preacher, though merely a man of average intelligence and education, was right when he comforted his hearers by telling them that the discoveries of scientific men, "either were not true or," more likely, "did not conflict with the revealed word of God as contained in the Bible." These discoveries will have a wholesome effect in making it more and more impossible to interpret the Bible in any other than the rationalistic sense, which is the genuine one. In order to be able to stand the temperature of science, all that the Bible needs is to be made fireproof by being dipped in a strong solution of rationalism.

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 1, 1877.

THE SCHOOL VICTORY IN LONDON.

LONDON, Dec. 5, 1876.

The clerical party in the School Board have been defeated, routed, overwhelmed to an extent only to be paralleled by the unpleasant sea-side experiences of Pharaoh and his hosts. The leaders of denominationalism have all been defeated, and this on a fair and square issue proposed by themselves. The nonconformist, secularist, and radical candidates have nearly all been elected. In five cases eminent clergymen or clerical candidates find themselves slinking off at the foot of the polls, headed by mere ribs,—that is, by women, radical women, too, such as the young blonde and blue-eyed Miss Fenwick Miller; Mr. Mill's step-daughter, Miss Helen Taylor, who, in an eloquent speech, drew a picture, worthy of *Punch*, of the Church throned on its hundred million pounds preaching economy; Mrs. Lurr, who is said to have developed a faculty for canvassing equal to that of the famous Duchess of Devonshire; and Mrs. Westlake, daughter of Mr. Hare, the advocate of Minority Representation, distinguished in London society by her exquisite pre-Raphaelite costumes, famous now for her clever speeches, and for having headed the poll with the largest majority ever given to a woman, —over twenty thousand. In the few cases where clerical candidates have been elected, they have been last on the list. On the Board they can hardly make even a show of resistance to the determination of London that every child shall have a real education, unadulterated by the catechism. The whole importance of the election can hardly be stated for people at a distance. The situation may be paralleled by the invasion of the Age of Steam on highways previously monopolized by stage-coaches and omnibuses. There are people enough now living who remember well the days when the proposals for railway lines were fought furiously in Parliament. From every borough and county rejoicing in stage-coaches and omnibuses members were sent to denounce the horrible innovation. "How would any honorable member like to have one of these noisy engines passing under his parlor window?" "Is it not obvious that the cattle will all be destroyed?" Such were the Parliamentary arguments against steam; but steam came. The omnibus and stage-coach proprietors were very angry; some towns petitioned against railways built to them, successfully and suicidally. In this case the Church has from old been running educational omnibus lines all over the country,—so long that even those poor vehicles have become too crazy and foul for people to be willing to send their families in them. Along these lines the government has made educational railways: such are the Board Schools. The clergy, having failed to defeat the new scheme in Parliament, have made a violent effort to prejudice the people against the railways; they declared the carriages costly, infectious, and all who travelled by them were likely to be smashed, and, if not, quite certain to be landed in Brimstone Depot. But after all these anathemas the railways began to be the fashion, and were thriving. Whereupon, throughout the country, the clergy organized themselves into a respectable-looking mob for the purpose of throwing the new educational railways off the track with iron bars laid across said tracks. They got Lord Sandon to bring in and the Tories to pass through Parliament a bill making it legal for them to do so if they could, and they set about doing so. Their first effort was in London, for what is done in London is pretty sure to be done in most of the towns and villages outside. Well, the people have arrested the clerical mob; forbidden them to enter even the stations of the railways except as *bona fide* travellers after purchasing tickets, much less to approach the rails; and so to-day the clergy find themselves not only defeated in their destructive schemes, but proclaimed and branded by an overwhelming majority as enemies of the people. Defeated rebels become traitors. The loss of prestige by the Church is enormous. Eminent clergymen confess that their influence has received a more staggering blow than ever before in its history. The highest names have brought on themselves an odium from which they can never recover.

The Bishop of London called together his "lambs" at St. James Hall, proclaimed war against the so-called "godless schools" of the nation, and hounded the clergy on to the work of demolition. In the district at the West End of London, from which I write, the clerical potentate has for a long time been a certain Canon Cromwell. I believe I wrote in my last letter that this great gun of the clergy, who is a member of the Retiring Board, fired off from his pulpit an anathema at the chief anti-clerical candidate, Mr. Firth, by saying that he should hate to have his seat on the Board occupied by "an infidel and an atheist." Now, it so happened that Mr. Firth, candidate of the radicals, is a good Quaker. Canon Cromwell had seen on the committee of Mr. Firth the names of one or two unorthodox people, and concluded that it was a safe thing to credit their religious opinions to their candidate. But on the next morning the streets of this district were populous with youthful "sandwiches,"—*i.e.*, with little boys bearing behind and before the placards, "Plump for Firth, the Quaker, and rebuke the political priest and slanderer!" Admiral Maxse then addressed a letter to the Canon, asking him if he had called Firth an infidel and atheist. The wily Canon replied that as he had called no names, no gentleman had any right to appropriate the phrase unless the cap fitted him. But, alas! the poor Canon had only got deeper into the meshes. The Admiral pointed out to him that since two of the candidates were already on the School Board and only seeking reëlection, and the other two were of his own clerical nomination, the only men who were trying to get his individual seat were a Mr. O'Donnell (Roman Catholic) and Mr. Firth (Quaker); one of these two, therefore, must be the "infidel and atheist"! The poor Canon was struck dumb; he had added falsehood to calumny; his influence had come to a violent end. This is only one instance out of many of the miserable tricks and falsehoods to which the London clergy have descended; they have crawled and crawled only to eat the dust of defeat and humiliation at last. Firth, the Quaker, came in at the very top of the poll, with the astonishing majority of twenty thousand, of which, as one of his committee-men, I am certain more than half were gained for him by the denunciation of Canon Cromwell.—*M. D. Conway, in Cincinnati Commercial.*

MORALS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER AS TO THE MEANS USED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO INCULCATE MORALITY AND VIRTUE.

TO THE HONORABLE, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:—

I have the honor to present the following report in response to a resolution adopted by your Honorable Body, at the May session, 1876, to wit:—

"*Resolved*, That the Commissioner of Public Schools be instructed to report to the General Assembly, at the next January session, whether any and what means are used in the public schools 'to implant and cultivate in the minds of all children therein, the principles of morality and virtue,' as provided in Section 6, of Chapter 54 of the General Statutes."

The Chapter of the General Statutes from which the quotation in the above resolution is made is the one which refers mainly to teachers, the conditions of their service and their duties. The whole section referred to reads as follows: "Every teacher shall aim to implant and cultivate in the minds of all children committed to his care the principles of morality and virtue."

From the tenor of this chapter, and especially of this section, coupled with the fact that the subject of *morals* is nowhere else alluded to in the laws relating to schools, and that such has always been the fact since the first enactment of the law, I have always supposed it to have been the purpose of the General Assembly to place the subject of moral instruction chiefly in the hands of the individual teachers in preference to those of any official or body of officials.

In accordance, therefore, with these facts, we cannot expect to find that well-defined system, or comprehensive plan of instruction in this department, that we should in reference to those subjects which are specifically placed under the control and direction of the school authorities. It needs, however, but a survey of the various reports of the school committees of the several cities and towns in the State for the last few years, and especially for the past year, to show conclusively that the school authorities throughout the State are deeply alive to the importance of the subject, that they are ready and anxious to take as advanced ground in the matter as the sentiment of their respective constituencies will permit, and that now they are exerting a constant influence in all directions, upon both teacher and pupil, in order to bring them up to a higher moral level.

Of the means used to secure moral and virtuous development, we naturally consider the Bible first. As a result of my inquiries on this subject, I have received information from all but two of the thirty-six cities and towns in the State. I find that in ten towns, the reading of the Bible is required by a rule of the committee; that in five it is simply recommended by them; that in six either the reading of a Bible or a prayer, generally the Lord's Prayer, is required; while in one town "some moral or religious exercise" is made obligatory. In the other twelve towns no rule or recommendation upon this specific subject exists.

Passing now from rule to practice, I find from the testimony of the several town superintendents that not only in those towns where there is a specific rule or recommendation, but also in all of the others, it is almost the universal custom to open the daily session with some form of devotional exercise, of which the reading of the Scriptures forms generally an important part, and often the whole. As a result of my own observation, I have noticed that it is now

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much more common than formerly for the teacher to read the Scripture selection alone, instead of making the exercise a concert or responsive one. This course I believe to be the best calculated to produce the desired impression upon the minds and hearts of the pupils. It will thus be seen that there are but few schools in our State wherein the pupils are not brought into daily contact with the Scriptures, the fountain of all truth, the source of all virtue, the essence of all morality.

A second instrumentality employed in some of our schools is a text-book, entitled *Morals and Manners*, which seems to me to cover the ground quite fully and to be adapted to the needs of both teacher and pupil. Its introduction is of so recent a date that I cannot now speak with certainty as to its practical value, but I have strong hopes that it will prove eminently serviceable for this work.

Perhaps the largest sphere in which the teacher may fulfil the duties imposed upon him by this law is that connected with the administration of the discipline of his school. As every school is, in a certain sense, a miniature government, and the same principles underlie its existence and control its life as in the case of the nation, it is, of course, both the duty and the privilege of the teacher to call the attention of his pupils to these fundamental ideas, and to impress them upon them as the mainspring of their actions.

And while it is impossible to tabulate facts, or disclose systems which shall reveal the nature and extent of this branch of moral training, I am quite confident that it is a very important factor, and cannot be justly overlooked in any estimate we may make upon the subject.

A reference to the "Rules and Regulations" adopted by the several school committees will, in nearly all cases, I think, reveal the presence of one or more provisions upon the matter of morals and behavior, and referring to both teacher and pupil. In illustration of this influence I have the pleasure of quoting one rule from each of the recent reports for two towns, situated quite remote from each other, and thus fairly representing the sentiment of the State as a whole.

"1. It shall be the duty of the teachers to use their best endeavors to impress upon the minds of the youth committed to their care and instruction the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard for truth, love to their country, humanity, and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, chastity, moderation, temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society and the basis upon which a republican constitution is founded; and they shall endeavor to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacities will allow, into a clear understanding of the tendency of those virtues to preserve and perfect a republican constitution, and secure the blessings of liberty, as well as promote their own happiness; and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices.

"2. Good morals being of the first importance, and essential to their progress in useful knowledge, pupils are enjoined to avoid all vulgarity and profanity, falsehood and deceit, and every wicked and disgraceful practice. They will be expected to conduct themselves in an orderly manner, both in and out of school; to be diligent and attentive to their studies; to treat each other kindly and politely in all their intercourse; to respect and obey their teachers; and to be punctual in their attendance."

From what precedes it will be seen, I think, that the main force to be relied upon for the promotion of moral culture is not so much a system of ethics or a well-organized plan of instruction, as the *life* which the teacher lives before the pupils. The most effective means for implanting the seeds of virtue and inculcating a sound morality are often the almost unconscious words and acts of the sincere and faithful teacher, which are, as it were, the spontaneous overflow of his own pure character. Moral instruction affects the heart rather than the head, and the processes by which we reach them are quite different from those by which the other is affected. A man may be convinced of an intellectual truth against his will, but not of a moral truth. A teacher may possibly succeed in teaching a science of which he has but an imperfect knowledge, and in spite of his blunders and mistakes, but a single known deviation from the path of strict integrity will vitiate all his moral instruction. In recognition of this truth and also of the consequent responsibility resting upon them, I am glad to be able to report that the school authorities of various towns are adopting more and more stringent rules in reference to the moral qualifications of their teachers. I hope the standard will be raised still higher, that there shall be sought for not merely the negative grace of a character without reproach, but the positive virtue of an aggressive morality.

In conclusion, I am happy to call the attention of your Honorable Body to a means for the dissemination of the principles of virtue and morality which, both in its present work and in its possibilities, can hardly be over-estimated. I refer to the State Normal School, from which are now coming and are to come the great body of our teachers.

In the establishment of this school, the Board of Education kept closely in view the fact that a true *normal* school must be one that should secure the right training of the heart as well as of the head. They, therefore, in the selection of instructors, gave special heed to their fitness for their work, and they are confident in the belief that the influences which pervade the State Normal School are wholly of the best character; that a deep sense of personal accountability to God is a prevalent motive in the hearts of the pupils; that their moral natures are in a state of healthful activity, ready to respond to the faintest test; that in all respects the graduates of the school may be safely trusted as the guides of our children, not only into the paths of earthly wisdom, but also into those of a higher and a holier.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS B. STOCKWELL,
Commissioner of Public Schools.

—*Providence Journal, Jan. 20, 1877.*

ACCORDING to the *Union*, a Schenectady boy pranced up to his mother yesterday, and said: "Ma, hain't I been good since I began going to Sunday-school?" "Yes, my lamb," answered the maternal, fondly. "And you trust me now, don't you, ma?" "Yes, darling," she replied again. "Then," spoke up the little innocent, "what makes you keep the cookies locked up in the pantry the same as ever?" A strange look entered the mother's eye as she endeavored to solve her little son's deepness with the heel end of her slipper.

RECEIVED.

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THE THEORY OF SOUND IN ITS RELATION TO MUSIC. By Professor Pietro Blaserna. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. [International Scientific Series. No. XXII.]

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CALENDAR of the Tokio Kaisei-Gakko, or Imperial University of Tokio. For the Year 1876.

REPORT of the Seventh Meeting of the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, Sept. 12—15, 1876.

NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY'S ALMANAC for 1877. Edited by C. Bradlaugh and C. Watts.

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FOURTH REPORT of the Newton Home for Orphan and Destitute Girls, 1875-6.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT of the Medical Libraries of Boston, 1875-6.

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DESIRABLENESS OF ESTABLISHING PERSONAL INTERCOURSE AND RELATIONS between Librarians and Readers in Popular Libraries. By Samuel S. Green. Worcester. 1876.

A FRENCH VIEW of the Grand International Exposition of 1876. By M. L. Simonin. Translated by Samuel H. Needles.

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WHY DID GLADSTONE FALL FROM POWER? How may he regain it? An Appeal, etc. London.

THE ANTI-TURKISH CRUSADE. By Geo. J. Harney, Boston. 1876.

THE DOCTRINE OF PERCEPTION. By J. M. Smith. Dayton, Ohio. 1876.

LESSONS OF A CENTURY. For the Fourth of July, 1876. By Karl Heinzen. Boston. 1876.

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SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey, London.—Anniversary Sunday Address, Oct. 1.—The Primate on Theism. Oct. 8.—Orthodox Infidelity and its Cause. Oct. 15.—How to Test the Value of a Given Creed. Oct. 22.—The Names Theist, Unitarian, Christian. Oct. 29.—The General Depression. Nov. 5.—Dean Stanley's Lectures on the Jewish Church. Nov. 12.—The Doctrine of Non-Resistance. Nov. 19.—Newness of Life. Nov. 26.

SERMONS by Rev. John W. Chadwick, Brooklyn.—A Rational Church.—Economy and Waste.

CHURCH AND STATE. A Lecture. By Rev. J. S. Shipman. Boston.

THE SECULAR WORK of Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and the Church of England. By the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam. London.

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POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. E. L. Youmans, Editor. New York.

UNITARIAN REVIEW. J. H. Morison and H. H. Barber, Editors. Boston.

ATLANTIC MAGAZINE. W. D. Howells, Editor. Boston.

SCRIBNER'S MONTHLY. J. G. Holland, Editor. New York.

ST. NICHOLAS. For Girls and Boys. J. G. Holland, Editor. New York.

LESLIE'S SUNDAY MAGAZINE. C. F. Deems, Editor. New York.

SANITARIAN. A. N. Bell, Editor. New York.

HERALD OF HEALTH. M. L. Holbrook, Editor. New York.

ADRIAN COLLEGE RECORDER, Adrian, Mich.

COAST REVIEW. J. G. Edwards, Editor. San Francisco.

POTTER'S AMERICAN MONTHLY. Philadelphia.

Poetry.

FROM THE ARABIC.

BY REV. G. H. HOUGHTON.

He who died at Azim sends
This to comfort all his friends:

Faithful friends! It lies, I know,
Pale and white and cold as snow,
And ye say, "Abdullah's dead!"
Weeping at the feet and head.
I can see your falling tears;
I can hear your sighs and prayers;
Yet I smile and whisper this,
"I am not the thing you kiss.
Cease your tears, and let it lie,
It *was* mine, it is not I."

Sweet friends! what the women lave
For the last sleep of the grave,
Is a hut which I am quitting,
Is a garment no more fitting,
Is a cage, from which, at last,
Like a bird, my soul hath passed.
Love the inmate, not the room;
The wearer, not the garb; the plume
Of the eagle, not the bars
That kept him from those splendid stars.

Loving friends! be wise, and dry
Straightway every weeping eye.
What ye lift upon the bier
Is not worth a single tear.
'Tis an empty sea-shell, one
Out of which the pearl is gone;
The shell is broken, it lies there;
The pearl, the all, the soul, is here.
'Tis an earthen jar, whose lid
Allah sealed, the while it hid
That treasure of his treasury,
A mind that loved him: let it lie.
Let the shards be earth once more,
Since the gold is in his store.

Allah glorious! Allah good!
Now Thy world is understood;
Now the long, long wonder ends;
Yet ye weep, my foolish friends,
While the man whom ye *call* dead,
In unspoken bliss, instead,
Lives and loves you; lost, 'tis true,
For the light that shines for you.
But in the light ye cannot see
Of undisturbed felicity—
In a perfect Paradise,
And a life that never dies.

Farewell, friends! but *not* farewell;
Where I am, ye too shall dwell.
I am gone before your face,
A moment's worth, a little space.
When ye come where I have stepped,
Ye will wonder why ye wept.
Ye will know, by true love taught,
That *here* is all, and there is naught.
Weep awhile, if ye are fain;
Sunshine still must follow rain;
Only not at Death, for Death,
Now we know, is that first breath
Which our souls draw when we enter
Life, which is of all life centre.

Be ye certain, all seems love,
Viewed from Allah's throne above.
Be ye stout of heart, and come
Bravely onward to your home.
La-il Allah—Allah la,
O Love divine, O Love alway.

He who died at Azim gave
This to those who made his grave.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 27.

Daniel Crowley, $3.25; Nath'l Little, $10; Dr. A. A. Ball, $5; H. B. McNair, $3.20; D. S. Lowe, $9.65; F. L. Hosmer, $3.20; Hon. Joshua Hill, $6.40; Rev. Geo. Batchelor, $3.20; Mrs. L. Huiller, $3.50; G. B. Stebbins, 10 cents; A. A. Knight, $3; H. Wheeler, $3; H. S. Boulderson, $3.67; Frank J. Mead, 25 cents; Harvey W. Smith, $4.15; R. M. Sanborn, $10; T. B. Skinner, 30 cents; A. W. Eschenberg, 10 cents; Isaiah West, $3.20; Wm. Green, $5; Michael Neale, $3.20; Mrs. M. M. Singleton, $4.34; J. L. Cutler, $3.20; L. O. Bass, $3.20; Prof. W. F. Allen, $3.20; David Wright, $3.23; O. K. Crosby, $1.50; T. J. Atwood, $3.20; Mrs. Dogget, 50 cents; B. P. Bippus, 10 cents; Freeman Hinckley, 20 cents; Chas. W. Flint, 80 cents; F. H. Guinis, $3.20; F. C. Randolph, $3.20; A. G. Bill, $12; H. W. Beach, $3.15; Marshall Pierce, $3.20; M. L. Hawley, $3.20; Wm. H. Wood, $3.20; Alex Cochran, $3.20; L. Spalding, $3.20; Isaac May, $3; J. Warrington, Jr., $10; Luther Woods, $3; R. P. Thompson, $3.25; Cash, 52 cents; Dr. T. H. Everts, $3.20; Mrs. Allen C. Spooner, $3.20; New England News Co., $9.80; E. H. Hall, $3; Nonotuck Silk Co., $19.50; Dr. H. K. Oliver, $4.60; Oliver A. Bailey, $6.20; Geo. Draper, $3.20; S. R. Urbino, $1.75; Hugo Andriessen, $1; J. G. Dodge, $3.40; R. Humphrey, $3.20; S. S. Wemott, $12.20; H. Brohl, $6.40; J. W. Castle, 10 cents; Prof. A. Shueler, $3; J. H. Lorimer, $3.20; Mrs. B. G. Sweet, 50 cents; E. W. Keeler, $3.20; American News Co., $22.50; N. Sullivan, $5; David Giddings, $3.20; Chas. P. Tenney, $3.20; Chas. M. Cuyler, $6.40; A. H. Roffe, $7.60.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the event.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

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The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 1, 1877.

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N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix, Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals"; by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

MORAL EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

That education should be integral and not partial,—that it should include a wise and assiduous culture of the moral element in our complex human nature,—is a truth of vast moment, appreciated by none more profoundly than by those who are most strenuous in pleading for strictly secular public schools. It suits the convenience of those who argue for Christian education even at the expense of non-Christian tax-payers to assume (and they do assume it too often, at the expense of their own intelligence or sincerity as the case may be) that the advocates of secular public schools deny the importance of moral education, or even intend covertly to dispense with it in the public schools altogether. Against this utterly false assumption, which we see made again and again in Orthodox publications, it is quite useless to protest, so far as they are concerned; they connect morality with Christianity as its only possible source, interpret all assertions by non-Christians of the supreme necessity of the former as a mere covered assault upon the latter, and broadly intimate that, if non-Christians had their way, the public schools would be given up to intellectual culture exclusively, to the total neglect of moral training. It is useless, we say, to seek to enlighten them on this subject. They do not wish to be enlightened; they find it too convenient to array the public's concern for the moral interests of society against a theory of State education which really finds its strongest arguments in these very interests; they sedulously persist in misrepresenting the friends of secular schools as disguised enemies of public morality. Some of these Orthodox publications are doubtless sincere in this misrepresentation, and are guilty of it only through ignorance; others, as we see with an astonishment which deepens into indignation, persist in it in defiance of every conceivable proof of its untruth. But, whatever their motives for this misrepresentation may be, it is useless to expect that Orthodox publications will, except in very rare instances (all the more beautiful because of their rarity), learn to do justice to the veritable enthusiasm for moral ideas which lies at the bottom of the secular theory.

Nevertheless, so far as the great majority of the public are concerned, it is not useless to keep prominently in the foreground of the argument for secular public schools the fact that this argument proceeds steadily on the assumption of the unspeakable importance of moral education. Those who demand the prohibition of religious worship in the public schools will insist, if they know their own case, that this demand rests primarily on moral grounds; that justice, the very first element of morality, can be satisfied with nothing but such a prohibition; that those schools which are the most thoroughly grounded on the principles of justice will necessarily be the best schools for all the virtues; that children can easily comprehend the true reasons for permitting only secular education at the public expense, and will receive a most impressive lesson in morality by beholding the grand spectacle of the State scrupulously respecting the equal rights of all its citizens; that the spectacle of public in-equity,—that is, public *iniquity*,—is one of the most demoralizing influences that can be brought to bear on young minds. The very fact, therefore, that the State reverences the equal rights of all its citizens, and *for this reason* refuses to permit any religious exercises in its schools, must render the secular school system in itself a most important factor in securing the moral education of the children.

But well conducted public schools of the secular kind, by the mere fact of their being well conducted, exert an enormous power in the direction of moral education. In the first place, the teachers will constantly set before their pupils a personal example of profound reverence for morality; for no school can be well conducted in which the teachers are not constantly governed by impartiality, justice, truthfulness, kindness, duty in every aspect, in dealing with the young minds under their charge. The whole atmosphere will be saturated with regard for the *right*, and the children who breathe this atmosphere will drink in the spirit of rectitude at every breath. Not a word of formal instruction in morals may be given; not a moment may be set apart for it in the school curriculum; but, from the time the pupil enters the school-room until the time when he leaves it, his moral education will be proceeding *pari passu* with his intellectual progress. He will be all the while learning from his teachers living lessons in all the virtues which are involved in healthy, normal human intercourse; right sentiments, purposes, and thoughts will be constantly fostered and developed; contrary sentiments, purposes, and thoughts will be as constantly kept down. In truth, the school-room is a school of life just as truly as the great world outside,—with this difference, that, while the great world outside is not regulated by man with special reference to the moral education of those who live and move in it, the little school world, if indeed well conducted, is regulated all the time with a very special reference to it. The influence of the teacher in maturing the seeds of the virtues in his pupils is beyond all calculation; and it is brought to bear with a thousand-fold greater power in his habitual actions and conduct than it can be in any formal words. In this way every well conducted school is necessarily a school for moral education, even if no special provision is made for this at all. By being obliged to adapt himself to just and equal rules or *laws*, the child is learning the great lesson of life in advance, and acquiring that power of self-command which is the essence of all virtue.

Just as truly is the child educated morally by being thrown into the society of other children, and obliged to treat them as all equals with himself. The too frequent partialities of home vanish here. The coward, the liar, the thief, the tyrant, the bully, the hypocrite, the cruel or unkind or selfish or lazy or conceited,—all are rated quickly at their true value by the swift childish judgment, and the democratic equality of the school-room and the school-yard exerts a constant influence in forcing equal duties and rights upon the child's mind. Whoever comprehends the great principle of natural or scientific ethics, that all rights and duties are social in their nature, will perceive at once that the most ordinary intercourse of the children with each other must be continually impressing on their consciousness the great moral lessons which constitute moral education. This is the only way in which any one can get morally educated—the way of practical experience and observation; all else is mere wind—mere "sound and fury, signifying nothing." Experience is the great moral educator of the race, and the child goes up a grade when he passes from the home to the school-room. There is no dodging the tasks in practical ethics there imposed; he may shirk the geography or algebra lesson, but the lesson in self-knowledge and self-control is squeezed into him by the hydraulic ram of social pressure.

To speak, therefore, of secular public schools as being wholly given up to "intellectual culture" is to deny or ignore the most patent facts. Every well managed school is necessarily a school of training in fundamental morality, even if there is no direct moral instruction of any kind. Compared with the influences of the school itself on the child's character, exerted through his teachers, his school-mates, his own position as a member of a regularly organized community of larger relationships than those of his home, all the influences of formal tuition in morals sink into insignificance. Put first that which is most important—the ripening influence of actual, constant, inevitable contact with other human beings, which perforce calls out and exercises the moral faculties in a thousand salutary ways.

In the light of this truth, it is really melancholy, in the report of Commissioner Stockwell, of Rhode Island, on "Morals in the Public Schools," published on a previous page of this issue, to read such extravagantly superstitious statements as these: "Of the means used to secure moral and virtuous development, we naturally consider the Bible first. . . . It will thus be seen that there are but few schools in our State wherein the pupils are not brought into daily contact with the Scriptures, the fountain of all truth, the source of all virtue, the essence of all morality." But even Commissioner Stockwell recognizes to some extent the general value of school discipline and administration as a factor in the moral education of the children, when he adds: "As every school is, in a certain sense, a miniature government, and the same principles underlie its existence and control its life as in the case of the nation, it is, of course, both the duty and privilege of the teacher to call the attention of his pupils to these fundamental ideas, and to impress them upon them as the main spring of their actions. And while it is impossible to tabulate facts or disclose systems which shall reveal the nature and extent of this branch of moral training, I am quite confident that it is a very important factor, and cannot be justly overlooked in any estimate we may make upon the subject." Were it not for the distorting and perturbing influence of his over-estimate of the influence of the Bible in promoting moral education, these latter considerations would not have been degraded by the Commissioner to an inferior rank.

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They should have been placed first; and they show how unreasonable it is to charge upon the friends of secular public schools any disregard of the importance of moral education in the general school system.

But we go further than this. Not only would we insist on the vast consequence of the indirect moral influences exerted over the scholars by a wisely and faithfully conducted school administration, but we also recognize and insist upon the necessity of direct moral instruction. Believing as we do that morality is grounded, not at all upon the Bible, but wholly upon the nature of things, and especially upon the nature of human society as such, we hold that a text-book of morality can be and ought to be prepared, for use in the public schools, which shall treat morality like any other branch of natural knowledge, unfold its general principles in the form of clear exposition, and impress them on the pupils by lucid illustration and by immediate application to the exigencies of school life. So taught, ethics can be made of immense practical utility in training the young for the faithful discharge of their future duties as citizens of the Republic. No words can express the value of such direct tuition in moral truth; for it will reduce, or rather exalt, morality to the rank of a natural science, instead of making it a mere appendage to a system of theological falsities. Christianity disparages "mere morality," and ranks it as of only secondary importance, as compared with the supreme necessity of "faith in Christ." Here it is that the use of the Bible in the public schools stands directly in the way of the moral interests of society. So long as people look upon the Bible as "the fountain of all truth, the source of all virtue, the essence of all morality," just so long will they rely upon the perfunctory reading of a few verses daily as a sufficient instruction of the scholars in the elements of morality; and the children will continue to be sent forth into the struggles and temptations of real life without any adequate grounding in MORAL IDEAS. This is fatal folly. Practical morality is the art of living nobly; and, like every other art, it depends upon a corresponding science—the science of ethics. It is only by a thorough knowledge of this science, by a clear and adequate comprehension of the general principles which constitute it, that enlightened solutions can be attained of perplexing social and moral questions. The absolute equality of natural rights, the inviolability of contracts, the binding force of promises, and many other vitally important matters on which the Bible is wholly or partially silent, ought to be made perfectly clear to the child's intellect, or we cannot expect them to be regarded sacredly in the man's conduct. Hence the farce of Bible-reading is no substitute for scientific moral instruction; yet it is accepted as a substitute for it, and tends to postpone indefinitely the day when our public schools shall become in fact the most powerfully radiating centres of public morality. The Bible in the schools not only constitutes a great public violation of morality, but it also retards and hinders the moral progress of the community in a thousand ways besides. The liberals of the Republic have no duty more sacred than that of combining their efforts for the establishment of an absolutely secular school system; and this, not merely for the sake of rectifying a great public wrong and abolishing a great statutory injustice to themselves, but still more for the sake of clearing the way for the institution of such methods as shall really secure the moral education of the people.

PRESIDENT WALKER'S SERMONS.

Among the few books that came with me to this literary desert from which I now write, was the new volume of sermons saved from the manuscripts of Dr. James Walker, late President of Harvard College, and recently published in Boston by Roberts Brothers. Sermons are not usually very attractive reading, either for entertainment or to furnish food for thought; and this volume, probably, would not have added its weight to my trunk, had I not been a hearer of Dr. Walker's sermons, for several years, in the college chapel at Cambridge, and known by personal experience what a powerful preacher he was. Hearing him at a time when I would go farther for a sermon than I would to-day (and yet I take still a kind of brotherly interest even in a poor sermon), it is not too much to say that his discourses not only offered me food for thought, but were in the best sense an entertainment, to which I looked forward from week to week with delight. They were a help, mentally and spiritually, for which I shall never cease to feel grateful. And how many hundreds of the graduates of Harvard, now verging upon middle life and even towards old age, will bear the same testimony, and welcome for the same reason this book!

Opening the book for the first time, I turned the leaves to see if it contained any discourses I remembered to have heard, and was at once gratified at finding that some of the texts and subjects greeted me as old friends, though I had never met them but once before. The titles of those I especially remember hearing are "White Lies," "Public Opinion," "On the Sin of being Led Astray," "The Daily Cross," "Providence," "The Dangers of College Life," and "The Young Man's Dream of Life." And these I have naturally hastened to read first; and as evidence that the sermons were preached and not merely read, and that Dr. Walker had the orator's as well as writer's power, I may say that these discourses seem to me the best parts of the volume. I read them now with the added power which the preacher's voice and manner gave to the sentiments at the time of delivery. Other readers, for a similar reason, will probably think others of the collection best. It is from twenty to twenty-seven years since I heard any of these sermons, and my memory is not a tenacious one. Yet as I read them to-day, some of the sentences seem as familiar as if I had heard them within the last month. The preacher stands before me again, just as he looked when he uttered these sentences in the little narrow pulpit of the old chapel in University Hall, and I hear once more the solemn, awe-inspiring tones of his voice, and see the peculiarly impressive gesture and aspect of countenance that were wont to mark some climax in his argument. Let me give as an instance a passage from the sermon on "The Daily Cross." The subject is treated in that discriminating manner which was one of Dr. Walker's special merits as a preacher. The burden of the discourse throughout is to show what the doctrine of "self-denial," or of "the cross," demands of us in this modern time, and two or three times the question is repeated, "What shall we crucify?" Thus by one discrimination after another he narrows the matter to the final point, when he says, "What adds to the difficulty of self denial at the present day is that it requires not only self-control, but *self-knowledge*. Every man is called upon in the text to take up his cross daily; but what to crucify? I answer, *His bosom sin*." Who that heard this discourse cannot recall the tones and look with which this passage was uttered, and the moment of awful silence which followed it, when the speaker stood as if transfixed, and the hearers' hearts, taken as it were unawares by this sudden turn, were penetrated with the arrow of self-revelation?

But these sermons are not only valuable to those who heard them. They have a value in themselves, such as is possessed by few volumes of sermons that are published in our time. They deserve especially to be read by preachers and those studying to be preachers. They ought to become text-books in theological schools for the simplicity of their style, the severity of their logic, and the cautious, wise discrimination of their method; not, however, to be imitated,—for it would be particularly unsafe for any preacher to attempt to copy Dr. Walker's manner of writing who did not have something of Dr. Walker's cast of mind, and was not capable of his remarkably dignified and impressive delivery. Sermons so replete with nicely-balanced thought and so severely bare of illustration would fall very lifeless from the pulpit unless a corresponding delivery should go with them. Dr. Walker had a style of speaking that was the exact expression of his style of thought, and this made him the great preacher he was. But, though the style of these sermons cannot be safely copied, it can be advantageously studied. It shows that a sermon need not abound in extravagance of statement, nor deal with sensational trickeries, nor be burdened with illustration, to make a great preacher. *Weight of thought* being given, and an adequate *weight of manner* to drive the thought home to the hearer's heart, and a preacher's effectiveness is assured; and such a preacher's power will endure long after the tinsel that makes so many modern sermons glitter, and dazzles the eyes of admiring congregations, has turned to its constituent dust,—which at last only blinds the eyes and chokes the mind without feeling.

Of course these sermons of Dr. Walker are not written from the stand-point of free religion. They accept Christianity as a supernaturally authenticated revelation. But they are written from the stand-point of a very liberal interpretation of Christianity, and deal more with broad principles of religion and morality than with theological dogmas. Dr. Walker stood on the spiritualistic, transcendental side of Unitarianism, and these sermons, with all the severity of their logical method, will show why. The title of the volume, *Reason, Faith, and Duty*, well indicates the line of subjects of which the several discourses treat. It should be added, however, that the selection was not made by Dr. Walker himself, and, as a prefatory note intimates, he is not to be held responsible for the publication. He burned most of his sermons himself, only intrusting a few before his death to the hands of a friend. During his lifetime he was a sparse and reluctant publisher of his productions; too much so for one who thought so wisely. Yet his self-restraint in this respect might profitably be copied by some more fluent preachers to-day.

The engraved likeness that adds value to the book gives Dr. Walker's nobly shaped head and strong profile. It is cut, however, to his severest expression, and softens not into the benignant smile, often with a touch of humor in it, by which some of us like best to remember him.

W. J. P.

THE ART MUSEUM TO BE OPENED ON SUNDAY AFTERNOONS.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we learn that the Directors of the Boston Art Museum have unanimously voted to open their beautiful rooms free to the public on Sunday afternoons, from March 1 to November 1, from 1 to 5 o'clock, P.M.

This generous action will open a rich opportunity for enjoyment and instruction to those to whom the weekly holiday gives the only opportunity for recreation and mental enjoyment. We think the Directors have done all that we could possibly ask of them, and that this division of the Sunday time is one which happily unites what is good in the old method of keeping the day with a recognition of the more liberal demands of our time. The morning hours are well spent, either in the church service, if that ministers to us, or, if not, in rest for the body or mind at home; but the whole day becomes wearisome without some refreshing change; and what could be better to brighten the week that is begun than the ministrations of Art and Beauty? The collections of the Art Museum are not yet very large, but they are admirably arranged and full of interest. We are glad that early American art is so well represented in this, the first permanent public Art Museum of our city. The Stuarts, Copleys, and Allstons are not works to be ashamed of, and we think they will awaken a juster respect than is common for our early efforts in art, and give us hope for the future. The plaster casts from the antique are very interesting, and to those unfamiliar with them are enough to furnish many hours of enjoyment and study. The moderate price of these valuable reproductions of great works will make it easy for the Directors to add to their number and so give fresh interest to the collection.

The rooms devoted to ancient objects of curiosity or beauty will probably be found very attractive to those unaccustomed to the study of art, as well as to the *connoisseur*. The mummy cases, the old tapestry, the carved wood-work, and the rich metal and pottery will all help to interest the public, and the constant habit of admiring well-designed and well-executed work will help to raise the standard of taste.

The choice collection of engravings placed in frames and changed from week to week will always offer some new attraction to the visitor.

We have known many people who have abundant means who conscientiously refrain from attending such places on the free days, as if it were usurping the places which others should fill. We think this is a mistaken idea. It is a good thing for all to mingle together in the enjoyment thus offered, and the true amateur of art, who has had advantages of study and wide observation, will often find a pleasant opportunity to say a word of explanation or appreciation which will be a great help to those less favored by circumstances. Within a week we have heard warm gratitude expressed for such chance words in this very building. Even the poorer classes, on a Sunday when relief from pressing cares and the sense of cleanliness and neat dress gives a feeling of self-respect and enjoyment, love to meet and look upon others from different circles in life. It is an innocent social pleasure which makes part of the pleasant French life which is so attractive.

We hope many things from this influence; we hope that the greatest courtesy and good manners will prevail in this temple of beauty. The cigar must be left outside. We trust none will dare profane these courts by any uncleanliness. They should be as holy as a church, and we hope that the quiet and order and mutual kindliness will be as conspicuous as

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in the National Exhibition at Philadelphia. Yet we are not so extravagantly sanguine as to suppose this opening of a museum is to change the moral aspect of the city at once. It is only a step in the right direction, but it is a very important one; it is a recognition of the higher needs and higher possibilities of the people; and we believe that, if the experiment prove successful, many a man and woman twenty years hence will look back to the Sunday afternoons at the Art Museum as among the influences that have moulded their lives for good. E. D. C.

Communications.

SABBATH-DAY MUSINGS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Heterodox as I am in belief, I suppose I may yet have my Sabbath-day musings as well as the most Orthodox Christian. And the quiet which, thanks to Christianity, characterizes this day of rest, I find eminently conducive to thoughtful reverie, and especially in church, from which I have just returned, where, not being deeply interested by the sermon, my musings took shape and form.

We who were once Sabbath worshippers, but who have grown away bit by bit from our early awe of that mysterious day—the "Lord's day" *par excellence*, on which we were forbidden to do our own work, to think our own thoughts, to follow in any wise our own inclinations,—can hardly realize now the hideously warped and distorted ideas of morality which that Sabbath worship gave birth to. Once in a while we are brought face to face with it in others who are yet under its hateful spell, and we are shocked and startled at its developments. Only a few days ago in conversing with a friend of mine, who was brought up (as I was) in the strictest belief in the obligation and necessity of obedience to the fourth commandment, and who has since steadily walked in the well-worn ruts of her childhood's faith with scarcely an idea that there *is* any other road to travel,—I had an experience of this kind.

"How do you like E.?" I asked in regard to a new acquaintance.

"She seems to me to be a very fine woman; kind-hearted, good, and amiable."

"Yes, she is very kind-hearted, and she thinks she is very good; at least she is a professing Christian; but"—with a look of painful doubt—"she does very strange things for a good woman to do. She reads novels on Sunday; and last Sunday I caught her changing some of the trimming on her hat before going to church, and I have even heard her singing songs on the Sabbath,—things *I* wouldn't dare to do, and I don't call myself *good* by any means."

I caught my breath a little as I looked in my friend's honest face, innocent of any intention of misstatement or harsh speaking, and made no reply as my thoughts flew backward and I saw my former mental characteristics photographed in her. Once, through rigid Sabbath worship, I, too, held these distorted views of morality, and was as much shocked by any such harmless desecration of Sunday as by any real wrong-doing or positive crime. And then I saw plainly the need of breaking up the religious character of the Sabbath, and thoroughly secularizing it to man's needs and necessities. Too long has humanity's most sacred day of rest been sacrificed to a superstition as degrading as any fetich worship. It is time we reclaimed it for our own uses. Christ's clear vision discerned this truth long ago, when he declared that "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath"; and it is truly time that the sons of men proved themselves "lords also of the Sabbath."

Among my childish recollections there looms up in vivid remembrance a thick, heavily-bound volume of tracts on Sabbath-breaking. I read it with avidity because it consisted of "stories" which I was allowed to read on Sunday; though the stories were full of warnings to Sabbath-breakers,—stories of capsized boats, of steamboat explosions, of runaway horses and broken necks, of youthful daring and speedy judgment thereon by a choleric, arbitrary, and revengeful Deity. It was a sensational, horrible, but very pious book, and I doubt whether the annals of any heathen religions contain anything equal to it in brutality or blasphemous representation of Deity. Besides this, in those days the Sunday-school books and papers were profusely garnished with anecdotes and illustrations of the same nature. Thanks to this careful training, I was older than I should like to confess before I ever dreamed that any real downright violation of the Puritanic idea of the Sabbath was not followed by swift, sure, and overwhelming vengeance from "an insulted Deity."

I have outgrown my belief in the sanctity of the Sabbath. I think it full time that we, as a people, had all outgrown our belief in it as being peculiarly God's most holy day; but I fear that will never be until we have grown into such large intellectual proportion that we shall feel every day to be a holy day, a day sanctified unto all good words and work.

But in outgrowing my belief in its peculiar sacredness, I have not and cannot outgrow the old-time habit of outward reverence for it, nor do I think any one so educated can completely cast off the shackles with which it binds them. Although, had I a little child, I would not refuse it its playthings on the Sabbath, would not check its song, or hush its frolicsome laugh, would not hinder it from pursuing any of its usual avocations or play or labor, for I do not believe that any of these things are wrong; yet for myself, despite this disbelief, I could not comfortably do any of these things. Early education, and the inherited habit of ancestral superstition is upon me, and, except it be really necessary to break through this habit, no Puritanic Sabbatarian or Centennial Commissioner is more strict in these superstitious outward observances than I am. I could not with any comfort to myself hum a gay song, or engage in any game, or take up my sewing, or join in a loudly merry company on the Sabbath, and it always gives me a little shock of discomfort to see others do so. So it is not, as so many Christians would be inclined to think, the longing to do these things that is at the foundation of my disbelief in the wrongfulness of them.

But my habit of Sabbath-keeping teaches me one lesson: that the rational observance of Sunday has got to be a gradual evolution not a sudden wrenching away from old-time customs and traditions, and how to do this the most effectually should be the study of those who are desirous of replacing with methods of rational wisdom the habits of irrational reverence. Gradually to crowd out of place superstitious customs by introducing in their stead instructive ways and useful ceremonies, should be our aim; that is, to replace as soon as we destroy. Though the day may possibly be still far off when any visible progress in this direction can be shown, let us not therefore grow discouraged nor weary in well-doing for the ultimate good of humanity any more than our fathers grew weary in their attempts to glorify God. Let the enthusiasm of humanity burn clear and bright in the future, as the fiery zeal for religion has done in the past.

Among the many mistakes which we, as beginners in reform, are liable to, let us try not to confound any real good with any past evil with which it may have been associated. Let us not in that future Sabbath, when our only churches will be schools of science and temples of moral and æsthetic culture, banish from them the ennobling and exalting aids of cultured music, beautiful paintings, and artistic architecture. Let all the arts which now render the churches attractive on the Sabbath, even to unbelievers in their faiths, still remain to soften, elevate, and educate the tender feelings of a struggling and imperfect humanity. SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. STEBBINS.

BEAVER, Pa., Jan. 18, 1877.

My dear Sir,—The number of THE INDEX for January 11 contains a letter on the subject of Spiritualism from your pen. I have frequently experienced a desire to express my experience on this subject, and hasten now, with Mr. Abbot's permission, to do so in a communication addressed to you.

Let me premise, then, that I am neither an Orthodox believer in those so-called spiritualistic truths, nor so prejudiced as to call the whole thing "humbug." But before I accept anything as a "fact," a "truth," I must be convinced, and I cannot permit even the most plausible statements of others to influence me in this respect. A number of my intimate friends claim that they possess proofs palpable of immortality, and feel very anxious to convert me. Whenever time and opportunity offered themselves, I accepted their kind invitations and concluded to investigate these "proofs palpable." I am sorry, not on my own, but rather on my friends' account to be compelled to state that I never witnessed any demonstrations which would be calculated to interest me, or even to encourage me to continue my investigations. Yet I resolved to be patient. I thought I could better prepare myself for the coming revelations by studying some works of eminent authors, and I began to read the books of the great seers,—Andrew Jackson Davis, Robert Dale Owen, J. M. Peebles, Mrs. Emma Hardinge Britten, Professor Denton, Hudson Tuttle, and other great lights of the new dispensation. In the meantime, I thought that such pamphlets as *Rules to be Observed for the Spiritual Circle*, by Emma Hardinge Britten, and similar plain guides to spirit intercourse, would materially assist and enlighten me. And while I am forced to admit here that a great deal of this spiritistic "literature" was mere trash, not worth the paper it was printed on nor the time necessary to read it, I still persevered to please my aforesaid friends who took such a deep interest in my case. And here I should like to record that, the more I saw of the "true inwardness" of this spiritistic "literature," the more I became acquainted with the ways and means adopted by leading *media* and recognized organs to keep the faithful from backslidings, the more disgusted and sickened I became. When, finally, to cap the climax, I noticed that here and there *media* were exposed as frauds and impostors, and I observed how tenaciously the poor victims of such impostures and dupes of such delusions still continued to cling to the "glorious truths," I confess my interest began to flag considerably. Even you, my dear Mr. Stebbins, show by your letter that it would be extraordinary if the conviction of the "well-known medium, Slade," in London, should suffice to brand him as an impostor. I have witnessed similar strange phenomena after the exposure of the Davenport humbug, the Katie King farce, and other sickening revelations. The *Banner of Light* continues to advertise the portrait of Katie King, *alias* Annie Morgan, "taken in London by the magnesium light, and representing the full form of the materialized spirit," for only fifty cents.

Now will you be kind enough to enlighten an earnest truth-seeker? Will you be kind enough to assist those who would gladly accept these "proofs palpable" if they only could be proven? Professor Tyndall has investigated these "strange phenomena" and remains a sceptic to this very day! We all admit that the "science of psychology" scarcely can be termed a "science" yet; we are aware that we are surrounded by mysteries, and nobody would more cheerfully acknowledge the "grand facts" of Spiritualism, provided they were demonstrated facts, than the true scientist, the honest truth-seeker. But the sweeping assertion in your letter, "The facts of spirit intercourse confirm," etc., won't do, so long as these "strange phenomena" do not demonstrate the "facts of spirit intercourse" at all; neither can your *dictum* that "the thought and ideal of a personal immortality is as old as humanity and as wide as the world" influence the calm investigator. You say: "It is a normal want of the soul, a truth within us, with its fit and confirming outward evidence, ancient and modern, of spirit manifestation and communion." By such "inanities" you only beg the question, but never convince an honest sceptic.

But perhaps you are able to show us the way! We trust, however, that you will not refer us again to this writer and that writer, to this elaborate treatise and that erudite paper, written by some professional ghost-seer. We have read them all *ad nauseam*, from the great Andrew Jackson Davis down to the crazy author of the *New Mola*, the discoverer of hidden "ansaeritic secrets," P. B. Randolph, whose worse than nonsensical writings are advertised in the *Catalogue of Spiritual and Reform Publications* issued by Messrs. Colby & Rich, the publishers of the *Banner of Light*. We have also carefully read Professors William Crookes' and Alfred R. Wallace's papers; these are readable, but fail to solve the great problem.

As this letter is already too long I must postpone the discussion of the meaning of the Buddhistic "Nirvana" for some other occasion. I must state, nevertheless, that Mr. Chas. D. B. Mills' admirable sketch of *Buddha and Buddhism* has charmed me, and I am of the opinion that he is correct in his interpretation. Chapter V., "The Doctrine," is one of the profoundest essays on this subject I have ever read; the great German philosopher, Schopenhauer, would have embraced the author and thanked him for his labor; but perhaps his disembodied spirit will send Mr. Mills a message from "Summerland" through the agency of some reliable medium!

Sincerely yours, HUGO ANDRIESSEN.

"UNIVERSOLOGY."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—As a student of the Science of Universology, I take this opportunity of expressing to you the great pleasure I am experiencing in reading the expositions, which, from the pen of its discoverer, are, from time to time, appearing in your columns. Permit me to say that, notwithstanding the gravity of the various subjects, to a discussion of which your paper has always devoted itself, it has never opened its doors to a reception of any matter of vaster import than the science, to the unfolding of which Stephen Pearl Andrews has devoted so many years of his life. It is to be hoped that all your readers will study well his articles, for the principles therein enunciated from the only true basis upon which a properly ordered and constituted human society can be organized. The social science question is one which has engaged the minds of some of the greatest thinkers in all ages of the world. Herbert Spencer is one of the latest apostles of the science, and so far as he goes one may follow him without hesitation. But no reader of Spencer can help being impressed with the conviction that he leaves the matter at the very point at which it could begin to be of practical value. However lucid may be regarded his views upon the subject, we can find nothing but reasons for that which is. Unsatisfactory as may be to him the condition of things as he finds them, he does not give the slightest idea of what change or improvement can be effected, or of the method by which any advancement can be made. Indeed he does not even hint at any cure for the ills that be, and whatever may be found in his future works upon the subject, he certainly, by what are already published, justifies us in believing that this branch of the subject has not occupied his thoughts. Auguste Comte goes farther than Spencer, but his notions of what ought to be are entirely deductions from what has been; he would build up the future upon the history of the past. Andrews is the first to tell us of the inherent laws existing in ALL domains of being; that it is not lawmakers who are wanted, but men who will bend their minds to the discovery of laws which exist, and have existed from eternity.

The exact scientists pursue their investigations in the true scientific method. They seek for inherent, unchangeable laws, and, having found them, base upon them facts, not because such have been facts in the past, and will therefore probably continue to be so in the future, but because from the very nature of things it is impossible that anything else should be fact. What is here done in a few branches of science, universology does for integral science; that is, the science of the whole universe, the combination or integralization of *all* the different branches, which now go under the name of various sciences. This invariability and inherency of law in some departments has long been a fact in my mind, and I have on more than one occasion, in lectures upon grammar and upon law, given expression to the idea. It was, therefore, with great pleasure that I found that Andrews had taken the matter in hand many years ago, and had established, as I think he has done, not only the invariability and inherency, but the universality of law. I have entered with considerable zest into a study of his laborious work, and I feel convinced that it is destined to work, before very long, a revolution in our accepted modes of scientific inquiry, and to prove one of the greatest blessings to the human race. Grasping the analogies which exist in all domains of being, he seeks to evolve the inherent laws of all. And he goes further than this; he

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proceeds to show how these laws may be utilized, and, by their application, made to promote the happiness of the human race. The greatest value, indeed, of universology lies in the fact that it acknowledges the comparative insignificance of mere theory, and appreciates the doctrine that all acquisitions of knowledge should be made conducive to the amelioration of the condition of suffering humanity. I close with the expression of a hope that these letters will not be overlooked, nor superficially perused, by any of your readers, but that the importance of the subject will by them be appreciated, and that you will meet with a just return for the valuable service you have rendered by their insertion.

JOHN STORER COBB.

NEW YORK, Jan. 15, 1877.

CLASS PREJUDICES.

LYNCHBURG, Va., Jan. 5, 1877.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I suppose no one will deny that the present difficulties in the Southern problem are caused by the color line; may I suggest some points in this subject which do not seem to me to receive the attention they deserve? In the first place no one looks at the whole question. The Northern Republicans sympathize wholly with the Southern negroes; the Northern Democrats with Southern whites; the Southern white people as a class consider only their own interests, and do not include the negroes at all when they speak of Southern people; the negroes (small blame to them) think only of their own race, and cannot, as yet, take in the idea of the whole people and the whole country. A Southern delegate to the National Convention, a native white Republican, said to me on his return, "A negro cannot take any broad views; neither Fred. Douglass nor any of the rest of them go beyond the negro race." I think this was shown by Mr. Douglass' saying, when reproached with indifference on the subject of Female Suffrage at the Convention, that he "would have spoken upon it, but he did not think about it." What will bring all these opposing elements to a common stand-point from which they can seek the good of the whole people and the country? I think the trouble is national and not local.

I do firmly believe this whole question *could* be settled by the religious people of the country, if they were *all* willing to do it; and I think the great difficulty lies in the entire separation of the races in church matters. At present the position of Christian (?) people in the South is this: negroes will not go into white churches unless they can enter by the same doors and have the same seats that white people have. In this I think they are right, as also in refusing to commune *after* all the white people leave the altar. White people will not admit negroes to their churches unless they will commune *after* the white people and sit in the gallery, and *the new churches have no galleries*. If these distinctions were done away in the *North*, and reciprocal courtesies were shown colored preachers in exchanging pulpits, the *South* would soon follow the example. I go a great deal among the negroes, and think oratory is one of the talents natural to the race. If church-doors were thrown open to them, I believe the great and popular preachers and public speakers of the country would be found among that race. Every other white man here will say the negro rests under a curse; but I agree with the negroes who do not hesitate to say that our land is accursed for their sakes, and will be until justice and equal rights are accorded them.

ORRA LANGHORNE.

"RELIGION AND POLITICS" AGAIN.

The definitions which we find in dictionaries explain mostly historical forms of religion; but have we not broader definitions by which all human beings are invested with that attribute?

"Religion will attend you as a pleasant and useful companion in every proper place and every temperate occupation of life," said Buckminster.

"Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion," said Washington.

"Religion is the effort of man to perfect himself," says Abbot.

I cannot accept the idea that Christianity or any other form of religion contains all that this beautiful, all-embracing word means; neither can I agree with Mr. Einstein when he says: "Religion has for me no other definition than superstition, prejudice, or illusion."

Faith and theories are individual affairs, and I respect the sincere faith of my historical-religious brother, and also the rational theory of my materialistic brother; but I must call their definitions of religion an insufficient interpretation of the true meaning of the word; because I can see and enjoy and impart something beyond the limits of Christian dogmas and materialistic theories. I find in religion the concentration of the best thoughts, aspirations, and actions of the human soul. I strive to maintain and propagate all the good which I find in Christianity and in the schools of materialism and atheism; but I must oppose mere assumptions. Can we not all be better "fathers" than the assuming, cruel, partial, insufficient God of the churches? I was once wholly satisfied with the theories of atheism and materialism, even to the hour which I thought to be really my last one in existence. I was a confirmed atheist, until my reason developed to the firm conviction that there must be something more than matter and forces, and something better and more perfect than the human mind. When my reason found its limit, and my aspiration and longing to that better could not be satisfied, a better faith developed; and now I believe in an all-wise, just Creator and Ruler of all, who has given all he has for each and all, for the existence and subsistence of his creation! Every human being has religion, and in my mind I cannot divest one of it. The good efforts and aspirations which our brother Einstein manifests in his communications, and his appreciation of the true religious and right political principles which we find in THE INDEX, and his good wishes for the editor, convince me that he is one of the best religious men among my good countrymen. His political position shows that he is a reasonable political partisan; but as the best political objects which we have to attend to now are the separation of Church and State, equal taxation and equal rights to all, and as it seems to me impossible to accomplish our work without true religion and right partisan politics, he must kindly allow others to communicate their opinion. If he gives us a better one and corrects our fallacies, we will cheerfully acquiesce.

True religion must provide for all; we ask no favors in the form of a Savior, because the soul and body cannot be lost, unless he who created us loses a part of his own power and justice. Our soul is a part of his, and so is each atom of our body. We have no speculations about another world; let us attend faithfully to this life and sphere, and when we come to another, do the same. Political opinions and actions which come the nearest to the principles unfolded in the Declaration of Independence, and by which we carry out the Constitution of the United States, and enact rational laws, are the best I know of. I am contented with the best conditions and party we now have, and do my mite to make them better; but the most I have to do is to improve myself.

CARL H. HOESCH.

DOVER, N. H., Jan. 16, 1877.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AGAIN.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I must take issue with Mr. Mead in regard to his "Reasons Against Woman Suffrage," in THE INDEX of January 11.

I once held similar opinions, but, having felt the mental pulse of many, both men and women, and gained the confidential expressions of opinions from the latter—studying the question in every light,—I am more anxious *than ever* to see the experiment tried.

He asks how many women can his readers find "without superstition"? Few, I grant, *men or women*. But I can count in my personal acquaintance, in the two States Louisiana and Tennessee, alone, seventeen women as free from sectarian prejudice or Church superstition as either yourself, Mr. Mead, or any of your editorial contributors. And just here I must say with Mr. G. B. Stebbins, in his article in the same paper, that the intelligent Spiritualist "is always the advocate of religious liberty, of the use of reason," and nowhere can be found more earnest combatants of dogmas. Mr. Mead should take into consideration that every obstacle has been put in the way of woman's advancement in this direction, and it argues well for her passionate love of learning and liberty, that she has sought it so arduously under so many difficulties. The opprobrium cast upon a "freethinking" woman, when I was a child, was only a little short of a "harlot." In the outworking of the great social problem, a thousand lives are no more than a thousand leaves.

Freedom has benefited the negro largely as a race, and the evils attending it are more than compensated to the nation in the one fact that this festering sore is healed.

The right of suffrage extended to woman will naturally open a sort of Pandora's box, but let it be opened. Liberty to her means, as it did to the negro, liberty to think, to hear, to act; she will in this *way alone* be lifted from under the dominant heel of priest-rule; she will assail the pulpit as she has the rostrum, and, teaching from it as men have taught, will develop freethought in others.

Just here I must say that I recognize, and wish to preserve always, the great difference between men and women. No Republic has tried the power of woman as an admitted and welcome participant in civil affairs; yet all will admit that the family, without its female head, is soon dissolved and its members scattered. What is the nation other than a collection of families? If it is not good for man to be alone socially, neither is it civilly, for man rules by sex power, and forces woman from the element of motherly affection and higher spiritual strength.

It is superfluous to cite the injustice of trying women by laws they never helped to frame, or by classing them civilly with lunatics, idiots, and criminals. Here is a telegram from Washington: "It is freely discussed here that it will be well to send Casey for the long term; he and the ladies of the White House can control Grant." What a comment upon a nation's law-makers and rulers! Why not at once admit woman's power, and train it to noble uses? The long system of tyranny and spoiling, grinding as a slave, or decking as a plaything, has made woman, like all weak animals, a cunning one, and she wins her point by dwarfing her noble nature, pandering to vices that men render her powerless either to heal or direct. Every great national good has been, in almost all cases, the outgrowth of a seeming great evil. But for Moses having murdered the Egyptian, and hidden his body in the sand, we *might* have missed all those pretty stories about women contained in the Pentateuch. Full power for woman to develop her nature as she would has been the one dream and desire of my life, inspired always by *firm* conviction that in this way alone, in future ages, will men become as "gods." Since Pilate fronted the Nazarene with the solemn question, "What is truth?" it has rung unanswered down the ages. No longer questioning man, I send my cry into the veiled empires of eternity, and this answer comes back to me: "The highest convictions of thine own earnest soul, oh mortal, this to thee is truth." My truth may be to you and others the boldest error; but each of us must toil, if need be die, in chiselling and dragging his stone to its place, and thus helping to build up the great temple of humanity.

MRS. E. L. SAXON.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 19, 1877.

"HERRE" AND "THERRE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—The Rev. Joseph Cook, in a late Monday lecture, used this argument: "If I can prove a *here*, I can prove a *there*. If I can prove a *before*, I can prove an *after*. If I can prove an *upper*, I can prove an *under*. Just so by logical necessity there cannot be a dependent being without an independent. I am a dependent being, and therefore there is an independent or self-existent being." Now, sir, if one who has never studied logic in Germany may comment on so able a man as Mr. Cook, I would suggest objections to that style of proof, for the very plain reason that no such conclusions can be deduced from the premises laid down.

When I use the words, an upper and an under, a here and there, I use terms which are descriptive of some objects or places. But before I use those terms I must know that those two objects or two places exist. It would be senseless to use the term under-floor, if I did not know an upper-floor to exist. These terms merely refer to differences which we know to exist. But it does not by any means follow that we can apply such terms indiscriminately, and thereby prove fundamental truths.

It may be true that there is a here and a there, without its being true that Mr. Cook is a dependent body; he already assumes that there is an independent body when he declares himself a dependent one, and that is begging the question. The very object of the whole argument is to *prove* the independent or self-existent body.

I will take the liberty of altering Mr. Cook's argument and putting it thus: I must know that there is an upper, and an under before I can know them separately as such. The natural inference from this would be that I must know there is an independent and a dependent body before I know them separately as bearing that relation to each other. But that would not *prove* an independent or self-existent body.

M. D.

NORWOOD, Jan. 16, 1877.

THE "RADICAL DEMOCRACY" OF BOSTON.

The monthly meeting of the German Radical Democrats of this city took place on Thursday evening, January 25th, at the new Turn-Halle, Middlesex Street. No friend of Labor Reform (real, not patented) will fail to be interested in the proceedings of this meeting. The petitions got up by this society in order to effect an extension of the powers of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor were returned to the Secretary by the several members, covered with numerous signatures which, it is hoped, will have the desirable effect on the Legislature when presented. Some copies of that petition circulating outside of Boston, especially those in Fall River and Lawrence, have not yet been returned, and it is desirable that the parties taking charge of them there shall send it in directly to the Legislature, as more will be effected by having it presented from several sides. Great care should be taken in presenting it *only through a representative who will support the measure asked for.*

At the motion of the sage of Roxbury, Mr. Karl Heinzen, the much complicated land question was thoroughly discussed. Great interest was added to the discussion by the calm, clear-headed remarks of Dr. Marie Zakrzewska, who took a prominent part in the debate.

It is really gratifying to see that the German element of this city is so active in regard to the progressive movements. It is those who make the least noise who accomplish the most.

IVAN PANIN.

LIBERTY'S NOTES.

This journal in behalf of the new treatment of the nervous and insane will soon be issued. All interested in this humane work should forward their subscriptions to the editor, Mrs. Martha E. Berry, 3 Beacon Street, Boston. Terms, $2.00 yearly, in advance.

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MRS. MARTHA E. BERRY,
3 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

WE, AS THE inhabitants of a republic, need to know more of history. Not only our own history, but the histories of other nations; their rise and downfall, their births and deaths, so that, from their mistakes, we may guard against our own dissolution. But here comes our difficulty. Histories do not lay stress enough on this point—the causes that brought the changes,—the birth, the revolution, or the death. This matter or point should be continually prominent, continually held up to view, continually in sight. Then history would be worth more to us as a people exercising the right of suffrage. Will not some one undertake this work, with this idea in view, and provide something to educate us in the direction of light, of which we are greatly in need?—*School Journal.*

THE TROY *Press* says: "A teacher in one of our prominent female seminaries on the Hudson, on being asked by a young lady of her class what pig-iron is replied, "Iron given in exchange for swine"!

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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PUBLISHED BY THE

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

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The Index.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1877. WHOLE NO. 372.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE REVIVAL is in full blast here in Boston. How are we to find out when the city has "bowed her haughty intellectual head"?

A FRIEND asks if ladies may sign the petition for the Religious Freedom Amendment. Certainly. The petition reads: "We, the undersigned, *citizens of the United States*," etc. Women have been declared citizens, we believe, by the Supreme Court; and assuredly their citizenship will not be called in question by liberals.

THE FIRST two returns of signatures to the National Liberal League Petition were received on February 2. One of them is sent by Mr. Henry Doty Maxson, on behalf of the Radical Club of Amherst College; the number of signers is nineteen, of whom all but one are members of the Senior and Junior classes. The other is sent by Mr. M. P. Barber, Postmaster of Pleasantville, Pa., and contains the signatures of sixty-five citizens of that place.

REV. DR. LORIMER is a Baptist clergyman of this city who performs at Tremont Temple. We say "performs," because he himself puts that construction on his own services by denouncing those who attend without paying, and declaring that he despises a deadhead as akin to a sneak thief. Such sentiments strike one as queer in the minister of "salvation without money and without price." Did he ever reflect that, in consequence of tax-exemption, the churches are all religious deadheads?

"GOD LOOKS at the thought," said Mr. Moody the other day, "and unbelief is a sin; doubts are sins." No wonder that Moody reaches the souls of all Christians, for he speaks the very soul of Christianity. That is it: unbelief is a sin—doubts are sins! So Christianity kills unbelief by killing doubts, and kills doubts by killing thought, and kills thought by burning up the *love of truth for its own sake* in a great, fierce blaze of ignited religiosity. But the dense smoke of the conflagration hangs heavily over the heads of those who kindle it; and the star of truth, unobscured by human folly, still shines bright and pure for all who can live by its benignant light.

SAYS THE Boston *Herald* of January 29: "Walt Whitman may be a greater poet than Homer for all we know, but he will have hard work to persuade the American people that they owe *all* their liberty and prosperity to the late Thomas Paine, Esq., if that is respectful enough to suit the captious INDEX." Perhaps the *Herald* can answer its own implied question. It is our habit always to refer respectfully to the founder of the Christian religion, though not included in the number of his disciples. But if we never alluded to him except as either "Jes Christ" or "the late Jesus Christ, Esq.," we suspect that decent papers would be justly offended, and point out a possible mean between contemptuous familiarity and mocking deference. Query: would the *Herald* stigmatize them as "captious"?

IT IS SAID that a Hartford Episcopalian clergyman on his way up-town, the other day, fell in with a wealthy Jewish merchant, who has been somewhat prominent in the troubles at the new synagogue which have led to the withdrawal of Rev. Dr. Deutsch as rabbi. The clergyman inquired of the Jew as to the troubles, whereat the Jew replied: "Yaas. It is high time Dr. Deutsch must go." "Why? What has he done?" "Done? He believes in nodings. He does not believe in Gott; aor in ter tuyvel!" "Indeed." "Yaas. Now when a man does not believe in Gott, der he ish; but when he does not believe in ter tuyvel, ver ish he?" The Jew seems to be of the same mind as the English rector who has lately been sued for refusing to administer the communion to a church-member who denied any belief in a personal devil.

PROFESSOR FELIX ADLER, of New York city, is evidently one of the rising stars of freethought in this country. His simplicity, sincerity, and courage are winning for him a growing influence. In a recent lecture at Standard Hall, he said: "Our great want is of culture, the harmonious development of all our faculties. This cannot be supplied by the three hundred and fifty or more colleges in the country, because they are built by the Church, and, each sect having its own, the result is ludicrous impotency. Besides, the sectarian spirit within the colleges has science within its grasp, and stifles its liberty, which is its life. The right of free utterance is curtailed. European investigations, when not in accord with Church creeds, are suppressed. Natural science, even, is taught with bias, and our future lawyers, doctors, and statesmen are sent forth with no knowledge, or with a distorted knowledge of the great conflicts waging in the scientific world. That great good has been done by the Church in lessons of pure morality we admit; sincerely and emphatically yes. But, for their dogmatic teachings, they have been evil, and the source of evil."

THE LIBERAL LEAGUES of Philadelphia and Chelsea have held meetings to protest against the rejection of the Paine Bust. A full report of the former has been received too late for publication this week; we publish that of the latter this week. Meanwhile we commend to attention a choice bit of justice and liberality from the *Christian Statesman* of January 25: "The bust of the individual familiarly and irreverently spoken of in common parlance as 'Tom Paine,' which a few zealous freethinkers recently presented to the City Councils of Philadelphia to be placed in Independence Hall, has been finally rejected by the vote of Select Councils. Every one who has read the articles of Bishop Coxe in our issues for the 4th and 11th inst. will rejoice in this action. Paine rendered no services to the country which entitle him to this recognition, while his vulgar and blasphemous assaults on Christianity, his odious private character, and his attack on Washington, render any memorial of him unfit for association with the sacred treasures which are, and are to be, deposited in Independence Hall. The presentation of this bust, moreover, had a special significance, being designed as a tribute, in this Centennial Year, to the supposed influence of Paine, and of the infidelity which he represented, in shaping our political institutions. The Select Council of this city has done honor to itself by its action."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Demands of Liberalism.

REPORT OF A LECTURE DELIVERED AT DENVER, COLORADO, SUNDAY EVENING, DEC. 24, 1876.

BY B. F. UNDERWOOD.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

This is our Centennial year. We have been for some months observing and contemplating the results of a century of national existence. The republic which was established by the courage and sacrifice of our fathers a hundred years ago has grown to be a republic of forty millions of people. It has extended in territory thousands of miles, from the rock-ribbed Atlantic to the golden shores of the Pacific Ocean. It is, indeed, a marvel of progress and development, such as perhaps the world has never seen in any previous period of its history.

The past hundred years have been preëminent for progress in science and in mechanical and industrial pursuits. Greece and Rome, in their palmy days, when they were at the zenith of their glory and the height of empire, never offered such a spectacle as is presented to the world by this American republic. Those nations certainly had exceptional advantages. They had a republican government under which every freeman was a voter for the measures of his choice, as he is to-day among us; they had at some periods of their history ideas of personal liberty also which the most advanced minds cherish to-day; they had languages remarkable for flexibility and finish, and literatures that are immortal. All mankind through subsequent ages are their debtors, by reason of their great contribution to the intellectual culture of the race. They had periods full of deeds of martial heroism, of personal disinterestedness, and of moral goodness. They had characters that have since been models to Christian lands, and are held up as the embodiment of virtue to-day. But notwithstanding all their achievements, there was not that general diffusion of intelligence which we can claim; they were not acquainted with our hundreds and thousands of appliances for lessening manual labor; there was not that general comfort among the people in their habitations or in their mode of living that we see among us to-day.

This republic may also be spoken of as one which is exalted in many respects above all other modern nations. England, Germany, France, great nations, in many respects our superiors, owing to their greater age and opportunities for culture,—have not shown that wonderful speed of progress, that readiness, that adaptability to circumstances, that ability to achieve great undertakings with small resources, which are characteristic of this people. Lord Palmerston said that we never could subdue the rebellion; but he afterwards confessed that he had relied on his knowledge of history rather than a correct estimate of our resources and capacities. He found in this country agencies and influences at work which he had not counted on, because they were unparalleled in the past experience of mankind.

Still, it is well for us, while we contemplate these achievements, and while we look to a brilliant future, not to be ignorant of the many evils which it is our duty to remove. We are proud of our liberty; we speak of our progress; but we are liable to ignore the fact that, with all our liberty, and with all our progress, there is an inequality, an injustice that only needs to be mentioned to be seen, which must be removed if we would sustain the claim we are accustomed to make. It is sometimes said that every man here has perfect liberty; that there is no such thing as a union of Church and State among us; that every man can worship under his own fig-tree, with no one to molest him or make him afraid; that no person is permitted to injure or impair the rights of another, at least that, if it is done, it is in violation of the laws of the land. It is said further that nobody in this country wishes to interfere with the liberties of the people; or, if there are such, that they are so few in number and insignificant in influence as hardly to be worth taking into account. Let us see what are the facts.

In the first place, it is not true that there is no considerable number of persons opposed to religious liberty. There is a large proportion of the people of the United States that, instead of being in favor of entire religious liberty, is really opposed to it, and to the extent of its power would deprive many of their rights to worship as they see fit. The majority of the people in this country to-day are more strongly imbued with a sense of religion than they are with a sense of justice; and hence, if a conflict comes up between the rights of their fellow-beings and their religious creed, they are more disposed to contend for the latter than they are for the former. There are hundreds and thousands who, though they themselves are devoid of deep religious convictions, yet, if the question should come up, would certainly sacrifice the inalienable rights of man rather than see sacrificed the time-honored customs of their fathers. Go among the Evangelical denominations of the land, among those who are still more or less devoted to the Church, who have accepted the creeds, and whom the creeds have influenced to the extent that their sense of justice is subordinate to their religious belief, and ask them if they are in favor of allowing entire religious liberty, of allowing infidels to advocate their views; and many of them will answer you in a manner that will indicate that they have no full appreciation of the rights of those who differ from them. Many are in favor, theoretically, of granting religious liberty; but let a practical case come up, bring a man who is an atheist into a court of justice, let a person try to carry out his ideas of Sunday in disregard of the Orthodox view, let him attempt to influence public opinion in favor of taxing church property, let him advocate the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools, and then you see bigotry, intolerance, and fanaticism appear. Whatever may be their theoretical pretensions, they show their sense of religion, their attachment to their creed, is a hundred times stronger than their sense of justice, or recognition of the rights of unbelievers. There are hundreds and thousands, then, who are not specially religious, but who are led in these matters by custom, by the prestige of authority, by old habits and modes of thinking. If a contest comes, whether it be in a political election, or in some case involving the interest of an individual, they throw all the weight of their influence in favor of the creed and in opposition to personal rights and personal liberty.

Well, then, we see that it is not true that everybody in this country is in favor of religious liberty, however loud the pretension may be. Neither is it true that there is an entire separation of Church and State in this country. It is true there is no such union between the two as prevailed in earlier times, in the palmy days of Puritanism, the praises of which are sung by so many Orthodox theologians even now. We have still the *remnants* of that union of Church and State which was established in superstition and intolerance, when a man was punished by whipping and with death if he dared to deny the Bible; when his children were taken away from him, as in the good old days of New England Puritanism, provided he did not bring them up in the Christian faith; when he was punished with severity if he did not conform to the Orthodox teachings of the Church.

The National Constitution is secular. That immortal document, penned by a Virginia planter, does not even contain the word God,—a fact which has been a great stumbling-block in the minds of many of our Orthodox friends. It declares that Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, and it forbids Congress to make any religious qualifications as a test for office. It is a purely secular document, thanks to the wisdom and sagacity and liberality of those great men who lived in that day; and to whose disinterested devotion to the interests and liberty of mankind we are indebted for the beneficent institutions we enjoy. They framed and adopted the Constitution of the United States; seeing the effects of a union of Church and State in the past, they did what they could to guard against it. Our government is in every respect non-Christian, just as it is non-infidel.

When George Washington signed the famous treaty with Tripoli, it expressly stated that Christianity is no part of the law of the land; and that treaty has become a part of the nation's organic law. At the same time, even in the national government, so strong was public sentiment, so strong the current of feeling, even from the first, there was more or less pandering to prejudice and intolerance; days of thanksgiving and prayer were appointed by the Executive, not because of any authority therefor in the Constitution of the United States, or any power delegated to the Chief-Magistrate of the nation, but because an intolerant religious sentiment demanded that its feelings and convictions should be regarded and formally recognized as true by the State. Hence from the first we had days of thanksgiving and prayer appointed. Thomas Jefferson, the greatest statesman, in my opinion, that America has ever produced, a man of great political sagacity, of wonderful constructiveness of intellect, a man, too, who appreciated in its fulness what religious liberty is, declined to appoint a day of thanksgiving, for which he was roundly abused by the clergy; but, notwithstanding their protests, he told them that, as the chief executive of the nation, his duty was to enforce the laws, not to appoint days of prayer and thanksgiving, and thereby give an official national recognition to any particular religion or any particular doctrine. But the courage, the sagacity, and the consistency of Jefferson have been imitated by very few. The last outrage of this kind upon the liberal sentiment and upon the principles of secular government was the proclamation of President Grant (following his predecessors, and no worse than they), which appointed, in violation of the Constitution of the United States, a day of public, official, and national recognition of the Christian religion, especially of the doctrine of prayer, that there is a being who answers the prayers of men, the duty of meeting together to worship, and other implied doctrines. But our government has no right, and our Chief Magistrate has no authority, to make any distinction of days on such grounds, or to make any recognition whatever of Mohammedanism, Christianity, Spiritualism, Infidelity, Paganism, or any other religion or no-religion.

Now let us go a little farther. We have chaplains in the halls of the United States Congress. They have no more right to be there than they have to be in my own private house without my invitation. These legislators are elected from among the people, among whom are Infidels, Spiritualists, Atheists, Deists, Mohammedans possibly, as well as Christians, of every class. We help elect these representatives; we help pay them. It is an insult to every free-thinker in the land when they put a chaplain in those halls, and convert those halls into religious meeting-houses and those legislatures into prayer-meetings.

But while our national government is secular in its form and basis, even though perverted by reason of the strength of the religious sentiment, what shall we say of our State governments? There we find everywhere a recognition of certain Christian doctrines and observances that, as a State, we have no moral right, in justice to those who differ from these doctrines, to take any notice of. All have a right to enjoy their own beliefs; but no one has a right to foist his own religious views upon the national or State government, and thereby secure for them official sanction.

We have certain Sunday laws, in almost every

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State in the Union, that are utterly opposed alike to freedom, personal liberty, and the enlightenment of this nineteenth century. We have Sunday laws that recognize the day as a sacred day, and punish certain kinds of work or amusements on that day, even though they do not interfere with the equal rights of others.

We have religious qualifications demanded in courts of justice, so that a freethinker may be insulted by a judge or some attorney, when he enters, by the question, "Do you believe in the Bible?" or "Do you believe in a God?" just as though he had a right in a court-house to ask any man whether he believes in one God, or in a million, or whether he believes in the Bible or not, or what his religious views are. Then we have the judicial oath, by which a man, when he comes to testify, is expected to hold up his right hand and go through religious mummery which any knave can repeat; whereas, if he is honest enough to say, "I don't believe in it," he may be excluded, and deprived of giving testimony, whatever interests he may have at stake.

We have another political recognition of religion. There are between three and four hundred millions of church property in this country. Immense structures, many of them built with the hard earnings of the struggling poor, of men and women that have not money enough to buy common literature with which to enlighten their minds, or leisure enough even to rest and recover from their hard labors—built in this manner by systematic begging, I had almost said robbery,—are exempt from taxation, whereby an additional tax is put upon you and me, my liberal friends, in order that these churches may be thus exempt, in consideration, forsooth, that they are the houses of God! For that reason you, and I, and others who do not believe in this faith, are taxed additionally, and most unjustly, too.

Then we have in our schools, which are supported by Christian, Orthodox, and heretic, by the infidel, by the pagan, by all classes,—our public schools, which are the glory of the land, where the poor boy may go and get an education that will fit him for the pursuits of life, and prepare him for the duties that shall await him when he attains to manhood,—these schools are invaded by the Bible, which, whatever may be the value of the book, has no more right to a place there than the Koran, the Rig-Veda, the Zendavesta, or the Golden Bible of the Mormons, Paine's *Age of Reason*, Voltaire's Dictionary, or any other infidel book ever written. Here is another instance where we find a practical union of Church and State.

Then we have religious festivals and fasts appointed by the authority of the Chief Executive of every State in the Union. We have also public appropriations made by the State legislatures for theological schools and colleges, which are mere mills for turning out men whose duty in after-life is to teach theology, which, as Lord Brougham said, "is the art of teaching what nobody knows anything about." These schools and colleges receive endowments, and thereby we are again indirectly taxed for the support of absurdities which we do not believe, and which some of us are laboring to get rid of.

There is a party, by no means insignificant, that has a paper which is an exponent, an organ of its principles, in the city of Philadelphia. It numbers among its officers and advocates distinguished judges, Governors of States, prominent officials of all kinds. Not satisfied with the already existing union between Church and State, it aims to encroach upon the rights and liberties of the liberal mass of people, so far as to insert in our Constitution, by an amendment, a recognition of God as the source of all authority, Jesus Christ as the ruler among nations, and the Bible as the supreme law of the land. Seeing the rapid progress of liberalism through the country, the lessening of the authority of the clergy, the general decline in popular faith, they wish to arrest it, by securing for it official recognition and support, in order to counteract this disintegration that is going on.

I was talking in Philadelphia with one of the leaders of that party, when I told him that we had rights as infidels which it was his duty to recognize. He said in reply substantially that, if a man chose to put himself in defiance to the will of God he had no right to make any claims of religious liberty, for there was no liberty that was not based upon the word of God. In the city of New York, a clergyman stated at a large public meeting that, if there were infidels who did not wish to subscribe to the Constitution after it recognized God as the source of authority, and Jesus Christ as the ruler among nations, and the Bible as the supreme law of the land, those infidels might emigrate to some other country; they had no right to try to defeat progress by their impious blasphemies. Even the Rev. Dr. Miner, a leading Universalist clergyman, comes out and joins this party; and the Unitarian Rev. A. D. Mayo is another of its advocates. All over the country Presbyterian ministers, and quite largely those of other denominations, sustain that proposed Constitutional amendment and are of the "God-in-the-Constitution" party. Already their influence has been seen in Congress. Now, as liberals, we demand our rights, and we are bound to have them, if there is a possibility of obtaining them. I went through the terrible scenes of one war; and while I have no constitutional disposition to engage in the strife of arms, I would far more readily go through another, in order to secure rights and liberties to which we are entitled, if I thought I could not secure them without. There is nothing more sacred to a true man than liberty to do whatever he chooses, when he does not thereby infringe upon the rights of other persons. There is no man, no authority, no tribunal on earth that has any right to dictate to me what I shall do or say, provided I do not impair the rights and liberties of others.

Now we demand entire disconnection between Church and State; we demand the secularization of our government to the extent that there shall not be a remnant of the union of the two. All American citizens have equal rights and liberties; every man has the right to exercise his own religious belief, whatever it is; every man has a right to abstain from supporting religious beliefs in which he does not concur, or to which he cannot subscribe. These principles, I think, are so evident that we need not stop to dwell upon them. It does not matter what the majority, so far as the right is involved, may want; if there is one man in the United States who does not believe in the existence of God, to recognize it in the government is a wrong and an insult to him. We are a republic; we submit to the will of the majority in all questions which it belongs to the people to decide; but the government has no right even to submit to vote the personal, inalienable rights of man. For instance, while the people have a right to make laws deciding how a President shall be chosen, or what the laws shall be in regard to common matters, it has no right to make a law compelling a person to renounce his religious belief; it has no right to compel an individual to attend religious services. If there is only one person in this land who is a pagan, the nation has no right, by reason of its authority and power, to say to him, "You must change your convictions, and become a Christian, or you must suppress your convictions so that they will harmonize with the Christian sentiment of the country." The opinions of one man are just as sacred as the opinions of the many, and the notion that, because the majority believe thus and so, therefore the minority have no rights, but must submit, is a notion that finds no sanction from a free or even a decent government. We say to Christians, that we infidels have the right to pursue happiness and to enjoy ourselves as we see fit, provided we are not trespassing upon the rights of others; and the duty of government is to protect all men in the exercise of their rights rather than to persecute a few, whatsoever be their habits or their customs.

This idea that government has the right to set up a standard of religious truth and duty, and attempt to legislate its notions of virtue into humanity is very pernicious, and is a revival of Puritanism such as prevailed in Scotland in the seventeenth century, when a man was forbidden to sit in his door on Sunday and enjoy the coolness of the day; when he was forbidden to shave his beard, water his garden, ride horseback, or visit the market on Monday or Saturday because they were so near the Sabbath. That idea to some extent has prevailed in this country, that government has the right to prescribe to men what habits and customs they shall follow, making sumptuary and other laws in violation of the principles of personal liberty. What we ask and demand in the great cause of liberty, as freemen and as liberals, is that there shall be an abrogation of every law and every enactment that is inimical to impartial religious liberty and justice. We demand that the Sunday laws be abolished; that the day shall be one of recreation and rest for those who choose to make it such. We demand that the government of the United States and the government of the several States shall give to no day a recognition of its alleged sacredness; that every man shall be allowed to pursue such a course as he sees fit on that day, as well as on every other. If people wish to meet for worship, nobody has a right to interfere with them or disturb them in their religious service; if a man wishes to play billiards on Sunday, if he wishes to go fishing, if he desires to sit down in his house to play any game with his wife and children or neighbors, if he wants relaxation, and seeks it by wandering in the fields, or by any sports, whatever their character, if they do not interfere with others, it matters not; he has a right to follow them, and government has no right whatever to restrain him.

It is said we want to introduce the European Sabbath into this country. Well, if the European Sabbath involves nothing more than the recognition of the rights of all, then let us adopt it. We have adopted a great many things that have been in vogue in Europe, and we may have to adopt a great many more. If the Germans choose to spend Sundays at their gardens, or theatres, or concert-halls, we claim they have a perfect right to; denying them, we show narrowness, intolerance, and bigotry utterly inconsistent with the genius of our free institutions. Let us *have* the European Sunday for such as choose to spend it as they do in Europe, and thereby secure for all men in this country a perfect right to enjoy the day in the manner they see fit. Then we shall have something like what we imagine sometimes we now have, a separation of Church and State in regard to the observance of the Sabbath.

And then we must ask and insist upon the abrogation of the oath. What right has every man in an official capacity to ask me what I believe, or, having ascertained my views, what right has he to exclude me, or the people through him to exclude me, from the court? Cannot a man who is an atheist be truthful? A man may be a Christian and be untruthful; and if he is an infidel and is unscrupulous enough to say he believes what he does not believe, his testimony is accepted. But if, in opposition to popular sentiment, he has the courage and honesty and honor to stand up like a man, and avow his belief, he is rewarded by the exclusion of his testimony. Is there any justice in that? What we ask is that men shall be allowed to affirm in all courts upon the pains and penalties of perjury. No government, no State, has the right to require anything like the judicial oath in courts of justice. Among the lower class of Chinamen, I am told, it is customary to twist off the head of a rooster, when they give testimony. If a man declares he is unable to tell the truth unless a rooster is killed, I don't know but we should stretch the authority of the government, and allow that exercise to be performed, although I think that it is rather cruel to the rooster, in order to get the truth from him. But don't establish it as a qualification for all witnesses. We say there is no need of these arbitrary enactments, simply because the majority of the people may believe in the existence of that which the oath implies. We have the right to insist on the abrogation of the judicial oath, in all courts of justice in order to put them upon a purely secular basis.

We have the right to insist that church property be taxed. It is protected by police, guarded at public expense, and it is evidently unjust that these churches in which so much money is invested, and which, in many cases, accumulate property faster than men engaged in business, should go untaxed. What has been the result of the exemption from taxation of ecclesiastical property? Look at France before the Revolution. According to Carlyle, if a peasant earned sixteen dollars, fifteen dollars were taken to support the Church and State, leaving only one dollar out of sixteen. That was largely the result of the union of Church and State. The Church had more than one-half of the empire of France in its possession; it not only owned land, but owned *men*, owned even soldiers by thousands, who could be seen wearing the symbols and decorations of the Church on their clothes as they walked about the land. One of the good effects of breaking up that was to give each Frenchman that which his heart swelled as he looked upon, a piece of land he could hold as his own. The government had at last to confiscate church property in order to get money. Why? Because during all this time the property of the Church was exempt from taxation, whereas all other property, being heavily taxed, could not possibly compete with it.

In Canada to-day the finest property is owned by the Catholic Church. It goes untaxed, and in Montreal and Quebec, especially, the Catholic bishops and Catholic authorities are speculating in lands, houses, and all kinds of property. Ordinary business men cannot begin to compete in this contest, because they have to bear not only their share of taxation, but that additional amount imposed on them by the non-taxation of church property. How was it in Mexico? Twice in that country they have had to confiscate church property because it absorbed nearly all the wealth of the nation. Then the Church trod down the people under its absolute authority, until, like the worm, they could no longer keep turning upon the foot that crushed them. The first step to carry on a revolution was to take back the money of which they had been robbed by that towering hierarchy whose only object was to enrich itself and enable a lot of pampered priests to live in luxury while the people starved. We have, I say, between three and four hundred millions of dollars invested in churches. Now let the churches bear their part of the taxes, and then there will be no danger. But if they are to be exempt, the time may come, *will* come, when *we*, too, shall have to confiscate church property, and to unite in order to resist the encroachments of a theology that is even now plotting to deprive us of our rights and liberties. Let there be an equitable taxation of all property, perhaps our schoolhouses and our purely charitable buildings excepted, but certainly let there be taxation of all property used for exclusively religious purposes. Look at the Catholic churches in New York, St. Louis, San Francisco,—gorgeous cathedrals, built at immense cost, connected with a vast amount of property equally exempt from taxation. If these churches are destroyed by reason of the neglect of the authorities to protect them from the mob, the city would be liable for the full amount of their value, and it could be collected from the city, notwithstanding they contribute in no part to the public defence.

Now, as freethinkers, we are willing to sustain our own views; we do not go to Christians and ask them to help pay for our halls; if we did, they would regard it as an insult. Whenever they ask us to pay more taxes on our property than is just, in order to help support churches, simply because we are in the minority, and then compel us to do it by law, we have a moral right to revolt; we have a moral right to resist every such effort, because, in the language of our fathers, "taxation without representation is tyranny." Their cause was not more just than would be the cause of the freethinkers of the country, if they should rise *en masse* and protest. Still I do not advocate this. Revolutions are usually accompanied by great disorders, by anarchy, by bloodshed, and every other means should be exhausted before this final resort; but if in the end the Christian world should not show a sense of justice, and concede our rights, then I say we have the right to secure them by an appeal to force.

We demand in the name of justice that the schools be divested of their religious influences. If Christians want to educate their children in the Bible, let them do it at home, or at schools supported by themselves alone. But do not let them prostitute our public schools to this. Let these be intact from religious influences, and we shall thereby secure not only our rights, but we shall secure the rising generation from that poisonous superstition which all the machinery of ecclesiasticism is doing its best to perpetuate. We also demand that there be no public appropriations for colleges which teach theology. Let them sustain themselves; if they cannot, let them perish. Let not one cent of the public money be devoted to anything of this kind. Let government be secularized; we need a constitutional amendment such as has been proposed by Francis E. Abbot, and petitioned for by the National Liberal League,—such measures as shall prevent in an evil hour the incorporation in the constitution of the dogmas of the "God-in-the-Constitution party." Religious bigots, having a temporary triumph, might fasten on

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the government such measures as to put back the cause of liberty and religious freedom many years. People are led on at certain times by impulse alone; sometimes a few narrow, zealous minds may carry a whole nation backward; and it takes a great deal of hard work to recover what is lost.

Supposing this attempt to increase the union between Church and State were successful, what would be the result? Suppose the Catholic power continues to increase as it has done. In 1789 it was one sixty-fifth part of the population. The Catholics have gone on increasing faster every decade than the ratio of increase of the general population. Now they have one-fifth or one-sixth. They *claim* ten millions of people. Father Hecker says that in 1900 they will be able to elect their own President. Then what? The legislation of Congress under their control,—the army and navy at their command. Then Church and State will mean what? Ah, it will mean a union such as we have seen in Italy and Spain. Can the Protestants see nothing in *this* to induce them to be just? The Catholics will say: "It was *you* who formed the union of Church and State, when we were fighting against it. Simply because you were in the majority and had power, you had your Protestant preachers in the halls of legislation, and in the army of the United States as chaplains; you had the Protestant Bible in public schools; you established the Protestant religion whenever you could. Being in the majority, you appointed days of thanksgiving and prayer not recognized by us; you recognized the Protestant religion in your forms and ceremonies wherever you could, utterly regardless of the rights of us Catholics. Now that we have a union of Church and State, we will see that it is a union of the State with Catholicism,—not that bastard religion called Protestant, but the pure, genuine thing, the Roman Catholic religion." The Protestant would have to stand with his fingers in his mouth, and with bitter reason to regret that he had ever advocated a union of Church and State, because the very weapons he had made use of, wrested from him, would be turned against him.

Suppose that Paine's *Age of Reason* were introduced in the schools. Christians would say: "We help support these schools; we are interested in them; we want our children taught; but we don't want them to learn the principles of Paine's *Age of Reason;* therefore don't put it there." Suppose infidels were in the majority and should reply: "We believe in Paine's *Age of Reason*, if you don't; being in the majority, we will compel the reading of it." That is just what the Protestants are doing, although the Catholics may do it in turn to-morrow. Protestants may *then* need the aid of infidels.

But if liberals will do their duty, such a calamity may be averted. If they will organize, use their numerical strength and their moral power, and exert the influence which, united, it is possible for them to exercise on public sentiment and political parties, the complete secularization of the government will reward their efforts. Let them form leagues, not for the propagation of any particular religious views, but to secure such changes as will secure to all classes the enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Surely here is an object to work for, worthy of the earnest efforts and deserving the support and aid of every liberal mind. It furnishes a basis for organization that is broad and deep—which requires neither a sacrifice of individuality nor the profession of a creed. Liberals of Denver, I appeal to you to join in this noble work. It needs your efforts, and you certainly cannot be satisfied with less than it aims to secure. For apathy and inaction there is no excuse. Justice, and a sense of honor, and regard for your own rights and the rights of all, should urge every liberal to action. Organize a Liberal League in this prosperous young city; bring yourselves in harmony with the National Liberal League of the United States, and coöperate with that body in educating the people and influencing public sentiment in favor of separation of Church and State, thorough and complete, so that the rights and liberties of all shall be equally respected.

GEORGE ELIOT.

LONDON, Dec. 12, 1876.

The most gifted and celebrated woman in Great Britain to-day is personally one of the least known. Even her identity is hidden from the multitude by her pen-name, and she enjoys, more than any author of her time, what may well be termed an illustrious obscurity. The whole career of George Eliot has been singular, almost exceptional, and forms a curious and interesting chapter in the history of literature. While her professional name is familiar to cultured persons in every quarter of the globe, there are thousands of people in this great city who have never heard of her. You will hardly credit the statement; I should not myself, if I had not learned its truth by experience.

NATIONAL DIVERGENCES.

I chanced to be talking with an intelligent tradesman in the Strand, a few weeks since, about prominent Londoners, and mentioned George Eliot. "Who is he?" was the inquiry. "Is he in Parliament?" After I had explained, he was none the wiser; but he thought it very queer that a woman should be called George. When I had explained still further, he ventured the opinion that it must be she who had written *Lady Audley's Secret;* that being the sole novel by a woman he had any acquaintance with.

Since then I have tried the George Eliot experiment on a number of Englishmen—none of them University men, however,—and, with two or three exceptions, they were entirely ignorant of the author or her works.

The average Englishman is an extremely unintelligent person, according to the American standard; and even the Englishman much above the average frequently surprises a "Yankee" by his plentiful lack of information. As a rule, he knows only what is going on around him, and does not want to know anything more. He does not seem to pick up or to feel any interest in anything that does not immediately concern him. He cannot tell you how large Manchester is, how many colleges there are at Oxford, what sort of a place Chester is, or how far it is to Brighton, simply because he has not been there, and has no interest in those towns. It would be almost impossible, I presume, to find any American, not insuperably stupid, from whom you could not learn the approximate population of Philadelphia, and something definite concerning Harvard, Plymouth, or Saratoga, whether he had ever seen them or not. But then we English are English, and we are we.

HER EARLY HISTORY.

George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, which is now so much discussed over here, as well as in your (and my) country, has more than ever directed public attention to her, and hardly a day passes that I do not see, either in journal or periodical, some criticism upon her latest work. Concerning the individual woman, as I have said, next to nothing is known. Her fame, in any wide sense, dates back some twenty years, and in that time has been steadily and rapidly growing. Until she had published *Scenes of Clerical Life*, she may be said to have made no mark in literature, and indeed she was not recognized to any extent as a genius before the appearance of *Adam Bede*. Like most authors of note, however, she had been working hard for years, and had been writing a great deal in a fugitive way that escaped identification. Her early history is somewhat obscure, and as she has no inclination to refer to her personal antecedents, her friends, whatever their curiosity, respect her feelings, and preserve silence. Marian C. Evans—her maiden name—was born in Yorkshire, it is said—though her nativity has been assigned to Warwick,—in the summer of 1820, and she is consequently in her fifty-seventh year. Her father was a country curate, I think, and being quite poor, had, in obedience to the proverb, a number of children. Marian early displayed remarkable ability, having keen observation, excellent memory, fine imagination, and an unusual gift of expression. When she was a child she talked like a woman, greatly resembling Macaulay in precocity, and many anecdotes illustrating this are still told by those who were then her neighbors. None of her brothers or sisters seem to have shared her intellect, and it was common to say that she had monopolized the genius of the family. They were of delicate constitution, and all died, I believe, before reaching middle age.

When Marian was ten or eleven, she attracted the notice, and won the admiration, of a rich clergyman of the Established Church, who was visiting her father, and who desired to give her such an education as she deserved to have. Consent was granted, and the girl, after a few years, came here, or near here, to reside in the home of her clerical friend, who virtually adopted her. Although Orthodox by profession, he was very liberal in his views, as so many members of the English Church are, and determined to have her instructed in the most liberal, and at the same time in an entirely masculine, fashion. He employed the best teachers for her until she was twenty, and she made great progress. Indeed, her mind had developed so that she frequently puzzled her teachers by her questions, and surprised them by her originality and cleverness. They scarcely felt competent to go much further with her, and one or two of them acknowledged as much. The clergyman had been for sometime of this opinion, and decided to have her study alone.

HERBERT SPENCER

made her acquaintance, two or three years later, and became deeply interested in her. He spent much time in her society, and was induced ere long to be her teacher. He instructed her in several languages, in music, science, and philosophy, acquainting her with the principles and relations of things, and finding her always a very apt pupil. His opinion of her was, and is still, enthusiastic. He thinks her the greatest woman who has ever lived, and says there is no contemporaneous mind, whether masculine or feminine, that exceeds hers in originality, power, grasp, and subtlety.

The gossip is that he was in love with her thirty years ago, and that he wanted her to be his wife. Spencer is so thorough a philosopher, and so pronounced a bachelor, in these days, that it is hard to conceive of his ever having been influenced by amorous passion. His must have been a Platonic affection, one would suppose, especially when its presumed object is considered. But the sternest philosophers have tender places in their hearts; their blood kindles while their exterior is cold, and their theories are colder. Diogenes, chief of cynics, is said to have become enamored of a celebrated beauty by report, and to have made a long journey to bask in her favors, all in vain. And then there was Aristippus, founder of the Cyrenaic school, who for a while surrendered completely to the charms of Lais.

Whatever Spencer's feelings for Marian, he was of the greatest benefit to her understanding. All the education she received from him was thorough; he developed her highest possibilities. He has continued her friend to this day, and is a regular visitor at her house.

HER LITERARY CAREER.

When she was twenty-five, she began to contribute anonymously to the periodical press, and her contributions were marked by acumen, vigor, and directness. She wrote not only for the magazines and some of the weeklies, but for the quarterlies, particularly the *Westminster*. Her articles were generally believed to be from the pen of a man, and this mistake is said to have pleased her greatly, as she has always had a dislike to appearing womanly, in a distinct sexual sense, in the quality of her mind.

Her first sustained work was a translation of Strauss' *Life of Jesus*, which, holding that Deity is not a conscious nor personal Being, but a pervading spirit represented by a system of material and spiritual laws, had excited profound attention in the theologic and philosophic world. The translation was excellently done, the style being clearer and more animated than that of the original.

Her next effort was an English version of Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*, which was very favorably received both here and on the Continent. She was near thirty when the first of these appeared. She had not then contemplated anything original, but the opinion of some of her intimates, and of a number of critics, determined her to try what success she might have with her own ideas.

Consequently, in a year or so, she issued *Scenes from Clerical Life* and *Silas Marner*, made up from her own observation, and evidently the production of a strong, individual intellect. The books gained many admirers among the thoughtful and discriminating, but were not popular until she had received exalted reputation by further efforts. Shortly after (1858) she published *Adam Bede*, which won immediate success, and led to the recognition of her genius by different sorts of people. Her pen-name, George Eliot, if I mistake not, was first affixed to that work, and speculation became rife as to its authorship. Hardly any one believed it of feminine origin, and as the secret was well kept, there were several claimants, direct or indirect, of the honors awaiting the new star in the literary firmament.

A certain clergyman, I forbear mentioning his name, because he has been punished enough already by his mortifying exposure, asserted openly that he had written *Adam Bede;* and as he was poor and in delicate health, he received a number of testimonials of appreciation in the shape of sovereigns and Bank of England notes. He persisted in this shameful swindle for ten or twelve months, until some of the veritable author's friends blasted his prospects by establishing his deception.

The exact description of scenery, the whole local color of the story, and the photographic accuracy of a number of the characters drew attention to the neighborhood in which Marian Evans had lived before coming up to London, as the phrase is here. Most of the characters were easily identified, and through them the author was also. She denied for sometime the truth of the irresistible inferences, but they were so cumulative and overwhelming that she ceased denial without admitting anything.

Within little more than a twelvemonth (1859) came *The Mill on the Floss*, succeeded (1863) by *Romola*, *Felix Holt* (1866), *The Spanish Gypsy*, a poem (1868), and after a considerable interval *Middlemarch*, *The Legend of Jubal*, a poem, and *Daniel Deronda*.

Nearly every one of her novels, in the order of succession, has shown an increase of power, except, perhaps, the last, which almost all the critics think inferior to *Middlemarch*. They have gained in influence and popularity beyond all question, as the enlarged sales indicate. Hundreds of persons have become admirers of George Eliot recently. I could mention among my own acquaintances, both in the Old and New World, a dozen cultivated people who had not read a line of her writings until the publication of *Middlemarch*.

She is reputed to be more desirous of fame as a poet than a novelist, and to have been bitterly disappointed at the cold reception of *The Spanish Gypsy* and *Jubal*, which she believes fully equal to any of her works. For two or three years, she felt assured that *The Spanish Gypsy* was her masterpiece; but she has her doubts now, since she has never found a single person, even among her most partial friends, to agree with her.

Most of us are desirous to excel in some other direction than that in which Nature has particularly strengthened us. We care comparatively little for repeated triumphs in the same field. We burn for conquests over fresh forces, and are prone to measure out success by the exertion we make, and the eagerness with which we expect. So it seems to be with George Eliot.

THE COMPENSATION.

Her writings have been extraordinarily remunerative, albeit the prices paid by her publishers have been, as they usually are, much exaggerated. I have been told what amounts she has got for her original works. I do not vouch for their strict accuracy, and up to date, their sale being continuous and steady, they are as follows: *Scenes of Clerical Life*, £1000; *Silas Marner*, £1500; *Adam Bede*, £3500; *Mill on the Floss*, £4000; *Romola*, £3000; *Felix Holt*, £4500; *Spanish Gypsy*, £500; *Middlemarch*, £8000; *Jubal*, £400; *Daniel Deronda*, £6000; making £32,400 in all, or about $165,000 in our currency.

I have seen her total earnings reckoned at $400,000 to $500,000; but I feel confident that the figures I have given are far more nearly correct, and I have reason to believe that they do not vary materially from the truth. The sum appears large at first; but when we remember that she has been eighteen years in making it, and making it, too, by the severest toil, by the intensest application, it does not appear very remarkable. Nine thousand dollars a year is not a great deal to earn by the pen, especially when it is the pen of the most gifted woman of her era. Literary folk, who, intellectually, are not worthy to unloose the latchets of her shoes, have made much more; and men of business here, in Boston, New York, and other capitals, would count this a very slender income. Reports of literary rewards are ever hyperbolical. The greatest of them, when the actual figures are reached, shrink into very moderate pro-

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portions. Compared to any other department of art, or to any kind of commerce, literature is a poor trade. The most eminent and gifted authors seldom gain a comfortable independence; while the guild in general accomplish little more than genteel starvation.

THE TRUTH ABOUT HER MARRIAGE.

For some years, George Eliot has been the legal wife of George Henry Lewes, the distinguished and versatile author, and for a good while previous to their marriage, she was effectually all that she has been since. The story of their relation has been so diversely told, and so often misunderstood that the correct version, as I have reason to believe it, deserves to be given.

Lewes made the acquaintance of Marian Evans soon after she had written *Adam Bede*, and was delighted with her. He had the same opinion of her that Herbert Spencer had expressed. It was not long before he fell in love with her mind. They had much in common; they had marked similarity of tastes, views, and feelings, and they felt they could be of great benefit to one another intellectually and spiritually. He wanted her to be his wife. But there was a serious obstacle in the way, which was nothing less than that, in the eyes of the law, he already had a wife. He had entered into matrimony ten or twelve years before, and his spouse had run off with another man. She repented in due season; appealed to her liege, who most generously and chivalrously took her back. Being of unstable mind and fickle heart, however, she eloped a second time and rendered restoration to marital favor impossible. At this juncture the masculine George met the feminine George. Having condoned his wife's offence, he could not get a divorce; he must wait for her death, or continue in celibacy. He did not wish to wait, especially as she, having a robust constitution, was threatened with fearful longevity. The impediment to the union of the two authors was really technical, and under the circumstances they took solemn counsel with their friends, among them some of the most eminent names, as to the expediency of acting according to the higher law. The decision was finally rendered in favor of their doing so, and they were wedded by the rite of mutual sympathy and mutual need. After they had lived so for some years, Mrs. Lewes, the eloper, was considerate enough to die, and furnish to Marian Evans the long-coveted opportunity to bear legally the name which the deceased had so greatly dishonored.

George Eliot, from the moment of forming the connection, was called and considered Mrs. Lewes as sincerely and honestly as if she had been wedded by the Archbishop of York and all his subordinate prelates. But many of the feminine friends of the couple were very glad when the natural prejudices of society could be conciliated.

Lewes has had of late a very noticeable influence, and not a good one either, on the style of his wife. He is very self-sufficient and egotistic, and has imposed upon her the idea that his intellect is fully equal, if not superior, to hers; but she is the sole person, save himself, who holds such an opinion. He is very able and learned, but he is one of many, while she is the only one. There is reason to believe he wrote part of *Deronda*, and caused her to change her usually simple, terse, idiomatic diction for one more strained, recondite, and elaborate, which explains why her last is not her best work. He conscientiously believes hers to be the finest intellect in England with a single exception, which modesty debars him from mentioning.

THE WOMAN AT HOME.

She and her husband reside in a very pleasant house, full of books, bronzes, busts, pictures, and bric-a-brac, near Regent's Park, and their Sunday evening receptions are attended by a number of the most distinguished people at home and from abroad. One may see there from time to time Tyndall, Huxley, Robert Browning, Dr. Carpenter, Darwin, Tennyson, Swinburne, William Morris, the Rossettis, Gladstone, Tom Hughes, Millais, Holman Hunt, Ruskin, Wilkie Collins, Leslie Stevens, and many others, most of them as radical in theology (the Leweses are what might be called scientific Hegelians, firm believers in evolution) as their host and hostess, who entertain very rationally and pleasantly.

The couple have no children, and lead in the fullest sense an intellectual life. She works very hard—harder than her rather delicate health warrants,—often writing as often as seven or eight hours a day. She has a very earnest, moral purpose in her books, in which, indeed, her whole being and thought are concentrated. Before she begins a novel, she not only outlines and arranges it, she so fixes it in her mind that her MS. is often merely a transcript of her elaborate mental preparation. Very far from handsome, she has an intellectual and striking face, too long and angular for symmetry; soft, abundant hair, streaked with gray, a low, sweet voice, a remarkably quiet, somewhat pensive and decidedly winning manner. Some persons do not like her at first, though all her friends, despite her unquestioned plainness, regard her as a charming woman.—*Jonquil, in Boston Herald.*

WHAT AN EDITOR IS MADE FOR.

'Tis a delightful employment to contemplate the works of Providence, and to trace his deep design in each of his creations. Sometimes I find even my powers taxed to the utmost to discern any adequate purpose to be served by the creation of some persons and things. But almost invariably it has been my experience that sufficiently persevering and painstaking study has brought with it a reward. Then I have asked, "Why has Providence been pleased to bestow on such and such persons the gift of language, the power of expressing themselves by way of speech or writing, seeing they have nothing (but themselves) to express?" I have been led to see that this prodigality illustrates the boundless wealth of Providence. He gives lavishly because he has no need of economy. And then again, when I have asked, "Why were such and such persons created?" I have been reminded that they help to swell the census and the returns of deaths.

Again, not a few of our ministers serve a useful purpose by demonstrating on just how small an amount existence can be maintained. I have known persons whose life answered the question, "How long can a person survive without a soul or a brain?"

Of late my attention has been directed to the question, "Why are editors made, and what purpose do they serve?" After not a little study, I have arrived at a conclusion. There is in every man, even those far advanced toward sanctification, a certain amount of human nature; especially there is a stated amount of spleen and ill-nature that must needs be expended on some one, or else the possessor will burst.

In the very old times a man could spend this bad blood on his neighbor. When he felt a sort of rising within him, he went out and knocked in the head some passer-by, some churl, or vassal, or serf; and after thus letting off steam, he could be as lovely as possible, and a pink of chivalry, and all that. But gradually this custom fell into disuse, being rendered unpopular by the view of the gallows outlined in the background.

So it came about that a man had to discharge his little spite on his wife and children, kicking, cuffing, scolding, making them miserable generally. In this way a man could leave all his ill-humor at home, and could become a bright ornament of general society.

But more recently even this state of things is discouraged and disfavored by what people call the progress of civilization. And I really don't know what mankind at large would do if it were not for the fortunate and timely invention of printing, and the quite wide-spread introduction of the newspaper. And now we discover the object of Providence in the creation of editors. I do not deny (for I can afford to credit all men with what belongs to them, and am not compelled to steal) that I am not a little indebted to Dean Swift, who gives as one of the reasons for not abolishing Christianity and the Establishment in England, the fact that it provided a class of men (the clergy) whom everybody could feel at liberty to insult with entire impunity, knowing that their professional character precluded them from resorting to the violent measures that a layman would employ.

And so the editor affords a safe receptacle for all the small spite which it has pleased Providence to bestow on our race. A man says: "I don't dare to touch any of my neighbors. For reasons which I will not specify, I do not wish to say anything to my wife. But I can write a letter and blow up the editor. If he has said, or allowed to be said, anything that I don't like, or anything that is capable of an unfavorable construction, I can air my cheap loyalty and philanthropy and Orthodoxy, and can call him all manner of names. Probably he will be too busy to reply; but I can hope and believe that I have made him wince, and the relief to me will be all the same." And what a delightful thing it is to think that any one above the grade of——well, above a very low grade of intellect, can stop his paper!

And thus I have reached, as I believe, an answer to the question, What were editors made for?—*Rev. L. Philetus Dobbs, D.D., in National Baptist.*

A MOODY-AND-SANKEY CONVERT MADE INSANE.

A striking instance of the effect that religious excitement may have on a person's mind was made manifest in this city yesterday by the conduct of a well-known Chicago gentleman, who enjoys a large acquaintance among the business men of this city. The gentleman in question is Mr. Ed. Martin, who for several years has been visiting this section in the interests of the Nantucket Silk Manufacturing Company, of Chicago. Martin was formerly a popular, jolly, good-natured drummer, who sold more goods in Evansville than any other man from Chicago, and who was universally well liked among the business men with whom he had dealings,—as much from his sociability as for his fine business qualifications.

It seems that, while at home in Chicago, he attended the revival meetings that were being conducted by Moody and Sankey in that wicked Sodom, and the result of his attendance was anything but beneficial. He became so worked up with what he had heard that he started out on his last trip a changed man, with a greater quantity of religious fervor and excitement than a well-regulated drummer should carry with him on his perambulations through the West. His friends here noticed the change as soon as he appeared. He registered at the St. George as a "reformed man," and subsequent events have shown that he had "reformed," though the reformation can hardly be called an improvement. Religion was the one theme that he harped upon constantly. He talked it to the merchants on whom he called during the day, and preached warning sermons to all of them about the dire consequences that would follow if they did not heed the Gospel's word. He remained quiet and peaceable enough until Tuesday night, when he was shown to his room, from which he emerged an hour afterwards without so much as a collar to protect him from the chilling blasts of a wintry night. He walked down to the office and started for the street door. The night clerk stopped him, and asked where he was going. His reply was that he wanted to do penance for his sins, and he insisted on going out.

But the clerk entered a gentle protest and had him taken back to his room. The poor fellow became wild with excitement and has had to be watched constantly ever since. Despite the care with which he was guarded, he managed to get away from the room, and yesterday morning was found near Blackford's Grove. The sad fate of poor Martin is sincerely regretted by his many friends in this city. He is a very gentlemanly business man; but the excitement which he has been laboring under, has created an awful change in his manner, and left him almost entirely bereft of reason. The firm for which he travels were telegraphed for last night, and Martin will be taken to his home in Chicago this morning. It is a sad comment on the work of these two Evangelists, Moody and Sankey, when their work is followed by such results as this, and one is led to ask whether there is not some truth in the remark that they "pave more paths to the insane asylums than they do to heaven."—*Evansville (Ind.) Courier, Jan. 25, 1877.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE WATER-LILIES.

We rested our oars for a minute,
And in perfect stillness lay,
Viewing the many varied hills
That ascended far away.

Near the boat rose two white lilies,
So beautiful, pure, and fair,
That a thought full of hope then struck me,
As I gazed on them blooming there,—

As they rose from the murky waters
To a purer air above,
And there lay smiling in gladness,
Emblems of peace and love.

It was only a thought of what might be,
If we, like the lilies here,
Could rise from the darkness about us
To a higher and purer sphere.

To a sphere so far above us
Where doubtings all may cease;
Where we, like the lilies, may scatter
Such purity, beauty, and peace. E. B. C.

WATERTOWN, Mass.

[For THE INDEX.]

VOICES.

1.

I heard a voice not long ago
Inquire, "Doth modern thought
Not chill the old-time hope and trust
Our liberal faiths had wrought?

"Doth this new generation feel,
In prophecy or plan,
The wide-embracing sympathies
That right the wrongs of man?

"Millennial tones I cease to hear,
Creating all things new;
The old enthusiasm wanes,
Believing notes are few."

2.

Again I heard a voice proclaim
To 'plauding hundreds round,
A faith so broad, a hope so strong,
Their pleasure knew not bound.

This voice was of a churchly tone,
But it rang bold and clear:—
"The truth is strong, so very strong,
It chides all souls that fear,

"To undiscovered larger truths
Truths contradicting point;
Be patient, men, and Reason shall
The humblest mind anoint."

3.

And now I hear one more response,—
I call it not mine own;
I but report the things I see,
The tidings to me blown

From all the corners of the earth;
How all the people still,
In spite of fetters binding them,
Their hearts with freedom fill.

Ah! deathless hope, that through the world
One purpose yet shall run,—
One faith proclaim how Reason's realm
The victory hath won.

SIDNEY H. MORSE.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 3.

T. E. Smith, $2.50; Samuel Lydiard, $3.20; D. K. Boutelle, $3.20; Cash, 96 cents; Miss A. Hall, $1; Benj. S. Price, $6.40; Isaac W. Ensign, $5.22; Hervey A. Dean, $3.20; Joseph Brockway, $5.50; Robert Moore, $3.20; W. C. Preston, 25 cents; David Fey, $3.20; M. D. Conway, $4.04; A. Vacher, $3.37; Harvey Brown, $3.20; F. Renehart, 25 cents; J. N. Treat, $1.60; L. G. Felch, $6; Arthur Farrar, $3; J. J. Brackett, $10; E. Barriaot, $3; Hopson & Sherman, $3; J. H. Southworth, $2; Porter C. Bliss, $5; J. Wilson, $1; G. Iles, $3.25; E. J. Turnbull, $3.20; Rosalie Hopper, $3.20; Ira D. Foot, $3.20; J. Chapplesmith, $3.20; F. A. Angel, 25 cents; I. P. Greenleaf, $3.20; D. B. Morey, $3.20; W. C. Gannett, $3.20; P. S. Thacher, 35 cents; J. H. Woods, $4.25; Miss S. E. Dunn, $3.20; Rev. John T. Sargent, $3.20; Geo. W. Robinson, $6; W. H. Sawyer, 75 cents; C. Vesey, $20.14; H. C. Orth, $3; H. Molineaux, $5; Harry Hoover, $1.75; S. H. Stockbridge, $3.20; A. V. Vlack, 25 cents; Dr. E. Mead, $3.20.

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 8, 1877.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix, Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals"; by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE GREAT ORTHODOX REACTION.

Mr. Charles E. Fitch, the liberal and thoughtful editor of the Rochester (N. Y.) *Democrat and Chronicle*, recently published in pamphlet form two lectures,—one on "Church and State," and the other on "Education and the State." They are characterized by unusual ability, and, widely as we dissent from some of their minor conclusions, we yet recognize with great respect the elevated spirit of truth-loving and truth-speaking which pervades them.

The key-note of the first lecture is contained in its opening sentence: "We hold that the absolute divorce of Church and State is essential to the purity of the one and the integrity of the other." Mr. Fitch, unlike many less-discerning liberals, believes in the fixed and gravely dangerous purpose of "the Roman Catholic hierarchy" to make its Church ultimately superior to the American State—though he fails to see that the chief "Catholic Peril," as we pointed out a year ago in the London *Fortnightly Review*, lies in the character of the measures which it will goad the "Protestant sectaries" to undertake, in order to break the force of the Catholic attack. He says with great wisdom: "Be not surprised that the age of Döllinger and Hyacinthe is also the age of Antonelli and of our own American Lord Cardinal. The age of Algernon Sidney and of Sir Harry Vane was also the age of Monk, reseating the Stuarts on the throne they had defiled. The age of William the Silent was the age of Alva as well. Beneath the blue empyrean the sullen clouds may float. Absolutism may make its hardest fight in its death agony. Reactionary tendencies have often most decidedly manifested themselves, when progress has exhibited the greatest vitality." And, after enlarging on the tenacity, intensity, and peril of the Catholic purpose to control politics and education in the interest of the Church, he adds with equal wisdom: "We have little hope that the attack which has been begun will not be persisted in. How, then, shall we most effectively meet and most surely repel it? Simply by the vindication of the secular principle. This comprehends our whole duty. . . . And now I commit to your keeping this principle of secularity, with all that it includes, and beseech you, as American citizens, to apply it practically. You will find that, as a general [rule], it embraces many particulars; but these you may as easily elucidate as, having the formula of a simple algebraic equation, you are enabled through it to solve all specific problems that fall within its terms. Be guided by it, as the mariner sails the stormy seas by the star pendant in the Northern sky. Test all things by it, as the chemist tries his metals in the fiery crucible. Cleave unto it, as unto the ark of national safety."

The brave and earnest words of this far-seeing man give a fitting text for what we have to say this week. It is more than a bare abstract possibility that, after a long series of brilliant gains for liberal principles, a great wave of reaction should now be setting in; it is more than a possibility—the signs are many that it is already a *fact*. Not to cross the ocean for evidences, look at a few lying unheeded at our own doors.

1. The Catholic Church already feels itself so strong in America as to dare openly to lay its hands on the consciences of voters, and to assert by acts, not words alone, its own supremacy to the civil power. This was seen at the late Presidential election in Brooklyn and other places, where orders were issued to vote for Catholic candidates as such. Still more recently the same thing has been done in Canada. So offensive and insolent was the encroachment of the priests on the liberty of the voters at the Bonaventure election, in the Province of Quebec, that the Judges of the Supreme Court, deciding a case in which the means used to determine the election were involved, felt called upon to lay down the following principles: "(1) Parliament is omnipotent and competent to pass any law defining what the Church may do to the citizen; (2) the liberty of the electoral franchise is absolute; (3) the civil courts are charged with correcting the abuses which may slip into preaching or refusing the sacraments; (4) that by threatening electors with spiritual punishment, such as the refusal of the sacrament, the priest or bishop is guilty of exerting undue influence and of fraudulent proceedings; (5) civil oaths must be kept." But, instead of submitting, Monseigneur Langevin, Bishop of St. Germain de Rimouski, issued on the fifteenth of January a "mandement," or pastoral charge to his clergy and laity, in which he "condemns as false and contrary to the teachings of the Church" each of the foregoing principles laid down by the Supreme Court, and further "declares those to be unworthy of the sacraments who shall maintain these propositions, or any of them, until they shall have been disavowed." In other words, the Bishop, on the strength of the *Syllabus*, defiantly casts down the gauntlet of the Church before the State, and raises openly in Canada the issue which has for years shaken the German Empire to its foundations. The Montreal *Herald* of January 27 says: "The step taken by the Bishop is a grave one, and may lead to graver consequences—such, perhaps, as none can foresee. It is, we believe, the first time in the history of the country since the Cession that a Bishop has in this formal and public manner undertaken to punish by spiritual censure a high civil functionary for the conscientious performance of his duties to the sovereign and the people. . . . The truth is that the mandement is a declaration that religious equality shall cease in Lower Canada, and that, in virtue of their office in a Church whose creed is opposed to that of a majority of the Dominion, the Catholic Episcopacy have constituted themselves the absolute masters of the entire population of this Province."

2. Not only is the Romish hierarchy strengthening itself everywhere on this continent for a desperate struggle with the people for supreme power, but the Protestant sects also, alarmed equally by the resolute aggressiveness of Rome and the resistless march of science, are rousing themselves as never before in this country to fortify and increase their power—for it is the lust for *power*, first, last, and all the time, that stirs the ecclesiastical soul with insatiable ambition. Consolidation is the order of the day; union in "unsectarian" propagandism—unsectarian only as respects each other—is the great new feature of Evangelical activity. Witness the healing of old divisions which interfere with the necessary unity of influence over the people; witness the concentration of energies, the massing of forces on the Napoleonic plan, for the subjugation of "infidelity" and the routing of "Romanism"; witness the combined and almost superhuman efforts to swell the membership of all the Evangelical churches, and recruit the "army of Christ," which constitutes the central purpose and secret inspiration of the new crusade; witness the mighty machinery of men and means set in motion to give success and *éclat* to the Moody-and-Sankey revivals; witness the institution of the Monday lectureship under Rev. Joseph Cook in Boston, the noonday prayer-meeting under Mrs. Van Cott in Wall Street, New York, and similar movements all over the country; in short, witness everywhere exertions such as were never made in this country before on so vast a scale for the defeat of the influences of science and rationalism, and for the religious "bulldozing" of the entire community. Evangelical Protestantism is bestirring itself with gigantic efforts to get the mastery of the public mind, spending its treasures with prodigal hands and training its disciples to keep step to the music of "Hold the Fort" for a purpose far more practical than getting to Heaven—namely, getting the mastery here in the United States. Nor does it stop with spiritual efforts, but appeals boldly to legislation in a way that only dolts can misunderstand. For instance, in the Rhode Island Legislature, the following proceedings are reported on January 24:—

Mr. Bourn, of Bristol, introduced a resolution requesting the Attorney-General to report to the Senate whether any violations of Section XVII., Chapter 232 of the General Statutes have come to his knowledge, and if so, whether any proper proceedings have been taken to enforce the provisions of said sections. The law referred to is what is known as the Sunday Law, prohibiting labor and business on that day of the week.

Mr. Lapham, of Providence.—What is the object of the resolution?

Mr. Bourn.—I have reference to the publication of Sunday newspapers.

Mr. Lapham thought the inquiry had too great scope, and it would reach not only to Sunday newspapers but the dailies, the railroads, etc.

Mr. Verry, of Woonsocket, thought it was a proper inquiry, and would probably have a good moral effect.

Mr. Drake, of Newport, favored the resolution, giving an instance of mechanics carrying on their work Sundays as well as week-days. He thought the law ought not to remain a dead letter.

The resolution was then adopted.

That is one of the baleful fruits of the ostensible closing of the International Exhibition last summer on Sundays—a measure carried through to increase the influence of the "Christian party in politics," but secretly and hypocritically violated by the Commissioners themselves. On the heels of this political triumph over equal rights in religion came the success of the same party in carrying through the United States Senate, by an almost two-thirds vote, a Bible-in-schools amendment of the Constitution, exultingly seized by the "God-in-the-Constitution" advocates as a proof of their unsuspected national

influence. And now comes this significant announcement in the Philadelphia *Christian Statesman* of January 25:—

The *Central Christian Advocate* speaks out in favor of a revision of the National Constitution. In our remarks on the subject last week we neglected to mention that a bill providing for such a revision is now before the United States Senate. We are not acquainted with its provisions, and public attention has hardly been called to the fact. The *Advocate* says:—

"We ought to be grateful that it has carried us so safely over eighty-three years and through all the strain of a civil war with so few amendments. Except for the intelligence and religious character of the people, its weakness would have become manifest years ago. But the nation has really outgrown the Constitution, and finds itself in a condition of great peril because of new combinations and unforeseen emergencies. New and complex questions have arisen since their day, and demand attention. Nor are we wanting in men in every way competent for the task that a revision of the Constitution would devolve upon them. Our political experience has been gained under favorable circumstances, and the present is perhaps as favorable a period as we shall ever have for so responsible a duty. The experiences of the past twenty years have educated the people more rapidly than half a century of ordinary political life. And the present crisis has awakened the public mind so widely that it can have no rest until this, the greatest want of the times, is satisfied."

We shall not join in any active efforts to bring about a revision at the present time, but, if it shall be undertaken, we shall consecrate all of time and strength which the Lord gives us for this part of our work, to secure an instrument which shall justly and fairly represent the Christian character of the nation.

Note that closing paragraph. In view of the astonishing strength developed last August in Congress by the ideas of the Christian Amendment party, no sane liberal can escape the conviction that religious equality and liberty are to-day in more imminent danger of being undermined than at any time since the government was founded. The train is laid; the match only is wanting. If there is to be now a revision of the United States Constitution, Orthodoxy will imprint itself in some form on the new instrument. The only possible preventive of that outrage is to multiply Liberal Leagues like the sands of the sea.

3. And what of the liberals themselves? They have lost ground, and are losing it rapidly under the powerful influences brought against them. Instead of standing all together side by side in defence of the priceless heritage they have received, with an heroic determination to make its preciousness known to all the people, they look on and do almost nothing to defend it against burglarious seizure. The Unitarians, once the great champions of "spiritual freedom," have settled down, like the Universalists, into a respectable Christian sect, and with a few shining exceptions take no part in the struggle for that great cause to-day. The Spiritualists, once a power for liberal principles, seem to be on the point of imitating the Unitarians and taking a new, backward position as a Christian sect; for last summer they organized at Philadelphia a "National Conference of Spiritualists," with the following "declaration of principles":—

"We recognize in Jesus of Nazareth the spiritual leader of men, and accept his two great affirmations of love to God and love to man as constituting the one ground of growth in the individual, and the only and sufficient basis of human society."

Here in Boston radicalism seems more and more tending to an apologetic attitude. It seems to forget in the grand dream of a universal "fellowship of the spirit" the inexorable condition of such a fellowship —that genuine human brotherhood can only be attained on the broad platform of equal rights in religion and individual liberty grounded on an absolutely secular State. Seeing that it contemplates no action, the world pays little heed to Boston radicalism today, and the great New York dailies no longer report at length its club-meetings and conventions, as they did eight or ten years ago. Here and there signs of a new, more resolute, more active temper make themselves visible to the attentive gaze, and kindle hopes of a "true revival" of public spirit; but that intensity of purpose which knows how to "burn its bigness through the world" finds its representative to-day in Dwight L. Moody, not in Theodore Parker. Yet why should Boston radicalism thus seem to be smitten with imbecility and paralysis? Is it any less true, any less needed, any less mighty than of old? Verily, it is not dead, but sleepeth! Liberty and justice and truth are surely humanity's crown jewels still; and we cannot but believe that noble old Boston will again prove herself, as of yore, the nursery of omnipotent movements for ideas which shall go forth conquering and to conquer, and not be drowned in the great reflux wave of antediluvianism!

THE VAGUENESS OF FREE RELIGION.

The objection made to the ideas of Free Religion on the ground of their vagueness is natural, in view of the fact that more sharpness has been demanded of religious ideas than of any others. Indefiniteness is tolerated everywhere more easily than here where definiteness is, strictly speaking, irrational. In religion people are satisfied with nothing less than final dogma. In politics, literature, society, loose opinions will do. That under the theory held by Free Religion, opinions should seem loose because they must of necessity be broad, need excite no surprise. This is no peculiarity of our American forms of rationalism; but a characteristic of rationalism everywhere, a trait of rationalism wherever found. The inclusive thought must be the wide thought—must be faint in outline and indistinct in horizon; the more so the wider it is. As it becomes philosophical, inclusive therefore of larger intellectual spaces than are covered by dogma, the boundary line of definition will be very shadowy indeed. Yet this indistinctness will be a mark of its truth and sincerity. This appears in the conception of M. Charles Fauvety, whose new enterprise in Paris was noticed in THE INDEX two weeks ago. His idea corresponds very nearly to ours, and is interesting as showing how inevitably thinking on the same general plane strikes on the same thoughts. Reference to one or two of his main positions will throw light on our attitude towards religious beliefs. His opening "declaration" is quite in the strain of THE INDEX: "Placing in God the ideal of all perfection, and making perfection the aim and end of all existence, each of us should make effort to help with all his means and capacities others to perfect themselves in like manner." His "moral profession" runs thus:—

I affirm God.
I make confession of duty.
I desire justice and fraternity.
I believe in the solidarity of mankind.
I aspire to perfection.

"Religion is philosophy put into life"; made vital. "Religion is one and the same, notwithstanding the diversity of shapes it has assumed; it grows and develops with the human mind." "Religion seems good, useful, needful, indispensable when, resting on the acquisitions of the human mind, put in harmony with reason, freed from superstition, miracle, fanaticism, it offers itself as a product purely human, relative, perfectible, bringing the ideal sphere within reach of all." In answer to a question concerning the place occupied by God in this conception, he says: "Conceived as the universal unity, God stands for the supreme reality which finds perpetual expression in the universe. He represents for us the synthesis of syntheses, life at its highest power, being raised to the highest potency, the plenitude of perfection." Here, under another form of words, is the idea expressed in the formula: *religion is Man's effort to perfect himself*.

"Laical religion is simply religion without priesthood or priestly order. Its office is to open direct communication with God." In a note appended, as explanatory, to this last declaration the writer contends that this unsacerdotal system is a return to the genuine religious traditions of the race. "Moses, Jesus, Buddha, Confucius, Mahomet, all the pure religious reformers, have proclaimed a religion without priest or sacerdotal order." The attitude of the new faith towards Christianity corresponds to that taken by the first Christian reform towards Judaism; it can say with Jesus, "I have not come to destroy, but to complete," an attitude that is intellectually neutral, but soon becomes aggressive when intelligence becomes mixed with feeling. It will be interesting to watch M. Fauvety's course, and see how long he can abstain from aggression against the priesthood that will curse him, and the Church which is in determined and active opposition to every one of his aspirations. The freedom and noble generosity of his position are beautiful and worthy of all praise. It will be reassuring to know that he successfully maintains it. But if he does not, if he, too, must come down from his height into the arena, and do battle with the dogmatism and superstition that will not be disregarded and cannot be slipped by, it will be a great satisfaction to think that spiritual freedom has so noble a champion, and that the army of progress has so many allies. O. B. F.

PARKER PILLSBURY IN WORCESTER.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Next Sunday will be my fourth in a course of lectures here, which began with the first of the present month. On Sunday following, first in February, I am engaged to the Free Religious Association in Providence; that, with faithful effort and energy, manages to continue its regular Sunday meetings uninterruptedly, and with good audience.

Much of my time here in Worcester has been devoted to consideration of the *Sunday Law*, and the late attempts to enforce it. Three Sunday morning conferences, well attended, have been given wholly to it. There has lately been a prosecution by the city authorities of a young man, for violating the Sunday, by selling newspapers a few hours on Sunday morning. He, or his friends, I am told, retorted by attempt to arrest the railroad companies for their more wholesale outrage every Sunday, and night before, and night after, of the same "holy day." But the officers refused even to *entertain the complaint*, though themselves, or a part of them, constant buyers of the Sunday newspapers of the young man. The pursuit of the newsman with so much zeal amounted to a real *persecution*, and has awakened much interest, as well as apprehension, on the part of the friends of true religious and civil liberty; as will be seen if you can find space for the enclosed report of our last Sunday morning conference, from the Worcester *Transcript*, in connection with this hasty note, from

Yours, ever glad to be your coadjutor,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

WORCESTER, January, 1877.

THE OBSERVANCE OF SUNDAY.—Grand Army Hall was well filled yesterday morning. Mr. John Howes occupied the chair, and Miss Alla Foster was Secretary. Messrs. Parker Pillsbury, Stephen S. Foster, Hon. Geo. F. Thompson, H. H. Bigelow, A. B. Brown, and others, discussed the following resolutions, which were finally laid on the table for further debate next Sunday morning:—

Resolved, That we are unalterably opposed to any legislation making distinction of days into secular and holy, or which estimates human actions not by what they are in themselves, but by the time when done; not by their character but by the clock and the almanac.

Resolved, That we consider the late decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, which compels the Jews to prefer the Christian Sunday before the Sabbath, which they and their fathers have solemnly sanctified for four thousand years, as one of the most cruel proscriptions and persecutions of the nineteenth century.

Resolved, That we deprecate the many recent arrests in Massachusetts, and other States, of citizens for violation of Sunday statutes; especially we look upon the late prosecution of a news-vender in Worcester, for quietly pursuing his avocation a few hours on Sunday morning, for an honest livelihood, as *downright persecution*; while the same marshal and authorities refused even to entertain complaints against railroad and other powerful and popular companies for constant and wholesale offences against the same law.

Resolved, That the laws of this Commonwealth, which forbid useful labor and innocent amusements on the first day of the week, are in direct conflict with the teachings and example of Christ and his apostles, and a gross violation of our State Constitution, and ought to be resisted by all true friends of Christianity and of civil and religious liberty.

In the evening, Mr. Parker Pillsbury gave a discourse, one hour and twenty minutes long, on "The Sabbath; its Origin and History." The audience was large and attentive.

Communications.

NOTES OF PROGRESS.

ITHACA, N. Y., Jan. 21, 1877.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—The following quotation from a letter to the editors of the *Cornell Era*, by Andrew D. White, President of the Cornell University and now absent in Europe, may not be uninteresting to your readers:—

"I have been greatly struck by the marked progress there [in England], in everything pertaining to education, since my former visits. . . . Among the foremost men in this good work is Sir Charles Read, Chairman of the London School Board, a man who gave up Parliamentary honors to devote himself to his present duties. . . . He and his colleagues have just been through a hard battle and won a great victory. Although a thoroughly Christian man, he had a large part of the Church against him,—he and his friends supporting a system of national schools under national control, and the other side declaring for a system mainly *regulated* by the Church authorities. The battle at one time seemed doubtful. During my stay in London a demonstration of great apparent power was made against the national school system, the Bishop of London presiding, and a large number of clergymen and gentlemen of influence joining in a meeting wherein secular education was denounced as 'godless' and tending to 'atheism.' . . . But the result has astonished everybody. By immense majorities, such men as Sir Charles Read, Mr. Lyulph Stanley, and their associates, have been continued in office, and it may interest some of our friends to know that among the members of the Boards returned in the interest of national schools are at least two women. By the way, let me say that I have been not a little

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surprised to find, even in conservative quarters in England, how much less fear there is of the 'woman question' than with us. If a woman is really the most fitting candidate for a position on a school board, it never seems to occur to any body to reject her because she is a woman,—and it should be borne in mind that men of very high social and political standing are glad to take such positions. There can be no doubt now that Great Britain is to have a national and secular education from the primary to the most advanced departments of instruction. . . . Since my former visits to the universities, all the test-oaths and declarations which barred out students not conforming to the Established Church have been abolished, and there seems no injurious check upon freedom of thought."

I will add for your own interest that our "Religious Association for Free Discussion" of which you have a notice in a late INDEX, is rapidly increasing in the number of members every week.

The people of this place have been very slow to come forth and stand up for radical ideas, especially in religion; but I think that our meetings show that there have been some freethinkers who, however, have not felt strong enough to speak their thoughts. Our meeting seems to be a vent for the suppressed thoughts of these people.

Yours respectfully,
MARGARETTA J. SINTON.

CHICAGO LETTER.

CHICAGO, Jan. 24, 1877.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Moody and Sankey have left Chicago and gone to Boston, and so it came about that the last-mentioned city and all her evil ways was made the prolific theme of a breakfast-table conversation not long since. Boarding-house discussions are always edifying, if for no other reason than the admirable opportunity they afford us for viewing the commonplace aspect of things. At this particular breakfast-table there is no autocrat, not even a small boy with an air-gun, whose sudden explosions shall opportunely break in upon too much and too monotonous talk, which in this case "goes on forever," like Tennyson's brook. One young man expressed his deep gratification that the Evangelists were to visit the Hub, for, said he, "Boston is the wickedest city in the country." Young men are pretty good judges of what wickedness is; and the school-ma'am opposite evidently regarded this positive statement as authoritative, for she assented to it with great volubility, and between them I know not what would have become of the respectable fame of your city, had not someone ventured timidly to inquire if there were not a good deal of culture and intelligence there. It was frankly admitted that Boston was not below par in intellectuality, and thereupon it came out that the special form of wickedness which distinguished it was the wickedness of infidelity. But Messrs. Moody and Sankey have a prescription warranted to cure all such dangerous ills. You have but to reject the old remedy of reason, and adopt that of faith, and you'll be no more troubled either with intellectuality or infidelity.

Mr. C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, well known to the readers of THE INDEX, has lately been with us. A few evenings since, he lectured before the Philosophical Society on the "Condition and Destiny of Humanity." One is glad to be even a small and insignificant speck of humanity, to hear such generous praise of its achievements, and such glorious prophecies of its future. Mr. Mills is an idealist without being a sentimentalist. Was it Alcott who said the idealist is the only practical man? At any rate the true idealist does not ignore the common things of life, but detects fine spiritual meanings in them all. Content to "keep his feet low and his forehead high," he confines his abode neither to earth nor sky, but stands sure-footed on some everlasting rock to gaze at and ponder the meaning of the stars.

After dwelling some little time on the past, Mr. Mills thought, notwithstanding all that it has accomplished, we may be glad with Emerson that the aboriginal man is dead and gone. Much has been done, but much more remains to be done. "The civilization of man is not yet up to what is prefigured in his own nature," said the speaker; and farther on, "Our civilization is an ameliorated barbarism, as our religion is a softened idolatry." That religious growth has not kept pace with scientific is shown by the fact that science is free but religion is not. Men are no longer hampered to any great extent in the investigation of scientific truths; but a fair degree of moral courage is necessary to him who proclaims his disbelief in the prevailing theological dogmas of the time. In religion it is the "destiny of man to exhaust the possibilities of God." A no less great career is open to society than to man. "The immensities of virtue and beauty lie open to society as to individuals." The time will come when "society itself shall be a church and life a worship." Mr. Mills closed with an eloquent appeal to all to work for humanity, and to do so with the humble devotion of a Fichte, not minding whether the work be recognized as ours or not.

Then came the critics with words of hearty commendation both for the speaker and his discourse, granting only that the latter were true. "And pity 'tis 'tisn't true," seemed to be the underlying thought with many, who doubted if, either physically or morally, we were climbing the slow up-grade of progress. One speaker thought that the delicate constitutions of our boys and girls was proof that physically we have degenerated; and found in the crowds who nightly flocked to the Tabernacle a better illustration of the mental *status* of the people than in the slim attendance at the Philosophical Society. Another ou nd in the lecturer's idealism a kind of spiritual optimism, and thought him not a keen, social analyst. The same speaker feared, if Mr. Mills' theory of continual growth in perfection be true, the time might come when an enlightened intelligence would be so universal that mediocrity would reign supreme, and truth be so cheap as to become a drug in the market. There may be good logical foundation for such an apprehension as this, as there is for the belief that sometime our little planet will go tumbling headlong into the sun. Mathematicians and philosophers may be, if they will, excellent borrowers of trouble, and with their figures of arithmetic, and figures of speech, search out some remote truth, which, if left alone, would be quite harmless; but which, when flaunted before the imagination, acts as a very good scarecrow.

Mr. Mills' assertion that our aspirations are the forerunners of our accomplishments, was criticized on the ground that it was the same doctrine as that which lay at the bottom of all theological and metaphysical errors. "It was," said the critic, "an anti-phenomenal theory, and unscientific; but I take it Mr. Mills did not mean we were to make entities of our fancies and floating desires, as metaphysicians do of their fine abstractions, setting them before us as positive facts, and fancying we have realized when we have only imagined them. An aspiration is not to be clothed upon with so much credulity as to appear an accomplishment. It is to be believed in as a means, and not as an end. Surely there can be no error in the faith which each man feels in his highest longings; and as we have reached and set aside many old ideals, why may we not hope either in time or eternity to attain other and higher ones?"

Mr. Mills read his essay on Emerson to a small but highly-appreciative audience, who met to hear it at a private residence on the West Side. The paper was not altogether the loving eulogy of a disciple for his master, as some of us may be pardoned for half-expecting it would be. A brief but complete historical sketch of Emerson's antecedents, together with a careful analysis of his mind and character, and a choice of extracts from the essays, which showed a critical discernment of their literary merit, gave us not a mere sketch of the great sage, but something nearer a perfect portrait, with outlines well-defined, and the whole glowing with life.

CELIA P. WOOLLEY.

CHELSEA LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The members of the Chelsea Liberal League assembled according to appointment at the residence of D. G. Crandon, 98 Bellingham Street, Monday evening, the 29th ultimo. The Chairman, Mr. Crandon, congratulated the members on the goodly number present, and the holding of their second meeting on the birthday of Thomas Paine. He welcomed the League, and expressed the hope that each member would aid in making the occasion one of personal pleasure and a common source of general good. The Secretary read the report of the organizing efforts, and presented the charter of the Chelsea Liberal League as the first fruits of those beginnings. New members signed the constitution, and on a call for resolutions Professor Toohey read the following:—

WHEREAS, The century plant of the nation—the Centennial—has come and gone, and left its glad and gladdening memories to strengthen the hopes of all who work and wait for the perfection of the Republic, that the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness may become organic in the land, and priestly intolerance and sectarian misrule come to an end; and,

WHEREAS, The Centennial Congress of Liberals organized the National League to secularize the Government and separate the Church from the State, by and through the aid of auxiliary leagues throughout the land; therefore,

Resolved, That the rejection of the Paine bust by the Select Council at Philadelphia is a foolhardy and wicked violation of the spirit of freedom, and a needless insult to the generous promptings of the donors; and that we, the members of the Chelsea Liberal League, deem this, the one hundred and fortieth birthday of Thomas Paine—"the author hero,"—a fitting occasion to bear our most solemn protest against this new attempt to belittle the life-services of Mr. Paine, while disappointing the fraternizing expectations of freedom-loving men and women in the midst of their Centennial rejoicings.

Resolved, That this last effort to strengthen the power of superstition is too important to be passed over without reminding the Liberals throughout the land that "eternal vigilance is the price of freedom," and that the grand army of freethinkers and freedom-lovers should unite their efforts in making sectarians realize their determination to secularize the government or the country, and have the Church separate from the State.

Resolved, That the logic of events and the growing liberalism of the age alike remind us of the great obligation we are under to the life-efforts and heroic services of Thomas Paine; and that we deem it a pleasure no less than a duty to make this acknowledgment in honor of the writer, the patriot, and the man.

The resolutions were warmly approved and unanimously adopted.

Mr. Wilcox called attention to Mr. Conway's article in THE INDEX, showing how the life and writings of Mr. Paine had been kept before the public, particularly of England, and the consequent circumstances that helped to make Mr. Paine obnoxious to local and general sectarianism. It was a new illustration of the old saying that "opposition is the life of trade."

The Rev. Mr. Strickland's youthful experience as a student of Mr. Paine's writings showed that parental vigilance and opposition in such matters only sharpened the appetite, and increased the desire for the forbidden knowledge. He was satisfied, however, that Mr. Paine's influence had been to him a good, as these writings had liberalized his judgment and helped to emancipate him from dogmatic theology.

Professor Toohey seconded the suggestion of Mr. Wilcox about the reading of Mr. Conway's article, as he thought there was need, great need, of more and better information about the life and labors of Mr. Paine. He could remember the time when professional and otherwise intelligent men did not consider it necessary to be acquainted with the biography of Mr. Paine to justify an opinion on the merits of the man. He recalled an incident, in which George Lippard, the novelist, manifested surprise on learning that Mr. Paine's life had been of sufficient importance to mankind, to call for and exhaust four biographies before Mr. Vale, of New York, published his. Mr. Lippard atoned for this ignorance, however, and, after examining the publications of Philadelphia during the American Revolution, made honorable mention of Mr. Paine in a publication on *Washington and his Generals*. This brought his life and writings into literature. The limbos of commonplace gave way, and the *Atlantic Monthly* helped on the good work. True, the writer of the three articles that appeared in the columns of that publication a few years ago, was more conventional than respectful, speaking of "the author-hero" as "Tom" Paine. Better manners and more manly sense characterized the second and closing articles; for the writer had learned, among other matters, that Thomas, and *not* "Tom," was the Christian name of Mr. Paine. Since then, there had been an increasing demand for information about the life and services of Mr. Paine. Three clergymen have made him a study, and the subject-matter of lecture-room remark. Rev. John W. Chadwick has more than once invited audiences in Boston and elsewhere to join him in doing justice to the political services of Thomas Paine. The Rev. Mr. Bell makes Thomas Paine the central figure in the "times that tried men's souls," in one of his regular course lectures; while the Rev. Martin K. Schermerhorn makes him the subject of a new study from a religious point of view. Mr. Chadwick concedes him to have been a patriot; Mr. Bell makes him *par excellence* the civilizer; leaving for Mr. Schermerhorn the agreeable acknowledgment that Mr. Paine was "an Unitarian." But much remains to be done, before the ignorance and insolence of theologic conceit is made to give way to that more native and honorable judgment that found expression through secular opinion, saying, and singing:—

> "God save great Thomas Paine,
> His 'Rights of Man' proclaim
> From pole to pole."
> (Quoted in Mr. Schermerhorn's lecture.)

Mr. Hamlen moved that the resolutions be offered the Boston *Herald*, INDEX, *Investigator*, *Banner of Light*, as well as the *Public*, *Pioneer*, and *Record* of Chelsea, for publication. Complimentary remarks were made on the growing independence of the secular press, and an article from the Boston *Herald* was read by way of illustration. Mr. Hamlen also read a part of Mr. Chadwick's article on Mr. Paine from THE INDEX, which called forth additional remarks from Messrs. Lincoln, Turk, Dodge, Mayo, Casey, Moore, and Toohey. It was then agreed that the next meeting would be held at the residence of Rev. E. F. Strickland, 13 Chestnut Street, Monday evening, Feb. 12, 1877. The meeting then adjourned.

J. H. W. TOOHEY, *Secretary*.
167½ BROADWAY, CHELSEA, Mass.

"HOW," NOT "WHY."

Those whose habitual mode of viewing things is anthropomorphic insist that evolution shall fully answer *why*, on peril of being cast aside as bad science. In those departments where our knowledge is full and precise, we perceive the inquiry to be out of place; but just as the problem becomes complex and obscure, it obtrudes itself as the test question. Yet the word is purely logical, and belongs to the domain of the subjective. As applied to natural processes it is incompetent. "*Why* I think thus or so," "*why* I affirm this, that, or the other thing," is the only setting appropriate for the word at all. As to everything objective, the answer to *how* exhausts the knowable. Try it,—confining the inquiry to what is well-known, as thus: Why 3×3=9? Why the square of the hypothenuse equal the square of the sides? Why the angle of reflection equal that of incidence? Why a ball subjected to two forces take the diagonal of a parallelogram whose sides represent the separate forces? Why oxygen combined with hydrogen form water and not quicksilver or good soft-soap? And so on through the catalogue of familiar things?

There is no answer to such questions, but no one thinks of therefore calling in question mathematical or physical science. Once we have resolved our product into its factors, and have quantitatively stated the coöperant conditions of the complex result, the problem is exhausted.

If the pupil still asks, *Why*? we can only restate the fact, and say three and three are the factors of nine, and the ball takes the diagonal because very likely the poor ball could not take a different direction. Things behave in that way under the given conditions, and science has no office in the premises but to classify and correlate the different behaviors and show to the understanding that, while they appear to be diverse and dissimilar, they have a fundamental unity. To ask evolution *why* the cosmic procession has been along the line of an orderly progress, is to put it to a strain the multiplication table itself is not equal to.

Could the evolutionist show never so cleverly that mind itself was in that line, and apprehends and re-

flects that order because it is born of it, and has a genetic relation to it,—that the *idea* of order, harmony, beauty, etc., are so constituted,—he would indeed assimilate and unify the larger cosmic processes with the more familiar law of heredity, but would leave the question of *why* the germ takes on the parent form, instead of any one of the thousands of possible forms still unresolved.

But the point I wish to make is whether this proclivity to ask *why*, where *how* is the proper *quæsitum*, is not an intellectual infirmity and impotence.

The geocentric theory made it impossible for the ancients to think of the earth except as having a strong support. That mental infirmity was then warrant for claiming a corresponding necessity in the nature of things. It had all the authority of a primitive deliverance of consciousness. Take away the elephant, and the firm earth with "all which it inhabits" would fall into—! Demonstrate to one having that confirmed mental habit that the elephant was a fiction, that the earth was self-sustained, or (if he preferred) had always been and was still falling into—, and his philosophic repose would be gone, and very likely his ethic life impaired. After Kepler had demonstrated the laws of the planetary motions, he could not understand *why* those bodies remained in the orbits whose elements he had formulated, unless an attendant spirit held each one to its place. To modern thinking it suffices to view it as in the nature of matter, once set going under those conditions, to keep that course; but to the general thought a will is still necessary to give the initial impulse.

So it appears that the advance of science is a process of de-anthropomorphization. The notion of a superintending will marks the intellectual progress, and is a hindrance to correct thinking. To say that things have proceeded thus or so because a Divine Being so ordained it, seems to explain by classifying natural processes with human doings; but I am convinced it is a cheap and superficial explanation, intellectually considered, and in a moral and religious view positively vicious.

No one gets a scientific apprehension or solution of the problem, or gets any firm intellectual grip upon the fundamental principles involved, till he thinks away the divine purpose, and conceives of the forces, relations, or principles as self-sufficing. No mathematician conceives the primary relations of quantities as depending upon the Divine will. They lie deeper, and determine that will. It is a hurtful superstition to regard the moral law as originating in will, and deriving its binding force from the fact that God made and enjoined it. A higher morality and a better religion regards God as worthy of love and reverence because his will is in perfect conformity to that law. That religion and morality which bases directly upon the moral law is the only one that can survive the dynastic revolution in theology which is imminent.

E. D. Stark.

Cleveland, O.

TEACHING GOD TO BE GOOD.

Editor of The Index:—

Your article upon "Prayer" (Index, Jan. 25), as practically designed to suggest to God a higher and larger goodness than would be possible to him without it, is so "true to life," that I am tempted to relate an incident which illustrates the position.

Two or three years ago, two bright little boys of nearly the same age, and living in houses but a few yards apart, sickened on the same day with diphtheria. The motherly and medical treatment were in the two cases almost precisely the same; but, while one recovered, and in a month was running about with his playfellows, the other, a very beautiful and winning little fellow, succumbed to the disease.

The mother of the first child went to pay a visit to the other mother, and in conversation thus detailed the untiring assaults she had made upon the Throne of Grace.

"I prayed for my boy's life as I never prayed before. One whole night I wrestled in prayer to God that he might be spared. And I believe he *was* spared in answer to it. What are the promises for, if we don't try them?"

This was, of course, very heart-rending for Mrs. C. to hear. She also had prayed fervently for the life of her child; but, as it now seemed, had not importuned him with sufficient energy to insure success. Stung at last to say something, she replied: "But I should think, Mrs. R., you would be afraid to pray so persistantly that God would change his plans for your child."

"O," responded the other, "I always ask with the proviso, that, if he *sees best*, he will do it."

"But he will do what is best whether we ask or not, will he not?"

"O, undoubtedly," was the ready answer; "but I think sometimes our prayers help him to determine what is best."

This was the actual *bona fide* utterance of an estimable Christian woman—one of those who profess entire sanctification,—not lacking in intelligence, and not egotistic in any other than a religious sense. And why should her innocent remark excite a smile? It is but putting in plain English the indirect teaching of the Bible and the Church.

I have seen clergymen made very uncomfortable by the results of their well-meant attempts to reconcile these apparent contradictions to persons whose perceptions were sharpened by the agony of bereavement. Imagine a minister making a pastoral call upon the two mothers at the close of the above conversation. To the well-satisfied one who rehearses to him her success in prayer, he says: "I rejoice with you, my friend. The great Hearer and Answerer of prayer has not been deaf to your plea. In the time of your trouble you called upon him and his promise has not failed."

"But," cries the bereaved mother, "did I not pray also? Did not you, reverend sir, kneel here in this room and supplicate the Throne of Grace for my child?"

"Certainly," answers the man of consolation; "but God has inscrutable reasons for his dealings with men. He knew why it was best for your darling to be taken while the other was spared."

"Then God saw it was best for the other to live, did he?"

"Certainly, dear madam. I truly believe so."

"But—somehow I am confused,—did he see it was best before the prayer, or only afterward? I cannot understand."

"My dear madam, none of us can understand these things. These are mysteries in the ways of Providence that we must not seek to penetrate. Our duty lies in simple submission to his will. Let us pray!"

H. L. E. B.

Philadelphia.

"REVEREND JOSEPH COOK."

That is what the *Advertiser* calls him, but, after giving his lectures careful attention, and noticing the decidedly partisan and consequently unfair spirit he manifests, we find so little to reverence that we cannot admit the applicability of the prefix to his name.

It would seem from his frequent assertions that he has read some modern works on biology, and perhaps has had the honor of visiting the rooms of a few German professors of distinction, during their hours for general reception, or otherwise; whereupon he proceeds to annihilate Prof. Huxley, and all such scientists, whom he terms materialists. With technical words, and divisions, and subdivisions all the way from firstly to thirty-ninthly, he goes through microscopy to the bioplast, and, having found beyond the bioplast the gulf between the living and the non-living, he denies that they can bridge over this gulf, and find the cause of the living. Then, thrice demanding with grandiloquent vehemence whether life is life or mechanism; or, as he says, "life or mechanism—which?" (a point they do not dispute in the way he puts it), he proceeds to toss off into nonentity these poor scientists, and calls them "small philosophers," who (as he says from an intentional or otherwise inability to comprehend them) fail to find in life any cause back of an evolution from mechanism. "Small philosophers," by the way, seems to be a favorite expression of his. Having thus, in a breath, as he supposes, blown those small philosophers into obscurity, he comes boldly up to this great gulf beyond the bioplast, separating the living from the non-living, the known from the unknown; and with the usual assurance of the emotional class gets placidly astride of that religious mosaic of the old semi-barbarous Hebrews called the Bible, majestically sails across this (to others) impassable gulf, with all the complacency of a broomstick-rider, and finds on the other side, not the infinite unknown, but a decidedly anthropomorphic Deity whom he knows all about, and before whom he falls down to worship and ask special favors with all the conceited confidence, and more than puerility of the Hindoo before his juggernaut.

He is reported to have said that, not long since, he met a "*small philosopher*," who said to him that the New Testament could not be true, because the mustard-seed is there called the smallest of seeds, when in fact there were other seeds still smaller. A weak argument it may be, but our *Rev.* gentleman loses patience at once, and proceeds to epithets, specially designating this "small philosopher" as the "mustard-seed philosopher." Again, having sailed over the impassable gulf, he not only knows the source of the bioplast and can define the unknowable, but he triumphantly utters the *dictum* that this book, upon which he took his aerial flight, is the only book in the world that contains "*perfect* moral and religious winnowedness." How refreshing it must be to him! His true inwardness finds perfect winnowedness, and through this winnowedness he knows it all. Surely we ought not to wonder that he scouts the small philosopher and the poor scientist who labors and investigates so studiously and thoroughly, and yet modestly admits that he does not know it all. However, with all due respect to the peculiar differenciation of bioplastic aggregation of which he is constituted, we submit, whether he may not, to humor his fondness for epithets, and to keep up a vegetable comparison by way of distinction from the mustard-seed philosopher, be properly termed the cabbage-head philosopher; and whether the old adage, *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*, may not be applicable to his efforts, notwithstanding his knowledge of "perfect winnowedness."

Nimrod.

Boston.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Editor Index:—

I have just read the letter of David Porter giving his reasons for stopping his subscription. I wish I could send you a name to compensate for the loss. The best that I can do is to heartily thank you both for your candor in your own discussions of political questions and your impartiality in allowing both sides a hearing in your columns. The course which you have taken seems to have given offence to a few extreme partisans; be assured that it has been gratefully appreciated by at least one Democrat who has not, by the by, failed to discover your personal predilections towards Republicanism.

Allow me a word in behalf of Democracy. I write not as a Democrat, but as a liberal. Mr. Porter's assertion that "every Democratic subscriber you have has received his liberal ideas from Republican teachers" reminds one very forcibly of the claim that all the goodness which can be found in human character owes its origin to Christian influences. But however we got our liberalism, there are some of us who find it not inconsistent with one of the fundamental principles of Democracy,—the sovereign rights of the individual against the encroachments of centralized power. There are many acts in the history of the party which cannot be objects of pride. In the scramble for supremacy its time-honored principles are often disregarded. Sectional selfishness for a long time arrayed it against an enslaved race,—though we need to be constantly reminded that the preservation of the Union, not the freedom of the negro, was the Republican war-cry. An apprehension of the principle that tolerance towards the new does not necessitate intolerance towards the old has sometimes subjected the Democratic party to the unwarranted designs of Catholicism and flooded it with an ignorant following. Its distrust of all sumptuary legislation as a means of reform has often given its opponents good occasion to seek to identify it with the interests of intemperance and disorder. Its Bourbon element has been, and still is, unfortunately large and controlling. But with all its faults, a party which recognizes as its founder the man who penned the Declaration of Independence, and who worked side by side with Thomas Paine to establish a Republic without an Established Church, and which has recently blessed the country with one of the purest of men and most consistent and fearless of radicals, the late lamented Speaker of the House of Representatives,—such a party as this is not without reasonable claims to the gratitude of freethought.

Henry Doty Maxson.

Amherst College, Jan. 25, 1877.

THE REVIVAL TACTICS.

It is understood that Mr. Moody is not desirous to begin the revival movements proper, the direct efforts for the conversion of "sinners," just yet. He needs time first to sharpen the tools. Of the Orthodox church-members in Boston proper, there are at least ten thousand upon whose active coöperation in his work he has a right to count, and who have already been stimulated to engage in it by their respective pastors. But they must be personally magnetized and instructed by Mr. Moody himself before they can efficiently do this work, and it is they who are now crowding his meetings, and making a reputation for them as already successful. Of course they are successful as far as numbers are concerned. The Tabernacle will hold but six thousand, crowd it as you will. But besides the ten thousand colaborers above mentioned, who will go there over and over again as a matter of duty, there are twice as many more who want to see and hear Mr. Moody as they would any other celebrity, any other person world-renowned for persuasive eloquence, and twice as many more of both these classes in the towns within fifty miles of Boston, who will come in from time to time as they have opportunity, for the two purposes above mentioned, propagandism and curiosity. Of course the meetings are crowded, and will be for a long time, and, equally of course, with such an army of active workers, a considerable measure of ultimate success will be gained. The wonder would be if it were otherwise. Nevertheless, all the same, these crowds will be credited to "Divine influence," in the representations of the pulpits and the press. "Not unto us" will be sung and chanted and intoned abundantly here by the people who wish their sectarian church-work to be accepted and honored as "the Lord's work."

C. K. W.

An interesting letter from Brownson, in 1834, ten years before he became a Catholic, tells the tale of his groping after a faith through half-a-dozen sects, until, at writing, he had become satisfied in Unitarianism. At about that time it was that a writer in the Boston *Commonwealth* heard him say, "I would rather appear before the judgment-seat of my God with all the heresies of all ages on my head, having done all in my power, and used all the faculties and talents which God has given me, to search and find out the truth, than to appear there with the truth, having received that truth merely from another man's say-so?"

"Cheating the Devil" was the subject of a sermon in Unity Chapel, Harlem, by the Rev. William T. Clarke. He said that the prevalent idea of Christianity is that an elaborate trick is played on the devil in the interests of its believers; that one may sell himself to the devil and take pay in the pleasures and prizes of the world, and when sick of the bargain escape from its obligations by repentance, roll the sweet bait of wickedness under the tongue until satiated and then spit out the hook and leave the devil with his rod and line; buy the devil's goods on a long credit without paying a penny for them, and then take the benefit of the theological bankrupt act, and leave him to whistle for his recompense. This piece of theological trickery is a substratum for the frauds of business and the chicanery of politics. Bank directors who have squandered the savings of the poor, Judges who rob the orphans of trust money, municipal thieves, Congressmen and Cabinet ministers whose hands are full of bribes, all are following the doctrine of cheating the devil. Even among the educated people there are hundreds who sympathize with the man who always took off his hat when the devil was mentioned, not out of respect, but because he did not know what might happen. The idea that a man can cheat and lie until all virtue is squeezed out of his soul like the juice from a pressed orange, and then shuffle off all the effects by some process of spiritual legerdemain and come out heroic, happy, and holy is an insult to intelligence.—*Sun.*

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1877. WHOLE NO. 373.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

A BILL providing for the taxation of church property is before the Indiana Legislature. But it will probably fail, for lack of organized support. When will liberals learn that they cannot secure justice without coöperation among themselves?

THE FOLLOWING lists of signatures in support of the petition of the National Liberal League for the Religious Freedom Amendment have been received since our last issue: James V. White and seventy-two others, Port Byron, N. Y.; Karl Heinzen and fifty-seven others, Roxbury, Mass. Total number of signatures thus far received—215.

"WE STILL continue to have interesting sessions," writes a member of the Amherst College Radical Club; "there has been no interruption in them, except by vacations, since our organization nearly a year and a half ago. Whether it will outlive this college year, or not, is quite doubtful, as '77 contributes the larger part of its membership."

WHAT A glorious triumph has been achieved by Unitarianism! At the services of consecration of the new Trinity Church in this city, February 9, several leading Unitarian divines, including Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, and Rev. Rufus Ellis, "approached the altar and received the Holy Communion at the hands of the Episcopal Bishops"! Unitarianism has now received a certificate of undoubted authenticity that it is verily "Christian." Let whoever denies the "Christianity" of the Unitarian denomination be henceforth *anathema maranatha!*

REV. DR. WITHROW, pastor of the Park Street Congregational Church, in this city, writes to the *Presbyterian:* "It is to be said, however, and with joy we testify, that two or three gentlemen of the Unitarian denomination have contributed to the [Moody and Sankey] Tabernacle." We felicitate the Unitarians on their prospects. They are compelling recognition on all hands as a true Christian sect. They are giving "joy" to Orthodoxy, and getting patronized to their hearts' content by the ticket-takers of the Kingdom. But what has become of the "spiritual freedom" that fired the great soul of their own Channing?

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE is reported in the Boston *Journal* of February 6 as having said in his sermon of the preceding day that "from what he heard and read he could cheerfully approve of what he [Moody] taught for the most part. The doctrines spoken of were what the Unitarians had been accustomed to for fifty years, though they might be new to the generality of the listeners at the Tabernacle." When such a man as Dr. Clarke says that, one sees clearly that Boston has been "bulldozed" with a vengeance; and no one need wonder that, in the same sermon, Dr. Clarke classes "drunkards, thieves, gamblers, and Sabbath-breakers" all together. But the spectacle of a leading Unitarian divine confounding all moral distinctions in this way, and treating independence of Sabbatarian superstitions as if it were a crime like drunkenness or theft, must surely be mortifying to not a few rational men and women among the Unitarians themselves.

THE RELIGIOUS OPINIONS of Thomas Paine have nothing to do with his right to be remembered gratefully by the American people. His theology is to-day out of date; the religious views he has left on record are by no means our own; but the great principles he lived and labored for are infinitely precious to mankind, and put to shame the meanness and malignity of his Orthodox detractors. Slander without limit has been poured upon his head, for the wicked purpose of breaking his influence with the people; but the truth remains that he lived a nobly unselfish life for the good of his fellow-men, and rendered services to America which it is the blackest ingratitude to deny. The refusal to place his bust in Independence Hall is, and is meant to be, an open insult to free thought and freethinkers as such, a public and official denial of equal rights in religion; and the liberals of the country are themselves put on trial by it. Do they intend to submit? Or have they the spirit of freemen?

THIS IS a sad story of insanity from so-called "religious" excitement, contained in the New York *Sun* of January 11: "Early on Saturday morning a milkman discovered a woman almost nude in the Flatbush road. She was loudly bemoaning the death of her two children, and was calling on Heaven not to send them to hell. Having pacified her, he ascertained that she lived at 1175 Myrtle Avenue. Her husband, Mr. Henry Bobenhausen, was overjoyed on her return home, and strove to drive from her mind the terrible hallucination that had taken possession of it. A few days after the burial of her little ones, she became impressed with the belief that a sermon the Rev. J. Raber delivered, on 'Eternal Punishment,' had reference to her children. The thought crazed her. Stealing from the house, she went to the cemetery, sought out her children's graves, and attempted to exhume their bodies. In her delirium she called for her babes, saying that if she could only get them out of the grave, they would not sink down into hell. Yesterday she was sent to an asylum.

THE LIBERALS of Milwaukee held a great meeting on Paine's birthday, January 29, at which Colonel Hans Böbel presided, and Rev. G. E. Gordon, of the Unitarian Church, and Mr. Fritz Schütz, of the Freie Gemeinde, made addresses. Among the resolutions passed were the following:—

"That the donation to the City of Philadelphia, by the Liberal Leagues, of a bust of Thomas Paine, with a view to having it placed in the hall where the Declaration of Independence had been signed, was an act of patriotic impulse and worthy of the occasion of the Centennial Celebration of said Declaration, and that the refusal, on the part of the Common Council of Philadelphia, to accept the gift, deserves to be stigmatized as an act of the most narrow-minded bigotry.

"We demand that the principle of the separation of State and Church be consistently adhered to. Church corporations must submit to the laws that govern other corporations. All infringements upon the personal rights and the liberty of conscience of the citizens must cease. We therefore support the paragraphs in the platform of the Union of Radicals relating to this subject, and support the 'Religious Freedom Amendment' proposed by the Liberal Leagues as a substitute for the First Amendment to the present Constitution of the United States."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Religious Art.

BY WILLIAM ALLEN WALL.

Latent in man's earliest being lay the elements of thought, and of what is termed the religious sentiment,—the tendency to worship. The first conscious effort produced the germ of art; the first imagined poem and the first human music were, probably, a pæan to the sun.

As the religious sentiment is developed by the human mind it manifests attributes of both God and Devil. When evolved through reason, it is God-like, creative; when through sensation, it is Satanic, obstructive.

Religious art is a necessity. Man craves symbol to express his abstract conceptions, and out of this exigency it was born. It is older than literature, older than science. It was the primeval vehicle of ideas and thoughts. Religion invented and inaugurated the mythologies, every order of architecture, and produced the epochs of sculpture and painting.

Fundamentally, there have been but two epochs of religious art: the polytheistic and the monotheistic. The polytheistic ideal, rising in the far East, reached its meridian in the classic art of Greece and Rome. The monotheistic ideal, interspersed with the polytheistic, is traceable throughout the Orient, but is more clearly defined in the Hebraic channel. While polytheism was modified by philosophy, monotheism sought a purer expression in the advent of Christianity. But it was not until the ethical and theological teachings of its founder had assumed a mythical form, that they became (intermixed with monastic legends, and the rubric of martyrology) subjects of artistic illustration. At this period, art was preëminently devout and childlike; but as it increased in years it became more and more mythological, keeping pace with and illustrating aspiring ecclesiasticism, until it reached its culmination simultaneously with Roman Catholic Christianity.

The Reformation inaugurated Protestant Christianity, which not only cast withering frowns on all artistic representation, but waged destructive war upon the symbols of Romanism,—instigated by a morbid hatred of the Mother Church and all which represented her, till cooling in its frenzied zeal, and craving symbol, its art became but a feeble reflection of the already worn-out ideal of Roman Catholicism.

Protestantism furnishes no theological germ for a new development of religious art, none analogous to that which produced the Christian epoch. The real theological basis of Protestantism is that of Roman Catholicism, notwithstanding itself became estranged from Romanism,—therefore it is without an art basis. Religious art thrives only at the home of its nativity, and all attempts at alien naturalization prove abortive.

Virtually, Christian art is dead already; its oracle is silent; it has uttered its utmost truth; it has finished its work. Nevertheless, Protestantism to-day is attempting its resuscitation, and hails as its chief magician one who is in more than one sense the author of *Modern Painters*, and the very Don Quixote of critics.

Though with only a sling, I cannot resist the expression of a few thoughts in opposition to the theory of this Goliath of sacred art. He asserts that religious art, at once complete and sincere, never yet has existed, but that it will exist; nay, that the era of its birth has come, and that "those bright Turnerian images which the European public declare to be 'dotage,' and the calm pre-Raphaelite studies which in like manner it pronounced 'puerility,' form the first foundation that has been ever laid for true sacred art."

But Mr. Ruskin forgets that the faith of the author of the *Iliad* in his pantheon of gods might have been as sincere as is his own faith in his triple One. And he will admit that some of the Greek artists produced good work notwithstanding their Pagan faith.

Mr. Ruskin says, further, the ideal is a false one that leads us to take delight in anything past, future, far-off, or somewhere else, rather than in things, now, near, and here, and that the habit is an abuse of the imagination in allowing it to find its whole delight in the impossible and untrue. And in the same breath he recommends the very practice he has been condemning, and says that the noblest use of the imagination is to enable us to bring sensibly to our sight the things which are recorded as belonging to the future state; and that it is given us that we may imagine the cloud of witnesses in heaven and earth, and see, as if they were now present, the souls of the righteous now waiting for us; that we may conceive the great army of the inhabitants of heaven and discover among them those whom we most desire to be with forever; that we may be able to vision forth the ministry of angels beside us, and see the chariots of fire on the mountains that gird us round; but, above all, to call up the scenes and facts in which we are commanded to believe, and be present, as if in the body, at every recorded event of the history of the Redeemer.

This he assures us is the true ideal. And all the paradises imagined by the old religious painters, the last judgments, choirs of glorified saints, angels, and spiritual powers, come under the same category. He thinks we have not dwelt on such subjects enough, nor accepted them enough as possible statements of most precious truth, as real visions of real things more or less imperfectly set down; and that the same is true of all representations of Christ as a living presence among us now, as in Hunt's "Light of the World." By the way, if this picture is intended as a literal illustration of that metaphor, why did Mr. Hunt make it dependent on extraneous and artificial aid? And which did Mr. Hunt intend should represent the *true* Light, the lantern or the figure which carries it?

Mr. Ruskin says the Bible has never been illustrated, but is waiting to be; that Moses has never been painted, Elijah never, David never, Deborah never, Gideon never, Isaiah never; and that they must sit for their portraits. His theory for effecting the revival of sacred art is that there must be more literal illustration, and thunders his fiat that the Bible must be repainted. As an example of *his* literal treatment, he graphically enough describes, after severely criticising and ridiculing—with some truth it must be admitted—the treatment of a picture of the same subject by Raphael, the recorded narrative of Christ showing himself to his disciples at the Lake of Galilee. But would any amount of technical excellence in the pictorial treatment of a subject from the history of Baron Munchausen, or from the myriad monkish legends, prove their verity? Or would skilful execution, conscientious imagining, and adherence to the letter of the narrative of Christ's miraculously showing himself to his disciples on the shore of the Galilean lake, prove the truth of the tradition? *That* is the important question! But that question the Church cares not to investigate, preferring to rest on the rock of its faith,—a conglomerate of conflicting opinions cemented together by a matrix of supernaturalism, and from this emanates its negative Christianity. Faith is good, and goodness begets faith; but it behooves us to inquire on what we build our faith. Mr. Ruskin, alluding to Peter's interview with the spectre of his Master on the sea-shore, says Peter's "chief glory was his net coat *girt* about him, and naked limbs." But had Peter, on a previous occasion, adhered as tenaciously to truth as he did to its opposite, it would have invested his name with a brighter glory than ever raged from the repeated avowals of his vacillating faith. I have used the term "negative Christianity." Without stopping to particularize its many contradictions, one, for example, may be mentioned. It is recorded that Jesus said to his disciples, figuratively: "Think not that I come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword." This metaphor the Church accepts literally, and by its acceptance denies the precept and example of its Master and God. The Church has literally waded "through slaughter to a throne." The sweep of its merciless sword has deluged the world with blood.

I cannot do better to refute Mr. Ruskin's arguing than to quote his own words. In his reasoning to prove the truth of Turner's coloring, he says: "Truth is only to be measured by close comparison of actual facts; we may talk forever about it in generals, and prove nothing. We cannot tell what effects falsehood may produce on this or that person, but we can very well tell what is false and what is *not*, and if it produce on our senses the effects of truth, that only demonstrates their imperfection and inaccuracy and need of cultivation. Turner's color is glaring to one person's sensations and beautiful to another's. This proves nothing. Poussin's color is right to one, soot to another. This proves nothing. There is no means of arriving at any conclusion but close comparison of both with the known and demonstrable hues of Nature, and this comparison will invariably turn Claude or Poussin into blackness and Turner into gray."

And Mr. Ruskin is right, and the argument is just as true and demonstrable in a metaphysical as in a physical sense; and if Mr. Ruskin would turn his theological mirror towards Nature, he might be convinced of the falsity and darkness of its present reflections, unless he be of those who will not see. Though Mr. Ruskin emphatically asserts that the day of true religious art has dawned, and that Hunt's "Light of the World" is the very sun of it, he nevertheless evinces some fear that it will not be entirely cloudless, and that it may prove but a dark day after all, when he says,—"If we would cherish the hope that sacred art may, indeed, arise for *us*, two separate cautions are to be addressed to the two opposed classes of religionists whose influence will chiefly retard that hope's accomplishment. The group calling themselves Evangelical ought no longer to render their religion an offence to men of the world by associating it only with the most vulgar forms of art." "It is marvellous," he says, "to think that human creatures with tongues and souls should refuse to chant the verse: 'Before Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, stir up thy strength, and come and help us': preferring this:—

> "'Behold how Benjamin expects,
> With Ephraim and Manasseh joined
> In their deliverance, the effects
> Of thy resistless strength to find.'

The opposite class of men," he adds, "whose instincts lead them to mingle the refinements of art with all the offices and practices of religion, are to be warned, on the contrary, how they mistake their enjoyments for their duties, or confound poetry with faith," and that "there is danger of artistic Phariseeism."

Notwithstanding the teaching of his Master, that "it is the spirit that quickeneth," despite the warning voice of Paul regarding the deadly influence of the letter, Mr. Ruskin persists, if not with sophistry, with at least a great amount of special pleading, that the life of sacred art is dependent on its literal rendering of Biblical subjects, and that the old school of Christian art is a failure. But, whatever Mr. Ruskin may be as a critic of technical art, he utterly fails in his theory for infusing into art the elements of a higher religious expression. And while at times he appears to manfully face the true light and clamors for advance, he, unconsciously it would seem, retrogrades towards the very abyss of darkness and death he so vociferously warns us against and condemns. But he has disciples, and time will prove the error or

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establish the truth of his theory,—which, to me, appears as chimerical as was Barry's attempt to restore the spirit of Hellenic art. As well might he have hoped to substitute the language of classic Greece for the vernacular of Old England.

But fashion rules the hour, and prevails at feverheat on the meridian of London. How long it may continue to do so under a monarchical government, with an Established Church, remains to be seen.

To be regretted, the distemper has crossed the Atlantic and appeared on its Western shores; but its symptoms indicate assuagement, and the prattle of its victims resembles the learned disquisitions of their great prototype across the ocean, only in a morbid desire to *preserve* Christian sacred art. The first noticeable indication of the malady in this country was a profuse eruption of illuminated "mottoes," once called phylacteries, texts from Holy Writ, Orthodox originals, etc. But the symptoms are more definite in a species of art-literature, causing a peculiar deliverance in the writers, who produce a jumble of antediluvian and the most modern thought. They babble of the vitalizing power of the religious element in art; that beauty centres in God, and the nearer the artist approaches God, the more he sees and expresses beauty; that "the Greeks sought after God, but did not find him"; "let us," they say, "be as true to our time as the Greeks were to theirs." They believe in the anthropomorphic God of the Hebrews, and in the triune God of Orthodoxy; they say, We want living work from living thought, and describe ideal landscapes painted under the guidance of the great Teacher,—delectable views, with wealth of foliage and clear waters in the foreground; its remoter winding streams and varied lights and shades, its distant mists and mountains, and over all the blue sky, with its clouds, as misty temples and towering sentinels of Jehovah. "This," they say, "is a great work of art; the artist has looked from Nature up to Nature's God." They attempt to reconcile the cosmogony of Genesis and the teachings of geology; have faith in the Christian miracles and in natural philosophy; they kneel to the "Master," and make obeisance, hat-in-hand, to the Spirit of the Age; and the writer's argument, like the squirrel of David Crockett, comes out at the same hole it went in at; namely, revealed religion.

The other horn of the dilemma which Mr. Ruskin fears may worry and retard the accomplishment of his hope of a speedy resuscitation of sacred art, and which he says may induce Phariseeism, has also appeared in this country. The relative proportion of its art phase to that of the group above alluded to is about the same; the pair seem well matched and cover the same amount of brain, and both alike show a marked respect for patronage, profit, and propagandism. Mottoes were conspicuous with the first named; with the latter, chromos, and the alleged aim, the popularization of art. Without stint, it produces copies of works of sacred art, and does not shun the profane, but tosses both together into the market without limit, and is indifferent whether the originals of the copies are of the Roman Catholic or of Mr. Ruskin's reformed school of sacred art.

The amount of honest superstition visible in these closing years of the nineteenth century is lamentable enough; but the cant and Pharisaic sanctimoniousness, frequently manifested by both vendor and purchaser of these idols, are a disgrace of humanity and the age.

But the most formidable obstruction to the progress of religious art is the Church. In the Church, however, the elements of destruction are inherent, and their operation is slowly effecting its dissolution. With reference to its conscientious, pious adherents, whether clerical or lay—whether their livelihood be earned in the pulpit or the work-shop, I would be dumb, and in silence revere. Such existed prior to the advent of the Copernican theory of the solar system, and such exist now. With reference to Roman Catholicism, I would be silent. It is deceased. "Let the dead bury its dead." But its ghost still stalks the earth, the hope and the terror of the superstitious. Light, however, will exorcise it, and a new day is breaking. With reference to Protestant Christianity—it is in a decline; its voice is becoming husky, and its vitals are irremediably diseased; it is tenacious of life and may linger long, but it has indulged its appetite for forbidden fruit and must yield to the Eve-initiated penalty. Still its doctors hope against hope, and multiply their prescriptions, but they themselves disagree and their prescriptions conflict; and while each declares his own nostrum to be the true panacea, the patient is losing faith in its physicians. But they are the descendants of those benefactors who "preserved literature and fostered art and science" in the Middle Ages, and the medium through which the rays from the Pharos of that dusky period have been transmitted to us. They inherit, moreover, much of the sagacity of their ancestors, and while they accept, logically, the deductions from their diagnosis, they theologically repudiate them. But when the end arrives, they will be as prepared to meet the exigency and accept the situation, as were the clerical defenders of the divine institution of slavery,—once so numerous and noisy; but now, when they are called, only echo answers.

Truth compels the mention of another class of Evangelists, who otherwise would gladly have been ignored; for conscientious faiths, however adverse, should be mutually respected; and that "charity suffereth long and is kind," I know. Yet justice should not be ignored. But why should I form one apologetic syllable? To obey the dictates of my own conscience and express my thoughts is as inalienably my right as it is the right of those of whom I would speak. And on this subject it may be well for Radicals to ponder. There are enough who assert this claim theoretically, but who practically repudiate or treat it with indifference. But, *as* it is individually exercised, it is the strength or weakness of Radical cause. It is the movable fulcrum of the lever of our religious liberty.

The class of whom I would speak adhere to the Church like barnacles to a water-logged and drifting bark, as a basis for purveying. Those who compose this class rank themselves as divines; but the vulgarities they practice are far more reprehensible than any Mr. Ruskin complains of, and are very far below the brink of clerical propriety. Without sounding the depths of their descending, some mention may be made of its superficial phenomena, where still floats the hulk of progress,—barring bigotry, though shorn by the natural growth and warfare of civilization of the horrible instruments of its Satanic cruelties, and somewhat of the infernal renown it once possessed. This class, for example, is odious for its Jesuitical manœuvring within and without the Church; in politics and in secular reformatory efforts, which but as yesterday it denounced as "mere morality"; for the exercise of its inquisitorial propensities; for its contemptible subterfuges for the avoidance of argument with those whom it maliciously stigmatizes as infidels; for its proselyting snares for the child, and its shallow sophistry for the childish adult. But its eccentricities are legion, and I cease their enumerations.

But "the end sanctifies the means," and all this and much more of similar character passes for Christianity. Can this be the modern representative of that class so scathingly rebuked by Jesus, as chronicled in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew? History sometimes repeats itself, and may in this instance. If the preservation of sacred art be not its aim, or is beyond its capabilities, it has other arts and aims for which it is eminently qualified, and to which it gives its indefatigable adherence; and the virus flowing from the machinations of these shepherds disturbs their flocks, which show an unusual restlessness in their folds and an aggressive spirit outside of them. It is to be hoped *they* may not prove to be "ravening wolves"; but they evince little of the lamb-like disposition, and sigh for the "flesh-pots." Not content with the possession of the Church, they crave the State also; and to-day, while I write, this one-hundredth anniversary of our nation's birth, are uniting their many-colored fires to celebrate the enthronement of their theocratic fetich in the Capitol of the United States. But their rocket may prove a boomerang, and remind them when too late of the ancient adage, "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." But I leave the renowned critic, with his literal theory for the resuscitation of sacred art—in the full glare of Hunt's "Light of the World," with its farthing candle to guide it,—and his American followers, and the clerical incendiaries, to speak, in this Centennial Year of the life of the American Republic, of a possible successor to Christian art; a successor conceived at the Reformation, but which will, with the inspiration of its first breath, inhale American air.

The figure of a nude savage employed in carving the symbol of his worship, with his war-club and paddle beside him, is not inappropriate as emblematic of the origin of art.

And while the disciples of art are engaged in æsthetical pursuits, may it not be well for them to consider in what way *they* shall embody their highest and holiest aspirations?

Certainly, all forms of plastic art may be rendered subservient to the religious sentiment; but the first lispings of infant art were theological, and through the same medium its maturing thought has found expression and will continue to do so, until geology unearths the primal cause and sets it tangibly before our eyes. The history of theology, using the term in its original and broadest significance, is the channel the religious sentiment has scored on the world in its search after truth. Like a traveller, that stops between each step, has theology developed, and though its march may have been slow and erratic, it has been progressive. Theology is of one genus, but many species, and may be classified as polytheism, monotheism, theism, and Christianism; the latter an anomaly, a cross between polytheism and monotheism, which, variously modified, remains the religion of Christendom to-day; and, in accordance with Nature's laws of propagation, with it mythological religion must become extinct, and its art decease.

But there is a higher conception of Deity than the Church affords, which has already left the gloom of its overhanging portal to continue the search after truth in the broader and brighter light of the outer world. Theology is awakening to the significance of its cognomen, is listening to reason, and slowly acquiring the right to be classed as a science. It is dropping by the wayside its superstitions, and seeks the supernature *in* Nature; yet with all its seeking, is to realize but an endless unfolding of the eternal ideal; for the finite is finite and the infinite is infinite. Art should advance side by side with science and literature, and resume its long-lost but legitimate office of teacher. It has been held, with science and letters, in durance with the theology of the Church, but longer than they; and like them it must break the fetters which bind it, and declare its right to freedom, or barter its birthright for a bauble.

The old field of religious art is worn out and sterile; its fountain of inspiration is choked up. The expansive theology of this age offers its prolific, virgin soil for the tillage of invention and promises an abundant harvest. Mr. Ruskin expresses fears that the realization of his hope of a speedy revival of sacred art may fail because of the non-coöperation of what he calls the group Evangelical. But the artist of the developing theology must count on no coöperation of the Church, but on an unscrupulous opposition. From the priesthood he must expect nothing but censure; he will meet with derision and cavil from the *bigoted* representatives of its art; he will receive the fire of critics of various metal and caliber, and the smirk of *dilettanti*, and often find himself in situations where the bounty of his thought had better dispense its corn than its pearls; he must prepare himself for the juggernaut of public opinion, and, not infrequently, he may wish himself protected from his friends. The struggle was long and fierce between Pagan and Christian art, and resulted in but a poor compromise and no victory after all, and long and stubbornly waged will the coming contest be.

The growth of the forthcoming art is not retarded by lack of genius, artistic knowledge, and skill, or the requisite theological perception, but because the artists have not made their theological ideal the ideal of their art. They go abroad from themselves in pursuit of obsolete beauty, seeking inspiration among the ruins of defunct ideals. The conventional religious art of to-day is without true invention. It does not look forward to seek what it may find, but backwards rather, contenting itself with a species of compilation borrowed from ancient classic, Hebrew, or mediæval originals. We have elaborate disquisitions on the truth of form, truth of color, truth of space, truth of tone, and on all the other truths incorporated in technical art, and on ideas of truth, ideas of beauty, ideas of power, ideas of invention, and what not. But the highest idea of truth, the highest idea of beauty, the highest idea of invention, is not in their category. The highest truth is not cognizable by the intellect; the highest beauty is not reflected to the eye; but the highest invention renders the unity of the twain visible to the vision of reason.

But it may be asked, "Where are your examples?" They are for the artist to furnish. It has been asserted that the Bible waits to be reillustrated. That assertion may be true; but the illustration of its histories, its traditions, its biographies, and its texts, must be designed and colored in harmony with the thought and experience and conscience of to-day. But there is no lack of subjects from other sources, and if the artist possesses the requisite conscientious imagination, invention, and theological vision, he will perceive the field to have ample scope and an upward verge. When, like the Christian artist of the Catacombs, the artist of the theology of Nature shall illustrate his faith, a new era of religious art will have birth.

Plant-like has mythology developed. Nursed by superstition, it has flaunted its variegated blossoms, and its bloated pericarp scattered the seeds of supernaturalism. In its course its organism had well-nigh become changed. Fertilized by love and reason, an offshoot was transmuted and flowered in humanity; its theistic blossom shone high above the horizon of its time; but misty exhalations enveloped and obscured it, while the plant throve on and became a theological banyan-tree, overshadowing the world and obstructing the rays of the fructifying soul. But the tree is in process of dissolution; it is decaying at the root; while its pendant branches droop and wither as the shaded and now unfertilizing soil becomes less and less conducive to vitality. Germinating in the lowest fetichism, it has completed its circuitous growth; its extremes have met, and its fate must be that of all else which is of the earth.

The religious sentiment has wandered far astray and squandered its riches, but it will return to the love and the home of its father. Again will the religious sentiment clothe itself with humanity, and, reunited to virtue and reason, be merged in supreme mind, the true light of the universe; and from the throne of reason the religion of the soul be proclaimed and manifested by the consecration of Nature, the deification of humanity, and the transfiguration of individual man,—his own mediator.

Long ere another score of centuries shall have passed, may the strife between natural and "revealed" religion have ceased, in the complete triumph of the former, and may religious art have recorded it!

[For THE INDEX.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

In the conclusion of the last preceding article, I had quoted Hickok's definition of consciousness, as making it a light within the mind, illuminating the total field of the mental activities; and Greene's definition making it to mean the nut and core of those activities; the true withinness of all mentation, in being the actual recognition, by the *ego*, of itself, as *perceiving* subject and of the object *perceived*, in a mutual embrace, interpenetration, and relationship of unity and duality, or difference—the embracing and the embraced making a third complex totality which is the Consciousness, in its complete expression or fulness. I have, I find, expressed here Mr. Greene's thought quite in my own forms of phraseology; and I will take the occasion to add, that the unity, the duality, and the trine signifying the union of the unity and the duality, as here indicated, are a favorable illustrative instance of what I mean by Unism, Duism, and Trinism; but, not now to insist on this more technical view of the matter, we have in the Subject, Object, and Subject-Object the Within, the Without, and the Between of the Consciousness—itself being, as we have seen, the Within of the mind at large.

I believe I may add Mr. Henry James as another distinguished American thinker who has discussed this subject, and who, with characteristic originality, has insisted on the identification of the Subject and Object with their difference in the fact of Consciousness; but I speak here from memory, and cannot quote the book and page.

I also recall the following excellent statement to the same effect from Morell's *History of Speculative Philosophy*: "I am conscious of *self* and of *not-self*; my knowledge of both in the act of perception is

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equally direct and immediate. On the other hand, to make *consciousness* a peculiar faulty, by which we are simply cognizant of our own mental operations, is virtually to deny the immediatecy of our knowledge of an external world." (Vol. II., p. 18.)

The view of Hickok may be reconciled with this other view, with something added, perhaps, to each, in the following manner, one which every analogy, and the ultimate analysis of being itself will sustain and confirm. Let us conceive, as above indicated, the perceiving subject and the object perceived in a close relational embrace, in respect to which they are in a sense one, their difference being extinguished, and yet in a sense two, or still different; and that the relation between them is stata-motic, co-operative or co-actionary; the mechanization tending to evolve sparks, or to excite, so to speak, the molecular physics of mind, generally. Let us then conceive that this total consciousness or innerness of the mind, operating as a One-in-Severalty of Subject, Object and their mutual relationship or conjunction, generates a mental Heat, Light, and Actinism (or mento-chemical activities and forces), which three are coincident with the "Love," "Wisdom," and "Operation" of Swedenborg; love or the feeling principle being the analogue of heat; wisdom the seeing and knowing principle, the analogue of light; and operation or activity, the analogue of actinic agency (the trinism of the solar ray). These three principles thus complete, as we may say, the *Mental Spectrum;* and consciousness, this innerness of the mind, thus appears as a true *Spectral* region of mind, and contrasts with the Outer Spontaneity or Soul (the Greek *psychē*) as with a *palpal* region—the whole region of *Spectra* (or Specters) according with the eye, with light, and with the sense of sight, as the region of mundane Solidities accords with touch or with palpation or the sense of feeling. It appears, therefore, that Sight is the Spectral, Specter-al, ghostly or Spiritual Sense, and is also specially allied with Consciousness; and that touch or feeling is the palpal, externo-real, mundane or materialistic sense, and specially allied with Sensation at large, and with the Spontaneity of the Soul, as the outerness of the mind. Hence it is that the single word Feeling, transferred to the inner experiences, comes to mean all the Sensuous, and Sentimental side of mind, allied also with heat, (the heat of the passions, etc.); and that Sight, insight, the mind's eye, comes to mean the light of the mind illuminating the Consciousness.

We may now perceive *how it is*, analogically, that the mechanizing or co-action of the Subject-Object, as a One-in-Severalty, *generates* that *Spectral Light within the mind*, to which Hickok confines the meaning of the word consciousness, while the entire relational embrace—Subject, Object, and their conjunction or copulation—is included in the meaning of the word as defined by Greene, James, Morell, and others. And we may perceive also, how, while the co-action in that embrace *generates or strikes the light*, it is *only in that light* that the subject first recognizes itself as distinct from the object—the activity having *originated in the unilluminated Spontaneity of the Soul.* This self-recognition of the ego, in the Spiritual light within the mind, is the primal act of the Wisdom Principle. "*I* think therefore I am"—Descartes. The *Ego* equals *Ego*—the point of departure for all knowledge—Fichte. Spirits, says Swedenborg, copulate and generate their kind, but their Sons are Thoughts, hence allied with vision, and their Daughters are Affections, hence allied with the sense of feeling. Sight is a masculoid sense; feeling a feminoid one. Wisdom is the distinctive characteristic (in Mere Preponderance) of masculism; love is the distinctive characteristic (in Mere Preponderance) of feminism. Let us return from this digression.

Spencer defines consciousness, in so far as he defines it, in a very different way. Besides confounding it in a purely general sense with the totality of the mind, as pointed out by Greene (*Blazing Star*, p. 116), he more specifically identifies it with the network of mentation, or the complex of thought, and other mental-relationships. "Consciousness," he says, "is that inter-relationship between mental states, by which the mind in reviewing them, is enabled to pass from any one of them to any and all of the others." Hickok enumerates still other definities of the term consciousness, as it has been used by various writers. Some confound it with the personal identity, although this survives through various states of unconsciousness; some make it to be a distinct faculty of the mind for knowing the operations of all the other faculties; and some regard it as a medium in which all other mental acts and states are connected; although, as our author observes, this is still to explain nothing, and really to have said nothing to any purpose. (p. 89.)

Spencer, with some inconsistency, has, however, also presented and approved the better thought of Sir William Hamilton, as condensed by Dean Mansel, in this pregnant quotation, which verges on, while it just comes short of being, the statement of the whole truth, on the subject; "Consciousness," says Mansel, "is impossible except in the form of a *relation*. There must be a subject or person conscious [of his own selfhood and of an outer world and an Object, or thing of which he is conscious]. There can be no consciousness without the union of these two factors [of the conscious *ego* and the object]. And in that union each exists only as it is related to the other. The subject is subject only so far as it is conscious of [itself as perceiving subject, and at the same time, of] an object; the object is object only so far as it is apprehended by a subject; and the destruction of either is the destruction of consciousness itself." *First Principles*, p. 78. I have added, in brackets, what ought not to have been omitted; what makes, as it proves, a vital difference at one of the fountain-heads of philosophy, and the lapse of which, in the philosophy of Spencer, is so opportunely and tersely pointed out and emphasized by Greene. The sentence of Mansel, without my insertions in brackets, might be taken to mean all that which Mr. Greene and myself concur in regarding as vitally essential in the definition; but it might also be construed to mean something very different, omitting the true gist of the whole matter. This other, faulty, and utterly inadequate understanding of it, is that which Mr. Spencer adopts, when he says: "The very conception of consciousness, in whatever mode it may be manifested, necessarily implies *distinction between one object and another.*" *First Principles*, p. 76.

Mr. Greene says, rightly and profoundly: "The subject is known to itself in consciousness, *always as subject and never as object.* It is, therefore, not true that everything known to the subject is objective." In the act of consciousness, as such, the distinction is never between *one object and another*, but always between *the subject and the object.* "When the subject is *conscious* of an object as object, it is also, and in the same act, *conscious* of itself as subject." Even Hegel slips constantly, in terms, when he talks of the subject as its own object. Such language is permissible poetically or imaginatively, but not as analytically precise. If the mind does aught to justify this conception, it is never *in the primal act of consciousness*, but as recall in memory of what had transpired; and the *rôle* of the subject, as so recalled in the memory, may, without objection, be called an objectivation of the subject; as we reproduce on the stage, actions which were originally spontaneous. It is not, in any case, the original doing.

This misapprehension of the true nature of consciousness is the hinge and the very pivot of the hinge upon which the modern (naturismal) scientophilosophy has swung away from the prior spiritualistic and *quasi*-theological development. This slide of Mr. Spencer from the true view of the facts of consciousness is not an accident nor an incident, but is, on the contrary, the essential and characteristic feature of his entire system; making it hemispherical and essentially sectarian, instead of spherical or integral; and the hemisphere of knowledge which it represents is that of Matter, as contrasted with that of Mind, as to the point of view; it matters not whether he be treating of matter, of mind, or of both. It is the point of view and its consequents which characterize any system of thinking. The system of Spencer, and his disciples and associates, as also that of Comte and the "positivists" is, when tested in this manner, rightly classed as materialistic; and no efforts of Mr. John Fiske, or of the followers of Comte can permanently reverse such verdict. But this imputation should not be approbrious. We needed a materialistic philosophy, to be elaborated wholly upon its own grounds, and to serve as a definitive emancipation of the human mind from the grip of mere dogmatism. The new and now prevalent system, poor enough considered as an ultimate philosophy, is rich in scientific generalizations, and invaluable for its influence in cultivating and popularizing the free spirit of inquiry. Even as philosophy, it represents one-half the truth, the objective half faithfully and well; and hence its statement was an absolutely necessary prelude to the ulterior, double-sided, integral, and final form of philosophy.

But the time has now fully come when the demand is urgent for the higher and reconciliative philosophical gospel—a form of philosophy which shall do absolute and impartial justice to the true Subjective and the true Objective (not the pseudo-Subjective and Objective of Comte, which are, however, legitimate and important subdivisions of the true Objective); to the Spectral and the Palpal; to the Ideal and the Real; to the Spiritual and the Material; to the Celestial and the Mundane hemispheres of being. For this philosophy I have chosen the name Integralism, as Comte has denominated his system Positivism. I mean that which is simple or single and all-embracing in its origin; which is two-sided in its first disparting, then many-sided, out to infinity; returning into a higher or complex form of unity, the Unity of the Singleness and the Doubleness (or many-ness), in the jointness-and-severalty of the Total Constituency (Unismal, Duismal, and Trinismal stages, or *momenta*, respectivaly). This is simply Mr. Greene's perception of the primal act of Consciousness, as a relation, *generalized to all possible relationships, and found to be the universal law of being.*

It has been the simplest and most natural thing in the world for philosophic materialists to make the mistake of supposing themselves still spiritualists (in some sense). We are now prepared to see precisely how the mistake occurs. In any primal division into a Withoutness, a Withinness, and a Between, each of these departments immediately subdivides into a Withoutness, a Withinness, and a Between of its own, so that nine departments have then occurred, instead of the primitive three; but the *schemative distribution* being the same within each primative third as it was within the primative whole, whosoever has unconsciously floated or slid into one of these thirds, proceeds to apply the primitive and correct method of reasoning, in a way to bring out, *seemingly*, a complete system of truth; to bring out, *really, a system of truth*, as to its schemative arrangement of parts, in an image or semblance of the larger truth; but, in fine, to utterly distort and falsify the larger truth itself, *by putting a part for the whole.* Hence the critical and vital importance of fixing, absolutely, the exact point of the primal disparting into branches or domains, and of the fact that *it is primal*, and must, therefore, exhaustively include all the phases of the subject-matter to be investigated. To miss this certitude is to miss all certitude, in everything following, except that of the *schema*, which may be removed, like a ladder, to whatsoever new position, and be found true, in its several parts, to itself, without giving any information as to whether the right house or the wrong house is ascended. Hence the great indebtedness we are under to Mr. Greene, for having fixed so certainly the true nature of Consciousness, and for having philosophically and forever vindicated the title for the Subject in Consciousness, and its consociate sphere of entities, to be regarded as a distinct half of the whole dominion of consciousness.

But Mr. Greene himself is also deficient, insomuch as he has failed to generalize this *character* of the special relation of subject and object in the act of consciousness into the type and character of every relation, in every act whatsoever; insomuch as he has failed to discover any *Universal Canon of Criticism* on all our thinking; and insomuch as he has consequently failed to found the new and reconciliative philosophy of Integralism. Something of what is meant by a canon of criticism may be inferred from the use herein made of the distinction between the Without, the Within, and the Between.

THE PAINE BUST.

MEETING OF THE PHILADELPHIA LIBERAL LEAGUE: FINAL REPORT OF THE PAINE BUST COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS OF THE LEAGUE: SPEECH OF WALT WHITMAN.

To the Editor of The Index:—

Yesterday our Philadelphia League commemorated the life and public services of Thomas Paine.

Lincoln Hall was crammed with our most intelligent citizens, and, after a few remarks by the President, Mrs. Carrie Burnham Kilgore, Chairman of the local Committee having charge of the Paine Bust, made the following

Report.

To the members of the Philadelphia Liberal League:—

About one year ago the Liberal League of San Francisco raised a small amount of money to make some fitting tribute to the patriotic services of Thomas Paine, during the Centennial Year.

At the suggestion of their Secretary, A. J. Boyer, the Philadelphia League appointed a Committee to take charge of the matter, and through the aid of The Index about $1200 were raised to purchase of Sidney H. Morse, of Boston, a white marble bust of Mr. Paine, to be donated to the City of Philadelphia, to be placed in Independence Hall.

Damon Y. Kilgore was selected by this Committee to make the formal presentation to the city, which he did, as soon as the pedestal was completed, in the following letter to the Mayor:—

605 Walnut St., Phila., Oct. 13, 1876.

Mr. Mayor:—

Yesterday, in Fairmount Park, the nations joined to honor the memory of that inspired navigator who, three hundred and eighty-four years ago, first beheld the New World.

To-day, having been delegated by the Committee having the matter in charge, I have the honor, on behalf of the donors, to present to the City of Philadelphia a beautiful white marble bust of Thomas Paine.

In this Centennial Year, so vocal with the praises of our ancestors, this tribute to the Columbus of man's right to self-government is appropriate and just.

In this bust the skilful artist has reproduced from life-portraits the features of the man who, in the "times that tried men's souls," wielded in behalf of the "rights of man" a pen far "mightier than the sword."

We desire that this bust be placed in Independence Hall side by side with the portraits of those heroic men who practically inaugurated in the framework of government those principles which Thomas Paine first clearly enunciated to the world.

This silent marble speaks of that grand intellect of the real Father of the Republic, whose pen made Independence possible, and also of that genial soul which prompted the utterance: "The world is my country, and to do good my religion."

Very respectfully, in behalf of the Committee,

Damon Y. Kilgore.

His Honor William S. Stokley,
Mayor of Philadelphia.

Mr. George A. Smith, President of Select Council, submitted the communication from the Mayor, transmitting the communication from Mr. Kilgore, which, on motion of Mr. Charles Thompson Jones, was laid on the table.

After waiting two weeks without any action being taken upon the subject, Mr. Kilgore addressed to Select Council the following communication:—

To the President and Members of the Select Council for the City of Philadelphia:

Gentlemen,—On the 13th day of the present month, on behalf of the donors, I sent to the Mayor a letter of presentation to the City of Philadelphia of a marble bust of Thomas Paine.

It is proper to inform you that this slight tribute to the patriotic services of Mr. Paine for the establishment of this Republic has been made by the voluntary contributions of such men as Hon. George W. Julian, of Indiana; Colonel T. W. Higginson, of Rhode Island; Hon. Elizur Wright, Francis E. Abbot, John C. Haynes, and Rev. William J. Potter, of Massachusetts; Rev. O. B. Frothingham, of New York; Rev. Robert Collyer, of Illinois; Rev. C. D. Campbell, Rev. J. C. Learned, Hon. A. W. Kelsey, and Hon. John B. Henderson, of Missouri, together with many other distinguished citizens in all parts of our land.

The matter of presentation was entrusted to a Committee resident in Philadelphia, by whom I was delegated to formally present it to the city.

In my former letter, which was laid upon your table, it was not designed to intimate that the donors claimed the right to designate its appropriate place,

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but I only expressed a preference for Independence Hall.

As I am simply the mouthpiece of the donors, acting for the Committee, will you be so kind as to take such action in the premises as will in your wisdom dispose of the matter?

Very respectfully, in behalf of the Committee,
DAMON Y. KILGORE.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 25, 1876.

This letter was read in Council; after which, on motion of J. W. Shoemaker (Counsellor of the Centennial Commission and a friend to the measure, whose sudden death prevented the delivery of a speech he had prepared in favor of accepting the bust), it was referred to the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall.

Subsequently this Committee, composed of members of both Common and Select Councils, reported an ordinance accepting the bust of Thomas Paine with thanks, and directing it to be placed in the Museum of Revolutionary Relics, opposite Independence Hall in the same building.

This ordinance passed in Common Council, but, after a delay of several weeks, was rejected in Select Council, December 26th, by "an almost unanimous vote."

The reasons for this rejection may be inferred from a speech against Mr. Paine by the aforesaid Charles Thompson Jones.

The bust now awaits the action of the donors.

Respectfully submitted,
CARRIE BURNHAM KILGORE,
Chairman of Committee.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 28, 1877.

The Report was accepted and the Committee continued.

Edward S. Wheeler then presented the following resolutions:—

WHEREAS, The Philadelphia Liberal League, unmoved by sectarian or other prejudice, recognize in the history of Thomas Paine, the hero printer of the Revolution, the record of a citizen of unsurpassed patriotism, practical talent, statesmanship, and philosophic genius; one whose pen divided with the sword of Washington the glory of achieving American Independence; and

WHEREAS, Certain American citizens have donated to the City of Philadelphia a white marble bust of Mr. Paine as an appropriate tribute to his patriotic services in laying the foundation of this Republic, which tribute has been rejected by our Select Council; therefore

Resolved, That the name and political example of Thomas Paine should be kept in memory and honored by all friends of civil and religious liberty throughout the world, and especially by all citizens of this Republic.

Resolved, That we regard with extreme regret any and every effort to disparage the reputation or discriminate against the rights of any person, or belittle his historic fame, on account of any profession of religious faith or disbelief of any partisan or sectarian creed.

Resolved, That the course of the Select Council of Philadelphia, in refusing to accept the free gift of the bust of Thomas Paine, is conduct of which we, as residents of Philadelphia, are heartily ashamed; and that we condemn and despise their action all the more, as we believe it was dictated only by a weak and selfish policy, conceived in stupidity and ignorance, and adopted in the baseness of cowardice and injustice.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The President then introduced Walt Whitman, Nature's own poet, who spoke as follows:—

WALT WHITMAN'S SPEECH.

Some thirty-five years ago, in New York City, at Tammany Hall, of which place I was then a frequenter, I happened to become quite well acquainted with Thomas Paine's perhaps most intimate chum, and certainly in later years very frequent companion, a remarkably fine old man, Colonel Fellows, who may yet be remembered by some stray relics of that period and spot. He liked young men, and enjoyed to leisurely talk with them over a social glass of toddy after his day's work (he on these occasions never drank but one glass), and it was at reiterated meetings of this kind in Old Tammany's back parlor of those days that he told me much about Thomas Paine. At one of our interviews he gave me a minute account of Paine's sickness and death. In short, from those talks I was and am satisfied that my old friend, with his marked advantages, had mentally, morally, and emotionally gauged the author of *Common Sense*, and besides giving me a good portrait of his appearance and manners, had taken the true measure not only of his exterior but interior character.

Paine's practical demeanor, and much of his theoretical belief, was a mixture of the French and English schools of a century ago and the best of both. Like most old-fashioned people, he drank a glass or two every day, but was no tippler, nor intemperate, let alone being a drunkard. He lived simply and economically, but quite well; was always cheery and courteous, perhaps occasionally a little blunt, having very positive opinions upon politics, religion, and so forth. That he labored well and wisely for the States, in the trying period of their parturition, and in the seeds of their character, there seems to me no question. I dare not say how much of what our Union is owning and enjoying to-day—its independence, its ardent belief in, and substantial practice of, radical human rights and the severance of its government from all ecclesiastical and superstitious domain,—I dare not say how much of all this is owing to Thomas Paine; but I am inclined to think a good portion of it decidedly is.

But I was not going either into an analysis or eulogium of the man. I wanted to carry you back a generation or two, and give you by indirection a moment's glance,—and also to ventilate a very earnest and, I believe, authentic opinion, nay, conviction, of that time, the fruit of the interviews I have mentioned, and of questioning and cross-questioning, clenched by my best information since, that Thomas Paine had a noble personality, as exhibited in presence, face, voice, dress, manner, and what may be called his atmosphere and magnetism, especially the later years of his life. I am sure of it. Of the foul and foolish fictions yet told about the circumstances of his decease, the absolute fact is that, as he lived a good life after its kind, he died calmly and philosophically, as became him. He served the embryo Union with most precious service—a service that every man, woman, and child in our thirty-eight States is to some extent receiving the benefit of to-day,—and I for one here cheerfully and reverently throw my pebble on the cairn of his memory. As we all know, the season demands—or rather, will it ever be out of season?—that America learn to better dwell on her choicest possession, the legacy of her good and faithful men; that she well preserve their fame, if unquestioned, or, if need be, that she fail not to dissipate what clouds have intruded on that fame, and burnish it newer, truer, and brighter, continually. [Applause.]

Thomas Phillips then gave a very interesting address upon the life and public services of Thomas Paine, a copy of which was asked for publication.

Horace M. Richards then read an excellent poem said to have originated with Mr. Paine, after which the large and enthusiastic meeting adjourned.

DAMON Y. KILGORE.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 39, 1877.

THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

A GREAT CATHOLIC ORGANIZATION PROPOSED.

CHICAGO, Nov. 16.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CATHOLIC REVIEW:

Sir,—"There are but two contestants in the great controversy—the despotic and remorseless Church of Rome, the democratic and humane Republic of America; and that one of the two which shall control the education of the common people will be the lord of the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean."

Such is the summary of this great question of education, expressed by Mr. Francis E. Abbot, of Boston, in his lecture intended for a reply to Bishop McQuaid's lecture on the school question. We only desire now to call the attention of Catholics to the latter portion of Mr. Abbot's statement: "That one of the two which shall control the education of the common people will be the lord of the land." In other words the future belongs to those who educate the children of the present. This surely is a truism, but unfortunately one which we fear does not command one tithe the attention of Catholics that it does of the enemies of the Church, nor one-hundredth of the interest and attention it deserves.

The unavoidable conclusion from the undeniable fact is that Catholics who desire to see their children faithful in their manhood to the Church of their fathers, must place the education of these children under the control of the Church. Let us also consider well the fact that while we are satisfied to control the education of our own children, it is not so with the non-Catholic population that surrounds us. Though many of them deny it, it is patent to the most indifferent observers that there exists among most non-Catholics a deep-seated jealousy of the efforts made by the Church to control the education of the children of her own flock. One instance will suffice. It is but a few weeks ago that a priest in some part of New Jersey, having established a school in connection with the Church of which he was the pastor, called upon the parents of his congregation, from the altar, to patronize the parochial school. The result of his appeal was that one hundred and fifty Catholic children, who had formerly attended the district schools, left them to attend the Catholic school. This incident was thought worthy of telegraphic communication to all parts of the Union, and elicited in many places editorial comment and condemnation from the secular press.

The difficulties that beset the establishment of Catholic parochial schools are numerous and serious, particularly in the rural districts, while even where they exist, and have existed for many years, it is felt that they do not attain the needed standard of efficiency. It is generally acknowledged that the lack of a universally recognized system of Catholic education is a serious defect in the great work Catholics have before them.

If we now take a seven-league stride from parochial schools to university education we find that an able prelate in this country has only recently sought, through the columns of a Catholic periodical, to wake up the American Catholics to a sense of the importance of this province of Catholic education. To quote his own words, "We have, therefore, brought forward the project, and, rather that there might be some definite proposal in favor of or against which to direct future argument, than from any entire conviction on our own part, have made some suggestions which to us seem at first blush, proper, desirable, and reasonable, but which may strike other minds as lacking in one or all of these questions." . . . "*What is important, however, is that the subject be fully discussed*, and every point thoroughly tested at the bar of the Catholic public opinion of the United States." We have taken the liberty to italicize a few words in the above quotation. Between the two extremes of Catholic education, the parochial (which should also be free) schools, and the university, lies that very important sphere of education which will (in many cases) have to complete that received at the parochial schools, and, in every case, prepare those of the American Catholic youth who propose to seek the highest education of the university, and those others who will, on emerging from boyhood, enter immediately into the lists of this world's tournament, in either commercial, professional, or literary careers.

Considered from these different points of view and in these varied aspects, may we not confidently place the great question of Catholic education in the very front rank of those which must to-day, and for many years to come, command the attention and the energies of American Catholics?

It may not, then, be amiss to humbly suggest to the readers of the *Catholic Review* the propriety of uniting in some sort of association having for its object the promotion of Catholic education. We find in this country, but notably in European countries, associations, owing their existence to very small beginnings, that have accomplished an immense deal on behalf of all sorts of objects, from the preservation of game to great geographical discoveries. Why not, then, institute in this country an association with the noble object of promoting, by every proper and practical means, the great cause of Catholic education.

Let every reader of the *Catholic Review* send in his or her name as a member of such an association, pledging himself or herself to be responsible for the sum of, say five dollars per annum to the cause, either individually or as the representative of five members, at one dollar apiece. Let every five dollars represent a vote in the general assembly of the association, to be held annually, biennially, or triennially, as may be hereafter decided upon.

You, Mr. Editor, will, I am sure, lend the columns of the *Catholic Review* as a medium of communication to the members until such time as they can organize in some form under a regular constitution and proper officers. As soon as possible an official monthly circular should be issued to every person holding a five-dollar membership, either individually or as the head of a circle.

The existence of such an association could not fail to be productive of much benefit. It would tend to awaken and keep alive, in the minds of a large number throughout the country, a steady interest in the cause of Catholic education. Valuable statistics and information would be collected, and diffused through the medium of a monthly organ. Useful tracts on the various features of the great objects of the Association could be prepared and distributed. In some places lectures could be obtained, and, when the members were sufficiently numerous, monthly or quarterly meetings could be held, open to the public, where papers, furnished by the Association, might be read and discussed. That the blessing of God and the approval of our Holy Mother the Church would attend such an undertaking, I am confident, if conducted solely *ad majorem Dei gloriam*.

I can only in conclusion pledge myself to one five-dollar membership of such an association, with considerable confidence of adding four more such memberships to the list, and in the earnest hope that very many of your readers will feel disposed to lend their aid to the proposed enterprise or suggest a better one.

CREDO.

[Our correspondent's idea that a great Catholic organization might be formed to sustain and develop Catholic schools is unquestionably sound, for even though the great Catholic society is the Catholic Church banded together for all the works of mercy, she nevertheless admits and encourages subordinate organizations within her fold to do special works. But we are not convinced that this proposed educational association—of which we and others have often dreamt—should centre in a Catholic newspaper, nor do we think that it would find its chief strength in the universal suffrage hinted at by our esteemed correspondent. There can be no question of the power for good for such an association properly officered by priests and laymen in whom the hierarchy have confidence. If we needed an illustration, see what O'Connell's Repeal Association and his Repeal Rent did; see what Ozanam and his lay society of St. Vincent de Paul have done. We trust that our correspondent's letter may have the effect of stimulating some American Ozanam to start a similar society for the advancement of Catholic education. The help which we conceive it our duty to give such enterprises—judicious publicity,—we shall very cheerfully give, but it is the mission of others to organize such a great work.—*Ed. C. R.*]—*Catholic Review* (*Brooklyn*), *Dec.* 2, 1876.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 10.

A. Bleen, $5; E. R. Brown, $3.20; Elijah Whinery, $5; H. A. Mills, $3.25; John Cassen, $3.20; H. Apthorp, $3; W. Boynton, $3; C. H. Lunt, $3.20; N. M. Hatch, $3.20; J. Briggs, $6.40; Mrs. A. B. Percival, $3.20; A. Folsom, $3.20; W. H. Hamlen, $3.20; Cash, 90 cents; J. N. Lombard, $3.20; W. Hunt, $3.20; B. F. Underwood, $8.40; F. A. Angell, $3; E. M. Davis, $3; S. Colt, $5; J. Copeland, $1; C. Greaves, $3; J. Richel, 25 cents; L. Woodruff, 10 cents; D. J. Huntsman, 10 cents; F. C. Miles, $3; Mrs. C. G. Tallman, $3.25; W. A. Dutton, 75 cents; W. Buchtel, $6.40; G. Zimmerman, $3; Mrs. S. D. Curtis, $3.20; W. Inot', $3; G. C. Young, $1.25; Edwin Brown, $9.60; Mrs. M. M. Sherman, $1.10; R. Frisbie, 40 cents; J. P. Kanney, $2; W. T. Winn, $3.20; Fred. Beck, $3.20; A. S. Coffin, $3.20; J. S. Thompson, $3.20; Mrs. K. N. Doggett, $3; J. C. Richards, 20 cents; A. M. Wight, 80 cents; Geo. Thorn, $3.25; W. I. Bowditch, $3.20; Dr. C. A. Bartol, $3.20; C. H. Dana, $3.20; J. S. Perry, $3.20; Elizur Wright, $3.25; Papers, 15 cents; Mr. Ballou, $1.50; G. H. Snelling, $4.80; Clara Neyman, $3; L. T. Burch, 50 cents; P. C. Howland, $3.20; Mrs. M. N. Adams, $13.50.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

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The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 15, 1877.

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N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix, Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals"; by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND STATE SECULARIZATION.

On what does the claim of woman to a participation in the electoral franchise rest?

In our opinion, it rests on precisely the same grounds on which man's claim to it rests. The argument which establishes either establishes both; and any counter-argument which shall prove strong enough to overthrow either will overthrow both. In fact, the argument, though stated usually in the name of "man" to avoid the perpetual and tiresome recurrence of the phrase "man and woman," must, in order to be logically valid, use this single name "man" in the broad sense of the Latin *homo* and the Greek ἀνθρωπος—that is, a human being of either sex, a man or a woman. It is impossible to maintain for all men the right to vote, except by urging considerations which are precisely as applicable to the case of women.

Let us briefly state what the argument is which establishes the *right* of all individuals of the human species, arrived at maturity and not disqualified by exceptional causes (of which nothing need here be said), to exercise the suffrage.

Suppose, then, a hundred human beings thrown together under circumstances which compel them to live together within narrow territorial limits, but remote from all external human influences. How will they act? If they are mere brutes, they will live like brutes, in anarchy, conflict, and misery, until some one of their number, stronger or more cunning than the rest, establishes the social order of absolute despotism. But if they are highly civilized and rational beings, they will prefer to live under *law*—that is, under a system by which social order shall be established on the basis of reason and justice; they will proceed to form a government. *Who shall form it?*

Now this is the simplest imaginable manner in which the suffrage question can be raised. Assuming that the hundred people thus called to form a government for themselves are truly enlightened and just, they will say: "Each of us is an individual human being, possessed of all the rights and interests of an individual; each of us has a social stake as precious to him or her as is his own to any other; each of us must count for one, and none of us can count for more. None of us has any rightful authority to impose his or her will upon the rest; no mere part of our number, whether large or small, has any better authority to do it; the right of each and every individual among us, of the least favored as well as of the most favored, is to be free from any such imposition, and to be protected in the full enjoyment of life, liberty, property, and free activity according to the special bent of his or her own nature, just so long as he or she strictly respects the equal rights of all the rest. In truth, we have no right to form a government except to assure this protection to each by the power of all. The general right of forming a government is simply the combined sum of our individual rights to protect ourselves from any and all invasions of our individuality; and it vests in us all together simply as a collection of individuals. Conceding thus at the outset the preëxisting *equal individual rights* of all the members of our little community, from whom alone must be derived the rightful authority of the government we are about to form, we have on the one hand no right to deprive a single member of his or her voice in its formation, and on the other hand no right to use it, when formed, in trespassing or infringing upon a single member's individual rights. The individual is inviolable, just so long as he or she forbears to violate the rest; when that occurs, the right of self-protection, both individual and general, instantly becomes paramount, and the offender forfeits by his own act his inviolability as an individual. Our government shall be grounded on the equal individual rights of all in its foundation; it shall protect these rights while it exists; and it shall never have authority to overpass this eternal limit of its power."

Now that is the ideal theory of every just, free, and secular republic; and the commonwealth can be prosperous and happy only so long as it strives to carry out this theory with the utmost conceivable strictness in practice. It assumes, first, the coexistence in one society of many individuals, with inviolable individual rights which have not been created and cannot be destroyed by any government; and it assumes, secondly, the absolute political equality of all these individuals, in the proved inability of every pretender to a "natural" or "Divine right" to govern to establish any just title to political superiority or power. On the *inviolability of the individual* rests your claim and ours to live out our lives in freedom and safety; on the *political equality of all individuals* rests your claim and ours to the ballot, as the means of protecting ourselves in the enjoyment of our individual inviolability.

On no other ground than the above, we believe, can any man vindicate his own right to vote; and he cannot vindicate it as a man, but only as an individual. Neither can women vindicate their right to vote as women; they possess no such right as women,—they possess it only as citizens, as individuals. It is the right to be ourselves, to live out our lives in liberty and peace, to do whatever our hearts may prompt or our consciences direct (so long as we injure no one else), to take part as recognized units in the greater life of the nation, to be deprived of none of the rights and privileges which our peers enjoy,—it is this aboriginal prerogative of human individuality, this incalculable value of the individual as a centre of free mental and moral life, which is Nature's own certificate of a right to bear an equal part in any political society by which Nature's own law of justice is venerated. If society is the true "state of nature," then the suffrage is a natural right of all individuals, inasmuch as it is a necessary consequence of their co-existence as natural equals in a social union; and women, being individuals just as much as men, have just as good a right as they have to a voice in public affairs.

Seeing, then, that the philosophy which treats the State as a purely secular institution, an institution of a natural and not a supernatural origin, is the only philosophy to which women can appeal to vindicate their rights,—seeing that they can no more claim the suffrage as women than men can claim it as men, but that both can justly claim it in the name of that human individuality which is equally theirs, and of that equality of individual rights which can alone sustain the towering structure of a mighty secular republic,—it is time that women should look to Free Religion, and not to Christianity, as the great hope of their sex in the effort to achieve a national recognition of the justice of their cause. When has Christianity, acting through its great representative bodies and not through the honest but whimsically erratic dreamers who confound all natural distinctions and defy all reason in the attempt to deduce freedom, science, civilization itself from a Christian origin,—when, we say, has the Christianity of the Church ever preached the great cardinal doctrines of the secular State: namely, the inviolability of the individual and the equality of individual rights? These alone are the premises of woman's right to political representation, as they are of man's; but the Church knows them not, tramples upon them, brands as "heretics" and "infidels" all who intelligently defend and unflinchingly apply them. Between these great principles of republican philosophy and the great tenets of the Christian faith there is an "irrepressible conflict" which has yet got to work itself out in history. It is the petty cunning of the politician, not the deep sagacity of the statesman, which ignores this tremendous issue, and strives bootlessly to postpone it instead of meeting it bravely. The cause of equal individual rights is the cause both of man and woman, and it has no foe so persistent, so relentless, so powerful, as the Christian Church.

When we consider, therefore, that women themselves are the great buttress and bulwark of the Church,—that by an overwhelming majority they sustain and help to strengthen the very system which has kept and keeps them down,—it seems sufficiently easy to understand the apathy with which an increasing number of free, thoughtful minds contemplate the movement for woman suffrage. Men are coming to see more and more clearly every day, in the secular State, the truest friend both of man and woman; but only women of exceptional ability see this. The vast majority of women are hopelessly wedded to Christianity, and readily allow themselves to be influenced by the clergy to a degree which would be dangerous to the secular State, if they were voters. The greatest obstacle to the establishment of woman suffrage is the fact that a great majority of women are opposed to it, actively or passively; but it is not generally understood that it is the influence of Christian ideas over their minds which makes them opposed to it. How can they ever be aroused to a sense of the dignity or the rights of their own individuality, so long as they take their ideas of human nature, and of woman's relative place in the family and society, from a religion which commands all alike to despise and crucify that spirit of self-assertion whence proceeds every demand for rights withheld? There will be, there can be, no general de-

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mand by women for their equal rights as citizens and individuals, until they have become imbued with the ideas and the spirit of Free Religion, and are thoroughly weaned from the Christianity which crucifies individualism and chokes at its fountain-head the self-assertion of free, independent, vigorous wills. The cause of Free Religion and State Secularization is not in the least degree a "man's" cause; it is the cause of self-assertive humanity in all its aspects, the cause of free reason and free conscience for woman as well as for man; and the woman-suffrage cause has not an idea to stand upon that is not derived from this other cause which is so much larger than itself. The woman movement can make no real headway in the world, so long as the great mass of women uphold Christianity and oppose Free Religion; even if they obtain the ballot by the exertions of the enlightened few, they will forthwith use it to destroy the very political ideas to which they have owed their enfranchisement, and will ignorantly aid and abet the Christian fanaticism which is straining every nerve to overthrow the secularity of the State. This is a very painful and unwelcome thought to the enthusiastic friends of woman suffrage; nevertheless, it is the truth, and it is giving a tremendous check to the further progress of that movement. Here are a few propositions which ought to be well pondered by all who are interested in the cause of woman:—

1. The movement for State Secularization is not a man's movement, and cannot be set up as opposed to the woman suffrage movement. Women have just as much at stake in its success as men have, for it is simply a movement to establish impregnably the great defences of freethought and free conscience. If women have minds and consciences, or prize the freedom of those minds and consciences, they cannot afford to despise or ignore or fail to aid this movement.

2. Women who are themselves emancipated from the soul-slavery of Christianity must consider whether they will best promote the emancipation and elevation of their sex by aiding the cause of State Secularization, and thereby establishing principles which inevitably lead to woman's enfranchisement; or whether they will best promote those objects by ignoring totally the principles which alone justify the demand for woman suffrage, and laboring exclusively to put the ballot into the hands of women who will use it at once to vote down and destroy these very principles. To work for State Secularization is working for that which must surely, even if slowly, establish woman suffrage on a permanent basis; to work for woman suffrage, while neglecting State Secularization, is working to enable ignorant women to destroy both for themselves and for all the great principles of freethought by precipitating ruin on the secular State.

3. Free-thinking women must decide for themselves which they most prize: their universal rights as moral and intellectual beings, as human individuals regardless of sex, or their special rights as women, as a now disfranchised class. Given the former, the latter must follow; given the latter alone, the former will probably be swept away, and sweep away the latter with them. Under a secularized State, every human individuality will be respected and protected; under a Christianized State, no one will be, but free-thinking men and women alike must be oppressed with grievous disabilities.

In presenting the foregoing propositions for serious consideration, we wish to be understood. We do not, as some have done under the stress of these thoughts, take new ground and *oppose* woman suffrage; on the contrary, we believe in it and advocate it as heartily as ever. But we prefer to work for it so that, when it comes, it may come to stay and do good, not mischief, to humanity. Just as soon as this Republic can be induced to plant itself on the principle of State Secularization, it will be safe to establish woman suffrage on that principle; but to establish woman suffrage in the present half-secularized condition of the Republic would be to imperil, nay, to destroy, the very principles which all men and all women alike ought to hold most precious. It is through State Secularization, therefore, that we hope yet to see woman suffrage established; without that guarantee of general security for freethought, we can take no part in the establishment of woman suffrage. There are a few large-minded women who have taken precisely the same ground, and many more will probably do so as time goes on; but there needs to be a great deal of vigorous forgetting of much twaddle heretofore too popular on the woman suffrage platform. One thing should be never forgotten: that the whole philosophy of the woman movement is anti-Christian, and that all who advocate it in the name of Christianity are just so far helping to defeat that for which they are nominally at work.

MORALITY IN SCHOOLS.

I was very glad to see the articles in THE INDEX of February 1 on the subject of moral instruction in the public schools. It is a subject of great importance on which the sincere friends of education are much exercised, and on which it seems to me quite time that Free Religion should seek to take affirmative ground, instead of confining itself to mere negation.

The report of Mr. Stockwell, Commissioner of Rhode Island, is very suggestive. I think the objectionable clause in regard to the Bible as the "source of morality" was probably written from force of habit, and that he would not give to his words the full stress that one accustomed to analyze everything in the light of "anti-Christian" principles would give to them. But I think we must admit that, although the Bible is not the source of morality, and is even to my thinking the source of some immorality, it is yet very possible to draw from it the very best of moral teachings. To a great extent this is undoubtedly done by good teachers. It is a good thing for children to learn a lesson of unselfishness from the motto "Do unto others," etc., and of active kindness from the parable of the good Samaritan; and in the majority of cases they do draw such lessons from wise teachers without connecting any superstitious ideas with them.

Still, I grant that the present condition of theological warfare in our country makes it improper to use the Bible as a text-book of religion and morals, exclusively or mainly. I was very much interested in some remarks of Miss Mary A. Beede on this point. She thinks the English children do gain a moral culture and discipline from the set exercises which form so large a part of instruction in the Church schools of England,—which is desirable in our schools, although she recognizes the wrong and impossibility of introducing the same system here.

Now Mr. Stockwell suggests, I think, the two ways which are open to our school system. One is the direct influence of the teacher's character. This is by far the most important of all, and I think it is the main source of moral influence in schools, and that what Miss Beede and others recognize is rather done through the set teaching than by it. The aim of school committees, teachers, etc., should be to create a moral atmosphere in the school to which everything should be referred.

A great deal could be done by making the public opinion of the school the tribunal before which offences should be judged, and so leading all the pupils to think and discriminate rightly on ethical questions. I believe that in most cases of real moral evil the fellow-pupils would be found to be very strict and impartial judges if rightly appealed to.

One great injury to morals in school is the artificial standard of duty often set up by teachers in opposition to a natural one. There is not a generous, manly school-boy who does not recognize it as a mean action to criminate another boy who has broken some rule of the school; and yet this is constantly required by some teachers as a duty. If such cases were referred to the boys themselves to investigate and settle, where the rules of the school are reasonable, public opinion would be against the offender, and the class would see that the rules were enforced. It is so with regard to compulsory attendance on church and at prayer. I heard an argument on this subject lately. A college demands attendance at prayer; but a certain number of absences are permitted without penalty. Is it honorable in a pupil determinately to avail himself of this permitted number of absences, when he could attend the service? Were the same rule made in regard to failures in Greek verbs, I think every honorable student would be ashamed to neglect his studies in dependence upon such a provision; but he feels that the attendance at prayers is only a conventional duty, and it is right to shirk it when he can do so without injury to himself. It is the difference between ransom to a robber and an honest debt. The other suggestion is in regard to the use of a text-book of ethics. For advanced classes the exercise of the mind on difficult problems in ethics is undoubtedly very valuable; but the foundations of good morals ought to be laid long before the mind is mature enough for such study, and the simplest principles of good conduct should become so ingrained that they are second nature to the child. I think it a pity that burlesque and ridicule and, finally, severe historical criticism have entirely destroyed the authority of Washington and the hatchet, for it was something to give every child a model of a boy who "could not tell a lie." So many men can!

A lady was speaking of the perfect courtesy of a late much-lamented physician. She was once accused of a discourteous act, but said, when told of it: "You know I could not do that." And it was true; she could not. We want truth, justice, fidelity to engagements, purity, kindness, to rest upon such foundations that they cannot be moved.

For such instruction to children I think we must rely mainly upon moral truth expressed in pleasing form, whether it be history or fable, prose or poem. Children cannot digest unorganized truth; they must have it prepared for them by assimilating process before it is good for food.

Another potent moral agency will be found when we learn the secret of industrial education, where the traits of honesty, thoroughness, and industry will be so clearly visible.

If we wish to push off the old dry calyx of superstition, let us see to it that the fresh growing bud of morality and religion is not injured in the process.

E. D. C.

Communications.

PAINE CELEBRATION AT LINESVILLE, PA.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The freethinkers of Linesville, Pa., celebrated Paine's birthday with a public meeting and dance. A day or so before the celebration, an Orthodox minister, holding a "revival" in the town, warned the people to keep away from the celebration, and denounced in severe terms the editor of the local paper for allowing a notice of the meeting to appear in his journal. The result was that the Linesville Opera House was packed to overflowing. There were at least five hundred in the building, and many, I learned, went away unable to get in.

The meeting was addressed by O. B. Kellogg, Esq., of Ohio, and H. L. Green, of Salamanca. The speakers occupied the time from seven to half-past nine o'clock, and the crowded audience gave the strictest attention throughout. After the speaking, the young people and all who desired, enjoyed a pleasant dance until three o'clock the next morning.

The platform and hall were very beautifully festooned with evergreens, and there was a large likeness of Thomas Paine surrounded with flowers suspended over the platform.

At the close of the speaking, the following resolutions were read to the audience and unanimously passed by an earnest and determined *Aye*, from the hundreds present:—

Resolved, That this meeting, composed of the citizens of Linesville and the surrounding country, held this 29th day of January, 1877, for the purpose of celebrating the birthday of that distinguished friend of political and religious liberty, Thomas Paine, takes the occasion to brand with infamy the members of the Philadelphia Select Council for rejecting the bust of Thomas Paine and refusing it a place in Independence Hall in the city of Philadelphia.

Resolved, That this bigoted and unpatriotic act is most humiliating to the freethinkers of America, and a disgraceful and open insult to the many distinguished individuals who contributed to the purchase of the Paine bust, and deserves the condemnation of every true American citizen.

Resolved, That this insult to the name of one of the most indefatigable patriots of the American Revolution, whose country was the world and to do good his religion, offered by this Select Council, in the Centennial Year of our National Independence, should arouse the liberals of this country to at once organize Liberal Leagues and other liberal societies for the purpose of self-protection, and to educate and enlighten the people in relation to their duties as citizens of a free government.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published in the *Investigator*, INDEX, and *Truth Seeker*.

I was pleased to learn that the liberals of Linesville intend soon to organize a Liberal League. G.

BISHOPS AND PRIESTS vs. THE SCHOOLS.

BOSTON, April 17, 1876.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The following comments occurred to me while reading Bishop McQuaid's and Father Lambert's articles on the school question, more especially on the latter. Bishop McQuaid, in the opening part of his address, says that he is not responsible for the doings of the Church in Spain, Central America, or elsewhere. Of course he is not, but the Church as such *is*, and as a member of that body he cannot entirely disclaim its doings, as he appears to wish. Now those countries (and others also) teach us at least what has been experienced from, and therefore in some degree what we may be prepared to expect of, the Church, in providing for the future; the Church cannot admit that it is essentially different now from formerly, but must throw the whole change on time, people, etc. We derive no advantage from living in the nineteenth century if we do not profit by the past; otherwise history is of little value. If it shows us that certain things have led to certain undesirable results in the past, we should avoid a like combination in the present. The Bishop naturally does not care to refer to other countries, as the deductions

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drawn from them are, in a great majority of cases, very damaging to what he wishes to establish.

Father Lambert, speaking of the secularists, refers to "their supercilious contempt for those who differ from them, their obtrusive professions of patriotism, their exalted opinion of their own wisdom, their contempt for the opinions and rights of others when they clash with their own theories, their want of candor to avow openly their ultimate designs," etc. It does not become him as a Catholic, to talk about "supercilious contempt," when according to his belief all non-Catholics are wrong; they are either looked on with pity or as below contempt; they are astray; they are outcasts; it is not possible for them to get to heaven. Do the secularists think thus? No, a thousand times no. I have not remarked anything particularly patriotic in the secularists; certainly they are not more so than the Catholics, who put up as a bar against all imputations their love for the "Republic." One has as good a right to say so as the other. As to "exalted opinion of wisdom," there is, I may safely affirm, no secularist living who boasts of such "exalted wisdom" as the head of the Catholics whose *ex cathedra* sayings are infallible. The passage about contempt for opinions of others is best illustrated by the invitation of Bishop McQuaid, by these same secularists, to preach in Horticultural Hall, and the publishing of Father Lambert's own article in THE INDEX. Does this show contempt? If so, let the secularists have a little contempt from Father Lambert, by an invitation to preach to his congregation, or Bishop McQuaid's, or the insertion of Mr. Abbot's answer to the Bishop's lecture in the *Catholic World*. What he means by not avowing "ultimate designs," I do not comprehend, as, according to my reading of THE INDEX, they are set forth in pretty nearly every issue. On the other hand, the Catholics have given no *ultimatum;* but as their avowed doctrine is that the Church is superior to the State, it is not hard to guess.

The argument that denominational schools are cheaper than State schools is, it seems to me, met in this way. If the State schools are abolished, *each* denomination will have to maintain a complete set from primary upwards; now it is saying that each denomination can maintain its own set cheaper than they can all maintain a joint one. It is analogous to saying it is cheaper for a man to keep a private school for his children than to send them to a public one, or that it is cheaper for every family to live in a separate house rather than club together and live as a community. In other words, the Catholics would make us believe it is cheaper to run half a hundred separate systems of education rather than one joint one.

The Bishop talks of the "multiplicity of useless branches of learning." What he includes under that head is rather indefinite; moreover, what a Catholic might think useless, others might not, and *vice versa*. Students graduated from the State universities are lost among the mass of people. I humbly suggest that those passing from denominational institutions are also lost, perhaps more than the others.

"The Catholic schools and convents will plead when their turn comes." Almost since the revival of learning, in the fifteenth century, these schools and convents have been having a turn. In those countries where they are (or were) most numerous—Italy and Spain,—we see the people in the depths of degradation, and the nation, as such, the lowest in the scale. Are we to learn nothing from this? Or are we to shut our eyes and simply say, "Oh! our people are different and times changed." Our people *are* different, but they are human nevertheless, and we see what has lately happened, and is at present happening in other countries. In other words, where the Catholics have had control of the schools, almost nothing in the way of education has been done, and the majority of the people are densely ignorant; and those nations with which the priesthood have had least to do are most advanced. Other things being equal, their principle has been teach as little (except religion) as possible; pressure of circumstances at present obliges them to teach much more here; but that pressure gone, I doubt not they would do as they have done in other countries. It is to my mind the irresistible inference, and, if history is true, a fair one; no wonder Bishop McQuaid does not want us to look at other countries. If the Catholics take so great an interest in the good education of every child, as the Bishop would have us believe, why is it that, where they reign supreme, education is so far behind what it is in places opposed to his creed? If I attempted to give an answer, it would only be contradicted; the best way is for everybody who has a head to answer it himself.

As to immorality in the public schools, it may be said that, if as much was known or could be found out about Catholic institutions, immorality of like nature might possibly be developed. But they are not open to public inspection; they are not free to all; and anything of that kind is pretty easily kept from becoming public. History, however, again teaches us that prior to and at the time of the Reformation these institutions bore no enviable character; that they were merely hot-beds of vice and crime, compared with which the public schools are as white is to black. It seems to me that Father Lambert cannot cast the first, nor yet the second, and very doubtfully even the third stone.

The Catholic conscience is a peculiar thing; it is not individual but complex. From their infancy Catholics are trained implicitly to obey the Church in religious matters (and this from their point of view necessarily includes education), or they will be lost. This practically takes away the individual right to determine such questions, everything said by the Bishop to the contrary notwithstanding, as everything to be done is laid out for them by the priest, and hell is before those who disobey. In other words, the Catholic conscience is in these particulars swayed by the Church, through the individual priests, and it is no more free than the caged bird.

It is proposed to leave education to the parents, and to deprive the State of all right to educate. But time has abundantly proved that where education is left to the parents it is, in many cases, practically left to itself. If we are at all like other people, in the course of a few generations we should be an ignorant, uneducated set, ruled over by a despot, and with the Catholic priesthood firmly saddled on our backs. All the European countries have tried this system, and either have given or are giving it up, and substituting compulsory education in its place. Are we more likely to succeed than they? Or are we to go over the same old path trodden by Spain and Italy? Both once powerful, what are they now? Even Italy, where it would seem that the Church ought to have been able to test the voluntary plan if power and influence are of any avail, is now after a long trial casting aside as pernicious the system which Father Lambert advocates, and is striving to substitute compulsory education in its place.

"Parental Prerogative"! Parents are told they *must* do so and so, or else—! The "prerogative" is merely a sham. The parent of course may say to his child, "You must go to bed at eight o'clock;" but he cannot say (with any hope of being obeyed), "You shall not go to mass any more," because in such cases the priest tells him that both will go to perdition, he for forbidding and the child for obeying.

In regard to the whole subject, I would say that it seems to me utterly impossible to hope to convince the Catholic *priesthood* of the truth pertaining to education, for the simple reason that their doctrines and thorough education are in direct opposition, and their acknowledgment of individual rights would be a denial of the Church's supremacy. "Convince a man against his will, and he holds the same opinion still," is an old saying, but nevertheless has a great deal of truth in it.

If in my resetting of old ideas I have suggested anything new, I hope it may aid in repelling the anti-public school wave, and in so doing render service to all. Respectfully yours, F. C. B.

[The foregoing excellent communication should have been published last spring, but was unfortunately mislaid; and it is now published with sincere apologies for this accidental delay.—ED.]

"JESUS."

Ever since the time of "Thomas called Didymus"—of whom we are told that he was faithless and did not believe—to the present day, there has been continued controversies in regard to the man Jesus. The "most scholarly representative of what calls itself Free Religion" (quotation from the Rev. Joseph Cook) delivered what I considered to be a very able lecture in Horticultural Hall, Sunday, Jan. 7th, on the same subject upon which I am now writing. It may perhaps seem out of place to bring up the subject now, after it has just been handled by an acknowledged scholar; but what I wish to say is in regard to an extreme view taken by some Free Religionists concerning Jesus of Nazareth. I have been persuaded to do so from the fact that I have had conversations on the subject within a day or two with several liberal-minded friends, who did not exactly fancy the tone of some remarks which were made by Mr. Frothingham. Somehow or other they were not satisfied with the idea that "the image of Jesus is irrecoverably lost," and "that the Author of Christianity is historically only an idolized memory enwreathed with mythical fictions." No, they cannot give up Jesus. Although his Divinity is not believed, yet, for some unknown reason, they cling to him, and imagine him to be next to Divine. Not a God, but almost a God; the greatest specimen of man that has ever lived. One of our most promising and liberal-minded men, in a sermon delivered in this city not many months ago, while asking the question, "Who are infidels?" said:—

"Come down to him who, with reverent and loving adoration, with a tenderness of heart second only to that which I feel towards God himself—come down to him whom I hold in this estimation, and what was he, Jesus of Nazareth? He was, according to the popular estimation of his time, the archinfidel of the world. . . . Come down to Socrates—he who more nearly approached the brightness, and the power, and the glory of Jesus of Nazareth than any other man that has ever lived." Here you see he is held in estimation second only to that which is held towards God himself. Here you see he is held to have been approached by no man "that has ever lived." Now, what facts have we to warrant such an assertion? Our motto is, "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good." We have "an awkward habit"—yet at the same time "a valuable habit—of reasoning, so that we cannot accept anything that has for it no evidence." Is there sufficient evidence to warrant our saying that Jesus was the brightest, the grandest, the most God-like of any man that has ever lived? Show me the evidence and I will believe it. Where do we find the history of the man? Is it from the (so-called) profane historians of his time? No, it is from the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. None of the profane historians of his time even mention his name. (It is unnecessary to say anything concerning what has been proved to be interpolations in the works of Josephus and others.) Whom these Gospels, which contain the only history we have of him, were written by, or when they were written, will probably always remain an unsettled question. . . . They may have been written A. D. 68 or 64, as Dr. Lardner tells us, and yet they may not have been written until after A. D. 200, which appears most probable, as no author except Irenæus mentions any Gospels by Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, until after that time; "and there is no sufficient evidence to identify the Gospels we have with the writings to which Irenæus refers." The Rev. Joseph Cook, in his lecture delivered Jan. 8, said that the Gospels can now be traced back to A. D. 125. Such may be the case; but were the history of a man to be written even in these days, after he had been dead almost one hundred years, I hardly think it would be altogether reliable. Can we take for authority a history written seventeen hundred and fifty years ago, of a man who died almost one hundred years previous to the time the history was written? I think not, especially when I find a Church of England Bishop (Watson) admitting, that "not long after Christ's ascension into heaven, several histories of his life and doctrines, full of pious frauds and fabulous wonders, were composed by persons whose intentions, perhaps, were not bad, but whose writings discovered the greatest superstition and ignorance. Nor was this all; productions appeared which were imposed on the world by fradulent men, as the writings of the holy apostles." The fact is, there is no reliable history of the man. Even were we to take the accounts which are contained in these Gospels as reliable, it would be impossible to come to any definite idea as to his character, the evidence being so contradictory. Were I writing to some "Orthodox brethren," I might enlarge on this subject, and dwell on the contradictory texts which illustrate his character, and speak of the sayings and doings of Jesus; but as I am not, I consider it unnecessary to do.

But let us go through the New Testament, and select all the beautiful sayings and noble deeds which are attributed to him, and take them as reliable, cannot we find anything to equal them elsewhere? I think we can. Have we forgotten the several other—so-called—"saviors of the world"? We must not forget Confucius, Adonis, Hercules, Æsculapius, Buddha, and others, who were considered by their followers to be "approached by no man that has ever lived." We must not forget the "Grecian philosophers," Thales, Epicurus, Pittacus, Aristotle, Democritus, Pythagoras, or Socrates,—the ancient Romans Seneca or Cicero. "Passages as good, and in many instances much better, could be quoted from the writings of men who knew nothing of 'the word of God,' who lived centuries before the Christian era." I consider it unnecessary to quote any of them here. Show me anything attributed to Jesus which surpasses the following words of Pythagoras, who lived 500 years B. C. He said: "God is neither the object of sense, nor subject to passion, but invisible, only intelligible, and supremely intelligent. In his body he is like the light, and in his soul he resembles truth. He is the universal spirit that pervades and diffuseth itself over all nature. All beings receive their life from him. There is but one only God, who is not, as some are apt to imagine, seated above the world beyond the orb of the universe, but, being himself all in all, he sees all the beings that fill his immensity, the only principle, the light of heaven, the Father of all. He produces everything; he orders and disposes everything; he is the reason, the life, and the motion of all beings." Compare the above with "our Father which art in heaven." Is not the world slowly but surely advancing towards everything that is good and true? "Are there no men among us to-day who are worthy of having their feet washed, or their head anointed with oil?" If not, may we not reasonably suppose that the time will come when such will be the case? Is this world of ours to see but one such man? I look towards an indescribable future. In my opinion, all that we can now do under the circumstances is to class Jesus as simply an equal with the great reformers, the great lights of the world, the infidels,—those who were persecuted, reviled, scourged, and sneered at, the scum, the outcasts. I do not believe, as some have supposed, that the man was a myth, and that he never existed; but I do claim that his *history* is mythological and therefore unreliable. It is evident that such a man really lived, and performed some special actions attracting popular attention; but beyond this Jesus of Nazareth is a myth. D. W. T.

ON BEHALF OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

DEAR INDEX:—

In your issue of 18 January, in the article entitled "Intelligent Suffrage," the writer, dissenting from the (as it seems to me) most sensible suggestion our Chief-Magistrate ever made, says: "It is childish and reactionary to dream of securing reform, peace, safety, civilization, by enacting a new limitation of suffrage. The Republic is irretrievably committed to the principle of universal suffrage."

The article is without signature. Surely the editor of THE INDEX does not believe that anywhere in this country, except in Utah and Wyoming, we have had universal suffrage.

With the "compulsory support of the free schools" desired by President Grant, in a few years there would cease to be "a well-defined ignorant class." Even with our present school system there need be no illiterate class; the doors of the school-room are open; all are free to enter. Were it known no one could vote till after he had spent a certain number of years in school, there would be no illiterate class of men, for without compulsion all boys would go to school.

There may be "no possibility of establishing a real test of intelligence," for it is quite true that "too many fools are able to read and write"; but it were as easy to show a teacher's certificate that Michael or Hans had been in school from the age of seven to fourteen as to exhibit naturalization papers.

The writer quoted very properly insists upon "the education of all children who are all destined to be-

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come voters." He nowhere says so, but I hope his all is not like Mr. Lincoln's. You remember his generous "wish that it were in his power to lift all factitious burdens from all shoulders, that all might go forth free in the race of life"; but his *all* included only half of the human family. Very few men like that rare one, John Stuart Mill, have been able to lift themselves to a height that would enable them to include in their range of vision the whole of humanity.

In THE INDEX of 11 January, Mr. Mead coolly records himself against woman suffrage, which "he believes is right," because "woman as a mass" (so he states it) "is completely given over to superstition, and is led by priests and preachers like sheep to the shambles."

It does not need the eye of a Paul to perceive that, like the Athenians, we are "too superstitious"; but the superstition is by no means confined to women. Look at the Moody and Sankeyism through the country; look at the Tabernacle in your own city, as reported in the daily papers. Of it I have no nearer knowledge. Our chief dignitaries preside at these meetings; our most eminent preachers lend them aid; our brightest religious editors assure us "it is not ideas that are wanted," but "true inwardness," and, in published sermons "revised expressly," can hold up to their sheep no better exemplar than Abraham of "the purity of heart which stood in whiteness in a dark age." They preach and teach, year out, year in, that "faith," independent of character and conduct, is "accounted righteousness." Are women the teachers and preachers?

Why must "spiritual and religious enfranchisement antedate political liberty" for every woman, since they never have for any man?

Mr. Mead says: "Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Paine were the representative men in laying the foundation of political liberty in America." But the inheritors of the political liberty they secured to America in the Centennial Year refused a place in Philadelphia to the bust of Thomas Paine, and set up a statue to the preacher Witherspoon. Were they women who did this?

When the Fourteenth Amendment was proposed, many of us, not minors, nor criminals, nor quite idiots nor lunatics, thought that, as "previous condition of servitude" did not cover those who, Mr. Mead says, "are far more intelligent, far better educated, infinitely more honest, virtuous, pure, and upright than the fathers, brothers, and sons of their own race," sex could very well come into the bill after color. But Wendell Phillips ordered us to hold our peace: "that was the negro's hour"!

I never did "speak in meeting," and, having been born and bred in a church that enjoins unquestioning obedience not only to "spiritual pastors" but to "masters," I might not have dared after a peremptory order from such a high mightiness. But Mrs. Stanton and others most eloquently did proclaim the injustice of allowing another class of ignorant, impulse-guided men to be clothed with all political rights while the free-born women of the land remained disfranchised. No end of abuse did they receive from women, natural, if Mr. Mead is right in saying that "as a mass" they "are completely given over to superstition,"—not natural, if the same Mr. Mead is right in claiming that "they are more intelligent than the men of their own race"; and from men nearly all of the old abolitionists included.

I was converted to abolitionism at the mature age of eleven years, and, I can't say I enjoyed, but, I had for several years the distinction of being pointed out by my playmates as the solitary specimen of the genus in the town in which I lived; but, as I understood it, liberty always meant liberty for you and yours as well as for me and mine.

We, the pariahs of the land, held in those days a convention in New York, at which there was a vast amount of excellent talking. Henry Wilson made us a nice speech, in which he said he had never asked anything for himself which he was not willing to grant his wife and mother! Only that we are so used to it, such generosity would quite take away one's breath. His talk finished, he came down from the platform to where my husband and I were sitting, and proposed to go and lunch with us.

Simpleton as I was (natural, being a woman!), it seemed to me as easy to be just, and I said: "Mr. Wilson, you will advocate in Washington what you have in New York; you will use your great influence to have the Fourteenth Amendment go to the States with provision for striking the fetters from *all* hands?" "But, Katie, we don't *need* your vote," was his reply.

The Republican party *did* need the negro vote; and, to perpetuate its own power, to keep all the fat offices, it loaded the body politic with "a large mass of ignorant men, men unprovided with reasoning faculties and ruled and governed solely by their impulses."

Mr. Mead "would not undo this if he could." More intelligent patriots would, were it possible, undo this stupendous blunder. "Woman suffrage we have not yet. Good. Let us not have it," because "women are superstitious." Mr. Mead, like the majority of people, can witness a wrong to others with perfect Christian resignation. Being among the disfranchised, I am not so philosophical.

But grant that "just now we have our hands full of untrained voters," and it may be, if the Ship of State took on board but one more ignorant voter,

> "we should see
> Our wealthy Andreas docked in sands,
> Vailing her high tops lower than her ribs,
> To kiss her burial."

Suffrage *was* "limited," not so very long ago, for men who had made a bad use of it; it is not quite apparent why it could not be again, if the well-being of the Republic demanded it. But without robbing a person who now enjoys them of any political rights, there is a way out of the dilemma.

There are in every State many who are not illiterate, not a whit more superstitious than the men around them, who by no fiction of law can be said to have a representative at the polls or in the legislatures of the nation,—tax-paying single women and widows.

In my own city were three women not illiterate, not superstitious, heirs of an estate valued for taxation at four and half millions. No voice had either of them in the levying or disbursing of taxes. The *Mc's* and *O's* and *ski's* of the Council, even the men who cleaned the sewers that ran past their blocks, had more power over their vast possessions than they had.

Something like this is true in every city, every town. Enfranchise such; their votes would add themselves to those of the better class in community, would strengthen the at present feeble bulwark against the dangerous element that threatens our national life.

Then, when Americans shall learn, as Englishmen have learned, that women can vote without the heavens falling, the numbers of voters can be increased as, with increased intelligence, women outgrow their superstitions, till in good time suffrage shall be, not in name but in deed universal, and we shall have no "royalty of sex," but be really and truly Republican.

Yours,
KATE N. DOGGETT.

CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 2.

PRAYER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

With the main conclusion of your article on prayer, in a late number, I fully concur, but see no force in some of the reasoning by which you reach it. "The highest good of the universe," to which God's "absolute goodness is pledged," are expressions that belong to a method of reasoning that has no longer any value, except occasionally by way of *reductio ad absurdum*, to demolish the pretensions of theological reasoning. That method is now plainly seen to be barren of useful results for the guidance of life. The theologian is sure to deduce explicitly from the divine character what he has beforehand implicitly put into it. In human character and conduct, however, we have a fertile field and a comparatively solid basis for our reasoning. Still, in the subordinate proposition of your article, that man's voluntary actions and dispositions can have no influence on the general course of things to make them better than they would otherwise be, I should be slow to concur. But prayer in the popular sense, implying necessarily something of a craven and unmanly spirit, I am satisfied cannot be a means of such influence.

Every one who has studied character in children has felt the superior nobility in a boy taking punishment with fortitude and bravery, as compared to his taking it with entreaties for mercy. The majesty and power of the person addressed reflects no dignity or manliness upon the suppliant. In no aspect, to a healthy ethical sentiment, can a begging act or disposition be anything else, at best, than a weakness to be ashamed of and overcome.

Whatever incidental or collateral benefits may have accrued from it, any one who has passed through the experiences of the "mourner's bench" and has afterwards recovered a healthy self-respect, if he "prays" for anything, will pray that he may be saved from ever again making such a spectacle of himself before gods and men. For the real and inevitable sorrows and sufferings of mind and body in this life, a wise man will cultivate a spirit of fortitude and resignation, but will despise and pity the morbid agonies begot of superstitious fears in feeble and servile minds; well knowing that the whole vile brood of those fears and agonies must depart at the approach of a higher morality and a larger knowledge.

E. D. STARK.

CLEVELAND, Jan. 29, 1877.

FED BY FAITH?

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I clip the following from a newspaper of recent date:—

A MODERN ELIJAH.—There is a woman in this city who for many years has been fed by the hand of God as much as Elijah of old to whom the ravens came in the wilderness. Her name is Mrs. Pithey, and she lives at No. 68 William Street. Her life has been one of extraordinary suffering, of patient endurance, and of perfect Christian faith. A long time ago she was as bright and pretty a young woman as one could meet; and when she married John Pithey the church-bells rang merrily, and a joyous group of friends pressed around the young couple to extend their hearty congratulations. That was in the times when the grandmothers of the present generation had not lost the bloom from their cheeks nor the light from their eyes, and it was a long time ago. Every one who has reached the prime of life knows how difficult it is to keep track of the hurrying years. It is only the greater events that are firmly dated in the mind. After a married life of ten years, as brief as they were happy, Mrs. Pithey was stricken with that ancient and dreadful disease, the palsy, which from that day to this has never released her from its spectral grasp. Helpless as a child, having to be fed and lifted about her room, she has never yet been heard to utter a complaint, her admonition to all who take her trembling hand being, "Trust in the Lord." In the year 1868, the husband of this poor woman died suddenly with apoplexy, leaving her a little cottage on William Street and only fifty cents in money to provide for herself and her blind mother, nearly ninety years of age and bedridden. Since then she has subsisted on faith. A few kind-hearted people have looked after her from time to time, and lately she has been specially cared for by the Centenary Church. She never manifests any anxiety about the future, for, she says, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," and He will not let any of his children suffer. Summer and winter come and pass, and day follows in the train of night, and all is the same. The blue sky may look down ever so softly, and the sunlight may dance upon the green fields and the crowded streets. Sometimes the voices of children playing upon the sidewalk penetrate the silence of the sick-room, and sometimes there comes the distant rumble of passing vehicles, and these are her reminders of the outer world,—a world which is to her little more than a memory. She lived in it once, and felt its changing joys and griefs, its hopes brightening with the dawn of youth; heard the gentle tones of loved ones who have long since passed away; saw the garments of earth freshen and fade with the passage of the years; but that was a long time ago. She is sitting in an old armchair, weak and powerless of limb. The shadows of age are clustering gradually over her wrinkled face, and to each friend who touches her trembling hand she whispers smilingly, "Trust in the Lord!"—*Chicago Tribune.*

Now this is a pretty story, and doubtless many of those who have read it find in it nothing to excite anything but sympathy and admiration. Indeed I have no doubt but that the old lady's trust in God is sincere. It was not written, however, to excite sympathy, but to serve as a proof of the efficacy of faith, and a very good example of Christian faith it is. The simplicity of the narration is very interesting. "Since then she has subsisted on faith." In what way? "A few kind-hearted people have looked after her from time to time," etc. This is faith based on reason with a vengeance! As I read the story, this thought came into my head: If this old lady were shut up in her house so that no human being could come to her to hear her statement that she had only the Lord to trust in, would her faith have supported her so well as it has done with the "Centenary Church" to back it?

W. H. T.

January 28, 1877.

COOK'S COOKERY.

The Orthodox ministers of Boston, and their advanced guard of skirmishers, the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, have for three or four years been making desperate efforts to get up what they call a revival. This they earnestly desired, not merely for the two purposes ordinarily prompting such action, the saving of souls, and the enlargement of their churches, but to interpose a barrier against two forces which they consider hostile, rationalism on one side and science on the other. Their efforts at revivalism, so far, having failed, they felt obliged to call in an expert, Mr. Moody, who understands their business better than they themselves do, to give his counsel, supervision, and personal aid in the undertaking. But, Mr. Moody being much in demand elsewhere, there was a considerable interval of delay, and it was thought needful to cook up something else to counteract the "deadness" of church-members, the indifference of the rest of the community to Orthodox fulminations, and the further operation of the two hostile forces above-mentioned.

A Cook was shortly found, Joseph by name, who had the needful self-confidence, the needful imperativeness in dogmatic assumption and assertion, the needful fluency of rhetorical statement, and one other qualification, which, being beyond the line of the ministers in question, impressed them as very powerful, and likely also to seem powerful to the public at large. This was an affectation of subtle metaphysical distinctions, in which the dialect of science and the forms of logical demonstration were used, first to impugn such ideas conflicting with Orthodoxy as are now gaining a hold on the popular mind, and next to give an appearance of reason and truth to dogmas seen to be unreasonable and untrue when stated in plain language. The person referred to was also specially fitted for the purpose in question by having made some studies both in rationalism and science, to the end of more effective disputation of their conclusions, and by a confident opinion of his own sufficiency for success in such a contest.

The ministers, whether themselves dazzled by Joseph's coruscations, or assuming that these would probably dazzle the community if he could get a hearing, proceeded to raise an audience for him. This they accomplished by going themselves to hear his Monday lectures, calling upon their parishioners to go, sedulously "cracking up" the lectures and the lecturer in the daily periodical press, as well as in their respective theological organs, and hiring for him a larger audience-room when by these means the first was overflowed.

The revival, strange to say, has not yet come along; but, while we wait for it, if any one wishes a vivid illustration of what the Athenian sophists were in the time of Socrates, he can see and hear it by going on Monday noons to the Tremont Temple.

C. K. W.

A SCOTCHMAN, being examined by his minister, was asked, "What kind of a man was Adam?" "Oh, jist like ither folk." The minister insisted on having a more special description of the first man, and pressed for more explanation. "Weel," said the catechumen, "he was jist like Joe Simpson, the horse-couper." "How so?" asked the minister. "Weel, naebody got ony thing by him, and many lost."

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

These Charters are beautifully printed on the best of paper. Adorned with the handsome gilt-embossed Seal of the National Liberal League, on a scarlet ground, they will, if tastefully framed, make a fine ornament for any hall.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1877. WHOLE NO. 374.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE BOSTON *Herald*, instead of frankly answering our question of February 8, flies off on a misrepresentation: "THE INDEX can't get over the fact that the average human being thinks more highly of Jesus Christ than of Thomas Paine. It can't understand it." Oh yes—THE INDEX easily understands that, and itself thinks more highly of Jesus than of Paine in some respects. What it cannot understand is that the *Herald*, which called it "captious" for objecting to the insolent Christian habit of saying "Tom" Paine, should find it necessary to dodge the point and defend one misrepresentation by another still worse.

ADDITIONAL SIGNATURES to the Liberal League petition have been received as follows since last week: from Mr. D. B. Morton, Groton, N. Y., eighty-two names; from Mr. James E. Jones, Clayville, N. Y., twenty-six; from Mr. Francis O. Dorr, Troy, N. Y., (who writes—"Mr. Joseph E. Henderson is chiefly entitled to credit for the work"), two hundred and thirty-five; from Mr. M. Hinkst, Liberty Pole, Wis., one hundred and nineteen; from Mr. Frank J. Mead, Minneapolis, Minn., one hundred and three; from Mr. John Hiatt, Winchester, Ind., four hundred and ninety-six. Total number of signatures thus far received—1276.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION have just published a most valuable tract, entitled "How shall we Keep Sunday?" It contains the four chief addresses delivered at the late Sunday Observance Convention in this city, a complete *verbatim* report of which was published in this journal in November and December. Our readers, therefore, know the great excellence of these papers, and will doubtless help in circulating one of the best tracts ever issued, which, though containing a hundred pages, is sold for only ten cents. The Association never did a more useful thing than to print it. Further information will be found on our last page.

THE BOSTON *Sunday Times* is almost the only paper here which dares to tell the truth about the surging folly of the revival. Accompanying the extract from Rev. Mr. Savage's sermon which we copy from its columns elsewhere, was this incisive editorial paragraph: "It is no small compliment to the intelligence of Boston that, thus early, the movement is subjected to a keen, uncompromising criticism by one of the ablest of its pastors. And we hope to see the boldness with which Mr. Savage leads the attack upon this gigantic folly followed up by other equally vigorous blows in behalf of common sense. It will be to the lasting credit of our city if this tidal wave of frantic faith and convulsive Christianity, after rolling over the chief cities of England and America unopposed, should encounter here the breakwater of rational and intelligent belief, which the sober-minded people of Boston are so eminently qualified to set up against its advance."

MR. D. B. MORTON, of Groton, N. Y., writes as follows: "It is with a good deal of pleasure that I am enabled to return the petition with eighty signatures attached,—all voters save one. I feel considerably encouraged, not because I anticipate the immediate passage of the amendment, but because of the growth of liberality in our own place, where I have circulated tracts and other liberal reading, and have often thought the soil was barren and stony. I have circulated petitions before, one against reading the Bible in our public school, which the Catholics signed, and obtained fifty-three names; the other was against the 'God in the Constitution' Amendment, and about forty names were all that were obtained. Of the eighty names on this petition, not one is a Catholic; nor were these names obtained because the Church interest is dormant or indifferent, for I doubt whether there is a village in the State where the 'Sentinels on the Walls of Zion' are more active and vigilant."

IN THE Massachusetts House of Representatives, on February 13, the Committee on the Judiciary reported that it is "inexpedient to legislate" on an amendment of Section 6, Chapter 84, of the General Statutes, relating to the observance of the "Lord's Day." Mr. Noyes, of Boston, urged the adoption of a bill providing that any one who conscientiously believes the seventh day of the week to be the Sabbath shall not be liable to the penalties now imposed by the General Statutes for keeping open shop on Sunday. But even this small concession to liberty and justice was refused, and the Committee's report was accepted. So that the great State of Massachusetts cannot yet find it in her heart to treat even pious Jews as equal to Christians in the rights of conscience—much less those who look on all Sabbatarianism as a poor, miserable remnant of ancient superstition. This abortive attempt to secure justice and religious liberty shows how powerless is the great liberal army by reason of its utter lack of organization. All these wrongs will be righted whenever the liberals of Massachusetts wake from their spiritual lethargy.

AT THE Second Unitárian Church in Portland, Maine, of which Rev. Charles W. Buck is the pastor, the petition of the National Liberal League was brought before the congregation on Sunday, February 11, with a result announced as follows in the Portland *Press* of the next day: "There was yesterday presented at one of our churches a petition to Congress to recommend to the several States for adoption such a Religious Freedom Amendment of the United States Constitution as shall effect the total separation of Church and State in all branches and departments of the government—national, State, and municipal,—and protect all American citizens in the enjoyment of their equal religious rights and liberties. The following are proposed as amendments to Article I.": [the Religious Freedom Amendment was republished in full by the *Press*, but need not be here repeated.] "This was signed by nearly all the congregation, and will be presented to other societies for signatures." We take especial pleasure in recording this good deed for freedom and justice by a Unitarian society and its minister. It is a pleasing contrast to the crowding of Unitarian divines to take the "Holy Communion" from the hands of Episcopal Bishops.

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

ESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The March of Science towards God.

BY GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

Dining the other night with a friend of great knowledge and thought (which do not always go together), he asked: "Have bees a Deity?" Are they required to know God and understand him as the theologians require us to do? Bees are more "wonderfully" formed than we are. They have a far more complicated nervous structure. They have a clearer sense of the organization of society. They have more intelligence as respects the general good of the bee-world, and make more sacrifices to maintain it than men do in their sphere. Besides, they have mathematical capacity far beyond that possessed by men. In industry, order, frugality, foresight, and economy they excel us. Bee-morality may be different from ours, being based on the needs of the bee-world; but there is no doubt they have morality, and why not religious ideas after the bee-nature? There are bad bees as well as good ones, and the bad bees come to a bad end. Do they need saving as well as we? Has some bee-God come down to some Hebrew hive and been crucified for the salvation of bees? Bees seem so unimportant in our eyes that we do not imagine the Son of God has taken all this trouble for them. But why not? The distance between man and bees is not greater, nor so great, as between God and man. From the infinite distance God is from both, the difference between man and bees is as nothing. Then has he not bestowed as much care in the contrivance of bees as of man, showing equal regard? Has not his respected Son said that not a sparrow falls to the ground without the notice of the Heavenly Father? He can show no more for man. And the sparrow, we know, is a creature of inferior organization, and of inferior sense and capacity, to the bee. Why, therefore, should we conclude that no scheme of atonement has been carried out for the salvation of sinful bees?

Let me duly warn the reader this is not a secular letter. It does not pertain to the demonstrable duties of this life, but to the domain of intellectual speculation. This article relates to pure and unapplied freethought. I restrict the word and define the policy of advocacy termed secular, in the sense of seeking to promote the highest discernible good of mankind from considerations which pertain to this life, as the most intelligent preparation that can be made for another. Secularism does not contend against the existence of Deity, but against dishonoring conceptions thereof; not against the inspiration of Scripture, but against the binding force of what is inapplicable to human welfare; not against a future existence, but against that idea of it which excludes the hope of improvement and honestly-earned happiness. With me freethought and secular thought stand in the same relation to each other as pure mathematics stand to geometry. Pure mathematics is abstract; geometry is mathematics applied to the practical uses of life. Secularism is with me the geometry of freethought. This article I write after perusing your suggestive pamphlet, *The God of Science*.

Different conceptions of Deity, no doubt, prevail among different creatures, as we should probably conclude if we knew more of their ways of thought. There are different conceptions of Deity, we know, prevailing among men. We know much of these variations in different ages and in different countries of the same age. We are aware, too, how ideas of God differ among men in the same country. Dr. Angus Smith informs us that there may be ten or twelve different climates in a large town; and he has prescribed the geographical limits of that number of distinct climates in London alone. The different classes of conception of Deity here are much more numerous than the climates. There is no doubt that the God of the bees is a more intelligent and paternal ruler than the God of the lower order of Christians, if a fair comparison of the two conceptions were made.

The average narrow and noisy crowd of earnest Christian believers are not persons of much observation on the tendency of science. In fact they know very little about it, and what they do know they dislike. They have been told that science is atheistic. They do not know that science is new knowledge of Nature, and that, therefore, if this new knowledge is atheistic, Nature must be atheistic. But if, as the theologian tells us, Nature is the handiwork of God, the veritable garment of God, the material manifestation of his infinite existence, how is this to be reconciled with the common assertion of the same persons that "science is atheistic," which even Christians of mark, as our Bishop of Peterborough, echo?

In the old days when theologians had eyes, when science began to make its first march and to announce its first systematic discoveries, they saw that a new power had arisen and was standing by their side, which they could not move, and which was overshadowing them. Then they said, partly in their ignorance and partly in their fear: 'Science will destroy religion." What they might have said (if they had known better) was, that science would change religion, and give it mightier views and a firmer standing-ground than tradition and obsolete revelations afforded it. I use religion in the sense of awe at the infinite universe outside us—reverence inspired by the perception of that silent, unheeding, unresting Power which has ordered all things before us, and which stretches beyond us evermore. When Bruno first announced that there was a plurality of worlds, and, instead of this planet being the sole creation of God, there were millions and millions of similar and greater worlds in infinite space, possibly inhabited by nobler beings than man, all equally under the care and guardianship of one stupendous Providence, theologians were blinded with the flood of new light, and stood for a while dumb with consternation. They could see how the childish inventions and ignorant explanations of Hebrew theology—how its pitiful contrivances and fanciful schemes of atonement, its anthropomorphic ideas of God, wandering amid the trees of Eden in search of Adam, or explaining things to Cain, when his "countenance fell" because the smoke of his sacrifice did not ascend according to his mind, or arranging the crucifixion of a poor, gentle-souled, visionary Jew as late as two thousand years ago, as a scheme of salvation for those of the human race who might happen to hear of it—would fade into infinite pettiness! The God of the old Jews was a mere attorney in large practice, who had undertaken to collect the rents and debts of the little half-drowned universe they knew. We blame them not, but beg leave to follow them not. They had no conception of the magnificent Omnipotence which science has revealed, whose illimitable grandeur is as much beyond our finite powers to appraise as the terms in which we speak of Him are poor and beggarly, compared with those required, to express the attribute of infinite loftiness and perspicacity.

When astronomers first explained to theologians that this world was not a vast flat surface on which mankind walked to and fro, fixed and firm on some solid base which could never move, but that it was a vast, ponderable, black ball, darting in darkness in its awful journey through space, lighted only by precarious and distant solar rays, science was regarded a thing of horror, whose dreadful revelations struck men as though a demon had spoken; and common men, not priests alone, were ready to kill the astronomer, as the poor Brahmin at a later date was ready to destroy the Satanic microscope which revealed to him life in the water and in vegetation which he thought pure and unliving. The Brahmin destroyed the microscope because he thought it created the horrors which it revealed; and in the same manner the uninformed priest imagined that science made the awful mysteries it disclosed. Hence he treated discoveries as criminal inventions. Now men have grown calmer and wiser. They understand that science is the purifier of piety, the enlarger of devotion, and imparts a new sublimity to reverence which no Bible, no tradition, no theology was ever able to give to it. There is nothing so religious as science, as men will one day know.

Long ago I intended to send you some account of my impressions of your lecture on "The God of Science," which struck me, if you will allow me to say so in your columns, as a great argument stated with great force, animated by picturesque expressions, as when you say, "The pathway of philosophy is white with the bleaching bones of dogmatic systems which have destroyed each other,"—and not wanting in that newness of thought whose quality consists in extension of view and boldness of discernment, carrying the religious thinker into a higher region of observation, where new truths are palpable which were entirely hidden from the view of those who have passed their lives in the lowlands of theology. Yet, though I admire much and agree with you mainly, I dissent in some respects.

For myself, I use the term God in the sense of Nature, expressing collectively, the unfathomable infinity of the space, force, and life without us. The theist who subordinates and defames Nature and sets a Ruler over it, as though it could not take care of itself, is mostly now a person like the obsolete words in a dictionary, needful for reference, but not for use. The sole question now between the pantheist and atheist is: Is Nature conscious, personally helpful, and pervious to prayer? The pantheist believes it is so. The atheist does not know this to be so. If God intended that we should identify him, he would provide the knowledge. That our faculties are finite shows that this knowledge is proscribed to us. To grow wiser by the study of Nature and happier by its power, and to increase in reverence by vaster insight of his works, seem alone possible to us. It always seems to me a want of reverence, a sort of spiritual impertinence in priests to declare they are upon the track of God. God is not a riddle which we must guess, nor a conundrum which we are required to explain, nor a secret which we have to find out. Is it not truer piety to respect his science? Is it reverential to chase Deity by inferences, or to stretch him upon the rack of argument to extort confession from him? If God meant that we should know him personally, he would not dodge us in the mazes of his works. If there is a scheme of human life which we can feel sure of, it is that our natures are meant for wise happiness, that the business of life is the improvement of humanity, and that we should wait with quiet trust the new knowledge which may come by death—that last venture upon untried existence,—the one charm which endows the unknown future with poetry. Atheism is merely the denial of the sufficiency of theological knowledge concerning him to justify men in saying that we have penetrated the Infinite Secret. Hitherto, conceptions of God have been regarded as the property of the churches; but now the revelation of science makes those from Moses to Mormon seem poor indeed. If science does not make God, it makes a newer, a wider, and nobler conception of him. We do not know that the old books of alleged Revelation were written by him. But we do know that the works of Nature must be by him, and what such works say we can trust. This trust grows by intelligence; it depends upon no blind or docile faith which dwarfs the mind; the trust of science requires ever-extending knowledge, which expands the understanding. The main purport of all that you write on science as a new source of religion seems to me rightful and sound. You seem, however, to think that, when that philosophy comes

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which shall explain the totality of all things, then will come an adequate conception of God. Then I should say it will never come, unless the finite can overtake the infinite. But you point out the direction in which religion can be set free, and how, in ranging over the mighty plain of science, it may add articles to its creed, loftier, holier, and brighter than any Judaic theology has made known.

But we must take time. Christians, with all the fine aspiration of many of them, are as dwellers in Judaic caves. And when they emerge and come suddenly upon the new effulgence of light which science sheds, and look into the vast amphitheatre of the universe it discloses to them, they look, but fear to see.

If sentiment, and not reason, should determine forms of faith, that of the fire-worshippers was the most gentle and picturesque that untutored piety has devised. Fire, as the symbol of God, was ever present to the eye of devotion. Neither light nor air, nor both united, availed to sustain existence until heat came to unbar the prison-house and set life free. You seem to me to underrate the passionateness of personal reverence out of which sincere religion, however instructed, grows, when you say: "The difficulty in the use of the term person is chiefly one of language." Person, in the philosophical sense, cheats the human heart. A "central intelligence" of which you speak is something—a "boundless" intelligence is hopeless. Paley takes the Christian with a brutal brevity from the personal God, who designs and esses and listens and helps, into the presence of a "sensuous principle." An undefined being, divested of human personality, is a change which makes the unreflective and untrained soul shudder. We should look the great change fully in the face,—not disguise it, not treat it lightly, but submit it honestly as one of the great changes the heart has to undergo in its education by reason.

Again, you say "you care nothing for the name of the great eternal fact of being. Call it Nature, or God, or what you will." It is, if not everything, of great moment by what name a man calls his highest conception he can frame of things. The name is the measure of his mind. The name tells what his mind is. The mind is idle which uses great terms idly. To me this indifference on the part of those who show it implies that a man does not know what he thinks, or does not care what he thinks. To say one does not care by what name others call God is to treat distinctions as ideal, or optional, or capricious; whereas these names are express separate convictions, won by struggle, and held oft with passion and pain.

You, I well know, are as far as I could wish to be from treating the differences of honest, earnest men as an immaterial difference of language. But men who have not your seriousness—even thinkers of mark—will use language of contempt for controversial terms. Mr. Gladstone has set lately a splendid example of intellectual rectitude of recognition of the names of thought among heretical or adventurous thinkers. For myself, I fear I am but a cosmist, a student of the order, amazed, awed, but knowing nothing of the origin or direction or purpose of Nature. I am but as one standing on the shore of the unfathomable sea. Navigators of science are upon its mighty waters. They will bring us great news. They will discover new lands. But will the proud and mighty owner think it of consequence to submit his title-deeds to any human court?

I thank you for an argument which presents so full a survey of the new forces of advanced thought, occupying the fields of speculation. You open a new path of progress by showing how the doctrine of the persistence of force unites the ultimate entities of materialism in a more comprehensive conception. It is an advantage to freethought literature to possess your clear exposition of the inadequacy of the dim and fitful revelations of intuition, compared with those of science. Induction and deduction, those modern lanterns of discovery which philosophy carries, throw light where intuition sheds no single ray. Within the same compass we have, in England, no statement which has the merit of yours in presenting the march of science towards God.

{ NEWCASTLE CHAMBERS, 22 Essex St.,
{ Temple Bar, London, W. C.

ONE VOICE FOR REASON.

REV. M. J. SAVAGE ON THE REVIVAL.

Rev. M. J. Savage, the able pastor of the Church of the Unity, in his sermon of last Sunday, very forcibly defined the attitude of liberal men towards the revival. We quote the following from his argument:—

I propose, then, broadly to outline three contrasts between the revivalists and ourselves. These will bring out clearly our necessary attitude toward them, and also the line of our own proper work. And—

1. Contrast the difference in the ends which we propose to ourselves. It is something worse than a faulty and inadequate use of language for us to deceive ourselves into the idea that we are working for the same results because we apply the word "salvation" to them both. They seek the world's salvation, and so do we. But the real things we seek are as wide apart as the east is from the west.

The objective point of the revivalists is to *save men's souls;* by which is meant so arranging the affairs that, after death, these souls will escape the necessity of going

TO A PLACE CALLED HELL,

and will be permitted to go to another place called heaven. This salvation has nothing directly to do with character. It is, indeed, held in a general way that "saved" persons will have better characters than those who are "impenitent" and "lost"; but these better characters do not constitute the essence of the "salvation." If any so-called "liberal evangelicals" teach a more reasonable doctrine, they have no logical right to, for it does not belong to the system. Martin Luther, in his zeal for "salvation by faith," said that, though a man committed murder and adultery many times a day, yet if he had faith enough he would still be saved. And that this is not ancient and outgrown doctrine is apparent from recent Brooklyn teachings to which the entire body of evangelical churches gives its assent. At any rate, I have heard of no protest. Mr. Moody said recently, that a man might be honest and pure and upright and true, but that all this had nothing to do with the question of his being "saved." To be saved, then, is to so arrange matters that the soul will escape hell; and this arrangement has nothing directly to do with character.

Now, what "the soul" is, apart from the *whole man*, living, thinking, feeling, acting, we do not profess to know, and we do not believe anybody else knows. And what "salvation" means, apart from the general soundness, health, and development of the whole man, body, mind, and spirit, we do not profess to know, and do not believe anybody else knows. Salvation, then, with us, is something chiefly present, and means the deliverance of man from evil, internal and external, and his growth and culture in all high, true, pure, sweet, and manly things. If we can only save a man *now* from wrong and defect and ignorance and superstition and arrested development, and make of him a living, loving, growing man, reaching out after, and gradually attaining, better and still better things, of body and head and heart, we have no fears for the future.

WE BELIEVE THAT HOLINESS MEANS WHOLENESS.

He who comes to the border-land of the future complete and fresh and sweet in a true manly life, having sincerely tried to be true to himself, his neighbor, and his God, him we believe to be the best fitted for whatever the future may have in store for him. The ship that is sound and staunch in timber and build, and that is full-rigged from top-gallant to keelson, is the vessel in which we would trust our precious freight and our lives as she sails out over the harbor-bar to face the unknown and untried scenes of the measureless ocean beyond. And, if her hulk be shaky and her rigging rotten, we do not believe she is any the safer, though her hold were piled full of certificates claiming to assure her safe arrival in port.

We believe that happiness and heaven are so much a matter of healthy capacity for knowing and loving all true and beautiful and divine persons and things that nothing can take the place of these. God cannot make a deaf man hear music except by curing his deafness. So God and all the angels could not make a man see and hear and enjoy heaven except in so far as he is healthy and developed in those faculties that fit him to take hold of and appreciate the knowledge and truth and beauty that constitute what we mean by heaven.

Our object, then, is to train and develop

TRUE MANHOOD AND WOMANHOOD.

It is a present object; and it concerns itself about the future only as it believes in the divine order of cause and effect, and holds that a good to-morrow is best assured by a good to-day.

2. The contrasts between our methods is quite as marked as the distinction of our aims.

The revivalists hold that this life is insignificant, and that devotion to it is delusive and dangerous. The logic of their system still sings:—

"This world is all a fleeting show,
For man's delusion given."

This life is to be sacrificed to the next. The voice is constantly uplifted against "worldliness." The "one thing" to be done is to be sure that your own soul is saved—"make your calling and election sure,"—and then to do all you can to make sure the saving of the souls of others. The practical outcome of all this order of things is to make hell very full of victims of the devil's successful cunning and of God's wrath, and to make heaven a place where a selected few perpetually thank God and sing his praises, because he chose to illustrate his grace and mercy by saving them from the horrible fate that has overtaken the most of their friends and neighbors. The old monasticism, when it fled from practical life, and refused to have anything to do with home and marriage and the bringing of children into the midst of so dangerous a world, was the only consistent outcome of this theory. The universe is a horrible engine for the production and the torture of souls.

We hold that this world is the best one we know anything about; that we are to make the most and best of it while in it. So

WE BELIEVE IN SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION,

and we believe in invention and improvement and art and learning and the development of all the divinely-ordained possibilities of this world-life of ours. We hold that there is a most intimate relation between the moral and religious condition and external environment. We see that ignorance, and lack of sanitary regulations, and filthy tenements, and the relations of the laborer to his work, and ten thousand other outside things, produce and accompany conditions of morals and religion. So we believe we help on salvation in the most speedy way possible when we help on civilization. Many inventors have done more for the souls of men than many of the world's preachers.

While, then, the revivalists make the least possible of this life, we make the most possible of it.

They hold and teach that the one only efficient means and methods of salvation is faith in the bloody sacrifice of Christ on Calvary; that he died in our stead; and that if we believe this fact, and accept his substitution, we shall, for his sake, escape the everlasting death that else awaits us. We believe this to be

FALSE IN PHILOSOPHY,

because nothing that any one else can *do* can ever stand instead of and take the place of what a man *is* in himself. We believe it to be false in morals and faithless to true righteousness; because justice can never be satisfied by punishing the innocent for the guilty; and because only a vengeful tyrant, who will have his "pound of flesh," and cares not whom he gets it out of, could ever think of accepting such a substitution. We believe it to be false to Christianity; because there is not a shadow of a hint of it in any well-authenticated teaching of Jesus; so that, if he knew what his mission was to the world, he failed utterly to deliver his message, on this theory; and because it is perfectly easy to trace this doctrine to fanciful discussions of the relations of Christianity to Judaism, on the part of those who wished to prove that the one was only the logical outcome and completion of the other. Jesus teaches that a man who forsakes his sins and turns to God is accepted of him; and that a man is to be known by his fruits; and that the judgment is to turn on questions of character and practical life. Nowhere has he said one syllable out of which can be tortured the horrible, unjust, and repulsive doctrine of atonement by the substituted sacrifice which is the main staple of the revivalist's preaching.

There is the broadest possible contrast between the theory of the universe and of man's nature and relation to God, out of which the doctrines of salvation and the methods of salvation necessarily grow.

The revivalists hold that every word of the Bible is

THE INSPIRED AND INFALLIBLE WORD OF GOD.

They hold, further, that this Bible teaches that the whole race fell from perfect innocence through the sin of one man; and that he thus became totally depraved and incapable of good. And that it follows from this, and is divinely taught, that all men are thus under condemnation to endless punishment in hell. Out of these premises comes the necessity for the substituted death of Christ, and a salvation limited to those who accept by faith his sacrificial work.

Now, what do we hold in these points? In the first place, we know—not simply believe—that man was on the earth ages before the Bible says he was created; and we regard as wholly fanciful the attempts of anxious commentators to reconcile Genesis and geology. And we find in those early traces no signs of the innocence and happiness that the popular thought associates with Eden. Rather do we find the lowest barbarism, and distinct traces of a development from animality up to his present condition of civilization.

Thus the foundation of the whole system—fall, depravity, atonement—is knocked away at one blow. And the rationalizing Orthodox who accepts these results of positive knowledge and still tries to keep his Orthodoxy, has a building, like a mirage city, *all in the air.*

But, even though we knew none of these things, the whole theory is so repulsive to the very moral nature that God has given us, that no amount of evidence were sufficient to prove it. Proof enough to establish this would be capable of proving that

THE GOD OF THIS UNIVERSE IS A DEVIL.

For with reverence, and yet with fearlessness, I dare to say that the human mind can conceive no greater crime than the creation of the world on the Orthodox theory. To make a system, the outcome of which is irremediable misfortune to the majority, is something of which only fiendishness is capable. Here we are, enmeshed and involved in this net-work of evil, all for the fault of a man who lived thousands of years ago, with no provision for the salvation of any but the few millions of Christendom, and with the certainty that only a few of these will be saved; and yet God is sovereign and able to save whomsoever he will; and on this sovereignty revivalism is based, and men cry and plead and agonize in the endeavor to induce him to save a few more; and he hears a church and takes pity on a dozen or two, when their other engagements permit the court favorites, Moody and Sankey, to be present. Merciful heavens! are men with hearts, and moral natures and brains, expected to believe such stuff as this? Are they expected to work to get others to believe and accept it? It is mild language to say that no blackest Nero or Borgia of all history was ever charged with the guilt of such infamy? If there is such a God in the universe, and if he has thus treated humanity, it is for him to ask pardon of man, and not for man to bow down and supplicate his Almighty injurer.

But from such

A HORRIBLE NIGHTMARE OF THEOLOGY

the light of modern criticism, coming in to awaken us, gives us blessed escape into the daylight of reason and truth. The Bible, from whose contradictory and distorted texts this system has been constructed, is found, by enlightened scholarship to be not the infallible "word of God." It is only the human literature of a nation's religious life. And though you find beneath its covers teachings that can be twisted into such shapes of evil and fear, you may dismiss them as only the child-world's thoughts about the mystery of the universe. The Bible is a wondrous book, because it is a history of a nation's religious life and thought and growth. But crude ideas of God, mistaken thoughts about man, false notions concerning the world, low theories of society and morals, errors in history, in geography, in science, fierce hatreds, vindictive passions, narrow prejudices, unauthorized and inconsistent dreams of the future,—all attest that it is a work of humanity,

containing the ordinary human mixtures of gold with iron and clay.

We differ, then, with the revivalists at every point.

OUR SALVATION IS NOT THEIR SALVATION.

Our methods cannot be their methods. Our theories, and what we believe to be our facts, cannot be made to live alongside of their theories. We believe their teaching is not inadequate only, but pernicious, because it stands in the way of a higher and better one. If they can indoctrinate the world in their views, they are giving men possessions of thought and prejudice and falsehood concerning God and man that they must get rid of before they can look with clear and open vision upon the facts of life and destiny. It is not then a matter of indifference to us whether or not they succeed. We stand for what we believe to mean the facts of life, and what will bear the light of civilization. We stand for the highest manhood, and the highest hopes of the future. And we cannot consistently keep still for the sake of peace. "First pure," and true, and "then peaceable." True peace can come in no other way.

While, then, we believe Messrs. Moody and Sankey to be honest and sincere, we believe at the same time that they are wronging and perverting the religious nature and the religious life of those they influence. And though, like Socrates in Athens, like Jesus in Jerusalem, like Savonarola in Florence, like Luther at Worms, we stand up alone, a minority of one in the midst of the fierce enthusiasm and opposition of the great Orthodox majority that, now as then, calls all who do not agree with them anti-Christ and infidel, still stand up we must, and hold aloft our flag, on which is inscribed, "*God, liberty, light, and civilization!*"—*Boston Sunday Times, Feb. 4.*

A NEW ENCYCLICAL.

We print in another column a brief item of news which we find drifting about in the papers of the week credited to the New York *Sunday Democrat*, and which, if trustworthy, is of great importance. It is to the effect that the Pope has addressed an encyclical letter to the Cardinal, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in this country in condemnation of the public school system. He makes no distinction between schools entirely secular and schools in which the Bible is read and morality taught, but condemns public schools for the common education of all youth without exception or discrimination. The Pope, the same paper says, leaves it to the discretion of each bishop to publish the encyclical, or to withhold it. It is not to be inferred, however, that there is any discretion left to these ecclesiastics as to heeding or ignoring the admonition. The only question submitted to their judgment is the question of the expediency of making known that the Pope has sent forth such a document. From the fact that the encyclical has not yet been made public, we judge that the American bishops think it wiser to keep the matter secret, or as secret as possible. Nevertheless, since the report has got abroad that such an encyclical has been forwarded, and is not, so far as we have seen, anywhere denied, there would probably be less harm than advantage in making its exact text known; unless, indeed, it is so flagrantly and offensively hostile to the intelligence of the American people that its publication will bring the Pope into contempt. Unless it can be explicitly and satisfactorily denied that any such document exists, the worst construction will not unreasonably be put upon its concealment. Enough is already known of the intolerant attitude of Pius IX. toward free and general education, to justify any opinion of the nature of an encyclical on this topic which is not promptly made public.

If it be true that the head of the Roman Catholic Church has taken such a step, it is most unfortunate for his reputation and for the reputation of that Church in this country. It will precipitate a debate and a controversy in which the promulgators and supporters of acts of hostility toward the system of general education will gain nothing and lose much. Of all the institutions of this country which may properly be considered novel in respect of the ways of the Old World, the public school, supported by the equal taxation of all for the equal advantage of all, is perhaps the most highly prized and the least likely to be given up at the suggestion of a foreign potentate, whatever his prerogatives or his pretensions. It is in a true sense a part of the organism of republican institutions, and where it does not flourish they can never exist in their perfection, or have adequate guarantee of security. The general diffusion of intelligence marks the people fit to govern themselves. It is this as much as anything else that makes a Republic in America easy, and in fact necessary. The absence of it in France and in Mexico makes the attempt to maintain a republican government, to state the fact in the mildest form, difficult and uncertain. Differ as much as men may touching the expediency of universal suffrage as the basis of government, there can be but one opinion as to the peril of universal suffrage without universal education. The State whose life depends upon the intelligence of the people who vote is bound by an intelligent concern for its own permanence to provide the means of education for all. We will go further, and say it is bound to require that all shall be educated to a certain extent.

It is unfortunate for the Roman Catholics in this country that the head of their Church supposes it to be essential to their prosperity to fight against the dissemination of knowledge not tinctured with their own religious doctrine. The "dim religious light" which constituted the intellectual illumination of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they seem to fancy is broad and intense enough for the nineteenth. They greatly want confidence in the power of the truth to vindicate itself in the arena of free contention. To the tremendous argument of John Milton's essay on "The Liberty of Unlicensed Printing" they choose to oppose the theory of an infallible censorship, and the subjection of the judgment and consciences of the many to the arbitrary authority of the judgment and consciences of the few. This conserves, so long as and to the extent that it is submitted to the power of the few; but it delays and prevents the world's progress to the extent of its influence.

We do not choose to discuss the questions involved in such an act as the issue of the rumored encyclical any further at this time. If the report is confirmed, either by its publication or by a persistent unwillingness on the part of those who know to deny that such a document has been issued, there will be occasion to return to the subject. The public schools are vital to the success of the American system of government, and to the public welfare. When the Pope gives the word to his followers and adherents in this nation to make war upon them, we shall behold an array and an organization in their support that will rejoice the hearts of all in every land who revere liberty of learning and liberty of conscience. The number of those who desire to foment any hostility against the Roman Catholic Church as a system of doctrine, or a form of worship, is small. The majority respect the convictions of her worshippers, and, were it not for the fact that the members regard themselves as bound by a primary allegiance to a foreign and hostile temporal power, would rejoice to see her prosper. In so far as it promotes piety and the virtues of life and quickening all good forces there is the same reason to approve of its work in the community as to approve of the work doing by Moody and Sankey. But, considered as subjects to and governed absolutely by the Church of Rome, there is the same objection to it that there would be to the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country if it were ruled by the Queen of England as head of the Church.—*Boston Advertiser, Feb. 9th.*

THE PAINE BUST.

Last Sunday was the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine. Walt Whitman, the poet, delivered an address in Philadelphia on the occasion, of which the following is the closing passage:—

"The absolute fact is that, as he lived a good life after its kind, he died calmly and philosophically, as became him. He served the embryo Union with most precious service—a service that every man, woman, and child in our thirty-eight States is, to some extent, receiving the benefit of to-day,—and I for one here cheerfully and reverently throw my pebble on the cairn of his memory. As we all know, the season demands—or, rather, will it ever be out of season?—that America learn to better dwell on her choicest possession, the legacy of her good and faithful men; that she well preserve their fame, if unquestioned, or, if need be, that she fail not to dissipate what clouds have intruded on that fame, and burnish it newer, truer, and brighter continually."

During the past summer, as our readers may be aware, a sufficient fund was raised, by subscription, to purchase a colossal bust of Paine. This bust, when completed, was offered to the city of Philadelphia to be placed in Independence Hall among the memorials of other Revolutionary patriots who toiled and suffered for us in "the times that tried men's souls." The municipal authorities of Philadelphia refused the gift, though we have not heard that they intend entering any protest against the attempt of the Centennial Board of Finance to avoid the payment of $1,500,000 due the public treasury. It is understood that the bust will now be tendered to the United States, for such disposition in or near the national capitol as may be deemed appropriate. It remains to be seen whether Congress will extend any more gracious treatment to the historic marble than was vouchsafed by the rulers of "the City of Brotherly Love."

Of course the sole objection urged against Paine in this matter is his religious views; and more especially his exceedingly frank expression of them. If he had never written or never published his *Age of Reason* his countenance, done in stone, metal, or paint, would long ago have adorned the walls of Independence Hall. As was remarked in a previous article, his opinions on theological subjects did not differ materially from those of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson; but these eminent gentlemen were wise enough to confine their heresy to private conversation and correspondence, while their friend and colleague walked boldly into print, and said his say in the face of the world. If Abraham Lincoln had published the little book which his biographer informs us he wrote when a young man, he would undoubtedly be in the same boat to-day with Paine, instead of being, as he is, a sort of American saint, claimed by a half-dozen sects, though belonging to none.

But the point we wish to raise is this: What justice or sense is there in refusing to pay a debt of gratitude because the creditor happens to be outside the pale of Orthodoxy? The bust which the "unco guid" of Philadelphia declined to put where it belongs was not intended as a testimonial to the author of the *Age of Reason*, but to the author of *Common Sense* and the *Rights of Man*. If the first-named work were tenfold worse than it is—and it is not more heretical than many sermons preached nowadays from fashionable pulpits—it would be more than atoned for by its matchless predecessors. No one can have a clear comprehension of the much-talked-about "spirit of '76" unless he reads the fiery pages of *Common Sense*. No one can have a clear comprehension of the feelings of the most intelligent lovers of liberty in Europe and America at the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789 unless he studies the masterly and invincible logic of the *Rights of Man*. No writer, living or dead, ever handled the English language more effectively than Paine. His heart was full of his subject, and he wrote straight to the popular heart. The people never have had, and never will have, an abler or braver champion than he whose memory has been pelted with pious mud for nearly three-quarters of a century. Without *Common Sense* American Independence would not have been proclaimed on the 4th of July, 1776; and had the leaders of the French Revolution followed the line marked out in the *Rights of Man* there would have been no Reign of Terror, no "Sainte Guillotine," no first or second empire, no Commune, no military make-shift like that now in existence, but a pure and permanent republic,—a blessing to France and the world.

Thomas Paine loved liberty for liberty's own sake, and no suspicion has ever been cast upon his honesty or his honor. He spent the best years of his life in the service of his adopted country; he devoted to her cause rare genius and indomitable energy, and he may be truly called one of the fathers and founders of American freedom. It is a curious and not very flattering commentary upon human nature—the bigoted side of it more particularly—that in the Centennial Year of that freedom his bust was denied a niche in the temple which might never have been consecrated by the immortal Declaration but for his impassioned and convincing pen. And if the enemies of Paine could temper their wrath with a little discretion, they would see that by keeping up this vindictive warfare upon his fame they are defeating their own ends. As the people of Rome thought more of Marius when his bust was excluded from the triumphal procession, so we think the victim of Philadelphia intolerance will rise in the estimation of his countrymen by the very means employed to degrade his name.—*St. Louis Republican, Feb. 4.*

THE PRAYER-CURE CASE IN CHICAGO.

CHICAGO, Feb. 10, 1877.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE BOSTON JOURNAL:—

I notice in the *Journal* of February 6 a paragraph "For the benefit of story collectors," which states, in substance, that a story concerning the prayer-cure of a man in Chicago has been pronounced false.

The facts of the case are substantially these: Mr. F. W. Fields, who was one of the early co-workers with Mr. Moody in the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association, and has since been very active in connection with many of his revival meetings, is the person referred to. He declares that from his earliest recollection he had suffered from what is known as the "hip disease," and a short time previous to the period to which the story refers, he had been suffering great pain in his hip by reason of over-much work in connection with Mr. Moody's Sunday-school and the Chicago Association. His leg had become shorter than the other, so that he was obliged to wear a boot with a thick cork sole, and a heel some two inches and a half higher than the other. He not only limped badly in walking, but was at this time unable to touch his foot to the ground without intense pain, and was obliged to walk with crutches.

One Saturday evening as he was limping home to his lodgings he says the thought occurred to him, "God made me and he can mend me." He felt specially moved to pray that God would cure him, and so make him more efficient in his work. This he did, and then lay down to sleep. During the night he dreamt that some one came to him and performed a surgical operation on his leg, and the next morning when he awoke, to his unbounded surprise and delight, he found that his bent leg was straightened. He then jumped out of bed upon the floor to try whether he could stand upon it, and found that it was strong and sound and gave him no pain whatever. In order to test the case more fully, Mr. Fields declares that he dressed himself and went out and walked round an open square which was inclosed with a low stone curbing, with his well foot upon the top of the curbing and the mended foot on the ground, in this way bringing his entire weight upon the mended leg with a little fall at every step. In all this he suffered no pain, and since that time his leg has never given him any trouble.

From the habit of years, Mr. Fields still has a little swing in his gait, but the tailors who make his trousers say that his legs are of equal length.

Whatever Mr. Sankey or any one else may say to the contrary, the story of this prayer-cure is true. Mr. Fields is now a resident of this city, and may be addressed upon this subject.

Mr. John V. Farwell, who was invited by Mr. Fields to his lodgings on the Sunday after his cure, states that he noticed that Mr. Fields came to the Sunday-school that day without a cane or crutch, and when he went to Mr. Fields' lodgings, that gentleman, instead of climbing the stairs painfully as he had been accustomed to do, leaped up two stairs at a time; and when they had reached his room, with tears of joy he related to Mr. Farwell and another gentleman—I think it was Mr. Moody—the wonderful cure that had been wrought in answer to his prayer.

Mr. Farwell has given a written statement of this prayer-cure to the Rev. Horatius Bonar, of Edinburgh, from which the first published version of this story was taken.

I have felt obliged to make this reference to this subject, because that story was first published in my book. Please insert this and oblige,

Yours truly, W. H. DANIELS.

[The story to which our correspondent refers was pronounced false by Mr. Sankey only so far as it made Mr. Moody the subject of the remarkable cure, his opinion not being expressed as to the general ac-

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curacy of the statement. The story as an incident in Mr. Moody's personal history is not true, as our correspondent himself shows; and having learned this much we published the contradiction, naturally supposing that, false in one particular it was false in all.—ED. JOURNAL.]

"NOTHING BUT LEAVES."

We have now been edified with an exhibition of the Tabernacular form of religion for one week. It is too early yet to say whether this vulgar expedient will succeed in the sense in which the revivalists themselves use the term success. But it is not too early to consider the methods of this ostentatious movement for making converts by machinery, nor is it difficult to anticipate, with reasonable certainty, the probable results of such a hot-house process of forcing the growth of virtue and morality.

We can already balance the "harvest sheaves," of which the melodious, though somewhat untuneful, Sankey is wont to sing, against the vicious and immoral tendencies of the revival as a whole. And we may as well be liberal and allow in advance that Mr. Moody will do all and more than he claims can be done. What is the burden of his sermons so far? Simply this: that the "torch of salvation"—we use his own favorite and incendiary figure—may be carried through the city by three or four thousand zealous workers, and that thereby one convert a piece per month may be added to the cause.

Very well, let us admit that ten thousand, or double it and call it twenty thousand, persons are subjected to that vague and indefinite metamorphosis called "conversion." Then what? Then we shall be told that the movement is a success, and that the world, especially that part of it of which Boston is the centre, has reaped great benefits therefrom. The assumption will be too much, and for the reason that there is another side to the account. We would very respectfully say to the amiable and well-meaning people who are conducting us through the revival: "Come, let us reason together." We know it is a very hard thing to ask them to pause in the wild delirium of their dizzy devotions to do such a chilly and cool-headed thing as to reason. Righteousness on a rampage is apt to be unreasonable. Still we must ask them to reason or to let us do it for them. Better still, let us calculate; Mr. Moody as a Connecticut man should readily appreciate the charm of that magic word calculate.

Now, then, on the credit side of his account let us put down twenty thousand conversions. Conversions to what? Conversions to be of any use must make the police statistics more cheerful reading, or else the city is no better. And it must not be a transient and temporary improvement, if the good is to be worth all the fuss and feathers, the flurry and the fury of this holy hullabaloo. The people of this or any other city may shout themselves hoarse with holiness, and still the world be practically no better, the prisons be no less crowded, and the social problems that vex us no nearer solution.

Will the burden of crime and pauperism be lightened in consequence of these much talked about conversions? It is as certain as anything can be that it will not. For this experiment has been tried in London and in Liverpool, and the testimony on this point from those places is that murders are not diminished, robberies, violent assaults, petty thefts and drunkenness have not been reduced one iota in consequence of Moody's labors there. England drank more liquors last year, according to the official returns, than ever she drank before. England paid more for prisoners and more for paupers than she did the previous year.

But if the revivalists did not lessen the incubus of crime and want on the other side of the Atlantic, they did accomplish something else not quite as desirable. They succeeded in sending a number of sane people to grace the padded cells of lunatic asylums, and if the testimony of some of the leading English newspapers is true they succeeded also in flooding the streets of London and Liverpool with ribald blasphemy, such as was barely exceeded in Paris during the obscene orgies of the French Revolution. Their songs, wretched mutilations as they are of tunes more familiar to and better suited for variety halls, were adopted as drinking-airs for English bar-rooms, and could be heard at all hours of the night borne on the lips of tipsy brawlers rolling home from their vinous carousals. The women of the stews adopted the sacred slang of the hour, and every den of infamy reeked with the cant of the Tabernacle; while the gamins of the street, hardly four spans high, swelled the shocking chorus of profanity with their parodies of Sankey's stupid ditties, until all London was engulfed in this fearful travesty of sacred things.

And this is what we are to witness here, only on a scale smaller in proportion to the size of our city and the number of the impressionable masses available for this melancholy humbug. Yet we are asked to believe that a movement so profitless as to practical results, and so directly provocative of the most awful and revolting blasphemy—blasphemy which, like the incense of hell, pervades the very air,—is the work of the Holy Spirit moving with power upon the masses. A more preposterous, a more shallow, or a more wicked deception was never foisted upon an intelligent community. And we look confidently to see the outrageous trick estimated at its true worth by the thinking people of Boston. In an age of reason, an age that has been permitted to hear the voices of Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson, we should hope that these two strolling players who have borrowed the gospel garb in which to masquerade would receive small encouragement, at least in a city that has spent so much of her treasure for education as has Boston. It is impossible, as we view it, to say too much in condemnation of this movement. It is an eccentric, emotional extravaganza, degenerating in some particulars to the level of a farce, a burlesque of Christian worship, a mockery of the Deity, and an insult to the common sense of the nineteenth century.—*Boston Sunday Times, Feb. 4th.*

TOM PAINE.

Now we have that old bone of contention, Tom Paine, thrown down again for opposing sects to fight over. The Liberal Leagues of San Francisco and Philadelphia raised, it appears, one or two thousand dollars for a bust of the great agitator, and presented it to the latter city, last week, to be placed in the National Museum. The Philadelphians, however, would have none of it, and through councils rejected the gift on account, of course, of Paine's peculiar religious views; whereupon the Liberal League, which appears to be principally composed of women and Spiritualists, was furious; public meetings are held, denunciations are hurled to and fro, and poor Paine, his good and evil deeds, are all dragged out from the grave and fought over, inch by inch. Middle-aged people will remember him as the bugaboo of their childhood, if they happened to belong to Orthodox families, and remember, too, how the horrors of his death-bed were used to terrify ten-year-olds from the remote chances of infidelity. Here they have the old story again, and Walt Whitman coming to the front assuring us that history has all been wrong, and that Paine was the most sober, discreet, and mild-mannered of men; a gentlemen of half a dozen old schools and of the best in all; and that his death was a blissful euthanasia of high philosophy.

Really, it seems to us that this particularly muddy water had better be allowed to rest. Nobody doubts the service which Paine rendered to the cause of the Republic. He was rewarded for it by the hearty approbation of both the thinking people and the populace in his own time and of posterity. The Republic itself was not ungrateful. Paine was promptly paid £500 for his pamphlet of *Common Sense* by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and received five hundred acres of cultivated land and a remunerative office from this State. Jefferson, to whom the nation owed its birth more than to any other man, was literally preyed upon by his worshipping countrymen until they barely left him a scant subsistence for life. Paine's deistical views do but little harm. Nobody nowadays reads the *Age of Reason* except from curiosity. As to whether he was a drunkard or a moderate tippler, whether in his last moment he was firm to his life-long creed of doubt or endeavored to accept another, concerns nobody now, it seems to us, but himself and his God. The Philadelphia councils have not thought fit to examine into the religious faith or the lack of it of the other worthies whose pictures and busts fill Independence Hall, and, we suspect, would not have done so in this instance if the character of the association offering the gift had not given to it the aspect of an honor paid to Paine the freethinker rather than to Paine the defender of liberty.

We are quite sure that the author of *Common Sense* himself, who had a keen appreciation of absurdity, would look upon the present squabble, if he could look at all, as a capital joke, and would hardly recognize the coarse, vehement face of the ex-exciseman which he used to see in the glass, in the fine philosophic image presented of him by some of his present admirers. Neither are we at all sure that he would covet the honor which he has been refused. He might (in marble) have borne himself with dignity in Independence Hall in the company of Jefferson and of even the orderly, well-conducted Father of his Country. But to be stowed in the National Museum with the puerile face of the English King, whom he hated, on one side of him, and the swaddling-clothes of the Adams family on the other, were enough to make even a stone Tom Paine cry out in mutiny.

We wish Philadelphia a safe deliverance from the weight of her ancient renown. What with busts and monuments and old family prejudices against progress, she finds these worthies of 1776 set as heavy on her soul as those of his murdered victims on the sight of the miserable Richard.—*N. Y. Tribune, Feb. 1, 1877.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 17.

J. K. Rose, $2.75; W. S. Leach, $3; F. A. Angel, 25 cents; L. T. Burch, 50 cents; B. F. Kennedy, $1.25; Mrs. E. D. Lucas, $1.60; C. F. Baxter, $3.20; C. H. Vinton, $3.20; S. C. Mason, 15 cents; E. W. Dickinson, $10; J. L. Roberts, $3.20; Mrs. M. M. Ballou, $3.25; Mrs. Anna Dorman, $3.20; Mrs. B. Cummings, $3.25; A. Ewing, $3.50; S. R. Koehler, $3.20; New England News Co., $3.88; J. S. McCool, $3.20; Adam Koch, 50 cents; Hon. W. Milligan, $6.40; Geo. A. Bourne, $3.20; W. Hanford, $3.20; T. M. Hart, $3.20; E. L. Winham, $3.20; Henry N. Stone, $16.40; G. Lewis, 25 cents; E. Fezandie, 30 cents; Thomas H. Knowles, $3.20; E. D. Burleigh, $3.20; Mrs. A. Y. Hagar, $3.20; Thos. Tibbets, $2.15; Chas. Ellernau, $3; Jas. Langlands, $3; Emily J. Leonard. $4.50; Kilian Bros., $3.20; C. F. Reed, $3.20; Jas. Underhill, $1; Ed. Harris, $1; Hopson & Sherman, 20 cents; George M. Baldwin, $3; Abner Forbes, $7.60; Cash, $2.75; Joseph Hosken, $1.60; W. A. Rust, $3.20; J. P. Titcomb, $3.20; Elisha Burdick, $3; Samuel Bardwell, $5.65; John Cummington, $4.04; J. W. Hubbard, $1.60; Chas. H. Coffin, $3.20; Geo. H. Foster, $1.89; Frank J. Mead, 50 cents; C. W. Wendte, $3.20; S. C. Gale, $3.25; Mrs. J. H. Bennett, $3.20; F. O. Blake, 5 cents; J. H. Hood, $1; Thos. S. Murray, $6.40; P. H. Macgill, $3.20; Dr. E. B. Foote, $3.20; G. E. Corbin, $3.20; R. Conradi, $3.20; Hon. Nat'l Holmes, $3.20; Geo. B. Young, $3.20; D. S. Grandin, $1.60; Mrs. Lu M. Carter, $3; Fernando Dessaur, $3.25; Kate M. Scott, $1; E. S. Cady, $1.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE HAWK AND THE SPARROW.

To-day, upon the public square,
I saw a hawk in fury tear
A sparrow; hapless little thing,
The tyrant rent it wing from wing
And limb from limb, and on the snow
Its life-drops made a crimson glow.

I drove the feathered fiend away,
And gathered up the mangled prey;
And, pondering o'er the fragments red,
I thought of what is writ and said:
"*The Omnipresent Lord of all*
Has knowledge of a sparrow's fall."

I thought, if the omnific Lord
Commiserates a dying bird,
If all things act by his design,
And swerve not from his plumb and line,
Why did he arm with murderous beak
That hawk to slay a thing so weak
And harmless as our little friend?

No more the maple twig will bend
Beneath his feet; his life's swift end
One faithful mourner, one at least,
His sexton now and reverent priest,
Deplores; does He who gave him life,
And walled him round with tragic strife,
Feel equal pity? Why, O why
This outrage under all His sky?

Is He too weak the weak to save?
To His own laws is He a slave?
If not, then wherefore were the laws
Permitted with such fatal flaws?
Surely the heavy curse that fell
On Adam, sloping down to hell,
Cannot in justice overtake
Aught less than human, save the snake?

A soft voice answered, soft and still:
"This mystery of earthly ill
'Tis well to probe; 'tis well to seek
All knowledge, and to freely speak,
Since love of truth thy soul impels,
And love of goodness in thee dwells.
Well, too, the sympathetic tear
Bestowed upon the sparrow here;
But scarcely was it well to balk,
Or rudely blame the famished hawk.

"High knowledge is not ready-made,
And darker grows the mental shade,
If you pursue your curious quest;
Why with the hawk and sparrow rest?
How many of thy boastful race
Would spare the hawk in any case—
Would spare or pity, though his need
Your lordly sportsman could not plead.
Moreover, this poor bird whose doom
Has touched thy feeling heart with gloom,
No tender scruple ever made
With creatures of an humbler grade.
So, puzzling o'er these knots of fate,
Life's riddle grows more intricate.

"Who seeks will rarely fail to find
The thing to which he's most inclined.
If thorns instead of roses suit,
If leaves instead of luscious fruit,
If turbid waters more than clear,
If doleful sounds in place of cheer,
Those will regard the cynic's right,
While *these* elude his senses quite.

"Doubt if thou wilt, but reverently,
And heed not what the owls may say,
Who from their gloomy perch give out
That sin is foster-child of Doubt.
Doubt is the silent needful night,
The womb of intellectual might;
But who can wisely choose to dwell
Forever in that darksome shell?

"The fearless soul emerging thence
Feels something of Omnipotence;
Upon the mountain-tops his feet
Will tread in joy, and gladly beat
The golden shores of summer seas;
And he will hear in every breeze
Divinest music; even the storm
That bends the proud oak's stubborn form,
And howls athwart the naked land,
Will bring to him an utterance grand,
Engendering noble thoughts, and power
To serve him in some trying hour.

"Revere fair Nature's balanced laws,
Nor rashly deem them framed with flaws;
The discord which thou seem'st to find
In them is part of thine own mind.
Put that in tune, and, for the sake
Of darkened faces, strive to make
The world more happy; do this thing,
And thy despondent muse shall wring
Sweet nectar out of weed and cloud."

Silent, though unconvinced, I bowed
My head abashed; with firmer trust,
And higher faith, I shook the dust
Of utter doubt from reason's plume;
And through small openings in the gloom
I half discerned a meaning new
In that which seemed before untrue:
The ever-present Lord of all
Compassionates a sparrow's fall.

GEO. MARTIN.

MONTREAL.

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The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 22, 1877.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix. Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals;" by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle, President of the Ohio State branch of the "National Reform Association," used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the feebness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

MR. HOLYOAKE'S essay of this week on "The March of Science towards God" will arrest the attention of every thoughtful reader of THE INDEX. We can only thank him sincerely for such a contribution to these columns.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY of Boston voted last Sunday to call Rev. J. L. Dudley, late of Milwaukee, to their pulpit. Mr. Dudley has been preaching to the society with great acceptance for several Sundays.

A SERIES of lectures on Labor, Exchange, Finance, Property, etc., is to be given in this city in Codman Hall, Sunday afternoons and evenings, beginning March 11. S. H. Morse, E. H. Heywood, Albert Brisbane, and others, are expected to speak.

THE POPE'S NEW ENCYCLICAL.

The New York *Sunday Democrat* recently published the following:—

The Holy Father is not unmindful of his children in the United States, and has addressed, as we stated last week, an encyclical to the Cardinal, Archbishops, and Bishops, in which he condemns the public-school system.

It has been the fashion for the Catholic advocates of the public schools to distinguish between the system of godless education condemned in Europe and that followed here. In his encyclical the Pope does not admit of any distinction, and quotes from the celebrated Pontifical letter to the Archbishop of Freyburg.

The Pope leaves it to the discretion of each Bishop to judge of the propriety of publishing the encyclical. How far the Cardinal will enforce it we have no means of knowing.

The sanguine optimists who imagine that Catholic hostility to the public school system means no mischief, or will soon blow over, are the worst possible advisers of the American people at present. The facts are, first, that the Roman Catholic Church, with its vast, powerful, and rapidly-growing organization, is resolved to exert its utmost energy to overthrow the principle of State education altogether in this country, and to substitute as far as it can the principle of denominational or Church education, relying on its own ability to kill out its Protestant rivals; and, secondly, that this inveterate and determined hostility threatens the whole State school system with a real danger which it is fatuity to underestimate. What is it?

Not so much that the Roman Church will succeed in getting control of the public schools or in securing their immediate abolition; but that it will drive the defenders of these schools into a position which in the long run will wean the people from them. Whatever the relative number of Evangelical Protestants and of thorough liberals in the United States, the political power is all in the hands of the former, for the simple reason that, relatively considered, they are effectively organized; and whatever the Evangelicals, therefore, resolve to do will certainly be done, as matters now stand. If they adopt a fixed and unanimous line of policy with respect to the public schools, they will just as certainly carry it into execution as they shut up (nominally at least) the International Exhibition last summer. Bluster and boasting will avail the liberals nothing; they will be contemptuously shoved aside just so long as they remain unorganized on a large scale, and will be compelled to swallow whatever pill, no matter how bitter, their Orthodox masters may choose to force between their teeth. The conflict thickens; the decisive hour approaches; and the liberals remain politically a zero, because they have not yet learned the lesson of combination and coöperation.

What policy, then, is it likely that the Evangelicals will adopt under the galling and irritating fire of the Catholics? It will probably be exactly that which the Catholics secretly hope they *will* adopt; namely, to uphold the State school system, but at the same time strive to redeem it from the crafty reproach of being "godless." That is, it will be to defend the Bible in the schools, with at least so much of religious worship as now obtains in them; and human nature will not be quite so human as usual, if it does not prompt the demand for more than now obtains. But this policy cannot be carried out successfully as things now are; the secular idea is spreading rapidly every day, and in several places, as Chicago, Rochester, Albany, Troy, has proved itself in the ascendant. Assailed thus in the front and in the rear, contending desperately against "Romanism" and "Infidelity" at the same time, the Evangelicals, strong as they are in numbers, are discovering that they cannot vanquish at once their two enemies without intrenching themselves in a *new Amendment of the United States Constitution*. After the warning given to the liberals by the Senate's Bible-amendment of last August, it is lunacy to deny this fact. The present political excitement will sooner or later pass away; other and deeper issues than this probably brief one of a disputed Presidency will occupy the public attention; and he is no statesman who cannot discern how deeply stirred is the American mind on this question of the schools, and how inevitable is the great and grave debate that must ensue on the relations of Church and State. The Evangelical policy is to maintain that "unsectarian Christianity" (that is, Protestant Evangelicalism *minus* all intersectarian disputes) is *the religion of the United States*, and must be defended by the United States Government and Constitution. Doubt or disbelieve it who may, that is to be henceforth the position of the great Evangelical party, already indicated by signs which are legible to all that know how to read.

Now this position is not going to be conceded easily by the American people as a whole, since there is a great mass of unorganized liberals who understand and prize the secular principle at present embodied in the national Constitution. It cannot be, no, we will not believe, that this great nation so little comprehends its priceless heritage as to surrender it to bigotry without a struggle. Sooner or later it must be that the liberals will organize on a vast scale, and assert this great secular principle at all hazards—though it may be so late as to make the struggle tenfold as bitter and dangerous as it need be. The friends of State education will thus be arrayed against each, one party striving to make the schools Evangelical-Protestant, and the other to make them secular, by Constitutional provisions. No matter which party triumphs, the hold of the public school system on the popular heart will be perilously weakened. Even if the secular party triumphs, it can only be after a large portion of the people will have become so much embittered against State schools by the progress of the contest as to withdraw from them their patronage; and it will be a long time before the public schools can be fully reinstated in the public affections. But if the Evangelical party triumphs, the public school system will be grounded on essential injustice and defiance of equal rights in religion; it will be an anomaly in a secular State; it must gradually compel the State also to become Christian, to the destruction of religious liberty, or must be conformed at last, as the secular party demand that it should be now, to the secular principle. For the Secular State and the Secular School must in the long run share the same fate; they must both stand or both fall side by side; and the struggle over the schools must ultimately decide whether American civilization shall go on in natural development or perish in a return of mediæval barbarism.

Now the Catholic hierarchy are far too shrewd to expect that they can at present become actual masters of the State schools of this country; but they hope, nevertheless, to foment such discord among the friends of these schools as shall sicken the people of the very principle of State education. They follow the old maxim—"*Divide et impera:* divide and conquer!" It is so evident that they cannot themselves really decide the destinies of the public schools until they can command a majority of votes, that many liberals are utterly incredulous as to any serious designs on their part against the school system; it seems so impolitic and absurd for only six or seven millions to attempt openly the destruction of a great institution established and maintained by a nation of forty millions, that surface-observers declare such an attempt to be incredible. Those who reason thus, however, betray their own incapacity to understand the wily Roman Catholic Church. If the Papal hierarchy can only succeed in creating an open rupture or schism among the upholders of the State school system,—if it can only entrap the Evangelical party into making a united and decided demand for a State school system which shall be "Christian" and not "godless,"—then the Pope's objects, audacious as they are, will be in a fair way to accomplishment. Unable to destroy the public schools by his own followers alone, he will then have succeeded in striking a fatal blow at them through the madness and fanaticism of their Evangelical supporters. For the public schools cannot be permanently sustained by general taxation, if any formidable minority of the population are opposed to them on principle; and that will be the certain result, if the Evangelicals proceed to execute their nascent, blundering purpose of tightening their grip on the schools by Christianizing the State. Abandonment of the principle of State education is the *terminus* of the road upon which they have started; and it is evidently the end which the Catholic priesthood secretly contemplate in this ceaseless agitation of the school question. They are simply leading the Evangelical Protestants into a fatal ambuscade. Goading them to insensate folly by exciting their Protestant bigotry, they mean to split the State School majority into irreconcilable factions—to divide if they cannot conquer, and to conquer by dividing.

That is the probable reason of this new attack of the Pope on the free public schools of America. To rouse the blind prejudices and fears of the Evangelicals by fresh demonstrations against the school system,—to scare them with the cry of "godless" schools, and drive them into defending the present unjust Protestant ascendancy by measures which will inevitably react against the State education

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principle,—such cannot fail to be the consequences, intended or not, of the renewed warfare of the Vatican on our schools. If indeed intended, it is masterly strategy; and students of history will expect no less from Rome. There are, we believe, but two possible ways of defeating it. One is for the Evangelicals to prove themselves wise enough to accept the situation, and establish the State education principle on the impregnable rock of absolute secularity—to save the public schools from all just reproach, and rally all their upholders under the broad banner of Equal Rights in Religion, by voluntarily relinquishing every form of religious worship in the schools from a pure love of justice. Would that the Protestant churches could only rise to this moral height! But if they cannot, the only other way of defeating the plots of Rome is for the now dumb multitudes who favor even-handed justice to unite their voices in a mighty combined demand for secular schools. If they should do this,—if they should in this manner reveal and make effective the enormous numerical as well as moral strength of the liberal party, and demonstrate the utter futility of the rapidly-maturing Evangelical programme,—the Evangelicals themselves would perceive that they must choose between secular State schools and no State schools at all. Forced to this alternative, we believe that they would not long hesitate to choose the former, rather than yield up the future of the American people to the domination of Rome.

Upon the liberals as a whole, therefore, devolves the great responsibility of solving this far-reaching school problem. If they should now with emphasis and unanimity assert the absolute necessity of secular public schools, the Evangelicals could not and would not venture to move for a Bible-in-schools amendment to the Constitution, which otherwise is only a question of time, and which, when it comes, will be the beginning of evils for which no words are an adequate measure. In default of this grand collective affirmation of the secular principle as the only possible basis of a permanent system of State education, a bitter and terrible struggle in the future can alone undo the mischief which the craft of the Vatican Jesuits is already leading the Evangelicals to commit. How much better to avert this struggle beforehand! The National Liberal League offers a ready way to do it. If there is a better, let it not be neglected; but time is precious. Organization, prompt and universal, can alone give effective utterance to the voice of American liberalism, and thereby foil the Republic's enemies; and the National Liberal League, with its broad and just and pacific principles, is to-day the nation's truest and readiest peace-maker. Is there not enough wisdom in this great people to know the things that make for its own peace and happiness? What miseries could be averted by timely action now! No doubt that in the end the wiles of the Catholic hierarchy and the bigotry of the Protestant clergy will be alike defeated; for America's destiny is not to be reversed by human arrogance or ambition. But if she has not wit enough to comprehend the great moral necessities of her present, she must learn them in the future once more with blood and tears. Surely she cannot need that lesson twice!

PARKER'S "DISCOURSE OF RELIGION."

At last we have a new edition of a book that has long been called for,—Theodore Parker's *Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion*. This, the best known of Mr. Parker's works, though perhaps not the best in substance, has been issued in attractive form by G. P. Putnam's Sons, of New York. Probably, if the publication prove successful, it will be followed by others of the famous Boston heresiarch's writings,—some of which it has been difficult of late to procure. Whether this edition will meet the alleged popular demand for his works remains to be seen. It is not in so cheap style as some friends of the enterprise have wished, and the price may keep it from the hands of many who would like to read and possess it. *The Discourse*, however, I believe, is bound in paper covers for those so choosing it, thus lessening the price to some extent.

But as I have looked over these pages again, I have been especially impressed with the conviction that it is a book that ought to be spread by some organized effort, and not left to the customary demands of trade. During Mr. Parker's lifetime there was little need of such special effort to circulate his thoughts. He was his own missionary. No American name was better known, and hardly any American writer found a larger audience. From the platform of the Boston Music Hall, and through the press, and in Lyceum Lectures all through the Northern States of the Union, his thoughts went out weekly, and year after year, to thousands upon thousands of willing ears. But when his tongue was silenced by death, this propagandism at once almost wholly ceased. The slave-holders' rebellion broke out a few months afterwards, and for several years absorbed all other interests in this country. There was some trouble, too, over the question of literary executorship; and a waiting on the part of the public for an expected new and complete edition of the great preacher's works,—an expectation doomed thus far to disappointment. So year after year passed, until it was announced that, while there was a large demand for Mr. Parker's works in England (English editions of them had been published) and in other parts of the world, the sale of his books in this country had nearly stopped. And when personal friends, or admirers of his views, lamented this state of things, and urged some scheme of publication, the suggestion began sometimes to be met with the objection, that, in the rapid progress of opinion during the last few years, Mr. Parker's theological position had been left behind by the van of the religious army, and his views had become of little interest to the great body of liberal thinkers,—while, on the other hand, people of Orthodox views would not generally read his books because of their prejudice against his name. And so it has come to pass that, though before Mr. Parker's death multitudes of people were coming to him by person or letter for help in their theological difficulties, now, eighteen years from the time he left his work and country in the vain pursuit of health, some really vigorous enterprise is needed in his native land to push his published writings into circulation.

To account for this strange cessation of public interest in his views, nothing, I believe, is farther from the truth than the opinion above quoted, that Mr. Parker's theological position has become relatively obsolete. There has been such an advance in material science since his day that momentous questions, it is true, which are now of chief interest to the class of thinkers that once rallied around him, were scarcely touched by him; and these thinkers may have passed beyond the point of the mental contest up to which he led so valiantly. To them the questions of religious authority,—of inspiration, miracle, origin and growth of the Bible, Nature and supernaturalism, character and mission of Jesus, the permanent and transient in Christianity,—may have become comparatively dead issues. But how many more people there are—and more than there ever were in Mr. Parker's day,—who have just reached these questions; who see now for the first time that they are open questions and concern their faith in a most vital way! In Mr. Parker's time it was chiefly in the Unitarian denomination that these topics were opened as questions at all, and the majority even there were against him. Now they are becoming questions in the large and numerous evangelical sects; and thousands and hundreds of thousands of people are beginning to inquire upon them to-day in quarters where, a few years ago, to think otherwise than the creed dictated was accounted an ecclesiastical crime. To meet the needs of this class of persons, already large and continually increasing, who are just beginning to exercise their mental liberty in thinking themselves out of Orthodoxy, Mr. Parker's books are precisely adapted. They are based on scholarship, yet are eminently popular in method and style; and they have a moral and religious earnestness satisfying both the religious sentiment and the truth-seeking mind. In glancing through this new edition of the *Discourse of Religion*, I have been especially struck with the fact of its applicability to the present condition of theological discussion in the religious world at large. So far from having become obsolete, Christendom is just coming up to it. The themes here presented are the very themes that are now under earnest debate in pulpits and religious publications, and that are not yet dead issues even in the most liberal sections of the Christian Church. It were well if an effort were made to put this book as a gift into the hands of every clergyman who would take the trouble to send for it. It should have been presented at the door of Tremont Temple to every one who listened to Rev. Joseph Cook's recent caricature of Mr. Parker's religious views. Channing's works are largely circulated in this gratuitous way by the Unitarian Association. Will not some one who has the means do as much for at least this volume of Parker?

The book is greatly enhanced in value by a biographical sketch of Mr. Parker, written by his intimate friend and helper for many years, Miss Hannah E. Stevenson. No one could have been better qualified for this service—to her no task, but a labor of love. The delineation is tender, yet faithful, and presents the man in his private and home life almost better than anything that has yet appeared concerning him. If enlarged somewhat, keeping the same spirit and method, it would give us the concise popular biography of Mr. Parker which many of his friends have desired to see published. It gives a picture of a noble life, and fitly introduces the noble thoughts that follow in the discourse. W. J. P.

PAINE HALL.

The following documents sufficiently explain themselves:—

Report of the Examining Committee.

The Committee appointed at the Convention held in Paine Hall, Boston, January 27, 1877, to investigate the financial transactions in connection with the Paine Memorial, having met and examined the books, accounts, vouchers, etc., of joint tenants, and heard their statements, submit the following as the result of their investigation:—

Total receipts from all sources, including donations, loans, and incomes from Hall	$107,176.67
EXPENDITURES AS FOLLOWS:	
Miscellaneous expenses prior to commencing work on Hall	475.42
Whole cost of erecting and furnishing the Building	97,230.71
Running expenses of Building, including interest, taxes, etc	9,063.09
Total	$106,769.14
Balance in hands of joint tenants	447.53

The indebtedness of the Memorial Building is as follows:—

Amount on first mortgage	$50,000.00
Accrued interest to Jan. 27, 1877	1,294.52
Second mortgage	12,000.00
Accrued interest	2,564 52
Miscellaneous debts	4,762.30
Total	$70,611.34

And the Committee submit further that, while they find some errors, they discover no evidence of intention to misappropriate funds donated to the Building.

A. B. BROWN, *Chairman.*
CHARLES ELLIS, *Secretary.*
OWEN JONES.
B. F. UNDERWOOD.
J. S. VERITY.

Call for a Convention of the Donors of the Paine Hall Fund.

At a meeting of liberals and donors held at the Paine Memorial Building in Boston, January 27, 1877, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to call a convention of all the donors of the Paine Hall Fund, and were instructed to send to each donor a written or printed notice of the same. The objects of this convention are, to effect a permanent legal organization of the donors, and to elect a Board of Trustees, who shall be empowered to negotiate with the three joint tenants of the Paine Memorial Building for the transfer of the same by deed to this Board of Trustees, and to raise such a fund as may be necessary to secure the transfer; or to adopt other means to the same general end. At present, there is a debt of about $70,000 on the building; and it is believed that, if the title of the building shall be vested in trustees duly elected by the donors themselves, it will be possible to raise the amount necessary to reduce this debt to a point compatible with the permanent retention and control of the building for the purposes for which it was erected. The three joint tenants—Messrs. Mendum, Seaver, and Savage—gave public assurance, at the meeting of January 27, of entire willingness to transfer the property to any properly elected trustees who shall relieve them of all personal responsibilities and liabilities on its account; and, if the Board of Trustees contemplated in the foregoing plan shall be enabled, by the coöperation of the liberal public, to assume these responsibilities and liabilities with a greatly reduced debt on the building, and therefore without any personal risk to themselves, the money already invested in the Paine Memorial will be saved to the liberal cause.

The undersigned committee now issue this call for a convention of all the donors of the Paine Hall Fund, to be held at PAINE HALL, BOSTON, on SATURDAY, March 3, at 10 o'clock, A.M., for the objects above specified; and urgently advise the attendance of as many of these donors as can possibly be present.

B. F. UNDERWOOD,
W. S. BELL,
FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
Committee.

BOSTON, February 6, 1877.

BOSTON, February 6, 1877.

We, the undersigned, the three joint tenants in whom the title of the Paine Memorial Building is vested, hereby agree to transfer this title by deed to any Board of Trustees duly elected by the donors of the Paine Hall Fund, if and whenever such trustees shall release us from any and all personal liabilities on account of the said building.

(Signed) HORACE SEAVER.
JOSIAH P. MENDUM.
THEO. L. SAVAGE.

This agreement is signed by me on condition that it shall be fulfilled within three months from date, so far as I am personally concerned, as I decline to be held longer responsible for the present management of the building. THEO. L. SAVAGE.

It is hoped that this convention will be numerously attended, and that all disagreements about Paine Hall will be satisfactorily settled in accordance with the best interests of the liberal cause.

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Communications.

OLD GLASTONBURY.

"I know not how the right may be;
But I feel joy when e'er I see,
Down mid the green hills of the west,
Old Glastonbury's towered crest."

"A hundred years is but a little time," said Farmer John; "I am nigh ninety, and my grandfather was ninety-six when he used to tell me all that his grandfather had told him, in this very room. Seems to me, it is easier to go back two hundred years than two hundred days."

The old man sat in his chimney-corner in a high-backed wooden-settle, his hands resting on his stick, and his chin resting on them; and he gazed into the fire on the hearth, while I, a youngster, fed it with dry turfs from the opposite corner. As we watched the red gold-heat smouldering away into silvery ashes, we talked of the legends of Glastonbury. He told me how the Holy Thorn that blossoms every Christmas day was planted by Joseph of Arimathea, when he came with the rich Nicodemus and twelve disciples to take refuge on the Island of Glastonbury, with the good old hermit, in the deep glen between the three hills; how this island was at length given to them, with protection, by King Arivigus, and that here they built the first Christian Church on British ground. It was whispered that *one* of these pilgrims was the Lord himself, whom Pilate had set himself to save alive!

From boyhood, I was intensely interested in the history of the early Christians, and this tradition threw a light on a thought that had long been germinating in my mind. I had escaped the misfortune of being taught religion, and had soon discovered that the doctrines of the Gospels were very different to those of the Epistles, while the whole seemed but "a half-told tale." So I sought eagerly for any tidings of legendary lore, where truth is often preserved more faithfully than in written records. At Glastonbury I made friends of the oldest inhabitants, and of the inmates of the almshouses by the old Abbey gate. I did not despise "auld wives tales," but listened to accounts of witchcraft and of charming, of ghosts and demons and saints, and thus collected strange information. But my best friend was young Cyrus J——, son of a well-known Quaker. I met him first in the stone-quarry, up "Wellhouse Lane"; he was busy chipping out fossils, and I told him that I had a hobby of chipping out fossil anecdotes from the *débris* of past ages, and a fancy, too, for tracing history backwards from the present day, examining carefully every incrustation that had smothered the evidences of early life. I repeated the saying of Farmer John, "A hundred years is but a little time."

Cyrus turned and clapped his hand on me in delight, exclaiming: "A thousand years is but a little time in this stone quarry! See, these ammonites have been here more than two thousand years, and many feet have walked over them. Let us go back twenty steps, each a century long, and find out what these green hills have witnessed." So, packing up his tools and his "treasure-trove," we talked and walked up the old hill together, and resting at the top by St. Michael's Tower, we gazed silently on the vast panorama beneath. The setting sun was just gilding the outline of the Bristol Channel, twenty miles away on the horizon, and the mists came creeping over the moors between us and the distant hills, until we were surrounded with a silvery ghost-like sea. The ravens from the tower wheeled round with uncanny shrieks; soft-winged bats and still more soft-winged white owls floated by us, and we could imagine ourselves the first two hermits who lived there to guard the sacred island.

Below, to the right, is Chalice Hill, where the Holy Grail is said to be concealed, with many other treasures; to the left is the village of Edgarly, with the old palace of King Edgar, where two stone wolves still watch the portal; in front lies the town of Glastonbury, stretching like a huge cross fallen from the hills. At its head is St. Benedict's Church (named from the saint who perpetuated the worship of the Holy Thorn); at the head of this cross is St. John's Church, and under its right arm is sheltered the enclosure of the famous Abbey ruins.

In the glen, where the three hills meet, there is a mineral spring, rushing with impetuosity, as it has rushed for ages, over rock and ivy and fern. It leaves a red deposit on all it touches, and hence was called the "Blood Spring." Some say it comes from the Holy Grail; others say there is a sacred grave in Chalice Hill, the fountain of life! Numberless miraculous cures are recorded of it, and its virtues are extraordinary.

This stream is hidden by a huge walnut-tree and by the dilapidated hostelry named the Anchor Inn, as it was formerly hidden by the huts of the Anchorites.

Sometimes I wandered with Cyrus in the Abbey ruins, seeking signs of the many subterranean passages from St. Joseph's Chapel; or we listened to the roaring in the empty furnace in the haunted nook in St. Dunstan's laboratory; or we sat on the great King Arthur's great stone coffin and looked around for Merlin's famous oak.

Cyrus was never weary of going back over our "century steps," and for every legend I gave, he had a history or record, evidence or surmise. By hard study he had come to the same conclusions that I had, yet like many other people we dared not utter our convictions. "A hundred years is but a little time," he said; "and still Religion has to wait like Science, patiently, until men will seek her. In the last century we burnt witches for sorcery; take another step back, and the Jews were cruelly persecuted for not believing enough; back again, and thousands of martyrs were burnt for believing too much. Then this beautiful Abbey was destroyed. So we get to the days of Shakspeare, and he only dared to speak the truth under the mask of fiction!" So we went back to the days when Bristol was but a maritime street, when slaves were brought from all parts of England to be shipped and sold back to the days of St. Dunstan, who was the first to preach openly against the sin of slavery. But he had good King Edgar to back him, and might safely "take the devil by the nose"; so we went, step by step, through the gradual rising of the Abbey of Glastonbury, the most ancient in England, whose abbots had precedence of all others in the kingdom. The holy relics and the sacred secrets buried there will, we said, some day prove more valuable than the excavations of Nineveh. No marvel that they were guarded so safely,—first from necessity and for dear life; afterwards for fear that they would expose the false authority that had usurped in the name of religion! No marvel, while unto the present day, half our population submits voluntarily to a slavery of body and mind.

A few years ago I again visited Glastonbury. Half a century had fled since I talked with Cyrus. Then, the journey took two days and a night from London; but how pleasant it was to skim lazily on the old coach, up and down hill, along the green lanes where trees arched overhead,—so lazily, that the coachman could stop his four fat horses and dismount to break through the hedge and pick up a sheep that had rolled on its back and might die before dawn! How the good man beguiled the dreary night with tales of the terrors of travelling in the olden time, when the journey took a week! Now it was but a few hours by rail,—just leisure time to think over the changes of the last fifty years; how cities had been built, and nations had risen and fallen; how inventions and discoveries had stimulated civilization, machinery, steam, electricity, gas, the free press, cheap literature, and the penny postage; yet how religion stood still uncared for, yet of such vital importance! But behold, among the green hills the old Tower is in sight, a landmark to ships afar off, and a changeless protest against the ignorance around it. The train stops, and I walked again beneath the great oaks that look down so pityingly on passing generations.

I felt that another generation had passed since last I had been there. All my friends were gone, "all gone, the old familiar faces"! But the same musical bells were ringing out a merry peal from St. John's Church, and soon a procession wound down the High Street, and Magdalen Street, up to Weary-all Hill, with flags and bands and troops of little children. I followed to the spot where the Holy Thorn had so long blossomed and decayed and been renewed. Now two fair girls, with a bevy of attendants in white, stepped out with silver spades and proceeded to plant a fresh young tree; and the priest blessed, and the choir-boys sang their litanies. A pretty ceremony transpired, then the procession reformed, and wended its way back to the Abbey ruins.

I lingered to see the gardener fence it in and make the turf neat; then I perceived that an aged man stood near. He was thin and gray and bent, and looked in his long cloak like the holy hermit of my dreams. At his feet was the flat stone, marked "A. D. 33," on the spot where the staff of Joseph of Arimathea was originally growing. He begged the gardener to cut away the grass from its edges that I might see it. As I advanced, he suddenly seized both my hands, and laughed aloud, exclaiming: "A hundred years is but a little time." It was Cyrus, so changed and yet the same! Swiftly we took up the thread of our last conversation, and arm in arm strode along the road that leads from the top of "Weary-all," past the Abbey barn, straight to the mineral spring, bubbling in life and beauty as fresh as when it first burst from the rock. We laved hands and face in it, and drank of its pleasant welcome, and not a sound came near its music but the chorus of larks in the sky. Then we mounted a little the steep side of Chalice Hill, and sat on one of the ridges where the wild thyme grows, and gazed for the last time on the old Tower Hill across the glen; we were both too feeble to go up it.

"I wonder," I said, "that people do not come from all parts of the world to witness even the natural beauties of this place; and how is it that the Roman Catholics do not buy it up? Not a stone should be left unturned until all its treasures are discovered. They might institute pilgrimages thither." "Nay," said Cyrus, "it proves too much for them; they would rather bury it in oblivion. Ask why the free-thinkers of America do not come and investigate these things, and strike off the iron bonds from the souls of their white brethren, as they did from the bodies of their slaves!"

He said: "Englishmen are cowardly in affairs of religion, or they think it immaterial, or say they cannot afford to be truthful or unorthodox."

So I told my friend how I had been engrossed in business since we met, and how old memories were occasionally aroused by other men's thoughts; how Tennyson's *Idyls* had made me long to tread again where King Arthur and his knights had lived, and fought for the right; and how Renan's *Life of Jesus*, stopping so despairingly at the crucifixion, just where my interest was strongest, seemed like music ceasing suddenly, and constrained me to come again here to catch the echo of the after-song.

Cyrus said the whole air seemed permeated with the truth, and it needed but for men to come to these renowned historical places and to make use of their own reason to be convinced of the right. "But they shall hear it. I will publish my convictions. I have devoted a long life to investigate this subject, and can bring proofs. I have travelled many years and find all Biblical places or nests of religion in a wonderful state of preservation even in their destruction. I have gone stage by stage over the journey arranged by St. Philip for Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus with twelve disciples, from Galilee to France, thence to Wales, and last of all to this only safe retreat. I have reason to believe that Jesus Christ was among them, alive, and in his right mind, for it is a well-known fact that crucifixion did not mean death, as many culprits were several times thus cruelly tortured. I believe that Jesus lived here full thirty years, and that he wrote a free exposition of his faith and doctrines. These MSS. will be found some day in one of the stalactite caverns beneath these hills. No one can disprove what I affirm, and what hundreds of people have known secretly for hundreds of years. I will give proofs. I have spent months in our British Museum among the old chronicles and have ransacked many libraries, and all the histories agree." I remonstrated feebly in the words of St. Paul: "If there be no resurrection, then is there no salvation"; adding, "people will not believe the truth if it takes away their only hope." Cyrus answered, almost in the words of our modern seer: "People must be taught to believe in their own inheritance of divine intelligence." The fictitious theology of one thousand "years will shrivel in the light of common sense."

SCRIPTOR.

GLASTONBURY, Eng., Jan. 24, 1877.

CO-OPERATIVE GROCERIES.

It has been advocated that coöperation should begin with the grocery, since the store is at the foundation of all living, the first requisite of all housekeeping being to buy. It is suggested that families of the middle class should unite together and form groceries of their own, thus buying goods at wholesale; or that benevolent individuals of the wealthier class should form such stores for the benefit of the middle class, giving the necessary services of buying and dispensing goods. The advocates say the system has been tried with success.

Now on the surface this seems a beautiful and easy solution of a vexed problem; but on further thought objections arise. It is a quite practicable and just scheme for country districts, but not for cities. In the country, Lady Bountifuls might be found of whom it would be no injustice to ask this labor, and to whom it would be a welcome interlude in the daily monotony of living. Here, too, no other interests need be injured by the system; but, on the contrary, in many a manufacturing district, it would be a much-needed restraint on monopolies. I know of country towns for years devoured by monopolizing manufacturers, who pay their *employés* from their grocery in goods on which they charge enormous profits, oblige them to live in their houses, deducting from their wages the rent, and so draining the town dry of money, and even establishing a bank by which to obtain the use of such money as comes into the town through other channels. At the end of perhaps twenty years they show themselves too much involved to continue business, and the town falls back into poverty and decay. Every other store has been closed by the monopoly of the one store, and there is no capital to open or support another. Men are out of employment or leave home to find it; buildings and farms go to seed, and the town seems suffocated with a perpetual Sabbath. Now to such a place a coöperative store would have been a godsend.

But in cities the difficulties are many. I have no faith in the voluntary benevolence which some expect to do the work. No one thinks himself so busy as the so-called lady of leisure. She professes herself to be "driven to death." Benevolence, unless one has a genius for it, is a spasmodic affair, and coöperation cannot live on spasms. It must have something reliable to stand upon. Unpaid labor does not feel itself responsible. It feels it has a right to stay at home for a headache, and repose upon the laurels of past labor. It suffers other interests and cares to interfere with its benevolent schemes. It is never without consciousness that the world is already largely indebted to it, and it must therefore be allowed privileges. But if the families unite and set up a grocery, you have practically the system now prevailing, for even now the grocer is not overpaid for his labor. He buys your goods at wholesale and dispenses them at such profits as shall remunerate him for his time, labor, and capability for choosing the goods. Grocers do not, as a rule, get rich. They belong themselves to the over-worked middle class. Their homes are not free from the pressure of overwork. Their profits are not enormous. If you establish a coöperative store at such prices as to compel them to sell lower, you are guilty of injustice to them, and reduce them and their families to hardship, or compel them to retire from your neighborhood. This is manifest injustice, and injustice is an unsafe foundation for any reform. I do not see that the coöperative grocery in cities can become a general thing, or that it would be a benefit if it could. It would be well to try it as a charity for the really abject poor. Here is its true sphere. The priest and the sister of charity are its natural distributers.

The fortunes are not made by our grocers or provision-dealers. These already coöperate with us. Coöperative groceries in effect are almost the only groceries already. The dealers who charge enormous profits are those who sell fancy articles, toys, and manufactured goods, and these are they who get rich at our expense. While the *per cent.* of profit on what we eat is small, the *per cent.* on what we wear is enormous, ranging from twenty-five to one hundred *per cent.* Does anyone suppose that, when a firm marks down its goods habitually at certain seasons, that it has been so short-sighted year after year as not to provide for this very necessity? Do these "immense sacrifices" impoverish the dealers? Were not the prices in the first instance so arranged

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that, when the reduction should attract the crowd and further advertise the store, the prices then sold at should still be not less than cost? This may not be true in all cases. I am disposed to believe sometimes, when I am told that an article is "less than cost." But it is obvious that our stores could not continue business if all the "marked down" prices were less than the original. Here is where the public is deceived and unfair advantage is taken of them. You will find that all manufactured goods have their prices almost doubled in the market. This is where coöperation can compel justice, and keep in the hands of the people what now goes into the coffers of the merchant, and carries his daughters to expensive balls which devour their lives with frivolity, saps his own constitution with high living, or hurries his family across the continent in search of what they might learn as well at home, were they not blind and deaf and paralyzed by their surfeited animal lives. If coöperation can do good, it is in equalizing things at this point; but I doubt if it will ever accomplish as much as some expect from it.

At a recent meeting of the Second Radical Club, Mrs. Dall suggested that many women now out of employment would find a field for labor in opening cook-shops and mending-shops. She thought a woman could thus do the cooking for ten or twenty families after receipts of their own, and this would greatly relieve overworked households, especially in summer, making one stove do the work of ten. In the same way laundering and mending could be done. This is coöperation only as all trade is so; but it is a practical suggestion. But when I related it to one of those very overworked women of the middle classes, she met me with the query: "Ah, but where is one to get the extra money to purchase this luxury of having the labor done outside the house?" The question is whether the coöperative store will leave this surplus in her hands to lessen her physical labor, and leave her time for recreation or improvement. It is worth trying at all events. She is silent from dumb despair,—this mother in the middle class. She has been told that her children will rise up and call her blessed, and this shall compensate her. Ah, mother-love is much, and the compensation in baby hands is much; but can any one phase of our natures compensate for the cramping of the rest? That the hands of the Chinese lady retain their shape does not prevent her cramped feet from being monstrous deformities. That the tree in any garden is graceful and its blossoming fair only makes the dead limb more unsightly. This mother, however tenderly cared for in old age by grateful children, is still prematurely old, careworn, and joyless; still feels, as her children bring in from the outer air the stirring truths of the age, how stultified and maimed her life has been, how defrauded of the intercourse and incentive which should have kept her heart light and her soul fresh with eternal youth. She has had no helper. No one has comprehended her labors, her cares, her sacrifices, her losses. Her children, even, have thought it a matter of course that she should be always at her post. She has builded better than she knew, perhaps; but others reap while she, like the coral insect, lays herself down on her work and dies in harness. It is to these millions of mothers that coöperation would extend the helping hand, perhaps; and again I say, it is worth trying; but it cannot accomplish all things. Behind it are the deeper problems of labor. It is not the way out of the difficulty. The root lies deeper, and the effort to reach it will involve greater revolution. The principles of coöperation should be brought to bear on rents; in this direction no injustice would be involved, and a great deal could be thus saved to these same middle classes. But this is of itself gaining ground with us, requiring no organization to put it in practice. The root of the matter, however, lies in the heart of the capitalist, the employer of labor, and in the distribution of laborers over the fields of labor. E. MERRIAM.

IMMORTALITY.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your issue of Dec. 28, some questions over the signature of Preston Day are put to Dyer D. Lum, who has, to a few minds, at least, scientifically answered them. Yet personal immortality remains a hope which most men possess, but without scientific evidence; for, if true, it lies beyond the domain of science to show it. In the words of Mr. Lum: "Every mental fact has a physical counterpart." In view of past history we feel like honoring whoever fearlessly maintains an honest but unpopular belief. Loss of position, the ban of the Church, and ostracism are some of the penalties still paid for honest opinion. I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Lum; but I admire the qualities of mind which he exhibits,—sturdy thought, fearless expression, and invulnerable logic. The question of a future life has engaged the attention of some of the acutest minds in all lands and ages without a scientific solution. As you, Mr. Editor, state it: "Human knowledge is far too limited as yet to permit a final disposition of it."

That we sometimes draw inspiration or comfort from thoughts of others is my apology for appearing on grounds where giants wrestle. And I wish to make no assertion more positive than—"*Thus it seems to me.*"

1. The fact that many have believed in immortality affords but a distant probability of its truth, since many errors have been held with great tenacity.

2. A strong and nearly universal desire in the human race which *ought* to be filled. But we know that many seemingly important desires are never satisfied. "Not one mosquito in a million ever tastes blood."

3. But few are willing to accept as scientific evidence the mysteries or madness of modern Spiritualism.

4. Evidence of immortality drawn from the analogy of Nature consists mainly in transformations of worms to flies; the decay and germination of seeds; all changes of animal and vegetable forms are said to be analogous to the human change called death. The above, I think, is the pith of Joseph Butler's *Analogy* on this subject, from which I quote: "Nor can we find anything throughout the whole analogy of Nature to afford us even the slightest presumption that animals ever lose their living powers; much less if it were possible that they lose them by death." The following quotations from his reviewer, Albert Barnes, will be interesting: "A work which saps all the foundations of unbelief." "By a mighty effort of genius he seized on truth, fixed it in permanent forms, chained down scattered reasonings, and left them to be surveyed by men of less mental stature." Is it not also as evident that there is a vital element in each individual plant, distinct from its material substance; manifested and developed in its growth, but indestructible in its decay? Then all matter is filled with immortal life, and gravity may not be a quality of matter, but a living entity. Farmers return to the soil the refuse of their crops, in the belief that the dissolving elements of the old will reënter and invigorate the new vegetation; so, in view of the myriads of human organisms that have come and gone, it seems probable that many have held in their material structure the same necessary elements as those which have gone before. Now who in the future shall possess them in this interminable combination of chemical substances? This view, of course, rests on the supposition that mind can consciously exist only as dependent on, or, in Mr. Day's words, "related to an organism with a nervous system." Heat, light, electricity, and magnetism can have no being apart from matter. If these blind forces have a dual existence, the fact would afford but a distant probability that self-consciousness remains when severed from its material organism. All the atoms that have formed a part of animal or vegetable bodies are still on this planet,—revolving in endless cycles, without haste and without rest, escaping from the old and reëntering new forms. The vital forces which they sustain seem to exist only in organization. The subtile chemistry that gave life to the primeval forests and to extinct animals has loosened its grasp to take other holds, and in each dissolution "a golden bowl was broken" forever. If there are other and stronger grounds of belief in immortality, we shall be more than willing to accept them. Let the gods that demolish, but will not create, stop work. If but a tithe of the time, talent, and treasure, now expended to make men *believe* in things they cannot comprehend, were used to create moral character, to show its intrinsic worth here an dnow, we think better morals would obtain. Let free-thinkers emphasize, by deed and word and pen, the excellence of a moral life. T. J. ATWOOD.

ALBION, Wis.

"TRUTH-SEEKING."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—In your issue of Feb. 1, in "An Open Letter to Mr. Stebbins," Hugo Andriessen asks him: "Now will you be kind enough to enlighten an earnest truth-seeker?" I fear Mr. Stebbins will have an arduous task, if he undertakes it; for notice what sort of man he would have to enlighten. One who starts out with this assertion: "But before I accept anything as a 'fact,' a 'truth,' I must be convinced; and *I cannot permit even the most plausible statements of others to influence me in this respect*"! (The italics are mine.) From this confession, I judge his stock of knowledge to be very limited, since one man's experience cannot be great, be he never so old. But why does this "earnest truth-seeker" ask Mr. Stebbins to spend his time? Or why did he read all those spiritual works, having his mind so biassed that truth, if they contained any, could only "nauseate" him? And his own investigations seem to have been after the manner of Prof. Tyndall's. If my memory does not fail, it was Prof. Tyndall of whom Prof. Wallace wrote: "He attended five *séances*, got no manifestations, and therefore pronounced Spiritualism a humbug." Scientific, surely! I wonder if Benjamin Franklin was as "patient" in his truth-seeking as Prof. Tyndall and Hugo Andriessen! I have known many persons in life whose identity, should they return from spirit life, and give literature of very good quality, I should doubt very much. But before going far in this article, we find Hugo Andriessen contradicts his own assertion about "accepting facts" and "truth," for it is very apparent that evidence *for* and evidence *against* Spiritualism have very different weight with him. Though he "will not permit the most plausible statements to influence" him (and that, too, of the most reliable witnesses, by the hundreds) in favor of Spiritualism and the truth of mediums, yet not only does he consider the testimony of Lankester, Maskelyne, and a few others, perfectly conclusive, but is astonished that Slade's conviction should not "brand" him as an "impostor" with all those who have been directly to him, and obtained messages from spirit friends, he did not know to be in existence. It does not seem to occur to him that the voluntary statement of Maskelyne, to the effect that he would be glad to be able to say something to wipe Spiritualism from the earth, might impair the weight of his testimony with many who are unacquainted with the depth of his veracity; nor that many Spiritualists—though not very scientific—might doubt the capacity of a judge to weigh evidence, who would state in open court "that it could not have been a spirit who moved the chair, as spirits do not use muscular force,"—said judge not being in the least familiar with spirits and the forces which they may or may not use. Though not aware of what "tricks" are referred to in this article, there is one trick of Spiritualists I am cognizant of, and that is the trick of subscribing for THE INDEX, and of inducing others to do the same.

With a sincere wish for religious freedom, not only for myself, but for all,

I am yours truly, MRS. L. B. C.

JEFFERSON, Ohio.

A VOICE FROM TEXAS.

One whose birth and experience in these cosey New England States have rooted in him the belief that they alone exhibit the genuine rigor of Puritan intolerance, and that such ideas get a wonderful dilution when transferred to the broad life of our Western and Southern domain, is slow to realize the actual tenacity of that iron creed. The following extract from a letter written by a Texas physician reveals the strength of the Puritan clutch through the length and breadth of our land:—

"I have before me a copy of the 'Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States,' adopted July 4, 1876. The object of the organization is of paramount importance to the people of the United States just now, as there is evidently a sinister disposition on the part of some of the religious organizations to ingraft their peculiar dogmas into the organic law. You have my hearty good will in this noble cause, as I fully comprehend the situation. Enclosed find $1 for membership. And I would be happy to coöperate with you in any way possible. I feel particularly 'enthused' just now, as the tendency of the times is operating specially in my case, thus: I finished making sugar at about three o'clock, Sunday morning before Christmas. Being very much exposed during the grinding season, I contracted a rheumatism of the left shoulder, which is now giving me great pain. My Christian friends, among whom is a D.D. and editor of a *Christian Advocate*, declare my distemper to be a visitation of divine wrath for my appropriation of three hours of holy time! And in a quarter of a century, with a fusion of Church and State, my children would be compelled to admit the above, or pay for forgiveness."

This writer, so alive to the signs of the times, has not derived his alarm from THE INDEX, which is so vigorously accused of the "mad dog cry"; for he asks to see a copy or two of that paper, thinking he would like to subscribe. It is interesting to know that he is the grandson of Rev. M. L. Weems, who was chaplain to George Washington and author of the lives of Washington, Marion, Penn, and Franklin.

J. P. T., *Assist. Sec'y N. L. L.*

BOSTON, Feb. 16.

[Will not those whom circumstances prevent from helping the National Liberal League in the work of organizing local Leagues assist in circulating the "Patriotic Address" and the "Report of the Centennial Congress"? There is most urgent need of disseminating the ideas there published and of extending the general movement.—ED.]

THE "RELIGION OF EVOLUTION."

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Now these very doctrines that are to be "sloughed off," do they not form the characteristics of Christianity as distinguished from other religions? And will it be denied that other religions have had in them "touches of the universal and eternal," and thus, on the same ground, have a claim to live forever? Would it not be more just and logical to reverse the statement, and affirm that the universal and eternal found in *all* religions will live forever, while that which distinguishes each as a system will be "sloughed off," and that evolution, through science, will develop ideas as much in advance of those of Christianity, *as a system*, as that is beyond fetichism? A. H.

THE OTHER DAY a German, leaning against a hitching-post on Washington Street, looked up at the sky, and remarked: "I guess a leedle it vill rain somedime pooty queek." Whereupon an Irishman at his side rejoined: "Yees do, eh? Well, I want yees to understhand that yees have no bizness to come over to America and say anything forninst the weather. What the divil do yees purtsend to know about American weather, anyhow, ye furrin galoot?" The German had no more to say.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

Address NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

ORGANIZE!

CHARTERS

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The Index.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1877. WHOLE No. 375.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as t is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE ELECTION of school committees in England now turns largely on the religious question. At Bristol the new committee is classified as follows: six Liberals, five Conservative Churchmen, one Protestant Leaguer, one Roman Catholic, one Wesleyan, and one Temperance representative—a lady.

W. H. DANIELS, of Chicago, published a card in the Boston *Journal* of February 14, declaring that F. W. Fields, one of Moody's co-workers in the revival in that city, had one leg several inches shorter than the other, and had it duly lengthened over-night in consequence of prayer! Such wild fictions show that Protestants have no right to sneer at Catholic miracles. They are all superstitious together.

ON THE FIFTEENTH of February, it is announced, "Dr. Felix Adler's friends met in Standard Hall, Mr. Joseph Seligman in the chair, and organized 'The Society for Ethical Culture,' under chapter 319 of the laws of 1848. The society will shortly open a school for the promotion of morality. By resolution, the trustees of the new society were instructed to engage Dr. Adler as lecturer for one year from May next."

THE HOPE of the world for a safe and prosperous future is bound up with the cause of universal education. Every movement in that direction should be hailed with great satisfaction: "The matter of compulsory education is being discussed in the Illinois Legislature. A bill looking to that end has passed one branch of the Ohio Legislature, and in the New York Legislature a measure is pending to make the compulsory features of the school law of that State more effective."

DOM PEDRO has been interviewing the Pope. He "expressed the hope that the Pope would, in accord with the Brazilian government, assist in removing all ecclesiastical difficulties in Brazil. The Pope replied that the Church was rather accustomed to smooth than to create obstacles. He hoped to be able to restore religious harmony, which had always been the glory of Brazil." The "religious harmony" which the Pope wants is the extinction of freethought. He would "make a desert and call it peace."

THE NUMBER of actual converts claimed for Moody and Sankey in Chicago was 2,500, besides 6,000 to 8,000 who were "seriously impressed." Among the "seriously impressed" must certainly be reckoned the Chicago *Tribune*, which exclaimed with rapture: "Never did one man reap such a harvest since the Reformation! Eight thousand sheaves has he gathered into his Master's barns!" That makes one "serious impression" go to each sheaf; and the barns aforesaid seem to have been filled with highly inflated breadstuffs.

THERE IS litigation in Philadelphia over the reckless ringing of a chime of bells in St. Mark's Church. Numerous petitions for an injunction restraining the nuisance have been made, and numerous witnesses bear testimony to the great annoyance, and even injury, caused by these bells. Invalids, old persons, and infants are deprived of their sleep; physicians testify to the bad effect on the health of the neighborhood; property-owners complain of the depreciation of real estate. Altogether, it seems that those bells ought to be stopped for the good of mankind. P. S.—The courts have declared them a nuisance.

THIS IS the manner in which the *Christian Statesman* notices the recent demise of the Philadelphia Radical Club: "The Radical Club of Philadelphia, an organization for the promotion of infidel views in religious matters and secularism in politics, has been dissolved. It was one of the chief of the societies which labored to secure the opening of the Centennial Exhibition on the Sabbath day. The cause of the suspension, presumably, was lack of funds. There is an inherent financial weakness in all anti-religious organizations, the fruit of the evident fact that they have no sufficient motive to prompt their members to liberality. Religion is the only instrumentality which, thus far, has been adequate to this task."

THIS SHOWS what sort of legislation may be necessitated even in this country, if the State should fall for awhile into the clutches of the Church: "The bill for repressing abuses by the clergy, now before the Italian Parliament, provides that any clergyman who preaches or writes against the laws or acts of the government, or who distributes papers to provoke disobedience, shall suffer two years' imprisonment and pay a fine of $400. If the Pope issues an encyclical against the government, and a priest repeats or circulates the document, he will also be imprisoned and fined. If a priest refuses the sacraments to any citizen, or disturbs the public conscience or the peace of families, he will be exposed to similar punishment by the King's government."

THE NEW YORK *Sun* gives the following interesting information about Professor Felix Adler, the "radical Jew" and one of the best representatives of modern liberal thought and culture: "Dr. Felix Adler, not yet thirty, is the son of a somewhat famous Jewish rabbi, and upon his return from Europe, where he had pursued his studies in the German universities, he was unanimously called to the position which his father had held with honor in a New York synagogue for many years, at a salary of $8000 per annum; his father, in the meantime, for long and faithful service, for which he had grown too old, to be retired upon a pension. But his first sermons did not suit the strict interpretation of the Jewish theology, and it was intimated to him that he must either preach doctrine or resign. He chose to resign. His scruples were, however, respected and approved by a Mr. Ellinger, a wealthy banker and a Jew, who created a professorship of Hebrew and Sanscrit in Cornell University, on condition that he should be invited to fill the chair. But there was a difficulty about this, and the doctor is in New York preaching every Sunday, in a hall near Forty-second Street, the most serious, the most thoughtful, the most practical of sermons. Already about three hundred persons have united into a society, which is to support Dr. Adler as its pastor, found a school free from sectarian and theological influence, and a humane society to assist in preparation for and proper distribution of labor—not mere almsgiving."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

Grounds of Religious Belief:

WHAT THEY SHOULD BE: WHAT THEY ARE.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Conspicuous among the powers with which our Creator has endowed us, are two which we call Reason and Conscience; which seem undoubtedly designed to direct our action, mental and moral. These powers are diverse, but not inharmonious. On the contrary, their joint action is desirable in both departments. Our secular business certainly needs the coöperation of conscience with reason; in morals we shall best discern the right path by allowing the coöperation of reason with conscience; and as true religion must oppose superstition as well as impiety, the minister or the missionary finds reason an invaluable ally in refuting the superstitious notions which prevail among the ignorant in all countries. We consider it a valid objection to the Scriptures of heathen nations that some of their statements are inconsistent with reason, and some with conscience; and instructed heathens make a similar criticism upon our Scripture. Might not all advantageously use some such general principle as the following, in searching for the best rule of doctrine and practice?—

Seeking light and truth from all accessible sources, and continuing through life so to seek them, accept as correct only those particulars which reason and conscience agree in approving.

Since reason and conscience are God's gifts expressly for our guidance, are we not, in applying them as above suggested, following his direction?

To the writer it seems clear that such a course would be a following of God's method, and would be, for that reason, more likely than any different method to give us correct guidance. Yet a method entirely different from this is enjoined as indispensable by the great majority of our religious teachers, and is accepted, with or without reflection, by a great majority of our population.

I have mentioned reason as an important aid in the discrimination and the propagation of true religion. I do not, however, forget that religion includes matters above the cognizance of reason, matters in which the latter can act as an ally only, not as a principal. Reason and conscience can speak with authority in regard to the relations of men with each other; but when our relation to God is in question, as the created cannot possibly comprehend the Creator, and must attain a limited apprehension of him by some power other than reason, a want is here felt by the human being which nothing but faith can supply. I mean by faith such perfect assurance, on spiritual grounds, in regard to spiritual realities, as we receive from demonstration in matters visible and tangible. I mean by faith in God a thorough and steadfast persuasion of the reality of his being and providence, and a confidence that enlarged knowledge will make manifest to us wisdom and goodness in his dealings, even where they now appear most obscure or doubtful.

The theory that we ourselves and the universe around us have come into existence without design on the part of a superintending power is felt by most minds to be an intolerable absurdity. We feel, too, a sense of dependence, and an impulse towards reverence and adoration, which are explicable only on the supposition of a benevolent Creator who has implanted these feelings in us. This supposition is strengthened by our recognition of excellent and admirable things in man and Nature, the manifest product of design. On the other hand, seeing also a large intermixture of evil in man and Nature, our impulse is to wonder that such power and wisdom did not exclude and prevent evil. In this conflict of evidence, faith helps us. Perhaps the evil is to be outgrown; perhaps it is to serve a temporary use by showing the ill results of ill-doing, and then to be abolished by the processes of discipline and development, leaving the good to be enlarged and perfected. A firm conviction of the goodness of God absolutely requires some such supposition as this; and reason seems to authorize it by the reflection, that our limited vision can grasp so small a proportion of the Creator's plan and work, that the part unseen *may* include a demonstration of their perfect beneficence. Our range of observation and experience extends over only tens of years, and the imperfect knowledge gained through historical statements carries us back only a few thousands of years. It is reasonable, it requires only the commonest exercise of common sense, to reflect that our view of this portion of time, even were it perfect, must fail to include very much of what belongs to eternity. Even reason then can supplement and fortify faith, and our surest results are gained through friendly conference of the latter with the former. I judge, then, that, in the department of religion, we may confidently trust those impulses of faith which are approved by reason and conscience. I judge, too, that this rule will guide us to greater correctness of thought and action than any different one. Yet, as I have said above, a method entirely different from this is enjoined as indispensable by the great majority of our religious teachers, and is accepted, with or without reflection, by a great majority of our population.

The peculiarities and the evils of this different method may best be seen by reference to the central idea of the popular religion, Protestant as well as Catholic, throughout this country. This central idea is expressed with great simplicity and directness in two sermons by Mr. Moody, entitled "The Blood."

Announcing this phrase as the subject of his two discourses, Mr. Moody says: "Let us turn up the Bible, and see what the Word of God says about it."

Without the assumption contained in the sentence just quoted—an assumption, be it observed, not only destitute of evidence but contrary to evidence,—Mr. Moody is powerless. He is strong only with the weak; that is, with those who are uninstructed enough, or innocently confiding enough, to accept his utterly unwarranted assumption that *God* wrote the documents which are handed down to us as the writings of Moses and Samuel, of Paul and Peter, of Matthew, Mark, and John. If you inquire on what grounds he assumes this, he can give you no reason. All he can do is to assure you, with a solemn countenance, that he that believeth not shall be damned. If you ask again on what grounds he makes this last assertion, he will probably pass quickly on to some different sort of "inquirer."

Mr. Moody thinks, no doubt, that he believes in God; but his faith seems to rest, not on any naturally existing evidence, such as David recognized in one of his Psalms, and Paul in his speech to the Athenians, but on what certain early Hebrews and early Christians recorded as *their* belief upon that subject. What they wrote, reasonable or unreasonable, proved, unproved, or disproved, *must* be believed. The writings now accepted as canonical Scripture are *God's* word, and *must* so be recognized. Yet, since this doctrine, and some of the other doctrines on which Mr. Moody lays main stress, are not asserted nor assumed by the Bible itself, we must look further for the central ground of Mr. Moody's faith; and the essence of it seems to be the body of doctrine traditionally held by the churches self-styled "Evangelical." Since they assume the Bible to be God's word, that must be believed, though the Bible itself does not say so; and since they enjoin the observance of Sunday as a Sabbath, Mr. Moody teaches that doctrine, though both Old Testament and New Testament contradict it.

The blood-doctrine, however, the assumption that without shedding of blood there can be no remission of sin, *is* in the Bible, both in the Hebrew and Christian parts of it, and Mr. Moody may fairly claim all the advantage which this fact can give him. To be sure, he stretches this fact into enormous exaggeration when he maintains that there runs, through the whole Old Testament, a steady and consistent stream of prophetic reference to the blood which was shed by Jesus on Calvary long afterwards; but we will not pause to complain of exaggeration while treating of a system so largely composed of absolute untruth as is the system taught by Mr. Moody. Leaving this point then, we concede that rivers of the blood of bulls and goats moisten the whole course of Old Testament religion (in spite of occasional denunciations of the practice, and representations of its folly and uselessness, by the more intelligent of the Hebrew prophets); that, in many passages of the New Testament, the Mosaic notion of purification by blood is echoed and assumed to be true; and that the shedding of the blood of Jesus by crucifixion is claimed there as the designed continuation and culmination of the Jewish sacrificial system, in such sort that countless numbers of guilty persons may be pardoned, and treated evermore thereafter as if they were *not* guilty, because of the blood-shedding of that one innocent person. Granting all this, the question next arises, What measure of credence properly belongs to these opinions of the writers of Scripture, and how far can they constitute authority to control and mould the belief of people in the nineteenth century?

Those writers in the Old Testament who record the offering of bloody sacrifices, and assume that sin was really wiped out and the sinner purified by such offering, did so in deference to Moses, who taught that the God of the Hebrews was pleased with, and required, such observance, just as the Greek, the Syrian, and the Canaanitish priests, before him, had taught their respective peoples that *their* gods were pleased with, and required, such observance. Equally, the writers of the narratives and letters which were ultimately brought together to constitute the New Testament were born and bred Jews, impressed from their infancy with the conviction that Moses was God's mouth-piece, and that whatever he taught was to be received and acted on without question, and they thus reëchoed the Mosaic doctrine that without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin, not yet daring to adopt the suggestion of their new master, Jesus, that they ought to think and judge, "even of themselves," about such matters. The four Evangelists recorded what was currently believed about blood-sacrifice in their time, and thus it came to pass that that barbarous notion of the early Hebrews became incorporated with the better teaching of Jesus in the minds of the early Christians, from whom it has been handed down to us.

Now, Mr. Moody is not a Jew. He does not observe the Saturday Sabbath of the fourth commandment; he cares nothing about the day of the new moon, and is not solicitous about ceasing from work and afflicting his soul on the tenth day of the seventh month. Probably he uses as nourishment, from time to time, the savory flesh of "the unclean beast"; but at any rate he does not make it a point to observe all the rules laid down by Moses, whether in regard to worship or morality, or to food, purification, and ablution. He cherishes more or fewer Jewish superstitions, but it is not because they are Jewish, but because they have been adopted, and (as he thinks) authenticated as Christian law by the writers of the New Testament. One of the doctrines so adopted is the blood-doctrine, and Mr. Moody receives it as absolutely sound and true, by virtue of his faith in Paul and Peter, Matthew, Mark, and John, without whose testimony that notion would have remained, in his view, merely Jewish, a matter, like circumcision and ceremonial purification, with which no Gentile had anything to do.

The faith of Mr. Moody, then, seems to be in the men who wrote the New Testament, whom he assumes to have been miraculously raised, as far as the

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GENERAL LIBRARY University of MICHIGAN

writing of those letters and narratives was concerned, above the possibility of human error. But even this, when we look more closely into it, turns out to be only seeming. He holds to infallible inspiration as a matter to be preached, to be taken for granted, to be insisted on in public, as one of the things indispensable for spiritual welfare; but when we come to practice, to the *fruit* of the Moody branch of the Evangelical vine, which is the true test of character, a different state of things appears. There are many injunctions of the infallible Book which Mr. Moody utterly disregards and habitually violates without scruple, some by omission some by commission. For instance:—

Mr. Moody, in theory, claims Jesus as his Lord and Master, and claims that the record of his precepts in the New Testament is divinely inspired and infallibly correct. But when Matthew represents Jesus as saying, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth; take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on"; and when he adds, still more comprehensively, "Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself," Mr. Moody pays no more regard to these rules of life, given by his Lord and Master, than if Confucius or Zoroaster had given them; and this in spite of the fact that these precepts of Jesus were illustrated and enforced by his own example, which Mr. Moody (in theory) holds to be not less binding than his precept.

So when Matthew represents Jesus as warning his disciples against public prayer, and against systematic repetitions in prayer, Mr. Moody utterly disregards these directions of his "Lord and Master," though they are enforced and illustrated by the counter-positive precept that prayer should be a strictly private conference of the petitioner with his Maker. If there is any trait, whatever, characteristic of Mr. Moody it is that he "loves to pray standing in the synagogues." He is as much "addicted" to public prayer and to incessant repetitions in prayer as any of the people to whom he preaches are addicted to intemperance. And he has somehow persuaded himself that this course is right, just as some devotees of the bottle really suppose that indulgence good for them.

Luke tells us, in the beginning of his Gospel, that he learned the things there recorded from the testimony of his fellow-men, and nowhere intimates that he considered his narrative as either divinely-inspired or infallible. Mr. Moody, however, insists that what Luke writes must be received as dictated by God himself, and absolutely free from error. Yet, when Luke testifies that Jesus said to a promiscuous assembly of the Jews, "Why, even of yourselves, judge ye not what is right?" Mr. Moody declines to follow this counsel, and dissuades his hearers from following it. He sends them, instead, to study what Luke, and Matthew, and the other annalists of that early period recorded, although those records show that the disciples and apostles grossly misunderstood their Master from the beginning of his course to the end of it, and although the counsel of Jesus above quoted is in the direct line of the Divine method, God having given us reason and conscience for the express purpose of self-direction.

Mr. Moody lays special stress upon the doctrine that "the Holy Ghost" is a person, and is also God. He moreover maintains that the apostles, specially instructed by the Holy Ghost after the day of Pentecost, are our authoritative teachers in regard to Christian duty; and he believes the book called "Acts of the Apostles" to be infallibly inspired, like the rest of the Bible, and without error either of fact or doctrine. This is his theory. Let us now look at his practice under one of the Holy Ghost's injunctions:—

It is related in the book of Acts (chap. xv.), that, at the request of Paul and Barnabas, the Apostles held a solemn conference with the elders of the Church at Jerusalem, to settle a point then much debated; namely, how far Jewish law should be held binding on Gentile converts to Christianity. There were zealous advocates, among these Apostles and elders, on both sides of the question; but a compromise was finally agreed on, which was sent to the Gentile brethren by the hands of Paul, Barnabas, and Silas, in these words: "It seemed good *to the Holy Ghost* and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these *necessary* things: that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication."

Among the Christians of our day, ministers and people, these prohibitions by the Holy Ghost of the use of blood and of things strangled as food are utterly disregarded. Blood, in the shape of the "rare gravy" of roast beef and mutton, is not only unscrupulously used, but is preferred and asked for as a special delicacy; and the persons in question buy and eat pigeons and domestic fowls without the slightest thought of whether they were killed by strangulation or otherwise. Probably Mr. Moody does these same things; but he certainly takes no pains to impress upon his hearers that abstinence from things strangled and from blood are among the *necessary* things which the Holy Ghost requires of them, as he would do if he really followed the Scriptural record of the apostolic injunctions.

Mr. Moody is accustomed to pray for the recovery of those sick persons whose cases are presented to him, and to take very coolly, as a matter for which he is not responsible, the fact that some of them fail to recover, in spite of his prayer. But, if he really believed the declarations of his infallible Bible upon that subject, he would heal them, or cause them to be healed. He would not suffer them to die. Notice this direction of the inspired Apostle James: "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up."

The testimony of James is explicit, and is given in a "General Epistle," without limitation of time. If the whole Bible be really "God's word," the favorable result above promised may still be realized, by using the specified means. But we learn, by still higher authority, that a healing of the sick may be certainly obtained without troubling the "elders," or going to the expense of "oil." The inspired Evangelist Mark tells us, at the close of his Gospel, that Jesus made the following declaration to his Apostles: "These signs shall follow *them that believe*. In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; *they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover*."

If Mark is to be credited as infallibly inspired, this wonderful power was delegated by Jesus to all "them that believe," without limitation of time. Why does Mr. Moody never himself use this means for the certain recovery of the sick? Why does he never direct the "believers," who bring requests for prayer for healing, to go back to the invalid's chamber and lay their own hands on him? Why, among his numerous specifications of the efficacy of faith, and his upbraidings of those "professing Christians" who seem destitute of it, does he never cite the passages of "inspired truth" above cited, and demand that faith be exercised in this department also, a department now undervalued, neglected, and ignored by the whole Church.

These may suffice as specimens of injunctions of Jesus and his Apostles recorded in Scripture which Mr. Moody treats with absolute disregard in practice, though theoretically maintaining the obligation of those injunctions, and the infallible inspiration of the records containing them. Yet we must not suppose that Mr. Moody, like many Unitarians, takes the liberty to judge for himself which Gospel precepts he will obey, and which he need not obey. It will be found, on examination of all the cases of this purposed and systematic disregard of a portion of the injunctions of Scripture, that Mr. Moody, instead of exercising a self-willed individualism, is merely following the traditions and customs of his sect; or, more accurately speaking, of that group of sects, self-styled "Evangelical," in whose interests he is working, and among whom his patrons and confederates are found.

Mr. Moody is not a self-seeking or a time-serving man. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that he ever said to himself: "If I preach the camel-and-needle doctrine, rich professors will not shell out the tens of thousands that are needed to build Tabernacles and supply the further large expenses of my work in Chicago and Boston. If I preach the take-no-thought-for-the-morrow doctrine, the ministers will not combine to incite their churches to make elaborate spiritual preparation to coöperate with me two or three months hence in exhortation, prayer, singing, and the skilful manipulation of *inquirers*." Nothing of this sort can fairly be imputed to Mr. Moody. He joined the Church as a sincere convert, humble and docile, and of course followed its example in his belief and in his life. Finding certain precepts of the Bible utterly disregarded by the Church, ignored by the pulpit, and elaborately explained away in the "commentaries," he doubtless thought, as so many thousands of modest young converts have done, that these methods had been settled, no doubt for good reasons, by Christians older and wiser than himself, and that conformity to them was his duty. So he went with the (Christian) multitude, adopting with them the other traditions of the elders; the assumptions, namely, that the Church creed contained the substance of what was to be believed, and that the Church customs were the true frame-work of a holy life. These were no harder to swallow and digest than the stories of Jonah and the fish, of Joshua and the sun, and of the ram's horns and the walls of Jericho, which he had already incorporated into his theological system. But see the results of such unreasoning docility and conformity. The objects on which Mr. Moody's faith really reposes seem to be first the Bible-writers and then the Church; that is, the sort of Church which calls itself "Evangelical," a conglomeration of Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Orthodox Congregationalists, with a few Episcopalians. Of the two, his real belief seems to be more in the Church than in the Bible-writers, since, as has been shown above, he follows the Church in disregarding and ignoring some portions of the Bible.

Not that he is entirely satisfied with the Church, or that he fails sharply to criticise its members; but his criticism directs itself to quantity rather than quality. These Methodists, Baptists, etc., are already of the right sort; what they need is to be more so. They have set a right example to the world by attending to the first great duty of life; namely, getting themselves saved. But they need more faith; that is, more confidence that they can move the arm that moves the world—more confidence that God can be teased, by dint of repetition and importunity, and particularly by bringing platoons and regiments of prayer to bear simultaneously upon Him, into granting the favors which *they think* He had better grant. They need more zeal; that is, more energy in carrying on the impertinent work of catechising other people about *their* belief, and more persistence in manipulating "converts" until they become church-members. Above all they need more "holiness"; more absorption in "other-worldliness"; more conformity to the Church pattern of sainthood; such disparagement and depreciation of *this* world as is recommended in Watts' *Psalms and Hymns*, and in their own revivalist hymns. Nevertheless, much as they need increase of these gifts and graces (as Mr. Moody regards them), it is precisely to this sort of society, to the church organizations, and to the set of influences which has made them what they are, that Mr. Moody is laboring to bring his "converts." It is to this end that the "Evangelical" ministers (so-called) coöperate with and eulogize him. Just so far as he and they get a harvest of "converts," just so far will their churches be enlarged, and their doctrine have an appearance of success. Next after the "saving of souls," this is the great object he and they are working for.

To sum up: it seems to me that what I have described as faith, in the former part of this article, is far more reverent towards God, far more accordant with His genuine revelation in ourselves and the world around us, far more in conformity with the best and highest of the teachings ascribed to Jesus, and far better suited, in friendly coöperation with reason and conscience, to guide human purposes and human life in the right direction, than the different beliefs illustrated in Mr. Moody's doctrine and practice. Giving full credit to Mr. Moody for earnestness and sincerity, it still seems to me that the people who follow his counsel are grossly misguided, and are learning things which they must necessarily unlearn before they can attain true welfare, either in this world or the next.

DR. SCHLIEMANN.

LETTER FROM MONCURE D. CONWAY.

LONDON, Jan. 16, 1877.

The latest discoveries of Schliemann have more literary than archæological importance. He has just found a stone fountain and a bust of the rhetorician Gorgias. Both of these were carefully described by Pausanias nearly seventeen hundred years ago, and the bust has on it the inscription which the Greek writer copied when it stood as an ornament of the city. I do not, however, mean to write now again about Dr. Schliemann, but merely, so far as his discoveries are concerned, to note that they have been, from first to last, the triumph of Pausanias; that they have tested his exactness, and prove him to have been one of the minutest and most trustworthy writers that ever lived. And yet, who has paid any attention to Pausanias? In this country, hitherto, only poor Taylor, the enthusiastic Platonist, who was one day brought up before a London Police Court, charged by his landlady with sacrificing a bull to Jupiter in her back parlor. Taylor was born somewhat over a hundred years ago, and was a very poor man; but it is to the credit of the stupid Georgian era that there were found a Duke (of Norfolk) and a rich tradesman (Meredith) who appreciated his enthusiasm, and enabled him to publish not only his translation of Plato but other Greek works, which scholars cared nothing for, to the extent of £10,000. Amongst these works were the *Hymns of Orpheus*, which led our own American Alcott to call his transcendental utterances *Orphic Sayings* (while his Plato was much valued by Emerson). His *Plotinus on the Beautiful* did much towards reviving mysticism in England and America, as did also his translation of Jamblichus' *Life of Pythagoras* and his *Apuleius*. Taylor translated Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, and his work remains the only bit of Pausanias which has been introduced into England. There is not even an English edition of his Greek text. At Oxford and Cambridge they know nothing of Pausanias, and though he has been occasionally introduced into examinations at the Queen's College in Dublin, he has never been included in any course of study in this country. Yet this is the man who now turns up as the truest guide to all which scholars have for years been seeking in Greece, and the luck of discovering this has justly fallen to the German who has long been studying him in three excellent editions,—that of Siebelis (Leipzig, 5 vols., 1822–28); that of Bekker (Berlin, 2 vols., 1826); and that of Schubart & Walz (Leipzig, 3 vols., 1838). Weidasch also published a German translation in 1826 (Munich). About twenty-eight years ago George Long, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, informed English scholars that all the wisdom of the ancients was not limited to the writers who wrote what they call "Attic" Greek, and, particularly, he said of Pausanias: "With the exception of Herodotus, there is no writer of antiquity, and perhaps none of modern times, who has comprehended so many valuable facts in a small volume." Long instanced Pausanias' remarks on earthquakes, on the soft stone full of sea shells used in the buildings of Megara, on the silkworm, on the fact that at Patræ the females doubled the number of males—which is explained by the circumstance that the greater part of them got their living by making head-gear, and by weaving fine cloth from the byssus of Elis; also his careful account of the best works of art. But still no attention was paid in this country to Pausanias, until recently. Professor Mahaffy, the rising Greek scholar of Dublin, author of *Social Life in Greece*, recently went upon a tour through that country, the result being his pleasant *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, just published. For some reason or other he has ever since been devoting himself to Pausanias, and I have good reason for saying that we shall soon have an important contribution from him on that author, such as will no doubt lead English scholars to carefully lock the door after the horse has been stolen. In Pausanias' *Corinthiaca*, the very spot is marked out where the treasures have now been found.

But why is it that Pausanias has been thus neglected? It can hardly be doubted that it is because he was among the many learned men who, in the second and third centuries, looked upon the Christian movement either with indifference or with a contempt like that which Tyndall feels for "Spiritualism," or that which animated Professor Mahaffy himself for Moody's revival: for it is of this Pro-

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fessor, it is related, that when Moody asked him on a railway if he was "saved," he replied: "Yes, but it was a devilish close shave." A myth, no doubt, since Mahaffy is a clergyman, and yet probably characteristic. Pausanias was apparently an Orthodox believer in the Greek religion; at least he records the legends of old fountains and divine myths without any trace of scepticism; but he commits the unpardonable sin of not even mentioning the Christians, which is too significant an omission of all the miracles and marvels claimed as having gone on in that age to be easily forgiven. Could all the events related in the New Testament have been matters of notoriety without the knowledge of the eminent traveller? Mr. Anthony Froude, the historian, who began his career with assisting Father Newman to write and edit the lives of the Saints—and betrayed a germ-cell of heresy by terminating one biography with the words, "This is all that is known of the life of this holy man—and a good deal more,"—has recently been bestowing some labor on the non-Christian writers of Greece subsequent to the Christian era, and he told me that he was amazed to find what a body of valuable literature lay in that region of time comparatively unexplored. There is reason to hope that Mr. Froude will bring to light some of these treasures. He says: "The men of genius who had the misfortune, under the later Roman Emperors, to be blind to the truth of Christianity, have been punished by a neglect which they do not wholly deserve. With Tacitus the era closes in which a Roman of ability has been allowed to have shut his eyes to the light without willful sin. Thenceforward, all men of intellectual reputation who remained unconverted have been held guilty by Christendom of deliberate unbelief. Their writings have been thrown aside as either mischievous or useless. The age itself and the character of their contemporaries has been left to be described by the Fathers of the Church; and unless for special reasons, or by exceptional and curious students, the last representatives of the old classical literature remain generally unread." These remarks are preliminary to the first of what it is hoped will be a series of studies of Lucian, which Mr. Froude has contributed to *Fraser's Magazine*. Lucian flourished in the second century—about the same time as Pausanias, or a little before him. He has been relegated to the limbo of scholastic neglect only a little less severe than Pausanias, because he *does* mention the Christians, and rather unpleasantly. At the very time when the believers "were first called Christians at Antioch," in that same town in the neighborhood of his birth, dwelt this cultivated lawyer and artist, and he mentions the Christians as "a simple-minded sect, whose credulity made them the easy dupes of quacks and charlatans." Wherefore Lucian has shared not the revival of classical learning. Yet he wrote about fifty of the cleverest books in existence. He believed the Orthodox Pagan religion as little as he did any of the new sects which were plentifully springing up out of the decays of gods and goddesses, one of which he would have been surprised to learn was to become Christianity. He even exposed a great spirit medium of his time, and nearly lost his life by it. Now, just as Pausanias has left a complete picture of the physical features of the cities and civilization of Greece in his time, Lucian has left a complete picture of its moral and religious condition. "Lucian," says Mr. Froude, "more than any other writer, Pagan or Christian, enables us to see what human beings were, how they lived, what they thought, felt, said, and did in the centuries when Paganism was expiring and Christianity was taking the place of it." "He has the keenness of Voltaire, the moral indignation, disguised behind his jests, of Swift."

In the seventeenth century there does appear to have been some interest raised in Lucian. The French had taken up some of his writings, which became almost popular in Paris during the rise of scepticism, and some English versions were put forth (1711) by Moyle, Sir H. Shore, and Charles Blount, for which Dryden wrote a little memoir. But Lucian's text was never edited in England, and he was never put into the hands of any youth at school or college; and, indeed, so far as I can learn, there is no complete edition of his works in Europe. They can be got only by collecting the various editions of separate works (or series) which have been put forth in Paris and Leipzig. Still, I observe with pleasure, at the moment of this writing, that the entering wedge has been introduced in England. Two sets of "Grammar School Texts" have just now been announced—"Wales'" and "White's,"—and in the list of each appears "Lucian Select Dialogues." The price of each (one shilling) did not seem very hopeful, nor did the limitation of the selection to the dialogues of so voluminous a writer seem promising. Still it is something to have a start.

Having invested my shilling in White's Lucian, I find the quantity of the Greek author prescribed so infinitesimal that the title "Dr." ascribed to the editor (Rev. Dr. White, of Oxford) is suggestive of homœopathy. The book is four and one-half inches by three inches in superficial area, and one-fourth inch thick; external color blood-red; pages 99, of which twenty-five only are Lucian, the rest vocabulary. I quote Dr. White's entire preface concerning Lucian:—

"Lucian, a native of Samosata in Syria, was born about A. D. 120. His works are numerous; but his fame rests mainly on his *Dialogues*, which are pieces of either an ethical or mythological nature, intended to ridicule the heathen philosophy and religion."

The twelve little *Dialogues* here given to students by the Oxford divine constitute an indirect tribute to the genius of Lucian, in that the editor has exercised ingenuity to pick out the least important writings of his author for no imaginable reason except their suggestiveness concerning the religious problems of the present day. It is certainly remarkable to find a man writing seventeen centuries ago about the religion and philosophy of pagan Greece so reasonably that his scepticism is dreaded by the very religion which succeeded that and waged war against it. In the great pieces, so carefully omitted in this book, it is shown that the existence of Jupiter was maintained by precisely the same arguments which are still relied on to prove the ordinary conceptions of a Deity. It is only those who hold purely spiritual and moral conceptions of a divine life in Nature today who could placidly read Lucian's terrible arguments against Paley's Deity of mechanical design, and the gods based on the universal testimony of the race. In one of the dialogues Lucian presents the droll situation of all the gods coming to a hall in Athens to listen to a debate on their own existence. When they get to the hall they quarrel about precedence, and it is settled that they shall enter first whose statues are of gold, they next whose statues are of silver, and so on,—an adjustment which precisely comports with the rank of churches in England at the present time. The English Church stands first, because its statues are of gold. Then, as the debate goes on, every common argument against atheism is used. The champion of the gods, Timocles, among other things, declares that all the world believes in the gods; consequently they must exist. His opponent, Damis, mentions some of those gods—the worshipped bull of one country, dog-headed ape of another, and onion of a third,—and asks whether all these testimonies are credible. When the champion of the gods is worsted he begins with loud abuse, hurling just such epithets against the sceptic as have been hurled at Voltaire and Paine and Mr. Bradlaugh. Whereupon Jupiter bursts out with his "Bravo!" "Give him hard words, Timocles," says Jove; "that's your strong point; when you begin to reason you're as dumb as a fish." Plainly, Lucian's theism was what would now be called "advanced." In another admirable piece the cynic Menippus, disgusted with the religious disputes of his time, resolves on a visit to the stars to discover which of the philosophers is right. By the aid of a pair of wings he reaches the moon, and thence observes how small look the passions and controversies of men. Being introduced to Jupiter on Olympus, he has the opportunity of observing how the prayers of men are received in heaven. They come up through holes in the floor, under covers, and they only become audible in heaven when the covers are removed. These prayers are various: one prays for rain, another for fair weather; one prays for a throne, another that his onions may grow; and so on. Jupiter is represented as being guided in his responses by the sacrificial offerings at his altars with which the petitions are severally accompanied. Jupiter expresses great dislike of philosophers and his intention some day to exterminate them. In this dialogue every point made by Tyndall and others during the "prayer-gauge" controversy is suggested.

There are many more things of the same sort in Lucian, all of absorbing interest,—things that if written now by Emerson or Dr. Holmes would be declared wonderful. But enough has been said to reveal the strange fact that the theology of to-day has somehow got round to the point at which it dreads the diffusion of attacks levelled against paganism. (For there is nothing in Lucian which alludes to Christianity except the one sentence already quoted.) But besides this there is another amazing fact. Although the Christian world has been too pious to admit Lucian into colleges, it has not been too moral to steal from him. For that matter his contemporary, Apuleius, stole from Lucian the witty story of "The Golden Ass," but since then the plagiarisms have been enormous. Professor Henry Morley, who has written and compiled many useful works on English literature, gave a lecture this week at the London Institution on the History of the Novel. He traces novel-writing to Apuleius, in evident ignorance that MM. Courier and Letronne have shown sixty years ago that the famous story of the ass originated with Lucian. Then he proceeded to say that Defoe created the English novel. None can wish to detract in the least from the honest old dissenter, who suffered so much and gave the world that story of *Robinson Crusoe* which is at this moment revealing, by the crowds of delighted children it draws to Covent Garden Theatre, that it is one of the great books of the world. Nevertheless, it is probable that both Defoe and Swift, whose *Voyage to Lilliput* appeared about the same time as *Crusoe*, were both to some extent inspired by the translations of Lucian, which were just then appearing, Defoe giving a realistic tone to things which others treated fancifully. Lucian's *Veræ Historiæ* contains the whole scene of the robbers' cave in *Gil Blas*, and all the humorous exaggerations familiarized in the stories of Munchausen and Gulliver. Rabelais has equally borrowed from him. Lucian describes how he set sail from the columns of Hercules, was wrecked on an enchanted island, where the rivers run wine, and where he and his friends got drunk even by eating the fish. On setting sail again the ship was caught up by a whirlwind, and after being carried through the air seven days and nights was deposited in the moon by certain enormous birds called hippogypi. Here they witness a battle between the inhabitants of the sun and moon. They sail to the earth by way of the zodiac. Reaching the sea again they are swallowed by a whale; they find its belly inhabited, but cause the death of the animal by kindling a fire. They next reach the Isle of the Blest, where they converse with Homer, who gives opinions of his own works such as Wolf and others have advanced. Finally they proceed to the infernal regions, where Lucian describes Ctesias and Homer undergoing punishment for the falsehoods they put forward as history. The humor of ending his own amazing *True Histories* with this scene of punishing the historians is characteristic.

I trust your readers will not fear that I have mistaken the *Commercial* for a sheet devoted to the record of ancient events. Just now when our politics is about as dismal as our weather—in which the Thames and the sky seem competing which can deluge us most—and the news from Turkey about as unsatisfactory as that from Louisiana, condonation will, I hope, be extended to the two excursions I have made into the regions where so many old treasures—Homeric and literary—are being unearthed. About the pleasantest prospect we have now is the coming of Dr. Schliemann. I learn on good authority that he will arrive in London early in February, and also that he will bring the *Trojan* articles he has discovered with him. I am told by one of his friends that his Greek treasures belong to the Greek government by the conditions of the firman under which he was allowed to work, but that the Trojan articles are his own. Dr. Schliemann is a man of about fifty. In his boyhood he vowed that if ever he could get a little money—he was quite poor—he would "dig up Troy." By severe work and economy he got enough to represent an income of about $2,500 a year—what he now has,—and straightway he went to fulfil his vow. Now he will come to England, bringing his dug-up Troy, and you may be sure that the reception he will meet here will be such as the Marquis of Salisbury, Sir H. Elliot & Co., when they return, may have reason to envy. The enthusiasm which will greet Schliemann (who, fortunately, speaks English) will not be chilled by the disagreeable fact that, while he has been achieving such magnificent results, men sent East by England have been suffering the most humiliating obstructions.

It has just come out that poor George Smith was defeated in all his latest efforts at exploration because the English Embassador at Constantinople made no effort to secure him an adequate firman authorizing his investigations; and at this moment the friend of George Smith, who died heart-broken, Mr. Rassam, is in Constantinople vainly endeavoring to obtain through the same ruthless Embassador the right to prosecute similar investigations. Sir Henry Elliot has long been the Sultan's main-stay, and it seems rather hard that his countrymen should reap all the disadvantages of his favor at the Porte, and none of the advantages. Mr. Wood, who has been making explorations at Ephesus, and recently found a pot of coins there, has returned, his labors having been discontinued for want of funds. But the spirit of excavation has been unsealed like a genie by Schliemann, and his visit to England may be made the occasion of a demonstration which will wake up the sleepy science and art department, who seem to think that the capstone was given to progress by Prince Albert, his Exhibition, and the South Kensington Museum. Such men as Professors Newton, Mahaffy, and Ferguson are not content to see Germans and Americans doing all this great work. There is a great deal of exploration waiting to be done in India, where England has full sway. General Cunningham has recently discovered there and sent home some beautiful topes. One of them represents persons worshipping a serpent, and each worshipper is holding his tongue between two fingers; which is an odd confirmation of a jocular remark once made by Mr. Ferguson, author of *Tree and Serpent Worship*. When asked why the serpent was worshipped, he replied: "Because he knows how to hold his tongue."—*Cincinnati Commercial*.

FRANCOIS BULOZ.

PARIS, Jan. 26, 1877.

French literature has suffered a severe loss in the person of François Buloz. He never or hardly ever wrote a line, but he has been since 1830 the inspiration and soul of the famous *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He was of very humble origin, born in Savoy, and he had the hardy qualities of a mountaineer. He bought the *Revue* when it had only one hundred subscribers, and by his efforts and perseverance made it the most important organ of the French mind in the nineteenth century. I have known him intimately for more than twenty years, and can only remember now his remarkable and sterling qualities. When I brought him my first article I did not take the precaution to bring him any introduction, and I did well. He was absolutely impervious to recommendations, and be it said to his credit he had some sympathy for unknown young men. I did not enter without emotion the little room in the Rue St. Benoît, which Philarète Chasles once called the "cavern of Cacus" (Buloz had lost the use of one eye). The terrible editor received me very well, and inquired, "Have you time to take a walk in my garden?" The garden was a small plot of land, without any flowers, with only a few trees and shrubs, which lived as well as they could between three high walls, and could only receive the midday sun. Buloz asked me who I was, whether I intended to give myself wholly to literature, or to cultivate it only as a pastime. Why had I written an article? Did I intend to write more? Literature ought not to be a profession except for a man of genius. Every man should tie himself to a profession, and only write when he had something useful to say. "I know better than anybody the real men of letters,—vain, self-glorious, foolish creatures they are. I must allow them a little space in the *Revue*, but the chief place I will always give to the men who know things professionally, and who can be the instructors of this nation." I was not a man of letters, and when he found it out he became almost amiable. "You are a man of science," he said; "well, I have always looked for one who could instruct my public, who could write good French. You scientific men are generally out of the reach of humanity. You cannot be approached. I don't wish to popularize science,—I

don't believe in popular science. I want real science, and I believe that if the public cannot understand its methods it ought to be made aware of its general results, of its philosophical teachings." That was exactly my programme, and we understood each other perfectly. I had no difficulty with my first article, nor with those which followed. I submitted meekly to the discipline of Buloz, and a better teacher of grammar I never found in my life, as well as a more intelligent exponent of the necessities of a review. "Look at me," he said to me; "as long as I don't understand you the public will not." And he was never satisfied till he completely mastered the meaning of my words. When I look now upon the hours which we spent together over proof-sheets, altering and correcting, I forget the annoyance which I sometimes felt, and I can only admire the conscience of the man, who was never satisfied till the work was as perfect as it could be.

When the American war began he allowed me to change my subject, though he was very fond of confining his writers to a special department; and when I left for America he asked me himself to give him a series of articles on the country I was going to visit. I had taken, and with same warmth, the part of the North; and the French Foreign Office was far from sympathetic to your cause during the war. Buloz received many a visit from high officials of the Foreign Office, and even during the Empire he was almost obliged to remain on good terms with them, as some of them were his contributors and he received from them information which was all the more valuable to the *Revue* because the press was fettered, and because the "*Chronique Politique*" of Forcade had become the most important expression of the French policy during the Crimean and Italian wars. I shall never forget that Buloz, though he had no personal light on the subject of American affairs, and had every temptation to please the Foreign Office, always stood by me, and would never give way to the representations of the men who prophesied the disruption of the American Union. He sometimes called me an enthusiast; he warned me against considerations which might have contributed to blind me; but he never refused me the means of expressing my convictions; he allowed me fair play. When I sent him my article on President Lincoln, just after his assassination, he cried, and sent it to the press, and said: "Not a word will be changed in that." He was, in his own way, a sentimental man; and his outbursts of sentiment were all the more touching as coming from a man who was so robust, so hard, so unflinching. The triumph of the American cause, I am almost ashamed to say it, was my definitive triumph with him. Everybody had warned him against my opinions, and, after all, I had happened to be in the right. From that time I may say that he allowed me the free use of the *Revue*. Of course, he always preserved nominally his dictatorial rights; practically, he allowed me to write on anything I pleased, and he even consulted me often on difficult points of policy.

There was one point, however, on which we never could agree, and I bitterly regret now not having shown more tenacity on this painful subject. I had spent a part of my youth in Germany, and knew the depth and seriousness of the German aspirations for unity. Buloz had espoused with much warmth the cause of Italian unity; he was a friend of Cavour, and did better service than any other Frenchman to the Italian cause. I tried at that time to show him that German unity was as much a European necessity as Italian unity. I gave him an article on the subject after a journey which I had made in Germany. He took it with reluctance, and it appeared under the name of M. de Mars, the editor of the *Revue*, as I could not at that time sign my name to the article, for reasons which it is useless to state here. This article was, I believe, very moderate, but gave great offence to our Foreign Office, and to the host of ministers whom we still kept at the German courts. Buloz this time thought that I was completely in error; my views were at complete variance with all the reports which came from Germany. I abandoned the German question forever, and even after Sadowa, when I made a journey to Austria and Bohemia, I did not feel tempted to touch it again in the *Revue*. And I was wrong, for a man ought always to do the contrary of what Fontenelle advised,—when he thinks he has the truth in his hand he ought always to open it. I am convinced now, as I was then, that the Germans might have accomplished their unity without inflicting such wounds on France as can never be cured; that France ought not to have stood in the way of the national movement in Germany; and that if she had shown to Germany half the sympathy which she showed to Italy, even without going to arms for her, she would have preserved her ancient territory, and Europe would not be what it is now, the nations would not be all in arms, and the two most civilized countries of the Continent would be friends instead of enemies.

Buloz was a true patriot; he loved the honor and glory of France. He had never been a friend of the Empire, but he tried to facilitate more than to hinder the action of the Empire when it could serve the real interests of the country. His position during the Empire was one of extreme difficulty; the *Revue*, which had not been very prosperous in the time of Louis Philippe, when its pages were filled with the works of men and women of genius, of Musset, of Mérimée, of Guizot, of Madame Sand, of Victor Hugo, and others, had become very prosperous since the 2d of December. The liberals, who could have no papers of their own, were content to find allusions and regrets, which, under the pen of clever writers like Prevost-Paradol and Forcade, had all the charms of the best literature combined with the concealed passion for liberty. In the silence of public opinion, the appearance of every number became an event; but the fate of the *Revue* hung upon the thread of the ministerial and imperial will. How many anxious days and years did Buloz pass! How he was obliged to watch every sentence, every word! It is enough to say of him that he *lived* during these terrible years. "What did you do during the Terror?" asked somebody of Sieyès. "I lived." Buloz lived also, but he did not live silent; he spoke, and he always stood by the old cause of liberalism and free institutions. Every temptation was offered him by the Empire; this obscure, self-made man never flinched,—he was that rare and admirable thing, a man of conscience. And so he became a power, and potentates and ambassadors, and kings and ministers had to take him into account.

The war of 1870 was his death-blow. He would not, he could not believe the fatal truth. He remained in Paris during the siege, and corrected his proof-sheets amid the sound of the distant guns. I saw him again after the Commune; he was inconsolable. His interest in public affairs was almost gone; he was an Orleanist, and in the most stringent times of the Empire had never refused the columns of the *Revue* to a prince of Orleans. He was also a great admirer of M. Thiers. He did not understand why M. Thiers and the Orleans did not work in harmony. He did not understand the visit of the Comte de Paris to Frohsdorf. He was instinctively hostile to the Legitimist party; he was a man of 1830, lost among a new generation.

As a scientific, historical, and literary periodical the *Revue* had preserved all its importance; its political *rôle* was finished. Forcade was gone; his clear and brilliant mind had been obscured by madness. Buloz was ill; his last days were embittered by those deep afflictions which prepare a man for death,—he had lost his eldest son; I will not even allude to other troubles, which were too great for him. When he saw one of the writers of the old days (for he had almost ceased to see the new contributors) he had a moment of satisfaction; but to his visitors it was a pitiful sight, this strong man completely unnerved, like an oak which has been uprooted and is lying on the ground with its broken branches and withered foliage.

Buloz has been accused, by a whole generation of *littérateurs*, of great avarice. He certainly has left a large fortune; but I can only say that after I had been a few years in the service of the *Revue* he doubled my salary without my asking for it, and he would not even receive my thanks. I would not mention this detail if it were not in order to do justice to a man who, with all his defects, deserves to be praised for his good and great qualities (and for qualities which have at all times been very rare), and especially for his extraordinary devotion to a great political and intellectual work. Of him it can be well said: "*Exegit monumentum.*"—*N. Y. Nation, Feb.* 15.

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY.

APPEAL OF THE COMMITTEE OF CITIZENS.

The committee on raising means for the pedestal and the reception and setting up of Bartholdi's statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" have issued the following appeal to the people of the United States:—

MUNICIPAL HALL, No. 67 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, Feb. 5, 1877.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:—

It was proposed during the last year by a society, calling itself the "Union Franco-Americaine," of France to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of American Independence by erecting in the harbor of New York a colossal statue entitled "Liberty Enlightening the World." The society was inaugurated in Paris by a banquet, at which eloquent speeches were made by several of the most distinguished citizens of France, recalling the ancient alliance of the French and American peoples and the grand results which have made it so memorable in modern civilization. Mr. Edouard Laboulaye, the eminent writer, whose pen has been so often employed in the service of liberty and progress, was chosen President, and among the members enrolled were found the names of Oscar de Lafayette, the Marquis de Noailles, the Marquis de Rochambeau, Count de Tocqueville, Cornelis de With, Henri Martin, Paul de Rèmusat, and others whose ancestors participated in the momentous struggles of our Revolution, or who have since proved themselves the earnest admirers and steadfast friends of our country and her institutions.

In their first appeal to the French people these gentlemen said: "Our design is in remembrance of a glorious anniversary to raise an exceptional monument. We propose to erect in the unequalled harbor of New York, on an island belonging to the States of the Union, facing Long Island, where some of the earliest battles for independence were fought, a gigantic statue, whose frame on the horizon shall be the great cities of New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City. There, on the threshold of the continent so full of a new life, where vessels from all parts of the world are constantly passing, it will rise from the bosom of the waves and represent Liberty Enlightening the World."

It was a noble and beautiful conception, and the appeal on its behalf was so generously answered from all parts of France that the work was at once put into the hands of the eminent French sculptor, M. Bartholdi, whose design, after receiving the approval of many competent artists, is already in process of practical execution. Visitors to the late Centennial Exhibition will readily recall the enormous hand in bronze which is to form a part of the imposing work of art.

It only remains for the American people, in response to this generous movement, to provide for the reception, location, presentation, and inauguration of this statue, which will be more than one hundred feet in height, surmounting a pedestal of nearly equal height, and which will not only form an impressive ornament to the entrance of the commercial metropolis of the Union, but answer a useful purpose as a beacon or a signal station, and prove an enduring record of the early and lasting friendship of the two great republics of the nineteenth century.

The undersigned—a committee appointed at a meeting of citizens held at the Century Club on the 2d of January, 1877—have been charged with the duty of presenting the project to the concurrence and coöperation of their fellow-countrymen, and in pursuance of their task will circulate in all the great cities and towns of the United States a series of subscription papers, in order that all classes of citizens may be enabled to take part in this grand patriotic enterprise. Subscriptions to any amount will be received,—from ten cents to one hundred dollars, and over. Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, Exchanges, Tradesmen's and Mechanics' Associations, Clubs, and other regular organizations are particularly requested to interest themselves in the furtherance of our object.

The committee feel assured that the American people will be only too eager to recognize the friendliness of this munificent offer on the part of the French people, and to reciprocate the kindly and liberal sentiments in which it originated by a prompt acceptance of it and an active prosecution of the labors that may be needed to carry the purpose to a successful completion.

This is signed by William M. Evarts, Chairman; Edwin D. Morgan, John Jay, William Cullen Bryant, Parke Godwin, Samuel D. Babcock, William H. Wickham, John Taylor Johnston, Henry F. Spaulding, Theodore Roosevelt, Frederick R. Coudert, James W. Pinchot, Treasurer; William H. Appleton, Clark Bell, Theodore Weston, John T. Denny, Anson Phelps Stokes, Samuel P. Avery, J. Seaver Page, Worthington Whittredge, Richard Butler, Secretary.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

LAMENT OF ARCADIAN PEASANTS FLYING BEFORE ALARIC'S GOTHS, A.D. 395.

Thou hast conquered, Nazarene!
Our own gods are half forgot
(Save in some lone isle or grot)
Masters once of earth, I ween.

Strange 'tis to recall their time!
Out of tune the antique rhyme;
Spirits proud of land and sea,
Our Lords, haughty, fair, and free.

Why this should be I know not;
They were good to us enow;
Radiance sat on their brow;
What of better hath change brought?

Still the she-ass doth advance*
Ridden by the sober maiden,
And the child's brow yet is laden
With the grief of cross and lance.

Ours were gods of feast and joyance,
These of sorrow and annoyance;
We have done full ill, I wis,
Bartering for unrest our bliss.

Over heaven, earth, and main
Like a pall Christ's shroud doth hang;
Death and nothingness their fang
Fix in our hearts sick with pain.

RODOLF DE L'ESCALE.

NEW YORK, 37 West 33d Street.

*The flight into Egypt.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 24.

Rev. J. McDowell, $3.67; J. Maddock, $1; Abraham Roth, $3.25; J. T. Brady, $3.20; Robert D. Estey, $3.20; A. N. Alcott, $3; J. S. Boyden, $3.20; Joseph E. Peck, $3.20; D. P. Wilcox, 80 cents; Geo. D. Haworth, $3.20; Mrs. S. B. Pierce, $1.60; S. M. Duree, $1.60; Alfred E. Fisher, $3.84; Mrs. E. Fowle, $3.20; Chas. W. Newton, $8.80; J. W. Castle, 10 cents; C. D. B. Mills, 15 cents; J. R. Thomas, 10 cents; Mrs. O. W. Bird, $3.20; Cash, 84 cents; E. B. Welch, $3.20; John Buntin, $3.20; W. H. Hamlen, $3.20; Rev. G. A. Thayer, $3.20; S. Hunt, $3.20; Mrs. E. S. Miller, 25 cents; Dr. J. C. Michener, $6.40; J. O. Bently, $3.20; Mary E. York, $2; Thos. Curtis, $4.80; Verein Vorwarts, $3.20; Hugh Wyndman, $3.75; Jefferson Cary, $3.20; E. P. Wright, $3.20; E. W. Hooper, $3.20; Richard Mott, $3.20; Mrs. H. Judd, $3.20; A. H. Waite, $3.20; Mrs. F. W. Christbera, $3.20; Wm. Jones, $3.20; Henry Lantz, $1.10; J. H. Dearing, $6.67; F. J. Scott, $6.40; B. P. Thomson, $2; A. Payne, $6.94; D. W. Bliven, $3.25; Jas. McKachnie, $3.25; J. K. Wildman, $3; J. H. Clark, $3.25; D. W. Buckminster, $3; John W. Turner, $3; C. S. Hamilton, $5; Elmer Adams, $6.67; W. Frothingham, $6.40; J. D. Frost, $6.50; Aug. Saval, $12.80; B. M. Hall, 20 cents; Jas. Hull, $5; Mrs. C. B. Richmond, $4.40; E. Thurston, Jr., $4.45; A. W. Russell, $6.40; Eben Turk, $3.20; J. P. Titcomb, 20 cents; C. Bechtold, 50 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 1, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FERY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix. Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals;" by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle, President of the Ohio State branch of the "National Reform Association," used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

ALL WHO are interested in the general adoption of the Metric System (and who that hates confusion and clumsiness in calculation is *not* interested in it?) will be glad to know that there is an "American Metric Bureau" at No. 13 Tremont Place, Boston, which publishes a monthly *Metric Bulletin*, full of information on this subject. This Bureau has at its office "metric scales, measures, books, charts, and apparatus, illustrating the best methods of teaching and introducing the system, which teachers and others interested are invited to call and examine. Correspondence and coöperation solicited." The Corresponding Secretary is Mr. Melvil Dewey, and those at a distance will find it worth their while to write to him.

MOODY AND SANKEY.

Not long since we attended with some friends one of the evening meetings at the Tabernacle. The building, which is said to seat six thousand, was completely filled. The faces about us were those of evidently respectable people, but none of them evinced the marks of culture or more than an average degree of intelligence. A young woman at our right, who very civilly offered the use of her little hymn-book, had a serious expression verging on solemnity, and seemed in a quiet way deeply touched by some of the proceedings, occasionally wiping her eyes. There was a noticeable absence, in our immediate neighborhood, of those keen, wide-awake countenances which one is sure to see at any miscellaneous gathering of a non-religious character. A certain staid decorousness, such as pervades most church congregations, was the most obvious characteristic of our neighbors; and it was difficult to avoid the conclusion that the audience was mainly composed of the habitual attendants of the churches. Few signs appeared that the classes supposed to stand in most need of "conversion" were largely represented. Be this as it may, there was little or no excitement of any sort. Everything that was said or sung seemed to be a matter of course, and to be received with undemonstrative acquiescence. So far as was evident on the surface, it was the opinion of everybody that the revival was a good thing, and that it was about time for somebody else to get "converted."

The proceedings on the platform went on with the regularity of clock-work. At a little after seven o'clock, the "praise-meeting" began. Mr. Ackers sat at the organ; Dr. Tourjée gave out the hymns to the choir with military promptness, permitting no pauses between them, and apparently resolved to "occupy the time" with psalmody till it could be filled with something better. The singing was good of its kind; but the cool and business-like tone of the manager in giving his directions threw an air of artificiality about the whole performance, and suggested a suspicion that the musicians had as little sentiment as a music-box. The same mechanism of manner and arrangement characterized the conduct of the meeting from beginning to end, destroyed all real solemnity, and rendered it impossible to imagine that genuine religious sensibility could have anything to do with services whose wire framework was so painfully visible. Mr. Moody's part in them formed no exception. He read the Scriptures just as he would have read from a newspaper, with nothing of that undertone of reverence which instantaneously reports itself to all who can hear it; and, on closing a prayer, he snapped open his eyes and immediately gave out a hymn as if the number he announced were only an additional syllable to the "Amen." It may seem a strange criticism to come from THE INDEX, but it is nevertheless true that what we least liked in Mr. Moody and his whole meeting was an utter absence of deep, inward, pervading religiousness. There was vastly more of this in Mr. Sankey's singing than in all the other services combined; in his hymn, "Sowing the Seed by the Daylight Fair," there was indeed a tender pathos, an awed, wistful outlook into the Infinite Mystery that holds our tiny lives in its ocean-like embrace, which made its own appeal to the really religious spirit. But this was fleeting; and the strains had scarcely died away when the bread-and-butter theology of the revival uttered once more its harsh and hoarse croak.

The subject of Mr. Moody's sermon was "God's Remedy for Sin." He read the story of the Brazen Serpent which saved the Israelites from the serpents' bites in the wilderness, and then read passages of the fourth gospel explaining this as a type or symbol of the "Savior" sent to rescue men from eternal death. The burden of the whole discourse was simply—*believe and be saved, disbelieve and be damned!* There was literally nothing else in the whole sermon but illustrations, imaginary conversations, stories, appeals, and exhortations, all directed to the one object of turning the sinner's eyes to the Brazen Serpent set up by God as the sole Savior from perdition,—nothing, in short, but the old, coarse, repulsive selfishness of Orthodoxy, unredeemed by a single ray of moral nobleness, with no message to man but the eternal whine—"Save your own Soul! Look out for Number One!" That was the essence of all that Moody said. And that is the essence of all that Orthodoxy has to say: "Save your own Soul! Look out for Number One!"

From such a brutally gross religion as this, which makes no appeal whatever to the refined religious sensibilities, the lofty moral aspirations, or the trained intellectual faculties of the nineteenth century, and which is now on a mad crusade to overwhelm the intelligence and civilization of the world with false, foolish, and demoralizing superstitions, every fine nature would recoil in mingled pity and disgust, were it not that feeling itself has become dulled by the constant repetition of the humiliating spectacle. In this elevation of Self-Interest to the rank of the supreme motive of human conduct, none the less abhorrent to every great spirit because commanded by the Christian Church and sanctioned by the authority of imagined revelations of God, there is nothing that tends to improve human society, but everything that tends to retard its advancement. Whatever incidental good may be done to a few individuals is vastly more than offset by the harm done to mankind as a whole. The "revival" is founded in superstition and ignorance, which are the worst foes of civilization; and what could reasonably be expected from the triumph of such influences but a general deterioration of the community? Fortunately the world is too old to be again thrust back into the period of slavish submission to the Church; and the spasms of revivalism are but the death-throes of a great decaying tyranny.

Nevertheless, there are grave lessons to be learned from such a phenomenon as the Tabernacle movement. Coarse and ignorant as Mr. Moody is, we pay sincere tribute to the intense earnestness of the man. Here lies his mighty power—for mighty power he has, or his career would have been impossible. Although the number of "converts" and even of "inquirers" is so disproportioned to the ponderous machinery employed to make them, there can be no question that Mr. Moody is exerting a tremendous influence on behalf of his debased type of religion. Faith in his own gospel burns and blazes in every word he utters; the fact that he believes in it with an intensity scarcely paralleled in this age of growing scepticism has given him control of men and money to an astonishing degree. Uncultivated as he is in speech and manner, devoid of all the graces which charm the fastidious and unable even to use the English language correctly, he yet wields a power over his intellectual superiors which makes them the servants of his will, and as it were compels the churches to sit at his feet. His earnestness is a fire which kindles fire in others; and this, not the Holy Ghost, is the real secret of his success. Seldom has the omnipotence of a fixed purpose and white-hot enthusiasm revealed itself more remarkably than in the manner in which Dwight L. Moody has conscripted men, money, and organizations into the service of his own will. His homely eloquence is nothing but directness and singleness of aim in propagating a faith which with him is no second-hand affair. When the new faith is half as much in earnest, it will be ten times as powerful in the world.

But it would not be true to attribute to Mr. Moody's individual earnestness alone all the great popular effect he has produced. The fact is that a vast majority of Christians hold languidly and mechanically the faith which he holds with a consuming conviction. What he wholly believes, they half-believe. Where they are lukewarm, he is fervid. Hence he only gives them back their own thought and feeling with added intensity; otherwise he would find no response at all. His very ignorance and coarseness of grain protect him from the causes which sap the faith of thousands; and he thus comes to rekindle a smouldering fire. Christianity is not dead—it is only dying; and its vitality is least exhausted in those who, like him, do not know too much. He therefore comes as a dispeller of doubt, a confirmer of half-faith, a stimulator of those who long to be stimulated; and his own earnestness would be ineffective, were it not for the previous preparedness of his audiences. These two causes combined fully account for his great influence over the churched and his very feeble influence over the unchurched. The boasted conversions of "infidels" are very evidently blunders or worse; indeed, it may be safely asserted, judging from his own words, that he knows nothing of the mental state of those whom he is pleased to designate by that favorite epithet. When he shows some signs of comprehending why intelligent sceptics are what they are, his converted "infidels" will less closely resemble white blackbirds.

Two leading motives manifestly lie at the bottom of the present revival movement. Without certain very practical objects, it would have been impossible to obtain from practical men the great sums necessary to build costly special buildings in different cities and defray the heavy current expenses, or to secure from so many churches the united support and coöperation which are indispensable to the success of the movement. These objects are evidently, first, to

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swell the membership of the coöperating churches themselves, and, secondly, to make a great public demonstration of the power of Orthodoxy in the community, as a necessary means of increasing that power. These objects concern the material welfare of the churches as institutions; and he is a very credulous and innocent-minded person who fails to see in them the secret propelling power of the revival. Not a philanthropic anxiety about the salvation of unconverted sinners, but a sagacious and business-like regard for the interests of the Protestant Evangelical churches, explains the lavish outlay of money and exertion in the Moody campaign. As to the former of these two objects, the degree of success attained is very moderate, notwithstanding the evident disposition to overstate the number of "conversions" effected. But the other object—the imposing public demonstration of the strength of Orthodoxy—is far more successful. Thousands and thousands of selfish or weak-minded people are impressed by the revival with the belief that the road to popular favor is to be connected with Orthodox societies in some degree; and, though not "converted," they are thus influenced to support the churches from very questionable social and business motives. This sort of gain is not easily measured, but it is vast. The great "floating vote" in religious matters is affected by the noise and parade of the revival just as it is in political matters by torchlight processions and barbecues and mass meetings; and the shrewd leaders of Orthodoxy, as a mere means of party success, cheerfully pay the bills for the sake of these indirect returns for the money. It is this practical, cool-headed, calculating policy which, knowing how to use the fanaticism of the Moodys and Sankeys to its own advantage, sets them in the front as the ostensible leaders of the revival, lets them have their own way, and nevertheless makes them cat's-paws to draw its own chestnuts out of the fire. Verily, the children of the Church are wiser in their generation than the children of Truth!

THE REAL FOE.

While the sects, one and all, are disputing about doctrines, the unsectarians, foes of dogma, clearly perceive that the source of the evils they, all in their several degrees and kinds complain of, are not due to opinions but to the opinion that opinion can in *any* case be final; that there is any authority to fix opinion or to consecrate it when fixed; that there is good reason for accepting *any* answer to *any* question as conclusive; that there exists *any* tribunal, instituted or uninstituted, before which the mind can be summoned to give an account of itself; that any class of thinkers have the right to judge, proscribe, abuse any other class of thinkers on the ground either of conclusions arrived at by fair process of reasoning, or of principles held with honest intelligence. The real foe is *dogmatism*,—a foe equally detestable when leagued with attractive beliefs as with unattractive, though not as mischievous. But for dogmatism the attractive beliefs would do themselves tenfold more justice, and the unattractive beliefs would soon be refuted and repelled. The worn-out absurdities of the revival preacher would have been howled and laughed out of existence long ago had it not been for the prestige given to them by the ecclesiastical authorities. There is nothing in the doctrines themselves to protect them against an instantaneously ruinous assault from all the batteries of intelligence, from science, philosophy, history, psychology, practical ethics, even from the commonest "common sense"; they would go down like card-houses before cannon-balls, if it were not for the lines of defence that dogmatism has drawn round them; one line called scripture, another called tradition, a third called creed, a fourth called church, and all guarded by a fictitious being made awfully beautiful to the imagination, known as the Christ. Before such outworks bristling the hosts of superstition, bearing the mythological "sword of the spirit," and clad in "the whole armor of God," intelligence pauses and retires. Dogmatism insults knowledge, proscribes literature, defames goodness, caricatures wisdom, shields stupidity from criticism, foists second-hand blunders, as in the case of the wondrous Cook, on open-mouthed credulity, and makes the uttermost foolishness reputable, if it only bears the name "Christian." Dogmatism pushes the Bible into the public schools, and tries to crowd Christ into the Constitution. Dogmatism would erect Christianity to the dignity of a national faith; on the one hand pressing the claims of Romanism, on the other asserting the supreme prerogatives of Protestantism; in both cases proscribing Rationalism the enemy of them both. Dogmatism supports the feeble edifice of Unitarianism and Universalism, shoving them up against the ancient wall of the Church, and discouraging their desire to build a separate establishment for themselves, more suitable to the requirements of their faith.

That opinions are of no moment is not affirmed. Opinions are of immense moment. That people should hold right views and not wrong ones may be of vital consequence; the battle between reason and unreason on the field of opinion can hardly be waged too fiercely for our taste, provided it is waged rationally. Dogmatism forbids its being waged at all; substitutes obloquy for argument, and denunciation for proof. This process of despotism, characterized by arrogance on the part of the enthroned oppressor, by exasperation on the part of the victim of the injustice, has been worked industriously for a thousand years with results unspeakably disastrous to the human mind. The practice of it has become a second nature, so that even "liberals" continue it without suspecting its influence, transferring the throne of dominion from the Bible to the soul, as the Christians had transferred it from the Church to the Bible, substituting intuition for inspiration, knowledge of "principles" for assurance of faith, absolute certainty of "First Truths" for implicit confidence in the creed, they denounce each other as "base" with the same unction as they themselves have been besmeared with. The writer, journalist or preacher, who takes a different view of a social doctrine or a political theory from that taken by themselves is rebuked in the old churchly manner by the unchurched who have not yet learned that reason is the one tribunal before which all opinions must be tried. Transcendentalism has sinned in this way and still sins. The vast service it rendered in its day, and for which the present generation cannot be too grateful, is gravely qualified by the absolute temper it retained on all matters of religious concern. The Soul proved to be no less despotic than the Church. The fault could be forgiven in the age when transcendentalism flourished—before the scientific method was inaugurated,—but now can be no longer winked at.

These comments may seem vague and aimless. To the writer's apprehension they are neither. They were provoked by the recent criticism of one radical journal by another.

O. B. F.

Communications.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND FREE RELIGION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In your leader of Feb. 15th, you have put yourself on record as a believer in woman suffrage, and have sustained that position by unanswerable arguments. And, yet, like Ensign Stebbings, who was for the Maine law, but against its enforcement, you are for woman suffrage, but against allowing women to vote.

While I have the highest trust in your fidelity to your conscience, I must say I do not see the consistency of your position on this question. If woman suffrage is *a right*, as you admit and prove, how can you deny its exercise? I know you give as a reason that women would vote against the secularization of the State. I admit that I fear the same result. But that is their business. If women have the right to vote, I hold it our duty to secure them the opportunity, and then they must take the responsibility. We, as Free Religionists, hold that every one should have freedom of conscience. Now if any woman conscientiously holds what seems to you and me a dangerous doctrine—that sectarian dogmas should be ingrafted into the Constitution,—what right have we to say she shall not vote according to her sincere convictions? We are now suffering under ecclesiastical domination in the State, inflicted and upheld by the votes of *men;* so that we shall be no worse off, in that respect, if the votes of women be added. Still, it is mere assumption to declare in advance, that women will vote for the union of Church and State. But if they should do so, as men have already done, I am not sure that they would not be as readily converted to the true ground as the deluded ones of our own sex, who, at this late day, in enlightened Massachusetts, are compelling the observance of mongrel Sabbatarian laws which are neither Jewish, nor Christian, nor rational, nor constitutional.

SETH HUNT.

[Our good friend has strangely misread the article he criticises. If he will read it over again, he will see that we do *not* "deny the exercise" of the right for which we argued. We only said we preferred to work for it in our own way,—to work steadily for the "inviolability of the individual" and the "political equality of all individuals," which cover and include woman suffrage, rather than to work for woman suffrage in any way which would destroy the principles that alone demand it. Every word we write for State Secularization is a direct word for woman suffrage; if women are individuals, we cannot plead the cause of equal individual rights without pleading her cause too. It is only in the name of equal individual rights that woman can justly claim the suffrage; and we are truer to her cause in steadfastly standing by the principle to which alone she can appeal, than we should be in forgetting this principle and remembering only an incidental consequence of it. To give her the barren privilege of throwing a bit of paper into a box without knowing why or wherefore, would be an infinitely less boon than to give her a comprehension of the sublime idea which lies in the act, and teach her to prize the act only for the sake of the idea.

There is no "inconsistency" in conceding woman suffrage to be "a right," and yet holding that no right, whether of man or woman, is absolute. Life, liberty, and property are all rights; but they may all be rightfully forfeited and withheld. Whoever would use his liberty to destroy the liberties of others, forfeits his right to it, and may be imprisoned or disfranchised justly; hence criminals and lunatics are so treated. If it is true that women would use the suffrage to Christianize the State and destroy its secularity, they have no right to the suffrage whatever; they would thereby sell themselves and others into slavery,—an unlawful act which no free State permits. The question with intelligent people is, *Would women so vote?* If they would, it is by no means "their business"; it is the business of everybody who prizes his or her own religious liberty and means to defend it. Were we certain that women would so vote, we should unhesitatingly vote against woman suffrage every time; but since we are not absolutely certain of it, we should run the risk and vote *yes* every time. Nevertheless, we consider the establishment of woman suffrage before the State is irrevocably secularized to be a most perilous experiment; and every true friend of the woman movement should hold it imperatively necessary to make the now unenlightened majority of women and men alike comprehend the principle of secular government,—without which there is no liberty for any rationalist.—ED.]

MORE ABOUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I must protest against being misunderstood. Let me epitomize my "reasons," published in THE INDEX of January 11.

1. The danger to a republican form of government rests in the ignorance of the voter.

2. The American republic to-day is weaker than it was twenty years ago, because of the large class of untrained voters thrown upon our shores from foreign monarchical countries; and its strength has recently been further tried by the enfranchisement of the negro race.

3. One of the most portentous problems now casting its baleful shadow upon the future of the republic is the old question of the union of Church and State. If Christianity is successful in its God-in-the-Constitution proposition, the republic will die, and the hand on the dial of human progress be set back hundreds of years.

4. If woman suffrage could be achieved at once, the hands of priestcraft, both Romish and Protestant, would be strengthened immeasurably, and freethought would be at the mercy of its most deadly foe,—dogmatic theology.

These were the propositions I intended to embody in my former article. Possibly I did not state them with sufficient clearness; but at any rate neither of my lady critics has seen fit to grapple with them and demonstrate that I was wrong in my position.

Now let me state once more that I am in favor of woman suffrage. I recognize its abstract justice, and concede without further argument all that its advocates claim from the stand-point of equal rights. In times past I have advocated it to the best of my ability, and it was not without a pang that I reviewed my earlier opinions, and determined that it was best for the republic, best for the race, and best for woman herself, to postpone for a season the undoubted right of full political equality with her brother and husband.

Justice is a plant of slow growth. Centuries of bloodshed intervened between the birth of the idea of human equality and the authoritative utterance of Thomas Jefferson that "all men are created free and equal." But those centuries had brought their hard-earned lessons to mankind, and the thunder of the "self-evident" truth called to arms a nation of manly men, to embody it in law.

Let the women agitate, for agitation educates; and when they are called (as they assuredly will be) to the full duty of citizenship, they will be self-owned and self-controlled,—not the tools of theology, not the helpers of superstition, but *free* women, fitted to be the mothers and teachers of a race of heroes and heroines.

It is a little remarkable, however, that the two women who defend the rights of "the sex" against my assault are both "women without superstition." In my heart of hearts I wish they and all like them—brave, free, thoughtful—had the full political rights now monopolized by our sex.

FRANK J. MEAD.

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 11, 1877.

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THE BLAND SILVER BILL AGAIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The communication of "R. C." in THE INDEX of Jan. 25th, evidences a healthful change since his criticism of the Bland Silver Bill to which I referred in a former note.

In the criticism referred to, in which "R. C." speaks of legislation on silver as "an attempt to fix by legislation the price of a merchantable commodity," and which he characterizes as "simply disgusting in the nineteenth century," the critic evidently had in view the doctrine so generally taught and believed, that the value of gold and silver is, and always must be, *wholly* independent of legislation. The writer undertook to point out in a brief note, with the aid of a few pointed quotations from Cernuschi, that this theory was erroneous and mischievous.

It has been shown that all legislation calculated to extend the use of gold tends to enhance the value of gold, and the same with silver. On the contrary, all legislation tending to limit the use of either metal tends to lessen the value of that metal. Of course, if different nations fix different ratios of value for the two metals in their coinage, that metal only will circulate as money in each country which is rated higher in that country, as compared with the other metal, than in other countries. A uniform ratio in a sufficient number of countries to secure a preponderance in the general balancing of trade is undoubtedly necessary to maintain general bi-metallic circulation. All that is meant, however, by international legislation is an understanding among different nations that they will adopt a common ratio between gold and silver units in the coinage of money.

It is true that Cernuschi is opposed to the Bland Bill, as he is to our silver fractional currency, or any legislation on the subject, until after a commission has been instituted to agree upon a common ratio for at least the leading nations of Europe and the United States.

While the writer would favor most heartily the appointment of such a commission, he can see no objection to restoring *at once*, in this country, as a simple act of justice, the status of silver existing when our debt was created and specie payment suspended. This will not prevent a concurrence in the recommendation of a commission hereafter, even though that should be to adopt the ratio of 15½, instead of 16 to 1.

Much of the mischief already done here and elsewhere has grown out of the doctrine that legislation has nothing to do with the value of metallic money; that gold is in some manner an unvarying standard, wholly independent of legislation, a dead-sea level the world over; and that all fluctuations in values are movements to and from this never-varying level. Substitute for this erroneous doctrine the practical truth that the value of gold or silver is determined on the one hand by *quantity*, and on the other by use or employment, including, of course, both its use in the arts and as money. To the extent, then, that the employment of either metal is lessened by legislation or otherwise, the quantity remaining the same, to that extent it is decreased in value (not by an even ratio, for the increase in value, for other reasons, varies by a ratio greater than that indicated by the decrease of quantity), and an increase in the employment of either metal tends to increase its value.

Up to 1872 gold and silver had circulated in Europe as money in the proportion of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold. England coined only gold, Germany only silver; other countries coined both gold and silver, and in the general balancing both metals, in the ratio given, were equally money. In the United States the ratio was 16 of silver to 1 of gold, and, consequently, silver did not circulate as money in the United States, except as subsidiary coins; but, nevertheless, until the recent disturbing legislation in this and other countries, the mass of the two metals constituted a *common valuator*, determining values and governing prices throughout the world. But now Germany comes in and demonetizes silver by legislation, and substitutes gold, thus lessening the employment of silver and enlarging that of gold. The United States declares against silver as money; the States comprising the Latin Union stop coining silver. What is the result? Less use for silver, and for silver less value; increased employment for gold, and for gold higher value. What is the effect of such a change in the value of money? While it is going on, utter derangement of all other values; money is rising in value; other things are falling. It is profitable to hold money and everything for which money can be demanded, and unprofitable to invest in anything else, or to carry on production of any kind, beyond immediate consumption. Capital avoids industries, labor is idle, the accumulation of wealth ceases. Monetary legislation, deranging values, is the chief cause of a train of consequences engendering idleness, want, and misery, wherever its influence is felt.

Disraeli, in 1873, explained this cause, and predicted the results that have followed.

But the effect produced on all debts, public and private, is most manifest, as it is most direct.

Since 1850 the public indebtedness of the world, according to R. Dudley Baxter, has increased by more than $10,000,000,000; almost no State is now exempt. The aggregate swells to over $20,000,000,000. These debts were based upon values resulting from the employment of both silver and gold as money; nay, they were, in fact, based upon values resulting not only from the employment of gold and silver as valuators, but besides, and in addition to these metals, large volumes of legal tender paper money. In the United States, Italy, Austria, and Russia, not to name less important States, more than $2,000,000,000 of legal tender paper money has been issued since 1850. This paper money displaced, in a large measure, the metallic money in circulation in these countries, and, to that extent, lessened the employment of gold and silver, and consequently their value. The coins of these countries being displaced by paper money, went to swell the volume of metallic money in other countries, and, as the volume increased in such countries, the tendency was to enhance prices generally.

The value of the legal tender paper money in the countries issuing it is governed by the same laws governing metallic money; namely, the quantity as compared with its employment; or, in other words, the transactions or exchanges it is used to effect.

Now it is proposed not only to reverse all this, and substitute coin money again for legal tender paper, but to actually limit the volume of metallic money to gold alone, and then require debts to be paid according to this standard! What could be more wicked? And yet "R. C.," like many others, seems to think anything else would be inflation, and a cheat! To this class of moralists creditors, like popes, can do no wrong. They may righteously intrigue to alter the value of money; to do that covertly which would be denounced by every honest man if attempted openly, and escape censure. Or creditor nation may, by legislation, lessen the value of silver and increase that of gold, and then come forward and demand payment in the dearer metal.

In view of its far-reaching effect, and the manner in which it has been carried on, how is it possible to resist the belief that the movement begun in Europe a few years ago, and so energetically aided by public creditors everywhere, to establish monometallism, was a deliberate purpose to enhance the value, through legislation, of money, and, consequently, of debts, at the expense, not only of other property, but of labor and life? Nothing but the immeasurable wickedness of such a purpose warrants a doubt on the question.

Finally, permit me to say to "R. C." that he need have no delicacy as to the elementary character of economical treatises he might suggest. No science is well learned unless its elements are mastered, and of no science is this so true as of Economics. They only who "know by intuition" can with safety discard the elements of so intricate a science.

A. J. WARNER.

MARIETTA, O., Feb. 9, 1877.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Among the many abuses which society still suffers to exist, there is not one which is so widely extended, or which affects the interests of so many individuals, or calls so imperatively for reform, as that which results from the power of capital to absorb the products of labor. Capital, the product and natural ally of labor, has become its antagonist and its master; not in consequence of any attribute of an inherent character, but by a power which society has conferred. Though incapable of producing anything of itself, it is able through this power to secure a portion of the products of labor without rendering an equivalent. The natural function of capital is in the character of a tool or implement to aid in production, and that portion of the product which capital may justly claim is the amount to which its value has been impaired. When it exacts more than this, and in proportion as it does so, it is unjust to labor, because it is in competition with labor. The present system presents so many opportunities to despoil labor in the form of interest and profit, that any effort to secure justice to labor under it seems almost hopeless. That it is wrong to force a human being capable of hunger, thirst, and fatigue—to say nothing of higher feelings—to compete in the struggle for existence with an inanimate object, whether it be a coin or an engine, is, or should be, clear to the moral sense of every one.

The extent to which labor is subject to this condition under the system which now exists, and the evils which result from it, are not realized either by those who profit by, or those who suffer the wrong. Yet every dollar which is taken as interest, and every dollar which is acquired through profit over and above a just compensation for the cost of the labor in effecting the exchange, is obtained in direct violation of this principle. It is through the violation of this principle that labor is held in the toils by a power which itself creates, a power which has to such an extent secured the mastery over it as to force it continually to forge the chains by which it is held in bondage. To free labor from the subjection in which it is now held, capital must be deprived of its power to compete with it. And all efforts to improve the condition of the laborer will be successful just in proportion as they result in limiting it. But no effort, I think, will be rewarded with more than partial and temporary success which does not accomplish its destruction. It is through institutions that capital has acquired this power to increase its volume at the expense of labor, and not, as is generally supposed, because those who possess it are endowed in any great degree with superior self-denial, intelligence, or energy; and it is through such institutions as will deprive capital of this same power that relief is to be sought.

To depend alone upon educating the moral sense to a degree which shall secure equitable dealing under a system which presents so many opportunities and so constant a temptation to a contrary course of conduct, will be to depend upon a broken reed. We do not underestimate the importance of cultivating the moral sense, or the value of moral influences in governing society. But we wish to protest against the policy of trusting to moral influences alone, when they are so manifestly inadequate to remedy so extensive and so intolerable an evil. I believe the power to remedy this evil exists in society as it is now organized, and it is our purpose to indicate the direction and to trace (in outline merely) the methods by which it is to be applied. Before the competent physician prescribes a remedy for a disease in the human system, he carefully examines the patient to ascertain the origin, character, and extent of the malady. Before we can reasonably hope to remove the evils which exist in our social system, we must ascertain, if possible, the cause or causes which have been instrumental in producing them.

What, then, are the causes which have mainly contributed to produce the present unequal and inequitable distribution of wealth? We stated at the outset that the power which capital possesses to compete with labor was the fundamental cause; but how capital has come to possess this power, and by what methods, and under what conditions it is able to use it to such advantage to itself at the expense of labor, may now be considered. The division of labor and the introduction of labor-saving processes and machinery have increased the productive power of the most advanced nations in many departments of industry almost beyond computation, and have greatly increased the comforts of the laborer as well as the wealth of the capitalist; but few, I think, realize the extent to which it has increased the power of capital or the dependence of labor. The division of labor has become so completely organized to secure economy in production, that few workmen can produce more than one, and many more only a portion of one article which they may require for consumption; that can only be done successfully by the use of expensive tools or machinery requiring a large amount of capital which he does not possess. Powerless to produce a single article which he can exchange for food, clothing, or shelter, he is forced to sell his labor to those who control these avenues to production. The condition in which he is placed, and his helplessness in fixing the terms of the contract are clearly and eloquently stated in the following quotation from *Talks about Labor*, by J. W. Larned:—

"Here, then, entangled helplessly in the meshes of the vast net-work of this modern organization of labor and exchange, stands the man who has hands and brains, intelligence, strength, and will to work, according to the demand of Nature, for what he needs, but who stands empty-handed, with no accumulation of things hitherto produced,—with no capital. What can he do? There are no wild creatures any more within his search that he can hunt for food, or whose skins he can appropriate for clothing. There is not an animal that he can kill which is not the property of somebody, stamped with the right of possession by acquirement or accumulation. There is not a field in which he can dig a rood, or pluck an ear of corn, or gather a handful of fruit, that is not hedged with the same right. There is nothing within his reach to which he can apply his labor to make it productive for others, and so exchangeable,—not a scrap of raw material, whether metal, or wood, or stone, or even clay, that is not ticketed and labelled, 'Hands off!' The mark of appropriation, the sign and seal of capital, are on everything around him. Except with consent of the sovereigns of this universal domain, if he so much as attempts to apply his hands to any productive work, he is a trespasser and a thief. What can he do? Why, nothing, but helplessly cry out to those who hold this environment of capital around him: 'Pray let us work! Let me have something to work with and work upon,—land to cultivate, or wood to cut, or iron to forge, or clay to mould and burn! Give me a chance to produce something that is exchangeable for bread with those who have bread. Make your own terms with me,—the best terms that you can make with me and with my fellows who, like me, have only capacity to work and desire to work, and who are utterly without the means! Take every advantage that you will of the desperate pressure of our necessities; make us bid against one another, until we bid ourselves down to so small a share of the products of our labor, expended upon your materials, with your implements, that it will barely keep our bodies and our souls together. But let us work, and not starve.'"

We think it must be admitted that this picture presents very clearly and truly the condition of the laborer who is engaged in our mechanical and manufacturing industries. With the introduction of labor-saving machinery requiring large capital, and by the absorption of our unoccupied lands by speculators and railroad companies, it will soon become true in agricultural pursuits.

We often hear it said that the interests of labor and capital are identical. This is only true so far as the individual laborer is a capitalist or the individual capitalist a laborer. As soon as the laborer employs another's capital or the capitalist another's labor, their interests become conflicting. When capitalists and laborers become separated into distinct classes, the antagonism is complete and a constant warfare results, with such advantages on the side of the capitalist that the laborer has little more power to secure justice then he would have, were he a piece of unconscious mechanism. The machine must be oiled and repaired to be serviceable; the man must be clothed and fed to be serviceable; but the least amount of either consistent with securing efficient service is all that capital need bestow under the existing system. I do not wish to be understood that capitalists as a class use the power they possess to this extent. That they often continue to do business without profit, sometimes at a loss, to furnish those that would be otherwise without employment the means of subsistence, we all know. I only desire to show that the existing system possesses this power in many branches of industry, and is developing it to a frightful extent in all; that, as this power is the logical result of the system, and its use is recognized

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as just by society, a forbearance of its use will be regarded as an act of charity and not as resulting from any feeling of obligation. Humanity requires and justice demands the abolition of the conditions which render the exercise of this power dependent upon the will of those who hold it.

Slavery may be rendered more tolerable, and no doubt has been, by kindness and forbearance; but what was intolerable was that any one should be permitted to hold slaves at all. Now, although there is a great difference in degree between chattel-slavery and that condition of servitude unto which capital forces labor, it must be admitted, I think, that any system which forces a man to surrender a portion of the products of his labor without rendering an equivalent, partakes very considerably of the condition of slavery. D. J. K.

WAR OF "CAPITAL" AND "LABOR."

At the meeting called by Mr. W. G. H. Smart, to discuss a plan for obtaining State aid towards establishing a coöperative industrial colony, some forty people were present. It resulted in adopting a series of "resolutions"—we live in an age of *whereases* and *resolveds*—and appointing a committee of arrangements. Rev. Minot J. Savage, Mr. Charles Willey Eliot, and Mr. Frothingham (who, by the way, were not present) are on that committee. If the success of a meeting is judged by the amount of speech-making and resolutions, then I must say that the meeting at Codman Hall was a decided success. The usual classification of society into two antagonistic elements, those of capital and labor, did not seem to suffice, for one of the orators, Bishop Ferrette, found it necessary to divide that troublesome unit into no less than ten classes,—one-tenth, the cheating class; two more tenths constituting the cheated class; and the other seven-tenths composing the would-be, going-to, having-been cheated-cheating classes. Although clearness of speech was not the main vice of the several speakers, the object for which the untiring, well-meaning Mr. Smart called the meeting is a very laudable one, and deserves the hearty support of every true reformer.

The leading gentlemen of that scheme, however, may please bear in mind that they can only count on the support of true liberals by dealing with *facts alone*,—not by laying down theories, as yet subject to discussion, as established facts. That very many people are out of employment; that too many families are starving; that "business" is depressed; that confidence is everywhere lacked,—all that, gentlemen labor-reformers, is a fact, an undeniable, uncontrovertible fact. If you will attempt to undo these facts by your agitations, then, gentlemen, you may rest assured that the coöperation of philanthropists will not stay away. When you, however, lay down undemonstrated theories as truths, from which you draw apparently logical conclusions, then, gentlemen, your cause is hopeless. When you assert, for instance, that, as capital governs labor, the laborer is a slave, and therefore he must be freed, I will admit that, *if* the laborer is a slave, he must be freed. But *is* he a slave? That is the question. The mere assertion, of course, is not sufficient to establish it as a fact; neither has it even the support of statistics. We must, therefore, apply to it the test of a very celebrated critic, who, it is true, is very severe, but also very impartial. This judge is Mr. Reason.

Let us suppose the two parts of society, as you divide them into capitalists and laborers, to have declared war to each other. What follows? Although the capital class have the gold, silver, iron, grains, wheats, bricks, in short everything necessary to maintain human life, with them, yet they cannot eat any gold or silver; not even grain or wheat. When they are naked and they feel cold, they cannot use the wool in their possession and simply glue it on to their sinful skins. No, the grain and wheat must be *ground*, before it is eatable; the wool must be worked into a garment, before it can protect the rich from the severe cold. In short, he must have laborers. You can easily see that, if "capital" and "labor" are divided and split, they cannot exist; both must perish! Who, then, is going to assert now that labor is more dependent on capital than the latter is on the former?

But I hear you objecting. You say the capitalist, by possessing the capital, can work out his capital into the necessary shape *himself*. Allow me to assume, gentlemen, that a day has only twenty-four hours, and that even such a monster as a capitalist has only two hands. These simple things are very often forgotten by the laborers' "cannibals." The capitalist cannot do everything at once; he cannot bake bread, saw wood, study labor-reform, and grant money to coöperative colonization societies, all at once. And suppose, even, that a capitalist *can* get along without the aid of "laborers," it is only by *working* himself. He sustains himself mainly, then, not by his *capital*, but by *working* his capital! Consequently true capital is labor; or, to put it in a more expressive way, capital and labor are one and the same thing. What you call capital, against which you wage such a raging war, is simply a *surplus of antecedent labor*. We often see rich men getting poor, while consuming their surplus without laboring; while we also see poor men getting rich, without antecedent capital, merely by their labor. Nothing but labor is capital. Any artificial distinction between capital and labor is a crime against logic and humanity. Against humanity, because the confusion arising from this doctrine leads many unthinking "laborers" (of whom there is, I am sorry to say, a multitude) to suppose that the only remedy to abolish certain evils they suffer is to abolish capital; which, in other words, means to make humanity a universal unproducing idler. IVAN PANIN.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN GEORGIA.

MR. EDITOR:—

As your paper is devoted to religious liberty, and to the liberty of the mind, it may not be amiss to let you know how we stand in Georgia, an old slave State, on the subject of mental liberty, so far as the law goes. I will admit we have a private ignoring of the liberty of the mind, which exists chiefly among religionists.

To illustrate the subject, I send you a decision of our Supreme Court in a case where it was sought to remove an individual from the guardianship of minor children, simply because he was an "infidel." The opinion of the Court was delivered by Judge McCay, as follows:—

"It is a little extraordinary that the spirit of intolerance should need such precise restraints to keep it within bounds. It has for years been the settled law of this State that men shall not be molested for their religious opinions. The Constitution of 1861 and 1865 each added: 'Nor prohibited from holding any public office or trust on account of his religious opinions' (Constitution, 1865, Article 1, Section 5). By a play upon the word 'religious,' some Orthodox people did not admit that this protected one who had opinions which they did not think were 'religious.' This very proceeding calls Mr. Bell an 'infidel,' of the sect of Universalists, with intent, we suppose, to put him out of the protection of the Constitution, as one whose opinions could not be classed as religious. But, without doubt, even the Constitution of 1861 and 1865 mean, by this, opinion upon matters relating to the relation between man and his Maker. But our present Constitution gives broader language. After using the language of the Constitution of 1861 and 1865, Article 1, Section 6, it adds another clause. Section 12, Article 1, is in these words: 'No person shall be molested for his *opinions*, or be subject to any civil or political incapacity, or acquire any civil or political advantage in consequence of such opinions.' This cuts at the root of the whole matter,—leaves not a single link of the old chain by which, for so many centuries, men have tried to bind in fetters the human mind.

"In Georgia, a man may think as he pleases upon any subject, religious, philosophical, or political, and is not, for that, under any civil or political disability.

"The office of guardian is a public trust, and these clauses declare no man incapacitated for that trust by reason of his opinions.

"If men act badly, lead lives rendering them unfit to have the rearing of children, we will not say that the Courts may not interfere. But over men's opinions, by the laws of Georgia, we have no jurisdiction, and we think this is a wise provision." (Georgia Reports, Supreme Court, vol. 41, p. 183.)

Yours truly, A. A. B.

THE NEW "DISCOVERY."

OTTAWA, Canada, Feb. 12, 1877.

EDITOR OF INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I have been reading the articles in THE INDEX on "Universology," by its "discoverer," Stephen Pearl Andrews. Although much interested in every attempt to unify the sciences into a philosophy for human guidance and improvement, I have been totally unable to make anything out of "Universology," except a mass of more or less incoherent words without meaning (except perhaps in the domain of grammar and derivation of words) or application to human affairs. The whole system might be summed up as a fac-simile of St. Patrick's proof of the Trinity from the three-leaved clover, everything in the universe being divided into systems of threes—threes within threes, in endless division and confusion.

I should not have thought it likely that any one else besides the discoverer could possibly imagine any outcome of usefulness from such a system, till I read the article of I. Storer Cobb in THE INDEX of Feb. 1.

I think it is Niebuhr who remarks that, when he found his views adopted by another human being, they acquired an almost infinite importance in his eyes. When, therefore, I found Mr. Cobb expressing in intelligible language so warm a eulogy on what appeared to me an unintelligible system, I felt called upon to re-read the articles in THE INDEX; but I must say the result was no better than before. The whole thing seems to me a series of fanciful analogies, vague and misleading, as analogies generally are, evolved from the inner consciousness of the author without the least congruity with the facts of science.

Mr. Cobb, in his enthusiasm for the new philosophy, makes some statements with regard to the writings of Herbert Spencer which I think are not warranted. He says: "However lucid may be regarded his (Spencer's) views upon the subject, we can find nothing but reasons for what is. Unsatisfactory as may be to him the condition of things as he finds them, he does not give the slightest idea of what change or improvement can be effected, or of the method by which any advancement can be made." Now one can only infer from this that Mr. Cobb's acquaintance with Spencer's works is very incomplete. No author has more diligently and successfully applied his principles to the improvement of human affairs. In *Social Statics*, he has applied the law of equal liberty for the first time to that department of morality which consists of man's relations to his fellow-man. On education—a subject which has more intimate bearings on human progress than any other,—his work will stand as a model for all time. In his other works he has applied the principles deduced from evolution to such important subjects as criminal discipline, pauperism, representative government, currency and banking, the proper sphere of government, and many others. It would be safe to say that on these subjects he has produced a greater effect on the minds of his contemporaries than any other writer past or present. It is no doubt the best test that can be applied to any system of principles, that their application will lead to the increase of human happiness and diminution of human misery. Mr. Cobb is quite right in saying that "all acquisitions of knowledge should be made conducive to the amelioration of the condition of suffering humanity"; but I am not aware that the "discoverer" of "Universology" has made any attempt to grapple with any of those difficult problems which beset our present social position, such as pauperism, claims of labor and capital, criminal management, legislation and government, and the like. J. G. WHYTE.

[In publishing the articles on "Universology" in THE INDEX, the rights of free criticism are of course taken for granted; nor do we imagine that either Mr. Andrews or Mr. Cobb will be otherwise than pleased at the above proof of the interest taken in their writings. For our own part, we undertake no advocacy of "Universology," leaving that to those who know more about it; but we judge it only right to say that we admire genius wherever we see it,—that, without surrendering a different philosophy of our own which has never been reduced to exact statement, we find no little speculative genius in Mr. Andrews' system,—and that we cannot quite acknowledge the propriety of applying merely practical tests to abstract thought. The one test of a philosophical system is the question—*is it true?* On this point we suspend our judgment respecting "Universology."—ED.]

MR. WEISS ON THE REVIVAL.

Mr. John Weiss said substantially, in a discourse on "The Theory of Revivals," delivered in Parker Memorial Hall, Sunday, February 11:—

"A comparison has lately been made between the intellect of Boston and Edinburgh to the disparagement of the former. Edinburgh, it is said, not only welcomed the Evangelists, but sat at their feet. Will 'haughty, intellectual' Boston do the same? Up to this time, it is safe to say that her intellect has not been humbled,—perhaps because it has not yet been addressed. The old prayers revamped have notified the Lord to get ready, and churches deeply in debt have run in debt to build the Tabernacle. But the intelligence of Boston is not troubled about the matter; its culture will not succumb to the slop-columns of religious newspapers, nor the Holy Ghost be moved by these theatre tears."

Mr. Weiss quoted the saying, "An honest God is the noblest work of man," and proceeded to show that the Evangelists' God falls far below this standard. An infinite power that spoils its children in advance, even in the mother's womb, and then lets out salvation in so stingy a way, millions having never heard of it, were points which were forcibly presented. "Patriots," said the speaker, "saved their country, but could not save themselves. Did God in a fit of economy make one perfect soul, and give him as a pattern to other souls, with pains and penalties? The Evangelists' God makes men sinful and then blackmails them."

The light estimation of morality in the creed of the Evangelists was also spoken of; all moral pledges are superfluous, are moral snares, say they; "but," said Mr. Weiss, "a pledge, like an oath, belongs to 'personal religion.'" He closed his discourse by saying that all believe that a revival is needed; but the needed one cannot be drawn from a creed which has harbored so many evils. No Medea, even in Boston, can 'Cook' it over in a caldron and produce a new statement. A true revival would be begun by referring to Nature. God in man is a mustard-seed, and the plant must not be forced. A soul cannot be grown in a tabernacle in five minutes. Give it more time. The placid heart of that Christ so profusely adored at revivals said: "Thou canst not tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth." That is the way with the Holy Spirit. W. H. H.

A NOTE FROM MRS. DALL.

141 WARREN AVE., Boston, Feb. 23, 1877.

MR. EDITOR:—

I saw in your issue of yesterday a note from Miss Merriam, in which she said that she had mentioned my proposition of a mending or a baking-shop to *one* of the overworked women of the middle class, and been asked in return: "Where should we get the money to pay for this out-door work?"

The proposition would not be worth making, if it did not cost less than to do the work at home.

One fire will cook eight dinners as well as one; the fuel, therefore, would cost only one-eighth as much as for *one*. Something must be added to this, for the expenses of the baker and use of the stove. At all events the cost could be reduced one-half.

Mending-shops ought, if honestly managed, to more than save their cost, by deferring the purchase of new garments,—and so with other things.

Yours very truly,

CAROLINE H. DALL.

A GENIAL professor in one of the Scotch universities has a bright boy of four years, whose only experience in church-going was where the service was in Congregational form. A few Sabbaths since, a relative was to preach in the Episcopal Church, and the professor permitted the child to accompany him thither. All went on decorously until the minister, in his white robes, presented himself, when the little fellow, with a tug at his sleeve, very nearly upset the professor's gravity by wonderingly exclaiming: "Papa, does Uncle Joseph sleep here?"

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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involving, as it does, the basis of property, the principles of finance, and the organization of industry, and determining, in its settlement, directly the material, and indirectly the mental and spiritual condition of the people,—demands immediate consideration by the best minds, it is the intention of the management of the proposed Review, in selecting its contents, to give the preference largely to articles aimed at the solution of this disputed problem. While so doing, however, it will not exclude, but welcome rather, the proper presentation of all sides of all subjects pertaining to human welfare, whether social, economic, scientific, literary, æsthetic, or religious; prompted to this course by a firm faith in the omnipotence of Truth. It is hoped that the size of the Review, and the infrequency of its issue, will furnish opportunity for thoroughness of treatment, not afforded hitherto to the majority of competent exponents of radical ideas; but, while most of its articles will be of the weighty character peculiar to the best review literature, poetry and the lighter features of the monthly magazine will not be disregarded. To book reviews, large space will be devoted.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1877. WHOLE No. 376.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

MR. MOODY thinks that New England Christians "lack tact and enthusiasm in the inquiry rooms." They must all be made to "bow their intellectual heads."

REV. DR. BARTOL, known and loved by "all good spirits," preached his fortieth anniversary sermon last Sunday at West Church, in this city. A noble and beautiful life has been his, filled with brave fidelity to truth and his fellow-men. May its beauty shine upon us all for many a long year yet!

IT IS NOTICEABLE that a vigorous attempt is made to defend the Moody revival on the ground that it benefits men morally. Without denying that a few people may be helped morally by the overdone religious emotionalism of the revival, we submit that a movement which teaches that morals go for nothing with God, unless backed up by "faith in Christ," can on the whole only do harm to the cause of morality. In fact, the good moral influence attributed to the revival reminds us of the man who, on hearing that "the good men do is oft interred with their bones," dryly remarked that this interment can generally take place without crowding the bones!

THESE ADDITIONAL lists of signatures to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition have been received since our last acknowledgment: from Mr. Frederic Firth, Union Township, Ind., 22 names; from Mr. H. B. McNair, Dansville, N. Y., 1; from Mr. J. E. Sutton, Olathe, Kan., 58; from Mr. Samuel Lydiard, Long Lake, Minn., 64; from Mr. M. H. Conaway, Archer, O., 87; from Mr. S. L. Smith, West Winfield, N. Y., 81; from Mr. B. F. Underwood, after a lecture at Youngstown, O., 69—after a lecture at Canton, O., 82—after a lecture at Salem, O., 71; from the *Banner of Light*, Boston, 36; from Mr. H. L. Green, Salamanca, N. Y., 142; from Mr. B. A. Ballou, Providence, R. I., 124. Total number of signatures thus far received, 2113.

PRESIDENT HAYES has been inaugurated. The Sabbatarianism of his advisers has made his entrance upon his high office ridiculous, by compelling him to take the oath of office on Saturday night, clandestinely and in a corner. An utter lack of dignity characterized the whole performance. Moreover, the oath was invalid, for President Grant was still in office, and no other man could be sworn in without usurpation. From 7.20 P.M. on Saturday to 12 M. on Sunday, there were two Presidents, or else the oath was worthless. This is the way in which Christian Sabbatarianism meddles with the government only to render it absurd. But such absurdity is very mischievous, for it *establishes precedents against the secularity of the State.* They are multiplying with ominous rapidity and for a very bad purpose. The form of oath prescribed and required by the Constitution was discarded, and another one was administered to the President-elect by the Chief Justice. Why? Because the Constitutional oath contains no recognition of God, which the illegal substitute did. We shall have something to say on this point hereafter; now we only note a fact which will set thoughtful men to thinking.

TO THOSE who are engaged in collecting signatures to the National Liberal League petition for the Religious Freedom Amendment, we would say that there is no intention to present the petition in Congress until the fit time arrives. The object is to collect without delay the largest possible number of signatures in favor of a thoroughly secular Amendment, in order that the officers of the National Liberal League may be able to present this petition promptly, whenever the Blaine school amendment shall come up again for action in Congress. Nobody who perceives the present drift of events—the inevitable effect of the Pope's new Encyclical against the public schools in stimulating the Evangelical party to revive that measure at their own time, and the great danger of passing an Amendment which shall in some way recognize the Bible or so-called "unsectarian Christianity" in the Constitution—can be blind to the necessity of having a strong protest against thus destroying the secularity of the Constitution *all ready to present.* Roll up the names, then, by thousands and tens of thousands. Let others sleep if they will, but let all who are in earnest for the protection of religious liberty be vigilant, industrious, and unselfish.

THAT THE Russo-Turkish war, if it indeed breaks out, is to be a religious conflict of the most desperate character, is foreshadowed in such utterances as the following, translated from the *Vakit*, a leading Turkish paper of Constantinople: "When Europe will not look at us, then we shall lay aside all European customs which we have lately adopted, and shall enter on our old way. From the boy of thirteen years old to the old man of seventy-five, every one of us will be armed, and we shall defend by the aid of God, and by the daring of the old days, the country we have held for five hundred years. And if the issue shall come to this, as Islamism is not limited only to Turkey, then we will blend all the different Moslem races into one. The Moslems of India, of Central Asia, of the Caucasus, of Africa, and of Algiers will come forward, and we shall again take the measures we adopted once for the conquest of Jerusalem. We shall send proclamations everywhere, and declare a general war against the whole world. This is a very easy matter for His Majesty the Sultan to do. From the preparations we have made against a country like Servia, one can easily judge what we can do in circumstances such as we have contemplated. . . . Then if it will not be possible to subjugate 120,000,000 of Indians with 90,000 soldiers, 1,000,000 will be insufficient. If the English government takes these points into consideration, and if Prince Gortschakoff brings before his eyes this result, both will doubtless desist from pushing into war the entire world. If, which God forbid, things reach this point, and if the Moslems rise in order to defend their sacred religion, and if the treasure accumulated every year at Mecca is used for the protection of the Mohammedan faith, then the scenes of the ancient European wars, where the Moslems were both victorious and destructive, will be repeated, and will destroy the progress and the civilization of an entire country."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

"Difference from me is Measure of Absurdity":

A PLEA FOR BREADTH IN RELIGIOUS CULTURE.

A DISCOURSE BEFORE THE FREE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF PROVIDENCE, R. I., FEB. 18, 1877.

BY WILLIAM C. GANNETT.

To be free in thought is not to be a sect of one, an Indian on the war-path hunting for the scalps of superstitions. It is to have one's own truth so central that in virtue of that truth you are citizen of many faiths,—able therefore to tell the good as well as the ill in them. 1877 sees other denials of Freedom and Fellowship in Religion than those which the common churches make. Said a friend the other day, "How true it is that it is better to be in the wrong with humanity and breadth than in the right without humanity and breadth." The Liberal and Radical side furnishes denials also in bigotry against the bigots; in scornful denunciations of the superstition; in a cruel irreverence for others' reverence; in a shallow gauging of others' faiths by the surface of doctrine instead of by the deeper meanings, the moral intents and contents to those who hold the faiths; in blind mismeasurements of religious forces as expressions of human nature and factors of social progress; and sometimes in a general contempt for anything and everything that chooses to call itself religious faith or feeling. *This* is not "Freedom in Religion,"—it is the very clanking of the chains of prejudice. It is not truth-seeking or truth-seeing or truth-speaking or truth-spreading, but careless or ignorant exaggeration. It is an imitation of old Orthodoxy, not in its better but its worst features. There is a cant of irreligion, a superstition of irreverence, a bigotry of creedlessness, a sectarianism of the unchurched; of course this is neither religious freedom nor religious fellowship,—much less is it both of them.

MR. MOODY: CON AND PRO.

Why do I say all this to-day? Because Mr. Moody is in Boston, as you do not need me to tell you. To one who lives there his presence is beyond all question. The boy at the street-corner offers you his picture, the horse-car placards tell you as they pass, the papers report his sermons, the preachers echo them to praise or criticise on Sunday; and when you meet your friend the proper question is, Have you been to hear him yet? As probably you both have been, the next question is, Well, what do you think of him? And if you and the friend happen to be of the class that is so often referred to in the Tabernacle as the "infidels of Boston," and you express a somewhat favorable opinion of him who calls you so—of him and of his work,—my experience is that you may look for little sympathy from that friend.

"Why, Mr. Moody's God is surely the God who creates sinners ready-made for doom?" he says. You have to half-assent; for that is the logic of the matter, although you have heard Mr. Moody gloriously ignore that logic in behalf of a much more rational and lovable Creator. "And is not Mr. Moody's Man the ruined creature of the Fall?" You assent, although you know the ruin leaves you free in Mr. Moody's common-sense eyes to be as good as ever you choose to be. "And Mr. Moody's Bible—is it not the literal Word of God?" No *half*-assent to that is possible, for you have heard him try to prove it is,—that from cover to cover, Old Testament and New, Noah's ark, Lot's wife, Jonah's whale, and all (he mentions them by name as instances), it is the very Word of God. "And is not Mr. Moody's chief emphasis 'Believe in Jesus and you are saved'?" True again, although his believing *in* is a practical matter by whose side simple believing is a very little thing. Yes, it cannot be denied that for careful thinking and accurate statement the Tabernacle in Boston is a good place not to go to!

And yet I urge that a Radical's religious culture ought to be broad enough to recognize its moral and religious value. I plead for a culture broad enough to be able to do that. To condemn the movement purely for its doctrinal standard—what is this but to adopt the test of *doctrine above morals*,—the very test we have so long blamed the Evangelical for using? Or to have no word for that doctrine but a word of supercilious scorn—what is this but to adopt the bigot's principle, "Difference from me is measure of absurdity"? Radical bigot or Orthodox bigot, does it matter which you are? Or to decide off-hand that such a movement can do no good—what is this but to decide *a priori* a question of fact about A, B, C, and D, whom you and I don't know? The ministers who call the two Evangelists from city to city—they know A and B and C, and have a moral end in view with reference to them, and these ministers are not utter fools. Or once more, to have no word of welcome for the century's gain as attested by this very Tabernacle-spectacle is ungratefully to ignore historic fact. Mr. Moody's sermon last Friday night was on the "Love of God." "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" was the title of Jonathan Edwards' most famous sermon in the "Great Awakening" of 1741-2, the greatest revival that has ever swept through the New England churches. Doubtless Mr. Moody has his thought too about the "lost," and will utter it; it is, of course, *implied* throughout his whole appeal; and certainly Jonathan Edwards had his thought about the love of God. But one of the most noteworthy things about the present revival is this: in place of the tremendous imagery brought to bear against the sinner a hundred and thirty, yes, or only fifty years ago, we have to-day the appeal of kindly anecdotes and sympathies to draw him to the Inquiry Rooms. The implications are the same, but the actual tone and emphasis are most different. Then the Revivalist's instrument was a whip; now it is a magnet. Philanthropy has taught Theology to grow humane.

THE PHENOMENON.

I think the way to look at Moody and his work is somewhat in this wise: Here is a great religious phenomenon. We study the phases of religion in history. We watch in the lands of the present the Indian with his totems, the Buddhist at his shrine, the Mohammedan on his praying-carpet in the desert, the Roman Catholic before his ribboned and jewelled Virgin, the Presbyterian with his Sunday face,—it is family history; they are all our ancestors or cousins. But here is something wondrous in religion happening in our day and in our midst,—we need not travel far in time or in space to watch it. Two men have been going through the capitals of the highest English-speaking civilization. Wherever they come, the crowd gathers before their lips, and light hearts grow heavy and then light again with a new kind of joy, and many a selfish life grows earnest for the time, at least, and many a drunkard gives up drinking and struggles as he never struggled yet before he falls again. In Boston twice or thrice a day, four and five and six thousand people fill a vast building to hear them. What go they out to see? A man big-bodied, short-necked, heavy-faced, harsh-voiced, of no culture such as colleges and books supply, poor in grammar, poorer in pronunciation, and poverty is not the word to describe his lack of grace in manner. But here is the fact,—six thousand people, men and women, old and young, life-tired and life-jubilant people, come twice a day to hear him. The educated ministers, their usual teachers, are his servants. He says to this man, "Speak," and he speaketh; to that man, "Pray," and he prayeth. Here is something not to be ignored or pooh-poohed away. Can it be explained?

ITS SECRETS.

Three things at least go part way towards the explanation.

(1.) The man strikes straight for your *conscience*, and he deals with certain universal facts about the conscience. Not all men carry ideas, not all men carry feelings which can be moved by a word said to them in common; but every man who goes to the Tabernacle carries a conscience, and knows what Moody means when he says straightforwardly: "You're a sinner; you need cure; you feel mighty little power to cure yourself; there is a Power that can cure you; lay hold of it,—here it is! and be well!" Mr. Moody cannot philosophize about this matter, sin; he hardly tries to, is the last man to succeed if he tried. Neither can his audience philosophize about it. But that inability helps, not hinders, the effect. That saves time, and keeps the aim to the target. There is a clear track between his lips and your conscience. He knows what he is talking about, and you know, too, be the doctrine what it may.

Doctrine there is, of course, in which this appeal is clothed. But as was said a moment since, though the doctrine *implied* may be the whole of Calvinism, it is not *expressed*. Logically it may be there, practically it is not. The doctrine expressed is very short and simple and perfectly familiar. It is the two or three great features of the Christian scheme, or rather the two or three great moral facts of Religion phrased in the Christian symbols. "Jesus the Savior from Sin" is the central dogma over and over urged. "There is no other name given under heaven whereby man may be saved,"—that is the sun of Mr. Moody's system. And so far as I have noticed, it is Jesus the Savior from sin, much more than from the consequences of sin, that is emphasized. Ruin, not Hell, is the main thought. It is, you see, the moral fact in the Christian symbol. The fact under the symbol is sin, the need of a changed heart, of a new birth, the sure moral Judgment, the possibility of forgiveness, the strength that comes to help the truly penitent; this is something that you and I know all about, although our symbols for it are different, and perhaps we say nothing about Jesus and atonement, or new birth or forgiveness. *The moral facts in the Christian symbols.* And because these symbols are so few, clear-cut, familiar to the hearers, so transparent to their moral contents, and so taken-for-granted instead of being offered as dogmas to be explained and proved and accepted,—because there is so *little* theology in Mr. Moody, and so *much* morality, we have, I think, a prime secret of his power.

(2.) Another secret is an open secret. He preaches in pictures and stories. A sermon of his is a cabinet of anecdotes, is a little picture-gallery. He states his point in a few words and then, instead of moralizing over it, he says: "I remember a man in Glasgow," and everybody listens to find out about that Glasgow man. And when he is through with him, the Chicago man is ready,—and when *he* is dismissed, you have Mr. Moody's point, vividly etched on your mind ready to be carried away in memory. His anecdotes are anecdotes of the conscience, gathered in his long experience, most of them moulded by trial into telling shapes. Not all, however; some of them are very wooden yet, and sometimes they act like boomerangs and lay the teaching flat. But he can take a little Bible-incident and fill in and fill in with details until you have a special correspondent's photograph instead of two or three Bible-verses. And this, till there is too much of it, is fascinating. And many people can stand a good deal of it. It is Sunday-school talk, and we all like to be treated as children in this way. In the best-bred Temple as well as in the rough-and-ready Tabernacle the anecdote is often the livest part of the sermon. If I should begin right here, "I remember a man," you would all look up and I should have you as long as I held on to him. Now Mr. Moody never lets him go beyond

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arm's length, and as a consequence everything he says is personalized, living, dramatic, easy to understand, hard to forget.

To this might be added as a third secret of his success the business-like way of the man. He is a practical, driving American turned missionary. He is Chicago incarnate,—as characteristic a product of our country as his own city is. There is no pause, no rest, no moment of quiet waiting reverence, such as you are wont to. Everything is alert, and clicks into the next thing. He stands and moves like a colonel going into battle. The text kept coming to mind in a comical way: "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's *business?*" And this organizing business-talent, this knack of knowing what to do and how to do it and of doing it with a drive, doubtless accounts in part for the influence that goes out from him in his short visits here and there.

The pictorial talent and the business-tact need no explanation; but in regard to what was said about doctrines being merely *symbols*, and Mr. Moody's chief doctrines being symbols of moral facts, I would say something more; for this, I think, touches the Radical's mistake in using "Absurdity" or "Superstition" as the word of words to best describe the Tabernacle scene.

DOCTRINES ARE SYMBOLS: THE LAW OF INTELLECTUAL RELATIVITY.

There are two ways of looking at religious truth. One regards it as the opposite of error, as something which you have and I have not, if I differ from you. The other regards error and truth as parts of one process of discernment; both of them relative words describing nothing absolute, but simply meaning points farther back or farther along in the process. The first way may be called the eighteenth century view, for in all the disputes between Deists and Christians in England, between the Infidels and Catholics in France, during the last century, each party argued as if it had all the right and the other all the wrong, and as if there were no connection between them save that of opposition. The second view is specifically a nineteenth century view, and the word which expresses it best is that long word growing so familiar of late, Evolution. The idea, you know, in Evolution is that all things *grow*,—all things, from star-systems in the heavens to thought-systems in the history of the human mind; and, interpreted by this idea, what men call "truth" and "error" are evidently but beliefs farther and less far advanced in the process of growth. Once recognize this idea as the right one, and differing thoughts and thinkers take an attitude towards each other by no means that of sheer opposition. Then, no one is, or claims to be, wholly right; no one is, or is charged with being, wholly in the wrong; and the partial wrongs and rights, however distant, are allied to each other by a unity of real intent; and to-morrow our truth will probably be the error, and we shall need the patience which this idea demands, that we give to those we deem the men of yesterday who are living all around us.

Certain momentous facts come in to notice as soon as we take this evolution-view.

We begin to see that the substance and the form of a belief have to be distinguished; that the real meaning which the believers mean is one thing, and the doctrine in which they try to embody it is another.

And next we see that the change called Growth affects the form far more rapidly than it does the substance. Growth trans*forms* thought quickly, constantly,—it trans*ubstantiates* thought also, but much more slowly. The essential meaning in a conception may abide for centuries and ages; the outside of the conception, the formula for it to the mind, the intellectual symbol for it in the books and in the creeds and on the lips, shifts from generation to generation and from stage to stage of culture.

And one thing more we see,—that the chief feature in this change of thought-forms, the chief feature of thought-growth, may be described as a passing from definite and narrow outlines of conception to more abstract and vague, but broader, outlines. The man of the people, half-child or half-poet as he is, a picturer and imager in all his thinking, must have the dogma concrete, vivid, personalized, in order to have it a real conception to his mind. "God" is a King on his throne, a Creator, a Law-giver, is incarnate in some saint perhaps, or immarbled in some sacred stone. "Immortality" is a vivid Judgment and a Heaven and a Prison-house of torture. "Inspiration" is an angel messenger, or whispered words, or literal visions, or God employing human amanuenses. "Sin" is a drama whose first act is the Garden scene; its second the world-wilderness of fallen men; its third a Redeeming Deity hanging on a cross; its fourth the song of the ransomed for his sake. There we have the man of the people fashioning *his* symbols. The "thinker," as we call him, is impatient at all this; these hard and narrow outlines make the conception wooden and small and false to him; and for the thought,—the very same essential thought, remember,—to be real to his mind it has to expand into something much vaster and more vague. "God" becomes the Power that makes for Rightness in the Universe. "Immortality" becomes Life devoid of space and time limits. "Inspiration" becomes human nature's insight in its higher powers. "Sin," man's half-blind, half-willing stumbling in his slow climb towards moral grandeur. There we have the "thinker" fashioning *his* symbols. Do we not see that the difference over which we make such chatter is this difference of *symbol* mainly, and that the two men simply *cannot* use each other's symbols? From each the great thought before their two minds vanishes, if he tries to look at it in the other's form,—and he sees only an empty form: whence one cries, Superstition! and the other Infidelity!

In other words, there is a *law of intellectual Relativity* ruling over and determining the forms of all our thoughts. The form, the symbol, which expresses a thought for me is connected with my whole mental development, and will not do for you in a higher or a lower stage of development. The form or symbol which expresses that same thought for you is connected with your whole mental development and will not do for me. The doctrine that we grieve over or wonder at as superstition in the savage, in the child, in the Evangelist, is just what makes some fact real, and *not* illusion, to his mind. What they call infidelity and grieve over in us, is that which makes the same fact real to us. So it is not strange that the history of mental progress is the history of "superstitions" and "infidelities."

Now the dogmas of the Church are such "symbols": they are intellectual symbols for moral and religious conceptions. And if, in forming judgments of each other, we were wont to keep in mind this law of Relativity, I am sure it would temper our impatient wonder and check that cry, Absurdity!

MR. MOODY'S SYMBOLS TRANSLATED.

Let us apply all this to Mr. Moody and the Tabernacle. His central emphasis, I said, is the New Birth, the Instantaneous Conversion, the "Come to Jesus." These are his symbols. What does he mean by them? This,—*Consecration, now and here, to your Ideal of Right. Bend to the Eternal Law of Right, that which stands to you as "the Power not yourself that makes for Righteousness in the Universe."* Oppose that Power and you are doomed to be a crush! Join it, and you are lifted to mastery and peace! Join it, and then that Power "not your own," becomes your own! Were you not weak,—*so* weak? Are you not strong, *so* strong? That is "Jesus," that Power. Cannot you recognize it through Mr. Moody's symbols? That self-surrender to it is what *he* calls "Coming to Jesus." That inflowing strength and peace is with him the relief and grace of those forgiven in Jesus' cross. What greatly matters the *name?* Is he not right about the central facts? Is not that self-surrender the supreme necessity of here and now, if you have never made it? And is it not "New Birth" when made? And is it not an interior act that does precede all outward deeds? And in that inward struggle between the higher and the lower self, that wrestle between a Conscience and the Awful Right, that knowledge that now and here it must be settled,—if you go off from that moment of clear conviction without the self-surrender to the Highest, goes not your soul towards suicide? And when, by the surrender you get upon God's side, feel you not as if his entire Almightiness were pledged to give you strength henceforth as his co-worker? These are inner facts that you and I ought to be able to recognize under any symbol. The poor drunkard, the light-living woman, the selfish husband, the thieving merchant, the restless-hearted boy or girl, know what he means. They know very well that his "Come to Jesus," whatever else it means, means consecration to a new and better life; that to believe in him, to accept him, means a turning-about,—"conversion." They are not utter fools; it is not a pantomime or private theatricals,—it is a conscience wrestling with the Living God. And shall we laugh or cavil at the *symbol?* You do not laugh at the idea of consecration to the Highest Right you know? No; your heart leaps and aches at the thought; your cheeks flush with the yearning to do that heroism; your tongue has no Ha! Ha! for that; but that is what your Evangelical neighbor calls "Coming to Jesus." Are you going to call it *cant?* His symbol serves him as yours serve you. Honor your own in honoring his!

Do I idealize Mr. Moody and his converts by these words? "They do not consciously mean anything so intensely moral as this," I hear some one protest. "The 'consecration' that you make central in the 'Come to Jesus' may be there indeed, but it is the incidental rather than the central thing. The central thing with them is, not character, but 'salvation,' that imputed righteousness that buys off their punishment for sin, that 'indulgence' element of which the Roman Catholic's 'indulgence' is only a lower form."

I doubt not that it is so with some; and that with still more, with very many, although they fully mean a vow of consecration and only sing that

> "*Till* to Jesus' work you cling
> Doing is a deadly thing,"

that stress tends to make them feel that doing is a comparatively indifferent thing *after* they cling to Him; in short, that the "symbol," like idols everywhere, often gets the worship away from the inner moral meaning. Without abatement of this kind I frankly own is exaggeration in the way I have put the matter. But I believe that the truer estimate of a movement like the Revival is gotten by making such abatement from this way of looking at it, rather than by approaching it in the opposite spirit with a little pity to abate our scorn. It is very easy to pick out many a bit from Mr. Moody's talk that seems to contradict all this. "The greatest sin of the world is unbelief": "If I read my Bible right, there is no hope out of Christ": and so on. But these are to be interpreted by his prevailing emphasis, not that by these. That he confounds his symbol with his substance utterly, that the two are one to him,—is that any reason why we should make the same mistake? And he would laugh at all this talk about "symbols," nor understand a word of it. But get him to tell you what he means by "belief" and "out of Christ," and in two minutes you will probably find him deep in morality, spite of himself, —or rather because of himself, for that is what his Christology *is* in his heart of hearts.

There are two classes to whom the Tabernacle will do good. (1) The class it is specially designed to reach, uncultured people whom Mr. Moody's symbols —which they have always carelessly associated with "religion"—will startle into careful listeners, just because in his talk they are so *materialized* that the things they stand for, God, death, the better living, leap out into visible reality before their eyes. They are people to whom the belief that the whale swallowed Jonah or that Jonah swallowed the whale, were that story in the Bible and the preacher, does small harm compared with the good they get by believing as literally, even for a little while, the moral contents of the Bible. These will be helped morally. (2) A class more cultured and more thoughtful, Evangelical by faith, and therefore long used to these same symbols in vaguer forms. In this class there are some whom this Evangelist's literalness, that same materializing simplicity of his, will startle with a sense of irrationality; yet they know that Mr. Moody is themselves printed off plain! Some of those ministers who sit by his side so loyally must feel tried in their minds, and humbled. That whale that swallowed Jonah,—no, they don't swallow *it*. These persons will be helped intellectually. Slowly and half-unconsciously, this strait-jacketing acts to prompt an escape towards larger truth.

And there are two classes to whom the Tabernacle does harm: (1) the thoughtless Evangelicals whom the excitement simply confirms in the general doctrines long received without impressing their moral meanings any deeper in their lives. This class is hurt intellectually, as children might be hurt by being led to glorify their primer forever and forever. And (2) those indifferents or those radicals in religion whose heart is hot against others' "absurdities" therein. To this class, and it is no small one, and comprises both cultured and uncultured persons, the Tabernacle scenes and talk simply confirm their suspicion and scorn of all that which churches and church-goers already stand for in their minds. This is the class in the community to whom I believe the Tabernacle does its most real harm, because it makes them narrower in their emphases, harder in their judgments, more unable to rate truly the good intents of other people. These persons are hurt more than intellectually,—they are hurt morally.

CORNERED IN HERESY.

And so you see why I began the sermon with those strong words about the Radical's frequent bigotry. I plead for breadth in religious culture as against the spirit which says, or seems to say: "Difference from me is measure of absurdity." I emphasize it as a duty that we should aim to get the *power to translate differing faiths into each other*, power to recognize the essential meaning under other people's symbols and to interpret it into our own. This is not saying that there is no other duty in the matter. It is no doctrine of utter indifference and intellectual mushiness that I urge. There is a duty of clear thinking on religion. There is a duty of honest, absolutely honest, speaking on religion,—a greater duty this than, judged by common practice, is commonly believed. There is a duty of directly spreading one's own views of truth and thereby lifting others to what we deem larger, nobler, more helpful symbols,—though a smaller duty this than is commonly believed, because so much the greater part of such help comes indirectly. It is one's zeal for general education, one's "secular" enthusiasms, *when coupled with that simple unproselyting honesty* just spoken of, that mainly tells. But letting all these other duties wait for some other sermons, I plead now for breadth in our religious culture. As Radicals, as heretics, we must beware lest we get cornered in our heresy.

It is a weakness of tiny sects to take to themselves the credit of reforms in which they have indeed been outspoken leaders, but whose success depends on influences far larger than their little selves. Without me, no Reason in Religion in the future, thinks the Radical. The Unitarian's name for himself is "leaven,"—he is the "leaven" that has softened the temper and rationalized the mind of the surrounding mass. But the Universalist stands by and stoutly claims as his the credit of the more hopeful view that millions take to-day of earth and heaven. But the Spiritualist disputes it with both, claiming the larger part of the result as his. And the Swedenborgian I find is apt to claim anything that looks like a spiritualizing of old dogmas as a result of Swedenborg. Beyond all question the revolting sects do good in their time; each has a little cause in charge, and helps the great cause forward by being so loyal to that little one. But they are themselves so largely the effect of general tendencies in their age that "sign" is an exacter name for them than "cause"; their precise intense enthusiasm serving to make visible in single points the influences that are invisibly and slowly altering the great mass of beliefs. And then they are almost sure to run into extremes of emphasis and miss real values. The Universalist ran into the "Death and Glory" doctrine; the Christian into a foolish Bible-idolatry; the Unitarian into a cold and negative kind of rationalism; the Radical is apt to pick up pins of Bible-criticism and applaud only the hits at Orthodoxy.

To that great main of Orthodoxy the three or four sects just named, however prosperous and hopeful, are but as tiny ponds. And they will remain so as long as they keep their sectdood. There is no future for them save to be what they have always been. The world is not going to become Unitarian or Universalist or Radical by name or special doctrine; but the good and truth of each and all of them is taken up and passes far and wide into the general life-blood. Would a man live the full religious life of his own day, he may live in the special sect only if he know how to live above it and catch the whole great influence. The special sect is for the age and not the age for it; and the age does well to appropriate its good and pass it by. So in being heretic, we must

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be broadly sympathetic for our own sake even, in order not to get cornered in our heresy.

TYPES OF RELIGIOUSNESS.

Let me urge this plea in a somewhat different way.

One who believes that religiousness is rooted in human nature, not to be concealed, not to be disowned, finds it easy to feel sympathy with all the varying phases of religion by remembering what a composite thing human nature is—human nature as he knows it in himself. He finds that this or that phase which seems to him most strange, incomplete, one-sided, still is *represented in himself*; that in himself he has that which, forced to unnatural, or say perhaps to more natural development, becomes the very thing he wonders at in his brother.

To show what is meant, take half-a-dozen characters from the New Testament,—Jesus, Paul, Thomas, John, Peter, James. They may stand for so many types of religiousness. Each shows religion as it exists in a special variety of human nature. The varieties always exist, and therefore the separate types always exist.

Jesus is the *Intuitionist*—the man of deep moral insight, which gives him faith in God and in man and in goodness at beginning and at end; a faith that asks no reason for itself, and could give none satisfactory, yet is the great fact in him. He views things in their moral bearings; he recognizes "the great relations of little things"; he sees the Duty in every act. He can prophesy the future of society by its obedience or disobedience to the laws of right. He seems an embodiment of the moral sense—that one instinct reigns so supreme in him; and in virtue of it he reads the universal, lays hold of the invisible, sees God everywhere. Ask Jesus about science, about history, about the theory of diseases, he would have given some strange answers doubtless. Ask him practical questions about right and wrong, about duty, about nobleness, about manliness and tenderness, and his answers stand the test of many centuries.

There are many such on earth; many such in common humble life.

The why and wherefore these persons little care to ask, they little know. But the thing *is*, morally, as they see it, and the simple-minded explanation of their knowledge to themselves is "revelation," "inspiration," the "inward voice," the "intuition." So these have the missions and assert authority. All the reformers, the life heroes, the quiet saints but sure, the prophets, have this element of moral intuition strong in them.

Paul is the constructive thinker—no less a type of religiousness. He likewise is a man of mighty conviction, but with him the mind has been at work and can give the reason and theory of the faith. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind," he writes a friend. He feels that Jesus has given him a new life—then it is life for all the world; and in order to understand it, his mind plots out a grand scheme of salvation, and a Church that antedates the earth, and outlasts it, and holds the highest angels in its vast fellowship, and he calls this glorious vision the "mystery of godliness." That accounts for his new life, he thinks. These are the man who argue, who write the books, who make the theologies, who shape the sects, who split old churches and build up new ones. Religion with them seems much a matter of the head, though often, of course, they join the other elements with this. This is Augustine—it is Luther—it is Calvin—it is New England. From time to time, some great religionist of this kind rises up and *thinks*, and his thought seasons twenty generations of common minds with their religious creed.

With Thomas—the one who must feel the wounded side, and see the hands before he would believe in the risen Christ—we have the New Testament type of the *Skeptic*,—the analytic and destructive thinker. With the Skeptic, reason again is paramount, but it does not, like Paul's reason, seek to build up theories and schemes—it would rather dig to the root of the facts underlying the theories and examine them. To-day, he searches all beliefs and sees much to reject; sees room hardly anywhere for finished certainty; perceives that God, immortality, the very soul's existence, are assumptions—practically sure, it may be, to consciousness, but not *demonstrably* sure; perceives that all so-called "revelations" have to depend upon evidence, and that none exists sufficient to establish any, while, on the other hand, the greatest social phenomena seem to be traceable in natural lines of cause and effect. As to the unknown, he does not like to venture on interpretation, and is very apt to assume it is unknowable. As to man's religiousness, he sees that there are depths in human nature as yet unfathomed, out of which—as a simple fact of observation,—this religiousness rises to the surface. His enthusiasm is for humanity rather than for individuals, and the "causes" often own him for father while men give him little fellowship. Nor does he seek fellowship or deserve it, for his reverence for others' reverences is very slight, and his favorite mottoes are "Truth," "Education," "Progress"—not "Peace and Good Will." The Materialists, the Positivists, the Freethinkers, many of the best names in science, many of the foremost thinkers in all lands, are examples of this type.

John—or at least the author of the fourth Gospel—represents the *Mystics*. They likewise reason about their faith, but with them the thought is deeply fused with feeling. However tangible their conclusions, their premises are all abstractions, and they live in their premises. Such words as *love* and *light* and *life* and *truth* are often on their lips. Their sense is one of mystic communion with mystic things. The vision before their minds is hazy, vague, dimly majestic. These mystics have made a great figure in all religions. The Neo-Platonist Ecstatics—those whom we call Pantheists, the Buddhist and Brahmin transcendentalists—the Quakers, the Moravians, on a certain side the Swedenborgians, St. Francis, Mme. Guyon, perhaps Emerson, such names bring the type up to our mind; and in the far still light of certain eyes, and the spiritually fine lines of certain faces we sometimes see it walking about our streets or lying on a sick bed.

The other John, he who wrote the Apocalypse, or Peter, he who tells of Christ preaching to the spirits in the under-world, and paints the vivid picture of the earth and elements melting with fervent heat when the Christ returns at his second advent, will do well enough to represent the *Imaginative* type of religiousness. To such as these the faith is neither vague and vast, nor is it reasoned truth. It is strongly outlined in some picturesque and dramatized belief; what this is depends on the age, and on the nation, and is not the product of deeper thought but of more lively fancy than the average. They simply assume the belief, and then their imaginations weave all manner of beautiful graces around it. In its drama is spent their joy and enthusiasm. These are the worshippers in whom feeling predominates, and the picture replaces thought. The Virgin and the Ritual, the Christ dying on the cross, the heaven-dream, the second coming of the new earth, these are the favorite thoughts. These are the men who shout Amen and Hallelujah; these are the men who appeal to the masses, and propagate new faiths with quick success. This is Mr. Moody. Among the Christian sects the Roman Catholics and Methodists and Spiritualists best represent them.

And James introduces us to the *practical* religionist, the man of good works. *Duty* is prominent; helpful philanthropies come out of him. Other believers are apt to call him a "mere moralist." His hands and feet are busied not for himself. He seems rather cold, lacks feeling, is apt to be "legal" and ascetic. His talk abounds in maxims, not in fancies. As to his belief, it is all right—he hardly cares to argue it; but then he is very sure that there is no argument outside of it. The "reason in religion" that he boasts is at bottom a tradition,—but he does not know that. Individuals representing this type are to be found in all the Christian sects.

Here, then, are six distinct types of religiousness. Have you not found yourself and your friends in some of them? Within that little circle of Jesus' first followers, Religion would fain teach the Christians how many-sided she is, and shames us out of the one-sidedness that we preserve, thinking to do her reverence. Look into any of the large and well-developed religious systems and you will find all these various types, these six at least. Buddhism and Mohammedanism have them as well as Christianity. Any large, long-lived, well-developed sect, like the Roman Catholics, with their fifteen hundred years of growth, or even Protestantism with its three hundred years, splitting up along the lines of these tendencies, will show them.

But what is specially worth pointing out is that *all the sides* which these types separate and specialize *are to be found together in single individuals*. Take some good, strong Orthodox friend, and talk with him about religion, not as a man who has it all with another who is a superstitious fool, but as one who feels that both have the *thing*, the *fact*, under the differing thoughts and names—and have you never seen how, unconsciously to himself, his heart will show itself bigger than his head—and how his head even will sometimes consciously and shyly go to wandering far outside of his creeds with a strange glad sense of liberty and sympathy with you? That is your friend's mystic, or intuitive, or sceptical element, pushing itself up by the side of his tradition and his logic and imagination.

And look into *yourself*. Have you not all six types represented in your own nature? In you are there no simple *intuitions* of goodness, unbased, so far as you can trace, on reasoning? Even the dying sceptics, dying fearlessly, calmly, longingly as the eager Christian, show they have that trust in goodness at the heart of things. No constructive *logic?* How then about your sect? Why come here, instead of going there, to church, or why out of churches altogether? Have not the doctrines uttered, the "scheme" presented, somewhat determined you? Have you not *scepticism*, no moments when God seems unreal, and prayerfulness emptiness, and immortality a dream? They can hardly help coming to every one that is most truly religious and at the same time truly rational. But besides such moments you have your *mysticism* also. You know—do you not?—the feeling of awe and vague communion with vague presence, the sense of absorption and of being part of all things—and of being upborne by that sense, till the greatest moments you can remember seem to have come thus. And have you no *imagination* in your faith, no dreams of heaven, no idealizings as you picture heroes dying, as you read of hero-deeds and look on hero-faces? Does music, do the curves of arches and the stateliness of columns and the harmony of colors move you not at all to those feelings amid which your religiousness finds itself at home? Then, finally, have you nothing merely traditional in your faith, accepted from parents, without much thought, without much feeling attaching to it, but serving as a source from which many a *practical*, helpful, dutiful impulse springs?

Human nature is a marvel of compositeness; and when one utters the word *religiousness*, he says that which, to be fully understood, demands that all the fulness of human nature should be gathered up and reckoned in. Your *beliefs* may be summed up possibly in a creed or a catechism—your *religiousness* cannot. We have many varying impulses in us and each blossoms to religiousness; and when you see a man whose whole field blooms with one flower—clover, or cowslip, or dandelion, or thistle,—instead of saying: "How strange a flower!" look into your own field, and see if, in some corner, you have not a little plantation of that kind. If not, you probably lack one element that should be in you to be a perfect human being; his mistake, on the other hand, is that he has but that one. It is for roundness of religious culture that we should strive, feeling sure that thus the spirit of *Truth* will be most fully in us, and that when thus in us that spirit will be of necessity the spirit of Patience and Fellowship and Love. The brother in this church only exaggerates in his religion a religious tendency which also exists in me. The brother in that one only exaggerates another, which exists in me. Emerson another, Spencer another, and so on. Can I not be large-natured enough and trust my nature enough to entertain them all in my own soul, and say to each with infinite sincerity, *Brother?* The man or the party who does this most heartily and fully is thereby fitted best to make his own light shine. The only excuse for wanting another man to give up his thoughts and take on ours is our belief that ours will bless him more—excuse indeed to furnish missions and enthusiasm; and most of us are so eagerly unselfish in our proselyting that we call hard names and feel bitter against him if he don't accept our friendly offer! Let us rather fall back on our unity with him, make our own light shine the brighter—and wait!

Best of all methods to recommend an unpopular faith to acceptance is being brave in thought yet broad in sympathies. Not visibly brave and invisibly broad, as some are apt to be,—not visibly broad and invisibly brave, like certain other friends; but brave so that men shall say, "He is a Radical,"—broad so that men shall add, "He is reverent"; and by being so religious in actual life that, as far as one is known, men and women shall be confronted by a living proof that what they may call "infidelity" is at least fidelity to high morality and widely active unselfishness. Live up to the motto, *Freedom with Fellowship in Religion*, and then, within some humble sphere, we cannot help being its missionary; for as we go our whole bearing will preach it,—*it*, the Freedom *with* the Fellowship.

THE GROWTH OF SCEPTICISM.

It's curious. There is, at this minute what pompous writers call a "consentaneity of opinion" as to the prevalence of infidelity in this country. From scores of pulpits, Huxley, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Mill, Bain, and others, are denounced Sunday after Sunday. Protestant bishops in their charges refer to the spread of unbelief, and tell their hearers that it has grown enormously within the last fifteen years. Roman Catholic bishops in their pastorals warn their flocks of the herd of unbelievers who are on the watch to pick up any weak straggler from the fold. The other day, at Birmingham, Dr. Newman, a name never to be mentioned without respect, the greatest living master of English prose, spoke plaintively and movingly in a sermon of the conflict that is going on between belief and unbelief, and seemed to think that for a time unbelief would make way, and hold its own against all comers. And, in truth, we need not confine ourselves to the ranks of the clergy in order to perceive that there is a strong belief in the force of the undercurrent of scepticism which is flowing so steadily and so persistently in one direction. No cultivated layman can have helped noticing for himself, that on religious questions men do not think exactly as they did; that they have killed or abandoned many old prejudices; that there is a bias on certain questions; that the tone of the pulpit has changed; that bold preachers who try and take into account the doubts which pervade their congregation are more in favor than those timid discoursers who will persist in treading the beaten track, and who will still talk as if all their hearers were mainly composed of elderly women or immature virgins, or of young men in the admire-the-curate stage of intellectual development. There is a great change in English thought upon all religious questions, and it is neither more nor less than dangerous madness not to take note of it. When men of the calibre of the Bishop of Gloucester, and of Dr. Newman, plainly tell their hearers that infidelity is on the increase; that it is likely to increase; that new methods must be made use of in warring against it; and that the infidels have "struck 'ile" in more quarters than one, and are pursuing their researches in a spirit which bodes certain antiquated forms of religion no great good,—it is idle to deny that such is the fact.

Reconciliation between these two camps would appear to be, under present conditions, next door to impossible. The infidels go on their way, and have arrayed on their side many of the great names in science and philosophy. Doubt—honest doubt—is no longer looked upon as something a man should be heartily ashamed of. It it no longer deemed to be within the province of the human intellect to devote years of life and hours of prayerful anxiety to attempt to solve what so many deem to be utterly insoluble. The dread mystery of existence, life, and death, and what comes after both, are not commonly regarded as matters on which theological cock-sureness will afford any safe footing or any unmistakable guidance. Men have seen that theologians have been proved to be wrong time after time; have abandoned positions which the weakest and most violent of them set down as bulwarks of the faith; have struggled furiously against all or any innovation; and in the end have succumbed to the spirit of the age they lived in, and to the outspokenness and freedom of opinion of the laity. The shores of many a sea of troubled opinion are strewn with the wrecks of theological argosies, which foundered in storms long since passed away. But nowadays there is more and more prospect that there will be a still greater uprootal of opinions, and a still greater modification of old beliefs than any that have been seen within the memory of

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living men. Science has invaded more than one field which theology once took to be exclusively her own. The more enlightened among the clergy have found out that it will serve no good purpose to preach stereotyped theology. They have discovered to their amazement that they do not see so much of hell and the devil, and Adam and Eve, in their sermons. They have been sensibly affected by the altered opinions around them. They have ceased to ventilate the extreme notions which modern men deem will not hold water. They have been more or less affected by the immense progress of modern science. Go where they will they find opinions common which their grandfathers would have thought devil-born.

There can be little doubt that the present generation is as profoundly sceptical, though in a different way, as the most sceptical generation of the last century. There was a reaction from the eighteenth century philosophy mainly brought about by the French Revolution. There may be in time a reaction from nineteenth century philosophy. But if there should be such a thing the reaction will be different from the last reaction, and the effects of the reaction will be different too. Democracy is a solvent in the religious world as well as in the political world. The spread of education will also have much to do with the form the reaction may take. The influence of wider knowledge and a culture more strictly scientific than has ever before been known will tell. Religious thought will be modified or affected by the advance of the science of comparative theology. There will be alterations, such as at present are little dreamt of, to come from a more intimate acquaintance with the languages and religions of the East. Prehistoric studies will tend towards a belief in evolutionism. And it may soon come that there will be more outspokenness on the part of those who at present do not care to disavow the creeds they have been brought up in. It may happen, then, that whatever changes come in religion, or religious thought, will be forced upon the clergy from the *outside*. Reformations in theology have rarely, if ever, honestly proceeded from those who were trained to defend long-established opinions. The scepticism of the laity will react, nay, is reacting, upon the clergy. For a preacher must have some sympathy with his audience if he wish to do good. But if it be as Dr. Newman and others say, how can there be sympathy where the accord is growing less and less day by day? This is a question for thoughtful persons to consider and answer as best they can.—*Nottingham (Eng.) Journal.*

THE JESUITS IN FRANCE.

On the report of M. Berthelon the French Chamber of Deputies has sent to the Minister of Justice a petition of eighty-seven inhabitants of Clotat, who demand that all Jesuits may be expelled from French territory, and that the State shall take possession of all the property they own contrary to the law of mortmain. After pointing out the perils to which society is liable from the order, the petitioners show that the edicts of 1762, 1764, 1777, and the laws of 1792, 1809, 1817, and 1825, and the Royal ordinance of 1828, concerning their banishment, have not been repealed. They also remind the Chamber that in 1844 M. Dupin sent a petition on the illegal existence of the Jesuits to the Minister of Justice. They declare that the turbulent genius and ambitious views of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola have nothing in common with the religion they pretend to defend, and that they are a standing menace to public tranquillity. They have ever caused trouble in the States where they have settled themselves, and now they are openly hostile to the principles which form the basis of the institutions and laws of the State, etc., etc. The paper of which M. Jules Simon was lately the editor says that it is not in favor of any measure of proscription or confiscation, but adds that it is high time to cause the company of Jesus to observe the law. To effect this the Government of the Republic will only have to revert not only to the traditions and laws of the ancient Monarchy, but to those of the First Empire, the Restoration, and the Government of Louis Philippe. In 1804, on the report of Portalis, the Jesuit colleges were closed and their communities were dispersed. Under the bigoted Charles X., who believed in apparitions, the decree of the Empire was renewed; and in 1845, on the demand of M. Thiers, the Chamber of Deputies directed the Government to see that previous legislation in this matter was properly carried out. It was under the Second Empire that the Jesuits recovered lost ground. After Jacques Clement, who assassinated Henri III., came Jean Chastel, who wounded Henri IV.; then Ravaillac, who finished what his brother Jesuit had commenced. Next came Damiens, who stabbed Louis XV., the Well-beloved. After this last affair the Parliament ordered the Jesuits to lay before the Chamber a printed copy of their constitution, upon which a report, most unfavorable to the society, was drawn up. On the 6th of May, 1757, it was decreed that the books approved of by the Society of Jesus, containing immoral and subversive doctrines, should be torn and burned by the public executioner, as seditious, destructive of all principle of moral Christianity, teaching a murderous doctrine not only against the safety and life of citizens, but even against those of sacred and sovereign persons. The Jesuits were forbidden to teach in the colleges, and the King's subjects were forbidden to follow their lessons. It was also decided that the archbishops and bishops then in Paris should decide upon the four following points: 1st. On the utility of Jesuits in France and the inconveniences resulting from the different functions confided to them. 2d. On their conduct; on their opinions contrary to the safety of the person of sovereigns; on the doctrine of the French clergy contained in the declaration of 1682 [the articles of the Gallican Church drawn up by Bossuet in an assembly of the French clergy, and which vanished under the influence of the recent Vatican decrees]. 3d. On the amount of obedience Jesuits owe to their bishops. 4th. On the influence which the authority of the general of the Jesuits would exercise in France. Out of fifty-one prelates forty-five declared themselves in favor of the Jesuits, "so great was the terror inspired by that body." The Parliament did not allow the matter to drop; it ordered extracts from the "Secreta Monita" to be communicated to the King, to the archbishops and the bishops, and these were branded as destructive of national law, as contrary to the morals which God himself has installed into the heart of man, as calculated to snap all the bonds of society by authorizing theft, lies, perjury, criminal impurity, and all passions and crimes in general by the teaching of occult compensation and mental restriction, etc. The Jesuits were also accused by the Parliament of favor, magic, blasphemy, and idolatry. In 1764, on the order of the King, the Jesuits were generally and definitively banished from France, and ten years later they were driven from the Papal See by Clement XIV. The Jesuits returned to France, under the name of Fathers of the Faith, after 1815, and their intrigues were so scandalous that they brought religion into contempt. In several cities mass could only be said when the priests were protected with bayonets. Under Charles X. eight of their colleges were closed; the Peers protested against their doctrines, under the guidance of M. de Montlosier, who was more Royalist than the King; and the Peers were backed up by a Committee of the Academy, which included such men as Michaud, the author of the *Crusades*. The press became violent; the Government tried to gag it, and Charles X. lost his throne. It is not to be wondered at that Republicans should see with alarm this turbulent order increasing in numbers and wealth.—*Pall Mall Gazette, Feb.* 1.

AN INVITATION.

EDITOR CHRONICLE:—

Several weeks ago, as noticed in the *Chronicle*, a Liberal League was organized at Mishicot to coöperate with the National Liberal League in the work of instituting combined agitation in favor of equal rights and freedom in religion.

It has nothing to do with any religion as such; but labors to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal rights of all, or, in other words, to absolutely and totally separate Church and State.

Cordially inviting all citizens, men and women of all shades of opinion, to work with it, the League attaches and can attach no value to belief, opinions, or faith, apart from actions; and it has no creed.

Probably, most of the individual members composing it believe that happiness in this world can be attained only by yielding willing obedience to unchangeable natural laws, do not consider doubt a sin, hold themselves always open to conviction, free to inquire diligently, earnestly, and patiently into the theories of Christian and non-Christian, Materialist and Atheist, or any other "ist," alike, and to encourage the individual to speak and act in accordance with the truth as he or she understands it, leaving salvation to take care of itself.

This, it seems, conflicts with the Orthodox ideas of a certain Two Rivers clergyman, who would maintain that salvation should be the first object of pursuit. "*He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*"

We confess we cannot comprehend this text, and beg to be excused for being still constrained to think this scheme of salvation analogous to a plan of reaping a harvest without digging stumps and stones, tilling the soil, and sowing the seed.

As we fain would learn the truth, in the spirit of honest inquiry, and with the assurance that he shall have a respectful and attentive hearing, we cordially and earnestly invite our reverend friend to make this text the subject of a lecture before the Mishicot Liberal League.

We as cordially welcome him to our platform as we would a Mussulman or Hindu with the same text ("Believe or be damned") from the Koran and Shaster respectively.

To verify his text, and establish the sincerity of *his* belief, we should not object to an exhibition of the signs which shall follow them that believe. St. Mark xvi., 17 and 18.

We, of course, desire to adequately compensate for loss of time and trouble; and, to perfect the arrangement, request correspondence with the undersigned.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC DISCUSSION,
Mishicot Liberal League.

—*The Chronicle, Two Rivers, Wis., Jan.* 18.

MRS. CRAIK, the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, is erecting a drinking-fountain under a railway arch near her residence in Kent, England, and in addition there will be a constant supply of penny loaves and a money-box, under the supposition that those who partake of the bread will pay for it. The London *Echo* makes the following comment on the project: "Confidence in one's species is something cheering to contemplate in a cynical, sceptical age. We would be sorry even to attempt to shake the kind-hearted novelist's faith in thirsty bucolic nature. We would even venture to suggest that, still further to show how unworthily the rural policeman despises mankind 'on the tramp,' she should add to the convenience of her bread and water fountain a little cheese, a bottle of wholesome spirits to mix with the water, and possibly a round of cold meat, unless, indeed, she is of opinion that the patrons of her fountain would prefer tripe and onions. If she laid some long clay pipes and a few ounces of good strong tobacco about, we would guarantee that the casual wards of every Union in Kent would be deserted in favor of the new open-air club."

Poetry.

SONNETS.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

I.

PRELUDE TO THE CONFLICT.

Seize thou, brave heart, the trumpet of Reform,
And through it give one long, electric blast,
To rouse the slumbering, like a thunder-storm,
And make the foes of Progress stand aghast!
The boldest utterances are needed now,
The heaviest blows, the most heroic deeds;
For, still infatuated, millions bow
To Superstition, with its palsying creeds;
And false Tradition holds them in its chains,
And hoar Authority their reason stays,
And blind Credulity its grasp retains,
And the dead Past the living Present sways;
Then, blow the trumpet! raise the standard high!
A new advance for Truth and Liberty!

II.

THE DOGMA OF INFALLIBILITY.

Human Infallibility, avaunt!
The claim is impious wheresoever made;
Whether by Papist or by Protestant,
Rivals in pharisaic robes arrayed,
No one is more, and no one less, than man:
Where all are equal, who shall claim control
Over the conscience, or put under ban
The free, outspoken, independent soul?
There is no heresy in honest doubt,
Or strong dissent, where demonstration fails;
Or non-conformity, however stout;
For thus the righteous cause at last prevails.
Begone! popes, cardinals, councils, bishops, all—
Who seek to hold the human mind in thrall!

III.

SUPERFLUOUS DEVICES.

Who but a man bereft of sense would think
To prop the sky, and thus prevent its fall?
Or stop Niagara at its very brink
By the erection of a mud-built wall?
Or stretch a chain across the boisterous sea,
To force it into slumberous repose?
Or regulate the law of gravity,
Lest chaos come all order to foreclose?
And who but one demented will contend
That Truth, unaided by external force,
Successfully her cause cannot defend,
But must to carnal weapons have recourse?
That in religion reason is no guide?
That Liberty to License is allied?

IV.

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE.

Oh! brave Apostle, thou hast truly said—
It is a trivial thing indeed to be
Judged of man's judgment. Conscience must be free,
Nor blindly nor dogmatically led,
Either by living oracles or dead;
For truth admits of no monopoly,
And where it points each for himself must see,
Nor fears an independent path to tread.
Honor to him who speaks his honest thought,
Who guards his reason as a sacred trust,
Demands the truth for every dogma taught,
And turns dissenter only when he must!
For he shall rise by whom the light is sought,
To the high plane where stand the wise and just.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 3.

Louis Mendlik, $1.35; G. Martin, 60 cents; B. G. Burnet, $6.40; C. Cone, $3.20; E. C. Hart, $3.20; G. W. Warren, $1; Geo. E. Jewett, $3; John Cowan, $3.20; Isaac Sherwood, $6.40; T. H. Proctor, $3.20; G. H. Parkhurst, 35 cents; Mrs. Emma Huff, $1; W. L. Coffenburry, $3.20; B. B. Marshall, 50 cents; F. A. Green, $13.20; Jas. R. Stone, $3.20; J. B. Stall, $7.50; Wm. Porter, $3.20; Geo. Hagermeyer, $3.20; Wm. Jabine, $3.20; P. Sidebotham, $2; T. G. Hovey, $3.20; Mrs. A. G. Farwell, 67 cents; Cash, 93 cents; Mrs. M. A. Hilton, $3; Dr. Wigglesworth, $3.20; W. H. Spencer, $3; W. S. Bell, $3.20; Sanford B. Ring, $1.60; H. Nye, $2; J. P. Mendum, 10 cents; Alvin Hoyt, $3; Sam'l Keese, $3; Julius Freyburg, $6.56; J. W. Wayne, $3.35; W. D. Le Sueur, $4; Bates & Locke, $10; Mrs. Hope Whipple, 21 cents; John R. Thornton, $1.25; Mrs. H. D. Chapin, $3.20; John C. Haynes, $3.20; Subscription News Co., $2.50; J. M. Forbes, $3.20; Elwood Patterson, $3.20; S. B. Clark, $6.45; N. Littlefield, $3.20; Mrs. A. S. White, $3.20; O. A. Farwell, $3.20; Geo. Johnson, $3.20; Edmond Prand, $3.20; Henry Kiest, $3.20; Geo. Lewis, $3.20; C. J. Higginson, $3.20; J. L. Whiting, $4.70; Mrs. C. T. Appleton, $3.20; W. C. Gannett, 80 cents; F. J. Humphrey, $3.20; Mary S. Osborne, $3.20; S. E. Shattuck, 80 cents; H. B. McNair, $2.25; C. R. Purdy, $6.40; Dr. I. P. Bingham, $10.20; J. S. Palmer, $3.20; L. Spaulding, 35 cents; S. R. Hazelton, $1.50; J. D. Thorley, $2; W. H. McKay, $6; N. Waterman, 37 cents; Hugh Edward, 20 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 8, 1877.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix. Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals;" by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle, President of the Ohio State branch of the "National Reform Association," used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

IT IS REPORTED that Mr. Weiss, in a late discourse at the Parker Memorial, remarked that the reason why Boston has not yet, in accordance with the promise, "bowed her intellectual head" before Moody and Sankey, is that her "intellect" has not yet been appealed to! This is frightfully cruel, but nevertheless true.

"A MAN ought always to do the contrary of what Fontenelle advised," says the Paris correspondent of the *Nation*; "when he thinks he has the truth in his hand, he ought always to open it." If any one is vexed with us for constantly urging organization upon the liberals of the United States, behold the reason of our persistence.

"DISTINGUISH THINGS THAT DIFFER."

The discourse which Mr. Gannett kindly contributes to this week's issue of THE INDEX will be read by every one who is interested in the independent reflections of a deeply religious mind on the Moody and Sankey movement. The "secrets" of this movement and its influence he finds mainly in three things: in Mr. Moody's direct appeal to conscience and the consciousness of sin, his pictorial and dramatic style, his practical and business-like and driving method. Mr. Moody's "chief doctrines" are viewed by Mr. Gannett as "merely symbols of moral facts"; he considers these moral facts to be substantially the same under all symbols, to be merely clothed by different minds in different garments (coarser or finer as the case may be), and to be at once so universal in themselves and so universally recognized that mere differences of dress ought not to be much regarded. This disregard of "mere symbols" or "doctrines" is urged in the name of "evolution," which is held to make truth and error merely relative terms. No one, pleads Mr. Gannett, has all the right or all the wrong; "to-morrow our truth will probably be the error"; "the chief feature of thought-growth may be described as a passing from definite and narrow outlines of conception to more abstract and vague but broader outlines"; Moody's personalized, concrete conceptions of God and Immortality and Inspiration and Sin merely assume a vaster and vaguer form, but retain their substantial identity, in the mind of the modern thinker, who has only somewhat better "symbols"; in short, "do we not see that the difference over which we make such chatter is this difference of *symbol* mainly, and that the two men simply cannot use each other's symbols"? "The dogmas of the Church are such 'symbols' as I have been describing,—symbols for moral and religious conceptions."

Applying these principles, Mr. Gannett proceeds to explain that Mr. Moody, by his "symbols" of the New Birth, Instantaneous Conversion, and "Come to Jesus!" merely means what radicals mean by "consecration, now and here, to your Ideal of Right,"—that "self-surrender to it is what he [Moody] calls 'coming to Jesus';" although, with his characteristic sincerity and explicitness, Mr. Gannett says: "I frankly think that there is exaggeration in the way I have put the matter," etc. And in the light of the same principles he declares: "I emphasize it as a duty that we should aim to get the *power to translate differing faiths into each other.*" This is what he means by "breadth in our religious culture," and inculcates as the means of escape from being "cornered in our heresy."

In a genial little note accompanying the manuscript of his discourse, our old friend wrote, as if with a smile: "You can rap it in an editorial as hard as you think needed." So we know he will not in the least object to our expressing some views partly varying from the above, though the disposition to "rap it" is something which cannot live in the presence of so brave and sweet a spirit as his. Besides, his controlling desire to do justice to all phases of thought and belief, his conscientious anxiety to include all types of sincere religiousness in the ample sweep of his sympathies, are traits for which we cherish too deep a veneration to permit any treatment of the subject less serious and earnest than his own. It is not the chivalrous devotion to truth, or the fine aspiration for a human fellowship that shall be unmarred by mental narrowness, that ever "needs" to be "rapped." And these beautiful things we clearly see in the discourse.

The intellectual stand-point from which Mr. Gannett's view of the revival is taken seems to be a certain conception of "evolution." This conception has determined the whole character of his thinking and controlled his results. What it is, he thus states himself: "The idea, you know, in evolution is that all things *grow*,—all things, from star-systems in the heavens to thought-systems in the history of the human mind; and, interpreted by this idea, what men call 'truth' and 'error' are evidently but beliefs farther and less far advanced in the process of growth." Now we do not suspect for a moment that Mr. Gannett would present this as a complete statement of "the idea in evolution." He knows, quite as well as any one, that there is very much more in it. But this is all that he states of it; it is all that he finds necessary for his immediate purpose; it is all that appears in his discourse as affecting his conclusions. The "process of growth" *in a single form* appears to be all that was present to his thought at the time; there are no signs that he remembered, as an essential part of "evolution," the *succession of forms*, the *struggle for existence*, the *survival of the fittest*. The growth of religion, for aught that appears to the contrary, is to him a series of developmental changes in a single organism, gradually substituting undifferentiated vagueness for a sharply outlined and highly differentiated configuration; as he himself expresses it, "the chief feature of thought-growth may be described as a passing from definite and narrow outlines of conception to more abstract and vague, but broader, outlines." Now this process is exactly the opposite of *evolution*,—it is *dissolution*. Evolution is the change of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous,—of the vague and formless into the sharply outlined form. It is dissolution, not evolution, which Mr. Gannett has described above. The larger, broader, non-personalized, more comprehensive religion of the nineteenth century is, *considered merely with reference to Christianity*, a decay and not a further growth. But, *considered with reference to the entire history of religion*, it is indeed a growth,—not a continuation of the old form under a changed aspect, but the appearance of a new and nobler and vaster form. This is a truth, we believe, of the utmost conceivable importance to a true insight into the religious life of the nineteenth century. Unheralded, unperceived, unrecognized, a new religion of strictly universal characteristics is slowly growing up among men—a new form different from the old form, succeeding to it, irreconcilable with it, destined to supplant it altogether. It is thus a product of "evolution" indeed, but not at all in the sense that Mr. Gannett means—that of a mere expansion and improvement of the old type; it is rather the appearance of a new type. It is a "narrow" view to see nothing in evolution but an interminable series of changes in a single form, and, in studying the series, to mistake the marks of dissolution for those of evolution; it is, on the contrary, a "broad" view of evolution to take into the circle of our vision the endless succession of forms, the struggle for existence among them, the survival of the fittest. We too plead for "breadth of religious culture"; but it must include breadth of thought as well as breadth of sympathy. The world can spare neither; it will insist on both.

Now the conception of evolution which appears in Mr. Gannett's discourse and the conception we have briefly indicated above, if taken as position-points for contemplating the religious landscape, necessitate somewhat unlike prospects. The evolutionist who (for the time being at least) sees nothing in evolution but successive changes in a single type of religion (Christianity?) will inevitably regard Moody's "symbols" and his own "symbols" as expressions of the same substantial thought, differing only in form. The evolutionist who takes the broader view of evolution, and sees how a new and vaster type of religion is imperceptibly to most men succeeding to Christianity, will inevitably perceive differences of *substance*, as well as of *form*, between Moody's beliefs and his own. The two evolutionists will not put the same interpretation on the same thing.

For instance, Mr. Gannett finds Moody appealing to "conscience" when he appeals to the "consciousness of sin"; he finds the thirst for righteousness, the consecration of self to the "ideal right," to be the main concern of Moody, when he urges men to "come to Jesus." We partly agree with Mr. Gannett here, and partly not. That Mr. Moody deals with *facts* of "conscience," when he exerts his utmost strength to create or awaken the "consciousness of sin," is undeniable; but that he "strikes straight for your conscience," we cannot help denying. He strikes straight for your fears of hell, your hopes of heaven, your utter and absolute despair of your own moral strength, your conviction of the total worthlessness of your "conscience" in the attempt to get out of the mire of sin, your loathing for all your own futile attempts at righteousness, your terrified prostration at the feet of one who can do for you what your "conscience" cannot, your faith in the only hand that can pick you out of the slough,—in short, he "strikes straight for your conscience" only in the sense of striking a dagger into it, to kill it if he can, and snatch you from the fatal consequences of trusting to it in the least. Instead of wanting you to give yourself up to the "ideal right," he thinks you will be damned if you do; he wants you to throw yourself blindly, passively, desperately, on the power of your Savior to *make you holy without any help from your conscience*. The effect of all this is to extinguish all moral self-trust, and thereby to paralyze and pervert the conscience; the appeal is made to your emotional, not to your moral, nature. Mr. Moody strikes straight for your heart, not your conscience; he is just as much afraid of a great, vigorous, self-assertive

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conscience as he is of a great, vigorous, and self-assertive intellect; for it prohibits this passive surrender of self to Jesus, and tends to create confidence in "mere morality," which all revivalists dread so much. We see no way of identifying Mr Moody's appeal to the "consciousness of sin" with a true appeal to "conscience"; we see tremendous and ineradicable distinctions between the two; we cannot possibly see only a difference of "symbols" here, but rather a profound difference in the substantial moral facts themselves. If Mr. Moody did indeed "strike straight for your conscience," and labor to set your soul aflame with hunger and thirst for that righteousness *which can only be conquered by your own vigorous effort*, then would we give him our heartiest sympathy; but this is the very thing he does his utmost to kill out of you. "Not that, not that!" he cries. "Look to the Brazen Serpent alone for salvation from your sins and rescue from your doom! Get away from your miserable, wicked, self-asserting, ruined self—*come to Jesus!*"

The "consecration of self to the ideal right," which is indeed the substance of the radical's religion, means self-reliance, self-culture, self-devotion to universal rather than personal ends,—in a word, it is "Man's effort to perfect himself" by free, vigorous, forceful activity of natural conscience according to natural reason. But this is the very thing against which Mr. Moody most imploringly warns his hearers; for it means total independence of the personal Savior and total rejection of the "Brazen Serpent." How is it possible, then, that the old religion and the new should differ in form only, and not in substance? The difference goes down deep to the very foundation and centre of each. Mr. Moody knows this perfectly well, and will not be misled by the well-intentioned cry of "peace, peace, when there is no peace"; he knows perfectly well that the gospel he preaches is neither *formally* nor *substantially* the same as that which Mr. Gannett preaches; he knows perfectly well that one of the two must give way to the other, and he is laboring with the zeal of an Apostle and the courage of a Crusader to win the victory for his own. It is this battle-energy for his own faith, this consuming fire of earnestness on behalf of his own religion and against the supposed no-religion of the "infidels," that gives him his immense power with the people; and it is this burning earnestness which commands our own deepest admiration of the man. Yet we notice that Mr. Gannett does not even mention it among the "secrets" of Moody's success.

Is there, then, no lesson for radicals in this spectacle of a really great career like Moody's? Verily we believe it. But the lesson we see in it is not that drawn by our friend. "I emphasize it as a duty," says he, "that we should aim to get the power to translate differing faiths into each other." But to do this is a terrible blunder, *unless they mean the same thing*. If the old gospel of Christianity and the new gospel of Freedom are at heart identical, then indeed it matters little which is preached or which prevails; it is only a matter of metaphors, of phrases, of forms. But if they are radically irreconcilable,—if the ideas, sentiments, purposes, and moral essence of the two are mutually exclusive of each other,—then the world's advance depends on a clear perception of this fundamental dissimilarity, and a wise choice between the two. "Truth" and "error" are not yet outgrown terms. They will not be outgrown while the human intellect survives. All "evolution," in religion as in science, depends on the discovery of new distinctions, not on the industrious effacement of old ones,—on the increasing definiteness, clearness, insight, and scope of human thought, not on a return to the primeval homogeneity and nebulosity of confused and undeveloped beliefs. But this, the real, process of evolution involves the struggle for existence between old errors and new truths, the death of old systems and the birth of better, the dismissal of "superstitions and absurdities" from the human mind and the substitution in their stead of genuine knowledge, higher moral life, grander religious aims. Evolution has its own immutable laws; they do not adapt themselves to human sentiments or wishes; we radicals did not make them and are not responsible for them; they operate all the same, whether we shut our eyes to them or not. "Breadth in religious culture"—does it mean a philosophy less broad than the facts? Or a fellowship so narrow and feeble that it can only exist by confounding things that differ? We plead for a philosophy of religion that shall take in the whole fact of evolution, not merely a part of it,—that shall distinguish things that differ, and not confound the grand, eternal opposition of true and false with the petty fashion-changes of human symbolism. And we plead for a fellowship robust enough to survive the frank avowal of substantial differences of thought and faith, the brave and strenuous defence of his own by each, the shock of systems and the everlasting conflict of religious ideas—broad enough to admire earnestness and devotion for their own sake and to extend a hand of human friendship across the profoundest chasm of religious variance. That is the "breadth of religious culture" for which we plead and toil—breadth that shall be broad enough to include and foster the divine passion for truth and freedom and equal rights, and to establish such a fellowship as shall not be too narrow and sickly to exist in its presence. Such "breadth" as this must first of all learn to "distinguish things that differ"—not "*from me*," but FROM EACH OTHER.

FREE HALLS.

One of the most significant signs of the time, and indicative of its growing liberal intellectual tendencies, is the multiplication of free halls in country towns. The name, in the sense in which we use it, requires a word of definition. We do not mean halls which are let for any and every purpose of less or greater respectability that will augment the income of their proprietors. There has long been nearly, if not quite, a sufficiency of these,—in some instances too many. We refer to a class that has a higher and more specific claim to the title, sustained for the most part by persons outside of the churches, and necessarily, to a certain extent, in competition with them, since in addition to their secular uses during the week they are open on Sunday to the freest consideration of religion and all that possesses a correspondent interest, serves to quicken independent thought, or promote genuine human culture.

That there has been a rise and rapid increase of those bearing this distinct character, within recent years, can hardly have escaped the notice of ordinarily informed and observing persons. To us they mark the beginning of a new era. They are the precursors of a social and intellectual transition more profound then the majority of those around us suspect or dream. In them, and the organizations which in most instances gather about them, we behold what we believe is destined to become the Church of the future, eventually to supplant the ecclesiasticism which has so long absorbed the sympathies and swayed the minds of mankind. Of course these free halls, of which we are speaking, like everything else in human life, have had their antecedents. They are points in a line of evolution, still going on, in the Church and without it. There has been, in the former, some faint augury of them in the drift of the sects, and the amalgamating tendencies which have been more and more manifest, and especially in what have been known as "Union churches" or places of worship, but which have unhappily often proved in the end those of disunion,—buildings in which different religious sects have combined as one society, with the preaching of each represented from time to time on Sunday, or in which all have rendered their acquiescence or support to that of a particular one, for a period at least. But, as a general rule, sectarian rivalries and jealousies sooner or later have crept in, snapping asunder the bond which held them together at last, and thus the experiment has come to nothing. We have now in mind several such closed and abandoned structures, in different parts of the country, the pitiful monuments of brotherly love turned into brotherly hate, and the discords which overwhelmed them, like the wrecks of once prosperous crafts stranded by the breakers.

Some forty years ago, or thereabouts, there sprung up in New England an impetus for intellectual culture which not only affected the centre of society, but extended to its circumference. It was in its latter relation known as a movement in behalf of the laboring classes, and was much indebted for its initiation to and largely carried forward by Dr. Channing, the eminent Unitarian divine. The term "laboring classes" referred to those engaged in manual labor,—albeit a much narrower application than it ought to receive, since all who work are by right included by it. It was common for persons of scholastic and literary acquirements and benevolent dispositions to engage in educational missions among those just indicated, somewhat as religious ones are prosecuted now among the poor and degraded in certain portions of our great cities. They were addressed upon the importance of intellectual improvement and kindred topics. There are, perhaps, few things better calculated to show the change which has been undergone in the condition of the people than a recurrence to this. What greater insult could be offered to our laboring class to-day than to single them out or imply that they were in especial need of such exertions? The movement to which I have adverted resulted in the establishment of what became distinguished as mechanics' institutes, now pretty nearly submerged in various agencies, with the same and kindred objects, for the general public benefit. Then followed the lyceum or lecture system, and, as an outgrowth and natural consequent of this, free public libraries. All of these have been approaching-steps towards the free halls we have mentioned. They have been gradually and imperceptibly preparing the way for them, if they may not at some time in the future in their turn supersede them.

The free hall is neither Puritan nor Quaker in its tastes and spirit. It recognizes the cheerful as well as the serious side of life, the need of recreation as well as toil,—that human nature is manifold and needs a many-sided culture. It recognizes the need of the beautiful as well as the useful,—that which appeals to the sensibilities and feelings no less than the intellect. The aim is, therefore, to make the building as attractive as possible to the eye, to call into requisition for this purpose the aid of art and all æsthetic associations. It appropriates rather than discards the drama, including the facilities for such representations among its objects and provisions, thus calling forth unconscious or recognized talent in this line of culture and amusement, and enabling the people to supply their own pastimes, largely, rather than to be compelled to depend upon the chance-alternatives presented. Perceiving the universal fondness for dancing which exists, especially among young persons, the free hall sanctions it as a legitimate and healthful diversion, when relieved of objectionable circumstances and pernicious influences.

These reflections have been occasioned by some notices, which have of late appeared, of halls that have been opened corresponding to what we have endeavored to describe. One of these is Cosad Hall, so called from the name of the person through whose munificence it was erected, at Huron, N. Y. Another in Shoemakerville, Pa. Both of these have already been referred to in THE INDEX; and still more recently an elegant and commodious one in the village of Leeds, about two miles from Cosmian Hall, Florence. The latter is a substantial, two-story, brick edifice, the lower part of which is designed for the public school of the place; the upper is a beautifully-frescoed and artistically-finished hall, capable of seating four or five hundred persons, with a stage and appropriate accompaniments for dramatic entertainments. It was recently very happily dedicated by an evening's social gathering, with dancing and a sumptuous collation. As its leading projectors are in full accord with Cosmian Hall, it will doubtless, so far as practicable, represent its plan of operation.

We can but wish for all such enterprises all possible prosperity. May they prove the centres of ennobling and ever-growing influence, and help to make the lives of those who share it in truer accord with the world around them, free from all belittling narrowness, more rational and joyous. D. H. C.

THIS PARAGRAPH has been floating through the press of late: "The Theistic movement in India is spreading rapidly, having now one hundred and eight churches scattered through that country. It was originated by Rajah Rammohun Roy, but had made little progress until Keshub Chunder Sen joined it in 1858, when it began to establish itself on a permanent basis. In the Hindu Theistic creed there are no dogmas. As the name imports, they worship one God only, and believe in salvation by life and not by creed. They repudiate caste, and preach the brotherhood of all mankind, and in fact are pretty much *en rapport* with free religionists, and that class of advanced thinkers who stop short of scientific materialism."

THE PHILADELPHIA *Christian Statesman* of November 30, 1876, in an editorial article entitled "The Religious Amendment Necessary," declared deliberately that the "secular or infidel theory" of government "denies that moral or religious ideas enter into the domain of politics at all." This is, we regret to say, a very frequent but thoroughly unscrupulous misrepresentation. The "secular theory" lays greater emphasis on "moral ideas" than the Christian does, for it holds them to be of primary, not secondary importance. There appears to be a settled and sinister purpose, on the part of the Christian Amendment party, to deceive the people on this all-important point, and, in defiance of truth, to fasten on the friends of secular government the reproach of theoretical and practical immorality.

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Communications.

INTUITION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I have read many able and interesting articles in THE INDEX, but, for personal reasons, not one so particularly interesting as the admirable essay on "Intuition" by Wm. Wickersham.

When a lad I began to inquire about intuition and instinct. Receiving no *reasonable* answer to my queries, I totally rejected the current theories regarding them. Then, with a clean slate, guideless and alone, I investigated in private. For twenty-five years the subject has been kept in view, and it may be that on account of some of the results of my pioneering may not be uninteresting to your readers.

First, I came to a general conclusion much the same as that expressed by Mr. Wickersham. I lay more stress on the element of *inherited* instinct than he appears to do, partly because I have never met an intuitional person who could not trace the "gift" through the ancestry, and partly on account of the evident impossibility of adding much to it by the experiences of a single lifetime. Is it not a mistake to say: "It is as likely to be wrong as right"? Although the assertion of infallibility from any quarter is an idle boast, and not to be mentioned in connection with this subject, still, when we consider that intuitions are mainly influenced by the recorded or stored-up *result* of a multitude of experiences running through many generations, is it unreasonable to suppose them to be, not infallible, but generally correct?

I would describe Mr. Wickersham's intuition as *individual;* that is, not referable to any immediate external human influence. His illustrations could easily be increased from the experience of myself and others known to me, as such phenomena are not uncommon.

But Mr. Wickersham does not touch upon a class of facts to which a persistent study of intuition inevitably leads. If these facts are not *intuitive*, I know not how to designate them. They might be called *social* intuitions, because they are produced by the silent action of mind upon mind. They can only be separated from individual intuitions when both parties are conscious of the operation. As the parties are usually unconscious, these "impressions" of one mind upon another are, practically, to be classed with intuitions, owing to the impossibility of distinguishing between them. Such sympathetic intuitions or "impressions" cannot be generally correct, nor a reliable guide. To prove the existence of such a power, there can be mentioned in evidence the now well-attested phenomena known as "mind-reading," clairvoyance, psychometry, mesmerism, etc., etc. The facts of mind-reading and mesmeric control are familiar to the inquiring public; abundance of genuine evidence can be had for the asking; and I only mention an experience of mine to illustrate the extreme sensitiveness and great susceptibility to external "impression" to which human nature is capable of arriving.

If a sealed letter were placed in my hand, I could, without taking any notice of the letter except to hold it, give an accurate description of the personal appearance, disposition, and character of the writer. If the letter was dictated, I could describe the characters of both the dictator and amanuensis, and state the bodily and mental conditions of both at the time the writing was executed. In every case the parties were entire strangers to me, and the distance from me of the writer, whether fifty or one thousand miles, made no difference to the result. On one occasion I was handed a letter by a conservative old physician. Soon I began to feel confused and ill, as if I was narcotized. Returning the letter, I remarked that it had been written amid the fumes of tobacco-smoke, and, if he desired me to describe, he must give me a letter free from the exhalations of tobacco and disease,—a *clean* letter. With much astonishment he complied, saying that the letter had been written a few days previously by an inveterate smoker who lived one hundred and fifty miles distant. I could fill a volume with remarkable experiences of a similar nature, but at this time I only wish to illustrate. I tested the matter thoroughly and satisfactorily, since which time no further experience of that kind has occurred to me.

The final result of my experimenting led to the conclusion that much of our mental activity, whether classed as intuitive or not, is made up of unconscious impressions received from other and unrecognized minds; also, that presence of the impressor was not essential to that activity; and, in comparatively rare cases, great distance was no hindrance. Mind cannot be wholly isolated from mind. The atmosphere is as good a conductor for it as the wire is for the magnetic telegrapher. The battery is the nervous system; the "force" generated, what is it? There is no difference whether we call it "odic" force, or "odylic," or "psychic"; *it* is a *fact*. Any crooked word will do to cover our dense ignorance of the nature and *modus operandi* of this human power. Dr. Brown-Séquard says that the "nervous force" cannot be extended beyond the limits of the nervous system, but is capable of being transformed into a finer force that can be thus extended. This indicates the *source* of the "force" under consideration. While some persons possess it in a very remarkable degree, it is undoubtedly common to humanity, and may in the future become highly developed in the whole race. Probably the *highly* intuitional organization is always accompanied by a peculiar growth of the nervous system, and, while the main element is inherited, the "gift" may be enhanced by the severer disciplines of our struggling lives. If, as seems to be the case, civilization is gradually multiplying intuitional organizations and increasing the closely allied "force" under consideration,—the latter may become one of the prime characteristics of the future of humanity.

My journey through Intuition Land was both interesting and pleasant, and I heard no bad news by the way. At the start I left behind me the ancient spectral illusions, superstition and infallibility. Not a sign of anything *super* to the *natural* was to be discovered. The roadway was solid beneath every footstroke; the bridges would hold up an army; and, as I leisurely pursued my way, the scenery appeared the same *thing* whether viewed through the spectrum of clairvoyance, the telescope of direct perception (intuition or short logic), or the microscope of understanding (long logic). The pure air was fatal to false distinctions. When I saw "spirit," I also saw "matter"; when matter was seen, spirit was there; not the slightest chink could be detected into which a wedge could be inserted; not a particle of evidence disclosed itself that the two ever had been or could be separated. Thought itself seemed to be an indivisible union of spirit and matter. The fictitious barrier which the priests, with an air of "repressed omniscience," had raised sky-high between man and his relations dissolved like a mist; and he was seen to be, not an interjection upon the face of this fair planet, but a literal product of total life.

This eventful "journey" furnished much curious material for future reflection. The wonderful "Black Forest" of *growth* revealing the long and shadowy paths of genius, descent, selection, variation, progression, retrogression, all tending to disclose man's nascent capabilities, the development of which shall raise him to godlike estate in the *distant* future; the rich and glorious valley of human culture; its origin and continuance; the rugged but strengthening hills of discipline; the beautiful, flowering meadows of sympathy and influence; the broad realm newly opening to science,—all this and much more was presented to my quickened mind before I halted near the eastern shore of the murmuring mystic ocean.

Nature hath no ends; any seeming end is the beginning of a new design. All the paths of science lead to unexplored lands. The study of intuition is no exception. As I gazed westward across the gleaming, tempting waters, unsolved problems arose before me, some of them bearing the following names: revelation, inspiration, prophecy, miracle, immortality, and spirit communion. But we will abide here for the present, as navigation of the mystic ocean is said to be perilous and unprofitable.

In this hasty and imperfect outline of "conclusions," there is nothing new, and it is not offered because of any expectation that the opinions of a private and obscure person can be effective, but rather with the object of sustaining somewhat the interest of your readers, and with the hope that those competent to the task will continue to enlighten us on so important a subject, through THE INDEX.

EX-REFORMER.

SHOULD CRIME BE PUNISHED?

The right of one human being to inflict punishment upon another is the one earliest questioned by humanity. It is evident that the only right that man has to make laws for his fellow-man originated in the exigencies of society, and that the only legitimate object of human law is the protection of the rights of person and property, and the prevention of crimes against them. A moment's reflection will show that no law can be justified that does not, directly or indirectly, have this object in view. The idea of punishment does not properly enter into the matter further than that it is the necessary consequence of the violation of law, whether natural or artificial.

Man readily perceives the chief laws of Nature, and learns to live in accordance with them, knowing that their violation entails certain punishment. He recognizes most moral laws, but is apt to mix his ideas of morality with those of religion and consequently of divinity, and to imagine that infractions are to be punished only by divinity, and with some specific penalty. Of human law he has generally a clearer perception, though too often led away by the fallacy that it is founded on divine authority; and to this cause some of the most outrageous laws and legal customs still extant owe their existence.

He already realizes that he cannot with his naked hand grasp red-hot iron without suffering more than he can bear. When he realizes that he cannot commit an immorality without suffering, he has done much toward becoming moral. When it is made clear to him that he cannot, without infallibly suffering, infringe human laws, he will be in a fair way of becoming eventually really humane.

In governing a very young child, it is not always possible to do so by appeals to reason alone, and the parental authority *per se* must then be exercised. As with immature individuals, so with immature peoples. The astute Moses knew well the childlike intellect of the race he led from centuries of debasing slavery towards national independence. In the laws he made for them, whether relating to personal cleanliness or public health, whether providing a day's rest in seven for the weary body, or a year's repose for the exhausted soil, no reliance was placed on their common sense, and the binding clause of every commandment was, "I am the Lord thy God!"

Surely, the days for governing intelligent communities like children have forever passed away! The element of fear, the dread of a penalty, is legitimate and necessary in enforcing law, but only when entirely removed from the idea of vengeance, and when the penalty is known to be the inseparable and infallible consequence of wrong-doing, and directly proportionate to the wrong done.

The primary object of law being, as we have seen, the entire prevention of all wrong, and this being in the nature of things impossible, the secondary object should obviously be the reparation of the wrong done as far as practicable. This is justice. The principle fault of codes has been that justice and law have not been synonymous terms.

If the forger, robber, incendiary, or other trespasser against property is convicted and sentenced to imprisonment or fine, the crime has neither been prevented nor the injury repaired. Consequently the chief ends of law have not been secured, and it is a mockery to say that the law-breaker has been "brought to justice." A crime being proved, the first consideration should be the repair of the injury at the expense of the criminal. In the case of a direct crime against the rights of property, this would be easily accomplished by restoring the amount lost out of the possessions of the criminal, or out of the proceeds of his enforced labor, if he possessed nothing. If the crime were against the rights of person, or the injury of such a nature as to have no recognized money equivalent, the proper amount of damages to be paid to the injured party at the expense of the criminal, or the proper method of reparation, should be determined by a jury, as is now done in purely civil suits. In either case the government should immediately pay the amount, and then "take it out" of the criminal by confiscating his property or selling the results of his labor at the employment in which he can exercise the greatest winning capacity compatible with loss of liberty.

It might be urged that the most worthless individual is capable of committing a crime for which he could not atone in the longest life. This is true; but he could atone in part, and would never endanger society by having an opportunity to commit crime again. If a miserable ruffian took a valuable life, he might never be able to wholly pay for it, but at all events he would never be pardoned out to do another murder, and this is all that is assured by hanging, unless it be claimed that hanging operates as a powerful influence to deter others from murder, which is denied by many.

People of criminal tendencies need to be impressed sharply with the conviction that it doesn't *pay* to do wrong, and that they must *pay* for the wrong they do. There is no infraction of an individual or public right that could not be atoned for and repaired as far as atonement is possible. Absolute justice cannot be expected till mankind becomes perfect. There are, too, under existing laws, some things prohibited which do not in themselves infringe any private or public right. Such laws would then be seen to be absurd, and would be repealed.

The cost of prosecution and litigation, including all lawyers' fees and court expenses, should be borne by government and charged to convicted wrong-doers and dishonest suitors. In this way law, or rather justice, instead of being notoriously the most expensive article obtainable, would be free as air to the righteous and costly as sin to the wicked.

It may be objected that additional burdens would be imposed upon the public treasury; but this fear would be a salutary thing for the public, for no longer would individuals tolerate the wrong-doing going on under their eyes every day, knowing that eventually every one would have to settle for his share of the consequences. Verily, the pocket is oftener tenderer than the conscience!

WM. L. BALCH.

BOSTON.

THE SOUL.

"Though I were perfect, yet would I not know my soul."—JOB 9: 21.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

How many thousands, since poor perplexed Job, have anxiously repeated his question: "If a man dies, shall he live again?" Yet throughout all these long centuries there never was, there never will be, one living to answer this question with any degree of certainty. No—no more than the question, "Is there a God?" or the question, "Has man a soul? And, if he has, what is it?" For all men must again ask with Job, "Can God be found out by searching?" and confess with him, "Though I were perfect, yet would I not know my soul." Theologians may assert the existence of God, of a soul, but they cannot prove their assertion true, any more than sceptics can demonstrate or prove their non-existence. All the arguments ever adduced to prove their existence, all the talk about our desires and longings and aspirations, can, when critically analyzed, weigh no more than all the arguments and talk to the contrary. And though we claim for the belief in God, soul, and immortality all the alleged sweetness, bliss, and consolation for the human heart, yet, when candidly scrutinized, these, like the belief, will prove but illusory, not founded, as claimed, in human nature, but inculcated in man by teaching, education, social surroundings and influences, an egotistic self-love, and an unwarranted over-estimation of man, etc. Pleasing as they may be to us, they can, of course, never be a proof *per se* of the correctness of the belief or the reality of its objects. Castles in the air, too, may be very pleasing to some visionary and dreaming minds; but this does not make them a reality.

What is the soul? Is it, as the large majority of men believe, an entity, dwelling merely temporarily in man? Or is it, as experience shows against this belief, identical with his peculiar organism and merely the manifestation of certain modes of actions of distinct parts of this organism? If an entity, a "something" distinct and separate from his physical organism, then we must ask, How and when does it become an occupant of, and connected with, the body? At the moment of the latter's birth? Or has it had a prenatal existence? If the latter, how

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and when does it become united with the embryo, and at what state of it?

These, and countless questions of a similar nature, we must ask, but no satisfactory answer can be given; *i. e.*, none sanctioned by science and experience. Only theology, which is never embarrassed by any question, will answer them unhesitatingly and positively. Its answer is all we have, all we know, of a soul. And though it must be admitted that philosophers, and metaphysicians, too, especially the older ones, speak also of the soul as an entity, yet they do it more as a means to explain thereby the so-called "mental manifestations" and "mental faculties" of man, and do not pretend to know everything about the nature of the soul; nor do they speak of it with that audacious positivity as do the theologians. Once more, though the former, too, speak of the soul and consider it as "that part of man which enables him to think" (Webster), yet they are neither as dogmatic as to its "spirituality," nor as to its "immortality" as theologians. For they know and admit that a "spirit" is just as incomprehensible a thing as a "soul"; whose *pretended* "spirituality" and "immortality" is but a speculation, an inevitable consequence of claiming it to be an entity. The adherents to that doctrine will not allow it to be material, and thus are by sheer necessity driven to make it "a spirit," and, denying its dependence on, its origin in and with the body, to ascribe to it also "immortality."

That is what we are brought to by accepting the theological theory that the soul is an entity—a "something" different from and independent of the body. Now let us see what science and experience will teach us, and whether they will not rather sustain the theory that the soul is identical with the human organism, and merely the manifestation of certain modes of action of distinct parts of this organism.

The child just born is manifestly but an *animal*; merely an animal, and a very helpless one at that. Its motions are few, circumscribed, and almost aimless. Its meaningless staring in the vacuum can neither be attracted by, nor fixed on, any thing or person. It does not even recognize its own mother, and is in that respect even inferior to the higher animals. But its body grows and develops at that early period remarkably fast, and after an elapse of a few weeks it gives the first sign of that nascent intellect by which it is destined in future to become superior to all animals: its smiles. But this smile is yet unconscious and merely a sign of its future superiority. Thus is the *body* (please note the word!) going on growing and developing into childhood, boy or girlhood, youth, maturity, and man or womanhood; and after having thus reached, in years, its full bloom, its *organs* lose again by age and in slow degrees their vigor and fail to perform their functions. Not seldom there comes a "second childhood." When vital organs thus become incapable to perform their allotted functions, or when the necessary harmony of action between all parts of the whole organism is thus disturbed, death ensues.

Precisely the same is the growth, development, and decrease of the "soul," or, what is the same, the "mentality" of man; by which, however, this highly important and most significant fact is to be noted, that no "spiritual," or "mental," or "soul" action takes place until the physical or bodily organ, on which this action depends, has previously gained sufficient development to sustain such "spiritual" action. This very important and most significant fact may be verified by every thoughtful observer, and will also be testified to by every physician worthy of that profession. Who does not know that "uncommonly smart" children, *i.e.*, those who manifest a "mental development" beyond their years, and hence too fast for their physical development, are much more likely to die in their childhood than children of a dull or at least less precocious "mind"? Is not their immature death unanimously, almost proverbially (and correctly, too), ascribed to their "smartness"; *i.e.*, the uncommon forwardness of their mental development?

These well-known and attested facts I hold to be sufficient "circumstantial evidence" to base on them unhesitatingly the verdict that the soul is not an entity, not a "something" independent of the body, but merely the manifestation of certain modes of action of distinct organs of the body. But these facts, decisive as they ought to be, are by no means all the evidence in the case. It is further admitted by all, that the nerves are the mediums of sensation, and more especially the brain, the organ producing thought and intelligence. Now almost every member of the body might be amputated, and yet, if only the brain (and heart) be whole and uninjured, the man may yet preserve his soul; *i.e.*, life. Every battle-field furnishes proof of this. But if the brain (the "soul's workshop") be injured by any cause, "mental" or physical, by a sudden shock or by a blow on the head, either total or partial insanity, idiocy, or death will follow, according to the nature of its injury. Well, then, if the "*soul*" is an entity, is independent of, and something different from, the body, how, I ask, can it be thus affected by the brain's injury? Must it then not be clear as sunshine that man has no soul that is an entity; that what is generally but mistakenly supposed to be the soul or its action is neither more nor less than the effect of the natural and proper action of the human body and its organs? Verily, old Job said truly: "Though I were perfect, yet would I not know my soul."

After what has been said above, it will hardly be necessary to argue on the "Immortality of the Soul." For if the soul is no entity, if it is identical with and not "a something" different from the body, merely the effect of its action, the "soul" can, of course, not be "immortal" when the body and its organs and their action will not "endure for ever."

MORRIS EINSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, Jan. 28, 1877.

THE PAINE BUST.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Because Philadelphia witnessed the birth of our nation, which owes its existence in no slight degree to the friendly coöperation of Paine and Washington, the subscribers to the bust deemed it to be historically appropriate to place it within her repository of memorials. The admirers of Paine desired that he should be remembered in this way, jointly with the heroes of Orthodoxy; not in an odious comparison, but on an equality with those who are exalted while Paine is denied all appropriate recognition for his great services in the cause of humanity.

The Select Council of that city have declined to receive the proffered Centennial gift, and the spirit of courtesy and fraternity actuating the donors of the bust is repulsed arrogantly, discourteously, unfraternally. They decline to admit to the companionship of memorials of the Revolution, selfishly claimed to the glory of Orthodoxy, an image of Paine, which the excommunicated have in turn decreed to excommunicate, with less grace or righteousness than a Popish bull in protection of the "only true Church" against the influences of the "godless."

As citizens of a republic boastfully founded upon principles of equal tolerance of religious views, it is difficult to conceive of a fair ground of justification upon which to base the action of the Select Council. Exercising a little brief authority, professedly in the name of One blazoned in their lip-service as the Savior of all sinners, they convey to the free religionists, their own countrymen, a message as undiluted with the gospel of love as the expressions of the Pharisees to the twelve Apostles and their Chief. It is a cause for general humiliation that a body of representative men, gathered in a chief city of the country, should be found consenting blindly to the exercise of a stale artifice peculiar to an age of religious persecution, and foreign to religious freedom. Their act is preeminently an appeal to the thoughtful to rebuke its mistaken purpose and insidious tyranny.

The Select Council have provoked every friend of Paine to protest, and added to the host of his admirers ten thousand defenders of the State as against the Church. In this respect the donors of the bust derive an unexpected compensation, and the genius and ability of Paine's teachings become the more irrepressible. I heartily concur with Mr. Morse and THE INDEX in advising the retention of the bust in Philadelphia until, through the operation of the powers of reason, the intolerance of the Select Council shall give way to a spirit more becoming the "City of Brotherly Love," and it shall be placed where it appropriately belongs.

Very respectfully,

EMERSON BENTLEY.

MORGAN CITY, La., Feb. 9, 1877.

GOD IN THE CONSTITUTION.

When I first heard of the intention of putting God into the Constitution, there awoke in my memory something I had read in an old cook-book in regard to cooking a hare. The directions commenced with: "First *catch* your hare." Now if the people will obey that direction in regard to this matter, and first catch their God, and prove that they have *the right one* (for there are Gods many and Lords many, so that each party has one of their own), I see no objections to his being put in the Constitution, *if he is willing*.

But I think it high time this business was settled. He has appropriated the honors that belong to Nature for at least six thousand years. The Bible has had its day, and all the powers of hell (by which I mean the animal forces that still blind *reason*) can never restore its former authority. Science and sound common-sense are fast taking the place of old traditions and imaginary duties to God. The great final battle between the Bible and Science will be fought in America this coming four years, and *man's* God will find its level.

Before the people can decide what parties belong at the head of the nation, they must decide which God they will have in the Constitution. The choice lies between these two,—the one that was evolved through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, culminating in Jesus, or the one that was evolved through Sarah, Rebekah, and Rachel, culminating in Mary of Nazareth. These two are confounded in the New Testament. *Paul saw that*, and was equal to the emergency, and straightway put a veto on woman's God, which has remained unto this day. But in this blessed day of scientific investigation, when hidden mysteries are being revealed, woman's God is coming to the front. Through the process of the investigation, the people's eyes will be opened and they will then see that the nation (and all other organizations) needs a mother as well as a father to hold it together in the hands of love and social fellowship. There can be no national peace independent of social peace. A united nation is built up of united families held together by the conjugal love that exists between the parents.

MARY ELIZABETH ADAMS.

WORCESTER, Mass.

THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS.

SMITH CENTRE, Kan., Feb. 12, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, ordered for the Smith County Liberal Association, came to hand in due time. I have just read mine with a degree of satisfaction, and a revived hope in the dawning future, that actuate me to contribute my mite to the mass of evidence which shows so strikingly that, as the world moves, bigotry and slavery give way to liberality and freedom.

Even away out here, on these fertile but sparsely-inhabited prairies of Western Kansas, are at least some who read with eager interest the proceedings of those fearless but considerate persons assembled in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, last July. To keep up our organization in this county will be attended with some difficulty, owing to distance intervening between the members and the fact that we are all poor, and need to labor all the time for our own support. But the liberal element is gaining favor, and Associations or Leagues will be formed in other localities contiguous to this. Though you may not hear much from us, you need not suppose we are all asleep. Your columns are generally occupied by more interesting matter than we can furnish at present, and we do not feel at liberty to intrude.

But allow me to congratulate our Eastern brethren upon the success of the Congress of 1876. From reading the report, every one seems to have acted with a due respect for liberty and unity. And those papers read there—I can't express a choice—ought all to be in the hands of every reading person in the United States. May the good work go bravely on!

We learn that Boston was once the scene of the most horrible crimes in the name of religion; but now that she has become noted for the promulgation of modern truths, may those few brave "souls" within the limits of the old "hub" succeed in producing a degree of agitation that shall send the glad tidings of practical liberty to the uttermost parts of the earth.

Fraternally yours,

WM. A. GARRETSON.

ACCURACY IN EPITHETS.

The Moody-and-Sankey people—that is to say, the people who call themselves "evangelical"—make great use of the word "believers," and try to secure a monopoly of it for the benefit of the group of sects to one or another of which they all belong. It seems rather curious that men who claim the title of "believers," in consequence of their acceptance of certain doctrines as true without evidence or examination, should stigmatize others as "*un*believers" because the latter, having examined, find the evidence to be against those doctrines. Nevertheless, such is the custom of a large number of our fellow-citizens, men, too, who, on matters other than religion and theology, may fairly be considered intelligent. Yet, if religious belief is a good thing at all, it seems to me that there are people much better entitled to the epithet "believers" than those who, as above stated, try to monopolize it. They are—

Those who, believing firmly in a good God, *therefore* cannot admit the existence of what is ecclesiastically called "the devil."

Those who, believing firmly in a Providence, benevolent and beneficent, *therefore* cannot admit the reality of what is ecclesiastically called "hell."

Those who, believing firmly in a *just* Providence, which will "render to every man according to his works," *therefore* cannot admit that the fulfilment of duty by one person will neutralize and abolish the penalty divinely annexed to the violation of duty by another person.

Those who, firmly believing in immortality, the doctrine that the soul, which is the man, never dies, *therefore* cannot admit the notion of a resurrection from the dead.

Those who, firmly believing in an existing kingdom of God, the doctrine that the Creator of the world really rules it, and that mankind are now just where he expected and intended they should be in this early stage of their existence, *therefore* cannot admit that the kingdom of God is yet to come. BELIEVER.

A WOMAN CHAMPION OF FREETHOUGHT.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Mrs. Mattie Hulet Parry, of Beloit, Wisconsin, has just completed in the Opera House, to crowded houses whom she held spell-bound by her eloquence and logic, the most telling course of lectures ever delivered in this city.

As an advocate of temperance and moral reform, she has no superior; and as a champion of freedom, freethought, free religion, and the inalienable rights of all mankind, she is a terror to bigots and religious bull-dozers, whom she challenges to a free *rostrum*, and will speak from no other. All honor to the noble, brave, little woman, before whom the proscriptive clergy cannot and dare not stand!

JOHN WILCOX.

EDDYVILLE, Iowa, Jan. 25, 1877.

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

EDITOR INDEX:—

Protestantism tries to overcome the merited disgrace attached to the churches for their persecution of scientific men of the past by saying that it was the *Catholics* who imprisoned Galileo, Kopernik, and others, and stirred up the people against them. Now arises this question: What is the difference between a Catholic priest of the Middle Ages hurling "infidel," "atheist," "blasphemer of God," etc., against Galileo and Kopernik, as history shows that the clergy did, and a Protestant minister of this age hurling the same epithets at Tyndall, Huxley, and Spencer? Is it not the same old spirit of superstition and bigotry, only restrained from bodily persecution by the growth of the world? L.

IT IS TOLD of a map agent that on a recent trip he was attacked by highway robbers, who demanded his money. As he was too prudent to carry money in the country, they failed to make a haul out of their victim. "But," said the agent, "I have some splendid maps of the country along with me, which I should like to show you." And in a twinkling he was off his horse, had a map stuck upon a pole, and explained it so effectively that he sold each of the bandits a map, pocketed the money, and resumed his journey.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THERE IS great pathos in this confession, attributed to Alexander H. Stephens: "I want to go. What is there left to tie me to this world? My brother, my comrades, my friends have all gone, and I am ready to go to them. I am weary of this world and its sufferings."

INTERESTING STATISTICS of the schools of New York are given by Governor Robinson: "There are in the State 1,585,601 persons between the ages of five and twenty-one. The number of children attending public schools is 1,067,199, or all of these, except 518,402. Of this remainder, 134,404 are in private schools. The total expense of the public schools is about eleven and a half millions of dollars."

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL in New York city has just been exempted, by a special resolution of the Board of Aldermen, from a tax of about $700 for the privilege of connection with the city sewer. Mayor Wickham vetoed this resolution, on the ground that all churches pay this tax, only school and city buildings being exempted. But the Aldermen passed it over the Mayor's veto, notwithstanding his arguments. This is not a fact of 1870, but a fact of 1877. There is no use in hoping for any cessation of these depredations, until the liberals combine to cut away the pretext for them.

AT A MEETING of the Baptist ministers of Brooklyn and New York, January 29, the *Tribune* reports the following extraordinary remarks as part of the proceedings: "Dr. Fish, of Newark, said that since he had heard Huxley he had had less fear of the scientists. He said: 'I think in all soberness that Huxley made a perfect ass of himself, and that this is not too strong language to use.' In his opinion there had been a reaction against evolution in this part of the country since Prof. Huxley's visit. Prof. Fox said he heard Huxley lecture, and that 'it was the absurdest exposition of himself I ever heard a man make.' Other remarks were not so strongly expressed but similar in tone."

A BATTLE-HYMN of the Turks has been translated as follows, and evinces the fierce fanaticism which will undoubtedly make the threatened war between Turkey and Russia a terrible one: "Allah calls us! Allah invites! Allas! Up to the seventh heaven rise the vile odor and the insolence of the infidels. Allah calls! Allah invites! The bloody combat opens. To the conquerors, the Prophet will open the gates of Paradise. Allah is great! The corpses of our brethren will remain upon the field of carnage, that they may breathe pestilence, desolation, and death into the camp of our enemies. Weep not for them! The avenging sword of the sons of the prophet will slay by the side of each a hundred, as a compensation for their death. Dead or alive, may their corpses or their weapons sow destruction and mourning in the infidel ranks! Weep not for them! Allah is great! The Christians crushed, our dead will inherit all the joys promised by the Prophet in his love for his people. To the combat! To carnage! Allah calls us! Allah invites us!"

THE WALL STREET prayer-meeting, on a recent occasion, proved that New York has its quota of blind believers in Protestant miracles: "Then an earnest speaker arose and told how much better it was to test religion by prayer rather than by science. He told how fifteen women got in trouble, and knelt and prayed together; and while they prayed a sick man, 'who was supposed to be bedridden, got up, and came to New York and paid some money to some one, who paid it to some one else, who put it in an institution from which the troubled women were benefited.' Then he told how all his family were ill beyond physicians' aid, and by prayer all had been made sound." But at the same meeting there was some talk of a different kind: "A Mr. F. S. Weed declared that he was a sceptic. He doubted the early teachings of his parents and had yet to see in the Christian religion something tangible and substantial. He had got down and prayed for religion, but couldn't get it, and in his opinion there is something wrong about the way religion is to be reached. . . . Two persons spoke briefly, and then Mr. Weed again arose and said he had been a soldier and a sailor, had served in more than one war, and had gone through everything that a man could go through and live, and experience had taught him that what his parents used to teach about religion wouldn't stand the test of science—or even common-sense. Nobody answered the sceptic the second time, but all joined lustily in drowning remembrance of his disbelief in the stirring song of 'Hold the Fort.'"

DANIEL DERONDA'S influence may be at the bottom of the fact thus recorded by the London *Jewish Herald*: "The last four or five years have witnessed a return of the Jews to Palestine from all parts, but more especially from Russia, which has been altogether unprecedented. The Hebrew population of Jerusalem is now probably double what it was some ten years ago. Accurate statistics on this subject it is impossible to find, as the Eastern Jews dread a census from superstitious reasons, and also from the fear of having to pay more by the way of poll-tax to the Turks if their true numbers were known. For these reasons, and especially the latter, their official returns on the subject are not to be trusted. In 1872 and 1873 such numbers returned to Saphed alone, one of the four holy cities of the Jews, in the mountains of Galilee, that there were no houses to receive them, and building was for a considerable length of time carried on all night, as well as all day. This, be it remembered, in the East, where 'the night' is emphatically the time 'in which no man can work!' Great accessions still continue daily; and whereas, ten years ago, the Jews were confined to their own quarter in Jerusalem, the poorest and worst, they now inhabit all parts of the city, and are always ready to rent every house that is to be let. Notwithstanding this happy change, owing to want of accommodation still, a building society has been formed, and many of its simple tenements are now rising outside the city to the north-west. Even before this many Jewish houses had already been built in two little colonies outside the Jaffa Gate. Moreover, the Jews in Palestine are certainly acquiring possession of landed property in the villages and country districts."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

Concerning Immortality.

BY J. L. STODDARD.

"Morsne sempiternus somnus, an initium alterius vitæ est"?

The author of that account of creation found in the book of Genesis uses the following words in reference to the sun and moon: "And God said: Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth. And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night. And God set them in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth." This language represents the thought so natural and universal in unscientific ages, that our earth is the most important object in the universe, around which the heavenly bodies revolve, whose sole business it is to furnish the inhabitants of our globe with light.

But after long ages of error, this idea was shown (in spite of intense theological opposition and priestly persecution) by Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton to be false. Mankind learned that our sun, far from revolving about our earth, was instead the centre of a mighty system in which the earth was a subordinate planet; and that around this great luminary, more than a million times vaster than our tiny globe, we were sweeping in the position of a humble satellite.

The sun, then, so far from being hung up in the "firmament" as an immense lantern for our earth, was shown to be the parent from which we had sprung, the source of our life, light, and heat; and yet it was discovered that we receive less than the *two-thousand-millionth* part of all the supply of that light and heat which the sun is constantly pouring forth into space on all sides!

Overwhelmed by this vast change in their conceptions of the universe, men still clung fondly to the notion that at least our solar system was the central one in the great realms of space. But the elder Herschel proved this conception also to be false, our system being the merest drop in the infinite star-universe. Accepting, then, this further idea of subordination, men still deemed the position of our sun a sufficiently important one from which to measure the stellar system.

But it begins to be seen now that this also is incorrect; that our sun is so comparatively small and insignificant (some orbs exceeding it one or two thousand times in magnitude), that it is not a suitable centre whence to estimate the extent of the myriad systems of suns about us; and that indeed the starry universe is for us *immeasurable*. We may say of it, as Pascal said of space, that its centre is everywhere and its circumference nowhere. Let us, on some clear evening, stand dumb with awe under the glittering expanse of heaven and reflect upon our position in the great universe. The tiny globe beneath our feet, upon whose thin-formed crust we rear our dwellings, is bearing us onward through the dark void at a rate of eighteen miles per second, or nearly eleven hundred miles per minute. At the enormous distance of ninety-two millions of miles is our great parent sun, around which and obedient to whose call we whirl along our silent way. The nearest object in our vision, our own bright moon, whose drawing impulse causes yonder waves to thunder at our feet, is circling round us at a distance of two hundred and thirty-eight thousand miles. But far beyond these feeble limits, at inconceivable remove from our own sun and fellow-planets, gleam the far-off suns, which telescopic scrutiny only reveals as strewn like atoms in the depths of space. While yonder milky-way—that faint, white streak across the sky—we know to be the brilliant pathway of millions of such suns as ours, speeding with inconceivable rapidity on their several courses through the interstellar depths. At such an hour we realize the insignificance of our tiny planet in the boundless universe of which we form so trifling a part. But if this be true of the earth itself, considered in its relations to the worlds beyond us, what shall we say when we turn our attention to the phenomenon of human life upon our globe?

From the inconceivably distant epoch, when our earth was a mere "fluid haze of light," to the era when it began to take form as an incandescent globe, and then during the long ages which elapsed while its intense heat was radiating off into space and its thin crust was slowly forming, up to the time when any germ of life could possibly exist,—during all those vast time-intervals of our globe's existence, there was no life upon it, much less *human* life. Only after æon succeeding æon, during which our earth was gradually becoming fit to support higher and higher grades of beings, and in comparatively recent times, did man make his first appearance here.

But the great lifeless epochs of the past history of our planet are destined to be repeated in its future history. In a comparatively short time (speaking in geological measurements) life will once more be wanting upon our earth, and it will roll onward in its orbit, cold, lifeless, and deserted.

We see our own future written, as it were upon a scroll, in our neighbor, the planet Mars, and in our own offspring, the moon. Both of these bodies, like our earth, once possessed great stores of force in their inherent heat, which have from the outset of their career been slowly but surely passing away. Now the moon certainly, and Mars probably, circle about the sun with a perfect absence of life upon their surfaces. For as Mars is much smaller than our earth and at a greater distance from the sun (and hence earlier formed), so it has doubtless radiated forth its heat more rapidly than have larger bodies, and has therefore probably passed much more swiftly through its various cycles of existence. We know, indeed, that Mars possesses lands and seas; we see their outlines; we detect there even a thin atmosphere; we notice that snows collect on its polar regions in winter and diminish in summer. Yet it is believed by many that, owing to its smaller size and greater age, this planet is already far-advanced towards that lifeless stage in which we find the moon to be. *There* there is now no atmosphere. Its vast ocean-beds alone reveal to us that bodies of water once rolled upon its surface. Its crust is torn by enormous volcanic craters, whose fearful fires have long since been extinguished. Its internal heat is gone. It has reached its limit of contraction and consolidation. And when the earth's inherent heat shall have wholly passed away (as passing away it surely is), and long ages shall have elapsed since she was the abode of life, then will her desert continents and dry ocean-beds resemble the desolate wastes which we see to-day upon the lunar crust. In a miniature, therefore, forty-nine times smaller than our earth, we read our own inevitable fate at a remote age. Compared, then, with the duration of a planet's existence, its life-supporting era is exceedingly short; and during that life-supporting era the period when it is capable of supporting *human* life is vastly shorter. Helmholtz has well said: "The duration of life on our earth is but the minutest ripple in the infinite ocean of time!" What, then, is the duration of *one form* of this life, that of the human family? And, *à fortiori*, what is the duration of an *individual* life? Such being the results of our inquiry into man's position in the universe, as an inhabitant of this tiny globe, in the midst of whose eras the life of his entire race appears as a minor item, let us turn to man's own constitution and investigate his relative importance here. Without entering into any long disquisition upon the great theory of evolution and the origin of man, let me premise only the following remarks:—

It is the accepted teaching of geology that a gradual but steady progress in forms of life, from lower to higher, has been going on ever since the beginning of life upon our planet. It is, moreover, almost universally accepted by scientists that our present forms of life are all derived from preëxisting forms, and that they in their turn were similarly derived, and so on in constantly narrowing lines until the determination of family, order, and class becomes more and more difficult, and we draw near to the few simple ancestral forms from which these have been variously derived and developed. Embryology, physiology, and comparative anatomy all furnish their respective powerful proofs in support of this testimony of the rocks. Especially important is the evidence which embryology has given in favor of this theory. It has shown us that if, as is the case, complex organisms are developed in a few weeks or months from minute germ cells (scarcely differing from each other under microscopic investigation, whether they be those of a dog, a tortoise, or a man), there is nothing incredible in the idea that a complex organism should have been developed through long ages and through countless intermediary forms from a primeval type of life vastly its inferior. And if a single minute cell, under certain conditions, can become a man in the space of a few years, there can surely be no invincible difficulty in believing that, under suitable conditions, a cell may, in the lapse of millions of years, develop into the progenitor of the human race. But whether or no man be derived from ancestors intermediary between himself and the ape, it will hardly be questioned by any who are familiar with the results arrived at by the students of philology and anthropology, that the first appearance of man upon the earth was a very crude and savage one, and that the primitive man resembled the lowest savages which we now find existing either in the wilds of Africa or on the plains of Patagonia.

Nations have always been fond of tracing their descent from the gods or certain deified heroes who were more than men; but experience and comparison show us how mythical are all such origins, whether connected with the names of Adam, Tubal Cain, and Noah, or Saturn, Hercules, and Deucalion. This being so, we recognize our position,—I will not say as highly-developed animals, but as highly-developed savages. If some of us demur at this conclusion, let them reflect that, whatever reluctance they may feel in accepting this result, they can hardly resist acknowledging the fact that we Anglo-Saxons are descended from the savage Teutons warred against by Cæsar, or from the still wilder, piratical Northmen who were wont to drink from the skulls of their enemies. Viewed, therefore, in the light of man's insignificance in the universe, first, as indicated by the inferiority and minuteness of the globe he inhabits; secondly, by the brief duration of his life upon it; and, lastly, by his descent or rather ASCENT from an exceedingly low type of ancestors,—does it not seem a tremendous, nay, a well-nigh hopeless question to ask: *Is man immortal?* Is he to live after his fleeting existence here? This is the awful question which presses upon every thoughtful man of the present day: *What is his destiny?* We shall be tempted to answer this inquiry differently as we look at the two extremes of the human family,—a Patagonian savage and a Goethe or a Shakspeare. On the one hand, it does seem a perfectly unwarrantable assumption to hold that the former low, degraded being, with no abstract ideas, no religious forms or worship, unable to count more than four, devouring his food raw, entirely destitute of clothing, and inferior in many respects to the higher brutes, *is to live forever;* that he has an eternal existence assured to him beyond this present life. Yet when we contemplate the other noble representatives of our race, the creators of Faust and of Hamlet, it is not hard to believe that in some way or other their minds will not perish with their bodies, but will live on in some mode and state now unknown to us. But between these two extremes (and many would say still more

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strongly between the brute ancestor of that savage and Shakspeare), where shall we draw the line? Where shall we say that here immortality begins and there it ends?

The differences between men are so minute, they shade into each other by such imperceptible degrees, that it would seem impossible to assign to this one such a boon as unending existence, and to this other, his fellow and *all but equal*, annihilation! Then, too, when we think of the circumstances of birth, locality, education, and influences, which so largely make men what they are, it seems monstrous that the gaining of immortality should depend upon the accidents of origin and surroundings.

No, in this we feel that we must adopt the maxim, "*Aut totus, aut nullus*": either every member of the human family or none at all. But let us ask ourselves frankly if we are debating a question which we have any reason whatever to suppose probable. What right have we to conjecture even for a moment that *any* of our race are immortal? The common belief upon this subject is, that at the birth of every human being, a soul, distinct from, and superior to, all mere physical origin, is joined to the body; created then for the first time by the Deity, and of such a nature that it will never cease to exist. In other words, that whenever man, through caprice, passion, or opportunity, begets a body, the Deity is obliged to implant within it an immortal soul; thus giving (as Greg well expresses it), to even the most brutish of men, power to make *well-nigh unlimited drafts upon the "treasury of spiritual existence"!* But why, if such a soul be thus incarnated, do we put the moment of its incarnation at birth?

Not surely because *life* first commences then, for life exists just as truly in the human embryo. The changes in its ante-natal development occur as quietly and steadily as do the changes in the visibility of the lunar disc. Microscopic investigation now reveals to us that the period assigned by law as the time for the commencement of embryo-life is entirely arbitrary.

Physicians tell us that at no moment in the formation of a human embryo is it possible to assert that life does not exist, for (and let this be well noted) *the human spermatozoa are themselves living organisms*, and actually exist as such in the body of the male.

It will be replied to this that it is of no consequence if we cannot assign the actual moment of the creation and implanting of the immortal soul. What is wanted is the fact that such a soul *is* implanted; the precise time when this occurs is of secondary importance. Here, however, we meet with grave difficulties. By the term *soul* is meant that part of man's constitution which thinks, wills, reasons, and loves. If, then, the soul be created, entirely underived from the body, how comes it that we inherit from our parents certain mental and moral traits, such as tendencies to anger, pride, gentleness, envy, avarice, and generosity; a liking for intellectual pursuits, or the reverse; and special talents, as for music, painting, and the like? Examples of this fact are numberless. The family of Æschylus numbered eight poets. Thorwaldsen was the son of a sculptor. Raphael's father was a painter. Titian and Vernet came from a family of painters. The father of Beethoven was a tenor singer, and the sire of Mozart a violinist of some reputation. Haydn was the son of an organist; and Weber's father was a distinguished musician. A great number of composers have sprung from the family of Bach. A remarkable instance is on record of seven children of one man, who all enjoyed a competency and good health, yet who all inherited a rage for suicide, and actually yielded to it within thirty or forty years! Some hanged, some drowned, and others shot themselves. It is well known that Hartley Coleridge inherited from his great father his *weakness of will*. Already when quite young the infirmity of volition had shown itself. He was well aware of his own weakness, and in one of his books he wrote the following lines:—

> "Oh! woeful impotence of weak resolve,
> Recorded rashly to the writer's shame,
> Days pass away, and time's large orbs revolve,
> And every day beholds me still the same!"

Now all such qualities as these go certainly to make up the soul; but if this be newly created, and distinct from all physical origin, it ought to be free from any such inheritance. Yet the derivation of such traits from our ancestors is a matter of daily observation.

We see, however, that the belief in a future life has long been a favorite one among men, and that it has been variously held by them as a hope, a speculative possibility, or a firm belief, according as they have felt more or less assured of its reality. But the mere fact that a future existence has been generally believed in by the human race does not make such a life a certainty.

Many popular ideas, which had a very early origin among primitive men and prevailed for centuries, have been found to be wholly erroneous. The early notions of mankind respecting the form of the earth were wrong; so were their beliefs concerning the nature of the heavenly bodies; the primitive explanations of all natural phenomena and their reference to unseen spiritual agents; the absurd interpretations which prevailed in regard to physiological facts; the belief that all epidemics were punishments inflicted by an offended Deity; and the notion that madmen and epileptics were possessed of demons,—all these ideas have been at one time in the history of the race universally believed, but have been gradually abandoned just in proportion as the light of science has poured in upon the clouded intellects of mankind.

Let us now examine some of the most prevalent reasons which induce men to believe in a future existence. The most common grounds of this belief may be termed the grounds of *sentiment* and *analogy*. The first proceeds from an idea doubtless originally awakened in the primitive races of men, which, descending from them, exerts still a potent influence over the majority of the human family. It will not be difficult to account for the rise of such a notion in the minds of primitive men. It is not surprising, for example, that the North American Indian, in viewing his fellow-warrior stretched in death, looking as he has often looked in sleep or in a swoon, should strive to awaken him, and, failing to do this, should believe that his friend had gone away somewhere to continue his chase in the happy hunting-grounds, which his fancy pictures to him as lying beyond the setting sun. The idea of the continuity of life would seem thus to be naturally suggested by the resemblance between Death and "his twin brother Sleep." This resemblance, though of course merely an external one, has been frequently noted and remarked upon even by poets and philosophers. Diogenes is said to have spoken in his last moments of Death and Sleep as brother and sister. Cicero says: "*Nihil videmus morti tam simile quam somnum*"; and Ovid asks: "*Quid est somnus gelidæ nisi mortis imago?*"

This idea would be of course greatly strengthened by the desire of such a life thus suggested, and would acquire more and more influence by being handed down as an assured fact from parents to children. It would be still further supported by the appearance to the uncultivated mind of forms and figures in dreams. What can these be, asks the primitive man, except the vision of my still existent father, or wife, or friend? During sleep the spirit appears to desert the body, and in dreams we seem to visit other localities; as it were other worlds. Hence the savage considers the events in his dreams to be as real as those of his waking hours, and they have an importance to him which more cultivated persons can hardly understand. It is thus, perhaps, that so universal a belief in a future existence has arisen and perpetuated itself among mankind. The Chinese worship their ancestors and carry food and presents to their graves; the savage buries together with his chief his bow and arrows for future use; and even the Greek was wont to put an obol into the hand of a dead relative to pay his fare to Charon over the Stygian River, and a salted cake wherewith to appease the savage Cerberus. Now when an idea has become thus through inheritance a kind of possession of the race, and when men have allowed their affections to twine themselves about it, and have fostered it as a bright and comforting assurance,—it cannot be abandoned without a terrible wrench of the sensibilities. There are many persons, no doubt, who, no matter how convincing the proof of the destruction of the soul at death might be, would steadily refuse to believe it, and would cling to the belief in immortality, which they so dearly love.

They assert their *longing* for a future life as a proof that such a life will be given them; they adduce their abhorrence of the extinction of their being as an argument against such extinction; they reach out their hands to clasp those of the loved and lost, and fancy that they feel their tender pressure in return.

But alas! the fact that we *desire* a thing is not a very satisfactory ground for believing it to be true. There are millions of persons who are at this moment longing with all the ardor of their natures for something which seems absolutely necessary for their happiness and comfort, which yet may never be granted to them. With this one it is the responsive love of an alienated heart which is thus longed for; with another it is the reformation of a wayward son whose vices cause anguish to the loving soul; with a third it is some opportunity for culture and instruction, the want of which renders life empty and even painful to the soul which craves it. But how rarely are these strong desires prophetic of their own fulfilment! Surely we must seek our proof of a future existence in something more satisfying than our mere WISHES for it! As Mr. Mill well remarks: "We wish for life, and God has granted us some life; that we wish for a boundless extent of life, and that this is not granted, is no exception to the ordinary modes of his government. Many a man would like to be a Crœsus or an Augustus Cæsar, but has his wishes gratified only to the moderate extent of a pound a week or the Secretaryship of his Trades Union. To suppose that the desire for life guarantees to us personally the reality of life *through all eternity*, is like supposing that the desire of food assures us that we shall always have as much as we can eat through our whole lives, and as much longer as we can conceive our lives to be protracted to."

The argument from analogy is similarly pleasing, and perchance satisfactory, to the unthinking man. He sees the apparently lifeless chrysalis transform itself into the winged butterfly, and the sight suggests to him the breaking of the soul from its tenement of clay. He sees the tree, apparently so dead during the icy winter, put forth new buds and leaves when warmed into life by the kisses of the vernal sun; and he says, Thus does the soul spring into life from the cold hands of death. But this is very frail reasoning; for, after all, the chrysalis and the winter-bound tree are *not* really dead; in the butterfly and leaves there is no resurrection from death to life, but only a quickening of suspended activity. When the butterfly actually dies, can anything restore it to life? When the tree is blown down and perishes, can all the kisses of the sun and tears of the clouds reanimate the lifeless form? With what satisfaction, then, can we of to-day repose our faith in a future existence upon such analogies as these, or upon the well-nigh universal extent of the belief among the primitive families of the race? A thousand other equally universal notions have been found among unscientific men, which we now know to be untenable.

Let us look, then, at other reasons for this belief, which still commends itself to so many intelligent persons of to-day. A very potent argument for believing that we are destined to exist after death is the assertion (already referred to) that there is in each of us a soul, distinct from and superior to the body, which, unlike the body, is *indestructible*. This is a most pleasing conception, and it would be very satisfactory if we could only prove it for a certainty. Unfortunately, however, we are compelled to admit very weighty arguments against it.

It would indeed seem at first that *thought*, so quiet, so far removed from bodily demonstrations, might be conducted in a region of pure spirit, merely imparting its conclusions through the material body. But, unhappily for this supposition, the fact is now generally admitted that thought exhausts the nervous substance as surely as walking does the muscles. The mind seems to be completely at the mercy of the bodily condition. A clear atmosphere exhilarates our spirits; a sultry one prostrates them; certain conditions of the body weaken the memory; certain others strengthen it. The quality of the blood circulating through the brain influences the development of ideas; if it be deficient in oxygen, delirium follows; if there be not a proper supply of arterial blood, loss of consciousness ensues. The use of opium enfeebles the will; the taking of stimulants excites for a time the flow of thought; a good repast makes us self-complacent; imperfect digestion renders us wretched; in short, the EVIDENCE is strongly opposed to the idea of a separate, independent, self-supporting, spiritual agent rising above the fluctuations of the corporeal frame. To be sure, the assumption is constantly made that there *is* such an agent. The facts just cited would be explained away as arising from imperfect conditions under which this agent is placed. But this is an hypothesis, an unproven assertion.

We have absolutely no *proof* of the existence of mind distinct from body. Apparently it grows with the body, flourishes when the body flourishes, is strengthened like any other part of us by exercise, and decays and perishes like the rest of the body. The little child comes into life helpless in body and helpless in mind, both of which develop together. And similarly when the old man drops into dotage and imbecility, both mind and body together become weak, and the last state of the man is frequently as weak and childish as the first. Pleasing this theory may be, desirable it may be, but evident, conclusive, and satisfying it surely is not.

Another source of faith to many in a future life is that derived from the words of Jesus. Of all the great teachers who have speculated and taught about immortality, few, if any, have spoken with such assurance as he. Jesus, however, does not enter into any proof of it, but apparently takes it for granted and speaks of the future world as one does of this. To those who accept him as divine, omniscient, and utterly infallible in teaching, this affords perfectly satisfactory evidence of such a life. But there are many, and a constantly-increasing number, among us who cannot regard the words of Jesus as infallible, nor accept his statements as beyond the reach of criticism. Gladly acknowledging his superiority and immense value as a *moral* teacher and example, we find some things in his reported sayings upon which we cannot place entire reliance. It is unhappily the same man who speaks so confidently of a future life; who pronounced with equal certainty that before his generation passed away he would reappear as Judge of the world in the clouds of heaven! And it is the same Jesus who sanctioned by repeated words and deeds the belief in demoniacal possessions and the existence of the personal archfiend, Satan.

Of the horrors which this degrading superstition, still so common in the East, produced in Christendom, culminating in the dreadful persecutions of witchcraft, I need not speak. If it should be objected that these are errors of the biographers of Jesus, which do not in reality apply to him, the reply might be pertinent that, if the written documents which we have of him are thus faulty in these two most prominent and important points, we might also object to the validity of the passages where he is represented as upholding a future existence. For us, then, the confident assertions of Jesus in reference to immortality, hopeful and consoling as they may be, are not satisfying, nor worthy to be made the basis of a genuine belief in such a life.

Yet another reason for believing in a future existence is furnished to many by the hopeless, almost incredible view of life which the absence of such an existence presents to them. We see about us such constant examples of crime, poverty, and suffering! The air is so full of farewells to the dying and wailings for the dead! The heart of each individual is so often filled with sadness by the many causes of sorrow, disappointment, and remorse with which life is full! If there were no other life to recompense us for this, they cry, it would be the veriest torture to live on in this painful world. Such persons are partly right. In spite of the sum of happiness on the globe, it is probable that the grief and pain exceed it in amount, and the aggregate of human misery is awful to contemplate. Yet gloomy as this prospect is, it is not without some gleams of hope. Pain and evil are, it is true, everywhere present; but in the long-continued struggle with them, we see that the race is slowly improving. The savage often leaves his sick and aged to die in neglect; *we*, on the contrary, rear costly hospitals for our diseased, and homes of refuge for our infirm. The Spartans exposed to death their deformed or sickly children; *we* cherish our ill-conditioned offspring, and even provide schools for the feeble-minded and for the deaf, dumb, and blind. Compare the roughness of former surgery with the present skill used under the blessing of unconsciousness from anæsthetics. Our philanthrophy sends food and money across sea and land to the famine-stricken, and our kindness is extended

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even to the prevention of cruelty to animals. Thus slowly, wearisomely, but steadily, the race creeps on towards the hoped-for perfection of society; and slowly but surely light gains upon darkness, pleasure upon pain. This law of slow development which we observe throughout Nature is encouraging indeed, but it is *so* slow that we may well be sad. The law of life seems to be also the law of death. One being lives at the expense of another. Nearly every order of animals has a subordinate one on which it preys. And when we rise to man, we find that he also lives by the slaughter of his inferiors. Our *abattoirs* are not far away! Moreover, not only now, but from the earliest geologic eras this universal carnage has been going on. Throughout all past time there has been a perpetual devouring of the weak by the strong! It is useless for us to rail at the injustice and the horrible nature of these facts. There they are, and we have only to make the best of them. If we could have had the question put to us before coming into the world, whether we could conceive that such an apparently cruel and dark law would be in operation, we should have doubtless replied: No; impossible! It is well for us to remember this when we speak indignantly of the *necessity* of immortality and of our *right* to a future existence. Our *right*?

Come with me to this stagnant pond as the sun is setting. You will see there myriads of little insects, each perfectly formed, sporting in the summer air. That day has called them into being; that night will witness their decay. They have had their lease of life. Are we so essentially different from them? Men say so. Men point to the chieftains of our race, and even say that for the satisfaction of their gifted minds the beauty of this earth and the glory of the heavens were created! But let these persons reflect that, during those enormous time-epochs which preceded the advent of man upon the globe, the glories of the heavens were displayed with none on earth to appreciate their beauty. Day after day the sun rose and set in regal magnificence; night after night the moonlight silvered mountain and river, and the hosts of heaven glittered in their grandeur, while not a creature upon earth noted their splendor or questioned their meaning! Come to the coral reef, raised atom by atom from its ocean-bed by the accumulated skeletons of the various insects which for ages have lived and left their tiny, bony framework behind them. They lived; they contributed towards the rearing of their social fabric, some more, some less; and finally they perished. Their work survived. And we? Who shall say that, in the boundless universe and the infinity of duration, our lives or our work are of any more importance than are those of the coral insect?

Let us now face the results of our investigation, whatever they may be, and see what we can do with them. From the arguments which we have considered we are brought to this conclusion: we have no *evidence* of a future life. We may speculate; we may imagine; we may hope,—but we cannot be *certain*. Century after century the great multitude of our ancestors have surely and inevitably drawn near to and passed behind the great black curtain, whose shadowy embrace awaits us all. From the regions beyond neither voice nor sound nor vision have been given us. It is indeed the "Silent Land"! The one certain thing before us all is death. Let us look calmly at it. Its advance will neither be hastened nor retarded by our scrutiny. We ask with eagerness the question:—

"One thing I fain would know: Through death's dark portal
Where goes the soul on its mysterious flight?"

And the answer comes sadly back to us:—

"Where is the flame in darkness when extinguished?
Where is the wind that blew but yesternight"?

In what position, then, do we stand in relation to a future existence, since it is not to us a certainty? It is a *solemn hope*. This being so, the practical question for us is, What is to be our rule of life under these circumstances? The Broad Churchman, Frederic W. Robertson, wrote the following noble sentence: "In the darkest hour through which a human soul can pass, whatever else is doubtful, this, at least, is certain: if there be no God and no future state, yet even then it is better to be generous than selfish, better to be chaste than licentious, better to be true than false, better to be brave than to be a coward!" Noble words and true ones! For surely, if the spring of our good actions is the desire of reward for them in a future world, and if that which hinders us from committing crime be the fear of punishment in a future state, then indeed have we low motives after which to model our lives! But to do the right thing because it IS right; to do an honorable action because it IS honorable and leaves the glowing consciousness of honor in one's own self-respect; to give in charity through love, hoping for nothing again; to stand firmly by the truth, not to win a martyr's crown, but because the whole soul revolts at doing otherwise,—this is noble,—this should be the method of our living! It is often said in the first shock of excited feeling, when the possibility of no future life is first broached to one who believes in it, that no further motive exists for right endeavor after a belief in immortality is rejected, and the saying is quoted: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." But will such persons carefully reflect upon the motives which really govern their actions? They will find that they are living better than their words would imply. They are not balancing carefully their earthly losses by their heavenly gains; they do not chuckle over some added glory placed to their credit in the future world, when they perform an act of self-denial here. On the contrary, they act with practically no reference to a future world at all. If this man gives to the poor, it is either through sympathy and love, or from a desire to be seen of men. If that mother pinches herself in a painful economy, it is that her child may enjoy some privilege. If this brave sailor rescues his messmate from the wild waves, it is because he is noble and heroic, not because he is meanly calculating upon a future reward which he will thus secure. Depend upon it, we do our good deeds from *present motives*. The future world which we hug theoretically and remember with a start occasionally, as something *ex machina*, has practically nothing to do with our every-day conduct. But, it will be objected, how is it with our *bad* actions? We have to deal with the masses of men and women, it is said, who need the terrors of a future retribution to restrain them from crime. But does such a threatened retribution, even when pictured by the most fiery ecclesiastical imagination, really effect much restraining influence? Alas! too many persons are, in respect to that shadowy judgment to come, like the clerical gentleman who was called to trial on a charge of stealing, and who pleaded that it was all foolishness to attempt to try him here, as all those things would be inquired into at the day of judgment. The abolition of capital punishment, the slack administration of justice, the letting notorious thieves escape,—these are far more potent causes of increase of crime than would ever be a universal disbelief in a future life. Society for its own preservation has thrown up certain barriers, which it calls laws. They are the result of a long and wide-spread experience. These must be rigidly maintained, and any violation of them should be promptly and effectively punished, for the welfare of the law-abiding citizens. Just in proportion as justice is thus speedily and wisely administered will society advance in peace, good order, and prosperity. It needs no other threatenings than those which it is itself capable of making. It needs no other punishment than that which it is itself capable of inflicting. The question whether there may or may not be a future life is one which will always (as now) influence society in a very moderate degree.

To the individual will the question be of the most interest, particularly as he approaches his final hour. Happy is he if, reviewing a life well-spent and talents wisely employed for his own culture and for the welfare of his fellow-men, he can lie down with calmness to await the dread issues of eternity. When a soldier of the prætorian guard went to the bedside of the dying Marcus Aurelius—that profoundly wise and good emperor,—and asked him the password for the night, the great Roman, already enshrouded in the shadows of death, answered with calmness and majesty, "*Æquanimitas!*" Thus let us with "equanimity" await the supreme hour, feeling that, whatever may be the issue, all will be well; whether "our little lives are rounded in a sleep," or whether "if our boat sink 'tis to another sea."

There is, however, an immortality to which we may all aspire, and unto which we may all in greater or less degrees attain. It is that noble immortality of which the finest living writer in our tongue thus sings:—

"O may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence! live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end in self!
——may I reach
That purest heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty,
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense.
So shall I join the choir invisible
Whose music is the gladness of the world."

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

HARRIET MARTINEAU'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Edited by Maria Weston Chapman. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 594, 596. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

The readers of the present generation will be somewhat at a loss to comprehend the brilliant prestige which waited on the name of Harriet Martineau at the time of her visit to the United States nearly half a century ago. She was then in the prime of her intellectual powers, and the first flush of her amazing popularity. Her position in English society was no less conspicuous than in the field of letters. She was courted with flattering homage by the most eminent public characters, statesmen, men of letters, artists, and poets, as well as made to share the intimacy and friendship of the choicest domestic circles. Her series of tales illustrative of the principles of political economy had brought her into sudden and wide renown. She had even the reputation of a philosophical thinker, with a mastery of the science of government, no less than a signal preëminence in literature. The social career of Madame de Staël was scarcely a succession of greater triumphs than that of Harriet Martineau. She resembled that lady in her remarkable powers of conversation, while she was endowed with a far higher degree of common sense, preferring the pursuit of wisdom to the exercise of paradox. She shone less in discussion than in narrative, and although in general evincing a sweet and sunny disposition, was not always mistress of her temper when she had the worst of the argument. On her arrival in this country in the year 1834, she was received with an enthusiastic welcome, such as, we believe, has never before or since been accorded to a private individual. The most distinguished families in the land regarded her presence as a rare happiness. She was at once admitted to the freedom of the best houses, treated with the confidence that belongs only to an ancient friend, and made the recipient of domestic and personal secrets to a degree that seemed quite incompatible with due social reserve or the alleged distrust of the American character. Nor did her discretion in dealing with the little histories which thus came into her possession always equal the strange magic by which they were won. With perhaps no unusual love of feminine gossip, the knowledge which she had gained in one circle was sometimes too freely imparted in another. The result to many persons was a wholesome lesson of social caution, and a deeper conviction that private affairs which could not be conveniently intrusted to a commonplace neighbor were scarcely more safe in the hands of a fascinating sojourner. Miss Martineau's intimate friendships extended to the most distinguished men and cultivated women in American society, including, among many others, Mr. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Chief-Justice Marshall, Judge Story, Dr. W. E. Channing, Dr. Follen, Rev. W. H. Furness, Miss Catharine Sedgwick, Margaret Fuller, and the editor of these volumes. The charm of her social intercourse was peculiar. It carried the day over certain personal traits which could not be regarded as delightful. Without what could be called positive self-conceit, she had a wonderful sense of her own importance. She modestly disclaimed all pretension to genius, or even extraordinary talent; but it was evident that she was conscious of power, rejoiced in its exercise, and felt that her words and works possessed a consequence, even an authority, which it might be well for you not to call in question. She was always opinionated, intolerant, often deeply prejudiced, dogmatic in affirmation to a degree not sustained by the extent of her knowledge, warmly pronouncing upon facts about which her ignorance was only equalled by her vehemence, and uttering harsh and unjust judgments on the character of her acquaintance as oracular in manner as they were absurd in matter. In spite of this, she was not only a general favorite, but often won the admiration and love of persons whose good opinion was an honor, and whose friendship was a boon of great price. Her sins, as above described, which were many, were frankly forgiven. Her repulsive qualities were thrown into the shade, as the light of her sweet and gracious presence shone benignly on the rapt circle that listened to her words. Her conversation, as it flowed spontaneously from her lips, when not aroused by opposition, or embittered by a sacred wrath at what she deemed a public wrong, was marked by vivacity, sympathy, humor, and a genial glow. It abounded in anecdotes, which she related with comic archness or impressive dignity, according to the subject, and in descriptive sketches, of which she was a consummate mistress both with tongue and pen. Notwithstanding her infirmity of deafness, her voice was modulated in the musical, warbling tones which are rarely heard except from the mouth of an educated English woman, and her fine features were lighted up with a warmth of expression that could come only from a sincere and friendly heart, and which made one cease to regret any lack of characteristic feminine beauty.

The volumes now issued will present the attraction of novelty to many readers whose associations with their subject are of the most vague and shadowy character. They consist of an extended autobiography of Miss Martineau, relating her history to within about twenty years of her death, and a supplementary memoir by Mrs. Maria Chapman, one of the most devoted and faithful of her American friends. Many of the details in each part of the work pertain to topics that now possess but a comparatively slight interest, recalling the fortunes of various literary productions that are now scarcely known beyond the shelves of the library, raking up obsolete and well-nigh forgotten personalities, and dwelling on private squabbles among reformers and philanthropists which only show the ill-temper that sometimes lurks in "celestial minds." Nor will any considerable proportion of readers attach the importance to Miss Martineau's career that is implied in the issue of these bulky volumes. Of her own intellectual position she speaks with admirable candor in a newspaper notice intended to be published after her decease. Writing of herself in the third person, she says: "Her original power was nothing more than was due to earnestness and intellectual clearness within a certain range. With small imaginative and suggestive powers, and therefore nothing approaching to genius, she could see clearly what she did see, and give a clear expression to what she had to say. In short, she could popularize, while she could neither discover nor invent. She could sympathize in other people's views, and was too facile in doing so; and she could obtain and keep a firm grasp of her own, and, moreover, she could make them understood. The function of her life was to do this, and, in as far as it was done diligently and honestly, her life was of use, however far its achievements may have fallen short of expectations less moderate than her own. Her duties and her business were sufficient for the peace and the desires of her mind. She saw the human race, as she believed, advancing under the law of progress; she enjoyed her share of the experience, and had no ambition for a larger endowment, or reluctance or anxiety about leaving the enjoyment of such as she had." This singularly impartial estimate of her own powers, however inconsistent with her apparent pretentions at other times, will accord with the opinion of those who knew her best, and whose admiration for her was perhaps no less sincere than that of her most fulsome flatterers. It is fully confirmed by the judgment of Mr. Atkinson, the philosophic friend of her later years, under whose influence her mind passed through a revolution as remarkable as it was complete. He writes in 1856, at a time when her death was almost daily anticipated from what proved to be an incurable disease: "The philosopher must leave the little nook of his own nature, and study and learn obedience to the divine law discovered on a wider view. It is this peeping out from under the cover of self that has given to our friend Harriet Martineau this wide range of view and this superior-

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ity, in a corrected sense, of the end and order of nature. She is not an investigator, a discoverer in science, but she is, strictly speaking, a philosopher, as a lover of truth in a highly practical sense, for the sake of mankind. She is not an original philosophic genius, but her artistic power and ability to learn is extraordinary; and more extraordinary still is the power of seizing on salient points, and reproducing in a clear form what has been imperfectly stated by others." Still no one can doubt that she possessed a rare and beautiful individuality; that her spirit was "finely touched" and to "fine issues"; and that although never the paragon of perfect womanhood as which she was unwisely regarded by her too partial friends, she presented an example of a high and noble nature, singularly free from all selfish aims and purposes, with a loyal devotion to truth and humanity, and a supreme attachment to ethical principles in spite of the absence of dogmatic faith.

But without too curiously discussing a character on which the last seal has been placed, it may be remarked that the external relations of Miss Martineau presented numerous features which make her autobiography a composition of unusual interest in many parts, notwithstanding its encumbrances with a mass of protracted, useless, and tedious details. The most amusing portion of the work is doubtless her sketches of the literary circles, as they are foolishly called, in London society, and of which she was a burning and shining light. According to her description a more arrant crowd of snobs and prigs than these learned men and women was never found in what pretends to be good company. They were eaten up with the love of display, seeking notoriety at all hazards, without natural affection, devoid of earnestness of nature, and hence devoid of simplicity of manner, embittered with mutual jealousy and envy, and brimming over with malice, deceit, and all uncharitableness. It may be doubted whether these portraits are the fruit of preternatural social sincerity, or of personal pique. In some instances the influence of wounded vanity is not to be mistaken, while in others only the veil appears to be withdrawn from egregious and odious faults. It is a question how far such rude personal exposures are admissible in the case of people still living, or recently deceased, and tenderly cherished by surviving friends, especially when the judgments pronounced bear the stamp of private antipathy instead of rigid discrimination. The suppression of these sketches would doubtless have diminished the piquancy of the book, would have chagrined the lovers of social scandal; but their production under the circumstances would hardly seem to be required by fidelity to the writer, or within the legitimate province of judicious editorship. At all events, the exceedingly offensive remarks on Mrs. Fanny Kemble and other prominent female cotemporaries might properly have been spared, without exciting the resentment at their omission which must necessarily be called forth by their insertion. Some of Miss Martineau's more agreeable portraitures may be presented as specimens of her observation and description of character. Of Jeffrey, the famous *Edinburgh Reviewer*, she says:—

"Whatever there might be of artificial in Jeffrey's manners—of a set 'company state of mind' and mode of conversation,—there was a warm heart underneath, and an ingenuousness which added captivation to his intellectual graces. He could be absurbed enough in his devotion to a clever woman; and he could be highly culpable in drawing out the vanity of a vain one, and then comically making game of it; but his better nature was always within call; and his generosity was unimpeachable in every other respect,—as far as I knew him. His bounties to needy men of letters—bounties which did not stop to make ill-timed inquiries about desert—were so munificent, that the world, which always knew him to be generous, would be amazed at the extent of the munificence; and it was done with so much of not only delicacy but respect—in such a hearty love of literature,—that I quite understand how easy it would be to accept money from him. If I had needed assistance of that kind, there is no one from whom I could more freely have asked it."

Apropos of the *Edinburgh Review*, Sydney Smith is introduced, who describes the manner in which the critical table was turned into the butcher's bench:—

"It was at Lord Murray's table that Sydney Smith told me of the fun the *Edinburgh Reviewer* used to make of their work. I taxed him honestly with the mischief they had done by their ferocity and cruel levity at the outset. It was no small mischief to have silenced Mrs. Barbauld; and how much more utterance they may have prevented there is no saying. It is all very well to talk sensibly now of the actual importance of reviews, and the real value of reviewers' judgments; but the fact remains that spirits were broken, hearts were sickened, and authorship was cruelly discouraged by the savage and reckless condemnations passed by the *Edinburgh Review* in its early days. 'We *were* savage,' replied Sydney Smith. 'I remember' (and it was plain that he could not help enjoying the remembrance) 'how Brougham and I sat trying one night how we could exasperate our cruelty to the utmost. We had got hold of a poor nervous little vegetarian, who had put out a poor silly little book; and when we had done our review of it, we sat trying'—(and here he joined his finger and thumb as if dropping from a vial) 'to find one more chink, one more crevice, through which we might drop in one more drop of verjuice, to eat into his bones.'"

Miss Martineau is very cruel on Macaulay:—

"To impartial observers, the true quality of Macaulay's mind was as clear then as now. In Parliament he was no more than a most brilliant speaker; and in his speeches there was the same fundamental weakness which pervades his writings,—unsoundness in the presentment of his case. Some one element was sure to be left out, which falsified his statement and vitiated his conclusions, and there never was perhaps a speaker or writer of eminence, so prone to presentments of cases, who so rarely offered one which was complete and true. My own impression is, and always was, that the cause of the defect is constitutional in Macaulay. The evidence seems to indicate that he wants heart. He appears to be wholly unaware of this deficiency; and the superficial farvor which suns over his disclosures probably deceives himself, as he deceives a good many people; and he may really believe that he has a heart. To those who do not hold this key to the interpretation of his career, it must be a very mysterious thing that a man of such imposing and real ability, with every circumstance and influence in his favor, should never have achieved any complete success. As a politician, his failure has been signal, notwithstanding his irresistible power as a speaker and his possession of every possible facility. As a practical legislator, his failure was unsurpassed, when he brought home his Code from India. I was witness to the amazement and grief of some able lawyers, in studying that Code, of which they could scarcely lay their finger on a provision through which you could not drive a coach-and-six. It has long been settled that literature alone remains open to him; and in that he has, with all his brilliancy and captivating accomplishment, destroyed the ground of confidence on which his adorers met him when, in his mature years, he published the first two volumes of his History. His review articles, and especially the one on Bacon, ought to have abolished all confidence in his honesty as well as in his capacity for philosophy. Not only did he show himself to be disqualified for any appreciation of Bacon's philosophy, but his plagiarisms from the very author (Basil Montagu) whom he was pretending to demolish (one instance of plagiarism among many) might have shown any conscientious reader how little he was to be trusted in regard to mere integrity of statement."

Here is a little group of some of the celebrated English *literati*, worth looking at perhaps:—

"I had heard all my life of the vanity of women as a subject of pity to men; but when I went to London; lo! I saw vanity in high places which was never transcended by that of women in their lowlier rank. There was Brougham, wincing under a newspaper criticism, and playing the fool among silly women. There was Jeffrey flirting with clever women, in long succession. There was Bulwer on a sofa, sparkling and languishing among a set of female votaries,—he and they dizened out, perfumed, and presenting the nearest picture to a seraglio to be seen on British ground,—only the indifference or *hauteur* of the lord of the harem being absent. There was poor Campbell the poet, obtruding his sentimentalities, amid a quivering apprehension of making himself ridiculous. He darted out of our house, and never came again, because after warning, he sat down, in a room full of people (all authors, as it happened), on a low chair of my old aunt's which went very easily on castors, and which carried him back to the wall and rebounded, of course making everybody laugh. Off went poor Campbell in a huff; and, well as I had long known him, I never saw him again; and I was not very sorry, for his sentimentality was too soft, and his craving for praise too morbid to let him be an agreeable companion. On occasion of the catastrophe, he came with about forty authors one morning, to sign a petition to Parliament for an International Copyright law. Then there was Babbage,—less utterly dependent on opinion than some people suppose; but still harping so much on the subject as to warrant the severe judgment current in regard to his vanity. There was Edwin Landseer, a friendly and agreeable companion, but holding his cheerfulness at the mercy of great folks' graciousness to him. To see him enter a room, curled and cravated, and glancing round in anxiety about his reception, could not but make a woman wonder where among her own sex she could find a more palpable vanity; but then, all that was forgotten when one was sitting on a divan with him, seeing him play with a dog. Then there was Whewell, grasping at praise for universal learning (omniscience being his foible, as Sydney Smith said), and liking female adoration, rough as was his nature with students, rivals, and speculative opponents."

Of all the English authors, Miss Martineau seems to cherish the greatest sympathy and respect for Carlyle:—

"His excess of sympathy has been, I believe, the master-pain of his life. He does not know what to do with it, and with its bitterness, seeing that human life is full of pain to those who look out for it; and the savageness which has come to be a main characteristic of this singular man is, in my opinion, a mere expression of his intolerable sympathy with the suffering. He cannot express his love and pity in natural acts, like other people; and it shows itself too often in unnatural speech. But to those who understand his eyes, his shy manner, his changing color, his sigh, and the constitutional *pudeur* which renders him silent about everything that he feels the most deeply, his wild speech and abrupt manner are perfectly intelligible."

She relates a droll anecdote illustrating the question of his love of fame:—

"I remember being puzzled for a long while as to whether Carlyle did or did not care for fame. He was forever scoffing at it; and he seemed to me just the man to write because he needed to utter himself without ulterior considerations. One day I was dining there alone. I had brought over from America twenty-five copies of his *Sartor Resartus* as reprinted there; and, having sold them at the English price, I had some money to put into his hand. I did put it into his hand the first time, but it made him uncomfortable, and he spent it in a pair of signet rings for his wife and me (her motto being *Point de faiblesse*, and mine *Frisch zu!*). This would never do; so having imported and sold a second parcel, the difficulty was what to do with the money. My friend and I found that Carlyle was ordered weak brandy and water instead of wine; and we spent our few sovereigns in French brandy of the best quality, which we carried over one evening when going to tea. Carlyle's amusement and delight at first, and all the evening after, whenever he turned his eyes toward the long-necked bottles, showed us that we had made a good choice. He declared that he had got a reward for his labors at last; and his wife asked me to dinner, all by myself, to taste the brandy. We three sat round the fire after dinner, and Carlyle mixed the toddy, while Mrs. Carlyle and I discussed some literary matters, and speculated on fame and the love of it. Then Carlyle held out a glass of his mixture to me with, 'Here—take this. It is worth all the fame in England.'"

Her opinion of the influence of Carlyle on the character of the age is tersely and happily expressed:—

"What Wordsworth did for poetry, in bringing us out of a conventional idea and method to a true and simple one, Carlyle has done for morality. He may be himself the most curious opposition to himself; he may be the greatest mannerist of his age while denouncing conventionalism; the greatest talker while eulogizing silence; the most woful complainer while glorifying fortitude; the most uncertain and stormy in mood while holding forth serenity as the greatest good within the reach of man; but he has, nevertheless, infused into the mind of the English nation a sincerity, earnestness, healthfulness, and courage which can be appreciated only by those who are old enough to tell what was our morbid state when Byron was the representative of our temper, the Clapham Church of our religion, and the rottenborough system of our political morality. If I am warranted in believing that the society I am bidding farewell to is a vast improvement upon that which I was born into, I am confident that the blessed change is attributable to Carlyle more than to any single influence besides."

The entire revolution in Miss Martineau's religious ideas which took place a few years after her return from this country is lucidly described by herself, by the editor of the work, and in letters from other hands. Taking her stand mainly on the principles of the Positive Philosophy, she completely broke with all theological systems, as founded on assumptions beyond the limits of human knowledge. With a firm conviction of the existence of a First Cause—a belief growing out of the essential constitution of the human mind—she disclaimed all pretence to the comprehension of any divine attributes, or the ultimate destiny of man. Indeed she regards the evidence of a future state of being as of little value, and contemplates the idea of final non-existence without misgiving or dismay. With her, as with many noted philosophers who have come before the public since the completion of her autobiography, the sphere of the Infinite is the sphere of the Unknowable. She never, however, completely frees herself from a dogmatic habit of her early years. She is as positive in her denial as most believers are in their faith. With little apparent conception of the modesty of true science, she is strenuous in negation, indulging in assertions on points which she had already admitted were beyond the boundaries of knowledge, and on which even an enlightened skepticism would pronounce judgment with reserve. The work, accordingly, will not be a favorite with the religious public. Nor will it be accepted as a contribution of any considerable account to speculative philosophy. The forte of the author was not discussion, not analysis, not argument, but a profound ethical sense of the capacities, the possibilities, and the obligations of human nature. Her standard of noble living was as high as the articles of her faith were few.—*New York Tribune, March 2.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 10.

L. M. Nicholson, $3; H. M. North, $3.20; E. Steiger, 25 cents; A. J. S. Weise, $3.55; Dr. D. Ayers, $5; B. A. Ballou, $3.20; W. H. Burr, $3.20; E. R. Francis, $3.20; Harry Grundy, $3.20; E. A. J. Lindsey, $3.20; Col. R. J. Ingersoll, $6.40; Mrs. E. Fowle, $2; Mary R. Osborne, 54 cents; Mrs. S. S. Sanborn, $13; Alex Rosenspitz, $3.20; A. N. Adams, $3.50; W. B. Chace, $20; Wm. Rotch, $20; Rufus Perkins, $3.20; C. K. Matthews, $3.20; Porter Plumb, $3.20; W. Z. Larned, $3.20; J. W. Sullot, $3.20; Mrs. E. Krackowizer, $3.20; J. H. Stevens, $3.20; Noah Green, $3.20; J. T. Warrington, 20 cents; Mrs. Hepsey Striker, 50 cents; J. J. Nichols, $6.40; C. A. Miller, $1; C. Starbird, Adm'r, $5.07; W. O. Mack, $3.40; Cash, $1.46; Henry Whittemore, $3.20; Edw. Crane, $1.25; J. A. J. Wilcox, 25 cents; C. E. Hewes & Co., $6.50; Chas. H. Webb, $3.20; Thos. H. Johnsen, $3.80; Thos. Lamay, $1.60; Thos. Nye, $1; Gen. Robert Avery, $6.40; Alex Risk, $5; Dr. E. H. Price, $1; C. W. Pierce, $3.20; J. C. Fargo, $1.60; Louisa Klog, $1; David Wright, $2.20; Mary J. Holmes, $1; Dr. John Finlayson, $1; Thos. J. Taft, $3; Jas. R. Stone, $3.50; E. B. Harzen, $2; C. Becktold, 50 cents; L. B. Farrar, $3.10.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 15, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix. Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals;" by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle, President of the Ohio State branch of the "National Reform Association," used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE SPRINGFIELD *Republican* publishes these just remarks: "Mr. Cook interested his hearers, Monday night, but he had one thousand less than Moody generally does, and there was a noticeable contrast between him and Moody in one respect which was not to Mr. Cook's advantage. Moody, though he often tells stories about himself, does not take the chief place in his own narration, while Mr. Cook is continually reminding those who hear him what a remarkable person Joseph Cook is, how many distinguished friends he has had, what adventures have befallen him, etc. In short, his teaching is the gospel according to Joseph, while Moody's is the gospel in itself and for itself."

QUERIES ABOUT "INTELLIGENT SUFFRAGE."

The questions contained in the following letter deserve the most candid consideration, and we are sorry that circumstances have prevented us from considering them earlier:—

Dear Sir,—In reading your article on "Intelligent Suffrage" in THE INDEX of January 18, a few questions have occurred to me which, if you think best, I would like to have answered in THE INDEX.

1. How does it appear that to require an educational test for suffrage tends to make the ignorant class any greater than at present?

2. Is it not probable that an educational test would induce many, especially foreigners who would not otherwise do so, to become educated at least to the degree of legal qualification, and in that way increase the number of the educated?

3. How does it appear that "arbitrary, indefensible, and useless discriminations" would be likely to be incorporated into the law?

4. Is it not probable that the ignorant and vicious, if voters, could and would combine together and become more effective in wicked legislation than if they were not voters?

5. Is any other method likely to become so effective in securing the education of foreign immigrants, especially of the young men, as an educational qualification for suffrage?

6. But you say that it is impracticable, that nothing is easier than to evade the merely formal examinations, and that multitudes will inevitably vote who can neither read nor write. It seems to me nothing would be easier than for an intelligent officer to determine whether a man could read nor write or not. Is anything easier than to challenge a voter, and put him to the proof of any proper qualification?

C. M.

Our correspondent has laid us under an obligation by his thoughtful questions, and we will answer them simply, directly, and in their order—leaving it for him and others to decide how far the real difficulties are met.

1. The first of the above questions implies a misunderstanding of what we said. We did not say that the establishment of an educational test of suffrage would "tend to make the ignorant class *greater* than at present." What we said was that such a test would make a "well-defined ignorant class"—which is a very different thing. The evil lies in making new class distinctions by law, in separating (or attempting to separate) the ignorant from the educated by creating hostile interests between the two classes, and in thus sowing the seeds of bitter jealousies and civil dissensions. It would be the selfish interest of the privileged and enfranchised class, not to extend the suffrage to the uneducated, not to educate them for the purpose of conferring the suffrage on them, but rather to keep political power in its own hands by discouraging popular education. A legalized aristocracy of brains would be just as selfish as any other legalized aristocracy; it would defend and strive to increase its own privileges; it would legislate in its own interest, not for the interests of those who would be powerless to represent themselves. When did any aristocracy ever manifest an anxiety to divest itself of privilege, or to throw away power for the good of the powerless? The interests of the whole people are only safe in the hands of the whole people. The fact that the barrier to suffrage would not be an insuperable one, but could be surmounted by any one who should acquire an education, would not obviate the objections to the proposed plan: the worst tendency of this plan would be to enfeeble and imperil the common school system. If only the educated could vote, they would not be zealous to diminish their own relative power by educating the uneducated; they would rather incline to concentrate this power, and to leave the mass of the people ignorant for the sake of governing them. This has been proved at the South, where political power was long practically lodged in the hands of the highly educated whites, and where (we think by a necessary consequence) the public school system has never flourished as in the North. The very first result of enfranchising the ignorant blacks was to give a great impetus to the common school system. Where the educated alone govern, selfishness dictates not to educate the mass of the people; where the mass governs, selfishness dictates, even to the most highly educated, the policy of "educating their masters." It is surely wise to enlist the terrible power of human selfishness on the side of popular education, not against it; and that is the chief reason why we deprecate even the beginning of a brain-aristocracy system in this country. Much as we believe in brain, we would not give it legal privilege; all our hopes for the future of the United States centre in the *extension* of education and the consequent elevation of the people as a whole; and we believe these ends to be attainable only through universal suffrage, with all its drawbacks and perils.

2. The educational test would indeed exercise some influence in favor of education by inducing a few ignorant foreigners to qualify themselves for suffrage; but this good influence would, we believe, be far more than neutralized by the bad influence above indicated. The number of *adult* ignorant foreigners who would be thus stimulated to learn would be very small; the motive would seldom prove strong enough to carry them through the difficult task of learning, when the docility of childhood had been once lost. The hope of the country is in the young—in the common schools. *No child should be permitted to grow up in ignorance.* If that principle is carried out, there will be no need of an educational test; if not, the educational test will prove of little value. The establishment of exclusive tests is a miserably negative policy; a strong positive policy in the shape of "compulsory education" is what the country sorely needs.

3. If the law disfranchises a man simply because he cannot read and write, it commits a very arbitrary and unjust act. The ignorant man has his *equal rights*, which will not be in the least regarded if he is stripped of political power. We reverence the rights of the ignorant, the poor, the defenceless, just as much as we reverence those of the most favored. A powerless party is always an oppressed party; and to make the ignorant a party, with interests distinct from those of the majority, but with no power to protect them save by crime, would be a wicked and suicidal course. There is degradation enough in ignorance—do not add to it the degradation of disfranchisement. Do nothing to foster the increase of the "dangerous classes"; seek rather to absorb them in the community by raising them to self-respect, to knowledge, to industry, to happiness. That is statesmanship; everything else is inhumanity and folly.

4. The *vicious* will combine to carry out "wicked legislation," whether they can read and write, or not; but the merely *ignorant* will not, unless they are first deceived. The educational test will not extinguish the power of the vicious, or even weaken it materially. Demagogues will use the brute strength of the ignorant class in one way or another, all the more effectively if this ignorant class is made doubly dangerous by political discontent. The only safety is in overwhelming ignorance itself by education.

5. It is chimerical to hope for the general education of ignorant foreigners who land on our shores in adult years; only a few of them have enough social ambition to make the painful but necessary exertion. Young immigrants should be required to learn. Why forget that ignorance seldom knows enough to hate itself? The love of knowledge grows by what it feeds on, but in its earliest beginnings needs external help. This the State should give.

6. The "impracticability" lies in the certainty that such a law as one that imposes an educational test *will* be practically evaded, whether it *need* be or not. It is expecting too much to suppose that public officers all over this vast country will be inspired with a disinterested regard for the purity of the ballot-box or the interests of education. Party passions and party interests will certainly prove too strong; and the educational test would soon prove to be a dead letter. But it would be a most mischievous excuse for neglecting the duty of educating every future citizen of the republic. We rely on no futile negative tests; positive measures alone, aiming at the direct increase of public intelligence and the direct diffusion of popular education, can be of the least practical avail in this matter.

THE GREAT EVIL OF IT.

I was very much interested both in Mr. Abbot's impressions of Mr. Moody's preaching, and in Mr. Gannett's kindly and frank sermon on the same subject; but neither of them has dwelt sufficiently on what is to my mind the great evil of this movement, which I think should cause all those who think as I do to leave it emphatically alone, and not let even curiosity induce them to swell the crowd, or to increase the flame by the wind of opposition.

It undoubtedly has interesting phases to a student of the evolution of human nature; and when such a movement sprang up spontaneously as the free expression of a people's thought, I should feel inclined to observe and study it as I should the myths of India, the extravagances of the Dervishes, or the oddities of the Shakers. But this does not seem to me a genuine, spontaneous growth of the religious nature, but a great spectacle worked up by cunningly devised machinery; and as such it does not interest me.

But the positive evil is to me its great power of ex-

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citement, and the stress laid upon vivid expressions of feeling as the test of religion.

This seems to me an active power of harm in the community, which especially needs the correctives of quiet, patient thought, clear conviction, and strong purpose, instead of lashing into fierce heats of feeling. I do not deny that excitement and passion have their *rôle* to play in human affairs, but they should be born of great causes, and not be wrought up by cunning management.

Mr. Gannett says that "for careful thinking and accurate statement" the Tabernacle is not a good place to go to. This is a reason why I should advise all those who value the health of their mental and spiritual life to stay away from the Tabernacle, since these seem to me most important needs of the time. In trying to be liberal and fair towards other faiths, we must not lose our sense of truth and our standard of good. It is the great glory of Puritanism that it always recognized the importance of intellectual distinctions of truth, as well as the state of the heart and conscience; and we are not liberal if we cannot state clearly and strongly what seems to us error in others creeds and conduct, while preserving respect for their freedom of thought and action, and kindly feeling towards them individually.

The relation of the Moody and Sankey meetings towards religion seems to me very much like that of the great Jubilee towards the art of music, which substituted quantity and excitement for quality and calm enjoyment, and which few real lovers of art held to be beneficial.

But the harm and danger of the religious revival excitement is as much greater than that of the Jubilee, as the influence of religion is deeper and more universal than that of musical art; and we tremble to think of the mental and moral suffering to result from this spiritual intoxication which is the direct effect of the revival. We think the best way to treat it is to leave it emphatically alone, surrounding this feverheat with such a cool air of icy indifference that the patient will soon be restored to sanity. Indeed, such seems to us to be the effect. We are amazed at the slight interest which the movement excites, and rejoiced to find that Boston still stands unshaken and undisturbed, and that to an outsider the placards on the horse-cars are the principal signs of any unusual gatherings in the city.

It is said, we know not how truly, that the Metropolitan Railroad contributed largely to the building of the Tabernacle, as being likely to increase the travel on the road. If this be the case, a little failure to realize profit from it, as in the case of the Jubilee, will be the best preventive of a similar experiment. A very large number probably are attracted by the music. If we could learn how to satisfy the desire of human nature for the expression of social and religious feeling in song, without the accompaniments of superstitious doctrine, we should do a great deal towards getting the good without the evil of a revival.

E. D. C.

THE REAL DANGER.

That there is a real danger,—a danger that the "Christian Amendment" may be pressed, by persistent managers, insinuated by crafty ones, sprang on the country by unscrupulous ones, pushed to the verge of adoption by desperate ones, may be conceded. At all events, there can be no harm in apprehending it and being on our guard against a thing so preposterous and so dreadful as such an amendment of the Constitution would be. That such a thing is spoken of or thought of, spoken of in closets, thought of in private breasts, justifies vigilance, and even alarm. They who least fear the adoption of such a mischievous inconsistency and hear most incredulously the cry of wolf, must grant that they who live in the thinnest shadow of such an apprehension would be faithless to their duty if they raised no warning voice. For these little clouds, no bigger than a man's hand, have many times been big with ruin. It becomes reasonable men, however sceptical themselves, to treat seriously and respectfully the forebodings that point to disaster so fatal as the adoption of the "Christian" *dismemberment* would prove to be.

It may be conceded, too, that the peril comes primarily from the power of dogmatism in the popular religion. The ecclesiastical and theological bigots, the politicians of the churches and creeds, are at the bottom of the scheme and alone responsible for it. These are not numerous, but they are able, sly, persevering, and plausible. They seek power, without much regard to the means by which it is acquired or the objects for which it shall be used. They carry along with them a considerable number of unsuspecting, innocent, pure-hearted, gospel-loving men who are devout Christians, profoundly impressed with the feeling that the salvation of mankind depends on the acceptance of the "Evangelical system," and that the open profession of faith in that system is indispensable to communities and States no less than to individuals. These guileless souls cannot believe that the zealots and fanatics of this political movement are less pure in heart than they themselves are, and meekly follow the directions given by the leaders, with unquestioning loyalty to the Master. The masses of the community, easy-going Christians, half-hearted, indolent, sleepy, docile, obediently church-supporting and Sabbath-keeping, scarcely bestow a thought on the matter. They think nothing about the plan, its reasons or its tendencies. Some of them laugh at the idea; some indignantly scout it, being honestly incredulous, thinking too well of their fellow-Christians to impute such unpatriotic designs to them, and too ill of the "infidels" to doubt the malignity of their imputations. Some of their strong thinkers, Dr. Spear, for example, are as clear about the underlying principles of the business as the members of the National League are, and lose no opportunity of inculcating rational ideas on the subject. To them the inconsistency of the "Christian Amendment" is so apparent as to be glaring, and the menace of it knocks at their hearts. These men, in case of need, will have great influence on the Christian community, and will rouse the patriotic conscience to a sense of its responsibility. The consummation of the "Evangelical" plot would probably startle as many Christians as unchristians, and give as severe a shock to pious believers as to "infidels" of the school of Seaver, or secularists of the school of Ingersoll. Logical as the Amendment may be according to the requirements of the Christian scheme, inevitable as it may be according to the demands of Evangelical prophecy, it does not commend itself to the good sense or the good feeling of the multitude, who are not logical, and who are more sensitive to the wishes of those about them than to the demands of Revelation. To them religion is a social, domestic, or spiritual thing, not political at all; and they would question whether its ratification by government would be on the whole an advantage, the experience of past generations being considered, and the actual results of political interference with moral concerns being taken into account.

The danger is that this their serene supineness may be indulged to the extent of making them a prey to the "Christian statesmanship" which plots over their heads. Hence, while rejoicing in the active vigilance of the agitators outside of the Church, we rejoice no less heartily in the signs that the best Christian minds are awake to the possibilities of peril from the manœuverers within their own camp.

O. B. F.

Communications.

MR. CHADWICK'S "BOOK OF POEMS."

This is a small volume of choice little poems, and it is presented by Roberts Brothers in neatly-fitting dress. There is sweetness of rhythm in its verse, and a rare fascination in the gentle flow of thought and feeling, with nothing that stirs the hidden depths of longings for the unattained, and leaves the aching heart to emptiness and fruitless yearning. The author's heart is alive to all sights and sounds in Nature, and, through all her works, he feels the throbbings of the Universal Spirit. The mysterious emotions of the soul he understands, and the play of natural objects and natural scenes upon them as upon a finely-tuned instrument. With truly poetic feeling, he is keenly sensitive to analogies and contrasts, and, penetrating beyond that which to the common eye is wholly embraced in the merely external, he discovers those occult resemblances which transcend the perceptions of sense, and is thus fertile in illustrations of natural objects by mental experiences, as well as in the more common illustrations by the reverse process.

The sea is to the author a constant inspiration, and, when called away from it, he grieves, like a lover, for its loss. In "Sea-Sorcery," that mystic feeling which floats one off into the realm where time and eternity seem to mingle, where one is so lost in dreamy bliss as almost to choose to die rather than come back to the stern realities of life's weighty burdens and unsufficingness, and where, even in a few brief hours, he has so far outlived them, that they come back to his consciousness as unrealities,—all this is indicated in a way that brings it home to personal experience.

The home affections, their joys and sorrows, are depicted with tender and delicate pathos. A deeply reverent and religious spirit pervades the whole, diffusing light and cheer amid the most grievous afflictions. A broad, loving humanity, too, is felt, extending even to our kindred of low degree. In the first poem of the book, "My Barnacles," is this beautifully apparent. These little creatures, left by the retreating sea to the hot sun, "and lover's careless feet," are his, he says:—

> "By lover's right;
> And, when the tide is low,
> Down to the edge with scooping hands
> Or cup of shell I go,
>
> "And dip the briny waters up,
> And bear them back to give
> To these wee things that long for them,
> As dying men to live.
>
> "How eagerly their shells dispart
> To take the moisture in!
> And do I hear a tiny laugh,—
> The faintest, merriest din?"

The story of "The Golden-Robin's Nest," interwoven of the "wee darling's" "golden hair," and the old grandsire's, "white as snow," is charmingly told, yet with sad pathos comes the close:—

> "But when again the golden-robins came,
> Cleaving the orchards with their breasts aflame,
> Grandsire's white locks and baby's golden head
> Were lying low, both in one grassy bed."

"Catching Sunshine" is another attractive little poem. "A cunning two-year old" wondered why drooped her flowers, and was told by mamma because indoors the sunshine did not come:—

> "Next morning when she went to seek
> Her darling at her play,
> She found her standing in the sun
> In just the queerest way;
>
> "For there she held aloft a cup
> Above her pretty head.
> 'What *are* you doing, Lolo, dear?'
> Mamma, astonished, said.
>
> "And she, her cup still held aloft,—
> Bless her, ye Heavenly Powers!—
> 'I'm catching sunshine, mamma dear,
> To give my 'ittle f'owers.'"

But these are specimens it seems almost invidious to take, the poems, each in kind, are so suffused with beauty. It is a little book fitted to read quietly of a late evening hour to an appreciative listener, or alone and in silence, when indisposed for "the grand old masters," but rather for the "humbler fact" who has

> "Heard in his soul the music
> Of wonderful melodies,"

which impart to the night sweet harmony and peace.

A. H.

WHAT IS TRUE?

To the Editor of The Index:—

There is nothing more lauded in the "sacred" writings of all nations than truth. Yet all men admit that all religions, except their own, are founded on fictions, or imaginary facts; in short, on falsehoods. And while they admit this damaging charge against all other religions, they utterly refuse to permit us to go behind their own "sacred" writings, with the inquiry whether the things therein alleged are really true. They assume their truth, and denounce all who do not as lost sinners.

If any person has gone behind the Old and New Testaments, and satisfied himself that all the things therein alleged are historically true, and that the theories therein presented of the relations of men to each other and to the Supreme Being are consistent with each other and with the nature of things, he has an unquestionable right to cherish his belief. But he does not thereby acquire any right to impose it upon others any more than if he had merely assumed what he thinks he has proved. To a reasonable being there can be no revelation of truth which does not commend itself to his own individual reason. Human beings are only justified in taking things as true on trust, while the reasoning faculty is weak, too weak to discern between truth and falsehood. When it becomes strong enough to weigh evidence, to discover fraud, to unmask hypocrisy, the acceptance as true of what its own reason decides to be either false or improbable, is simply wicked. If there is any such thing as sin, it is sin.

It does not follow that there is no truth in "sacred" writings because falsehood is found in them. Woe to the world if even the worst liars did not sometimes speak the truth. The most sincere historians may be imposed upon. All "sacred" writings are more or less progressive. Look back into ancient laws, and you will find cruelty and injustice legalized in the best of them. So in the grand old Psalms of David you will find actions and passions attributed to Jehovah which no doctor of divinity would now dare attribute to the Supreme Being for fear of being indicted for blasphemy.

The historical basis of the Christian religion is contained in four or five distinct narratives of the life and death of a marvellous ethical teacher, whose doctrines were by no means new to the world, though his power of statement and fidelity to conscience were unparalleled. He was a reformer of religion from the inside, waging the war of sincerity against shams with such utter reliance on Divine power to stand by him, that he attacked the powerful hierarchy of his day, single handed, in the citadel of its power. The Divine support was withheld. In the bitterness of his disappointment, and with a heart already broken, he was crucified between two thieves. Parallel tragedies there had been before, lessons of the highest import for future ages, but never perhaps one so touching, because never so childlike a faith had found itself at fault. So far there is no occasion to doubt the facts, little as we know of the deponents, and silent as is contemporary history on an event so likely to attract attention.

But stopping here, Christianity, as we see it, could not exist. The narratives proceed to state that the crucifixion was fatal; that the crucified was placed in a tomb, which was sealed and watched; that angels came, paralyzed the guard, and rolled away the stone;

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that Jesus rose bodily, walked away, and, after appearing to many of his disciples, went up into heaven, promising through the mouths of "two men" in "white apparel" to come again in like manner. On these additional allegations the whole system of Christianity as we see it, the whole Christian ecclesiasticism of eighteen centuries, is based. To support such allegation the evidence must necessarily be much stronger than that required to induce a belief that Jesus lived, taught, attacked the money-changers in the temple, and was crucified. These natural facts, with the matter of the teaching, might easily have escaped the notice of cotemporary history. Not so the astounding miracle of a crucified man rising from the dead and ascending bodily into the sky. That was a thing—and especially if it concerns all mankind, as is alleged—to command instant attention and verification on the spot. There is no evidence, no pretence that it attracted any attention at the time, save among a small circle of disciples. No narrative or *proces verbal* was made out at the time, or till long years after. We hear nothing from Joseph of Arimathea who owned the tomb, or from Nicodemus, or any other eminent Jew likely to take an interest in and give testimony of such an event if it had occurred.

Now the theology built on this alleged event by Paul and others, though there is no satisfactory evidence in the Scriptures, even as finally manipulated, that it was proclaimed or pretended by Jesus himself, is that the uncreated Creator of the universe allowed and ordered his own "only begotten Son" to be sacrificed on that cross for the sins of the world, that they who should believe on him, and no others, should have eternal life. Yet the fact that he rose from the dead, and was thus proved to be that predestined sacrifice, was allowed to be almost private on the very theatre of its accomplishment! Supposing we could by any possibility reconcile the sacrifice of a perfectly innocent being with the justice of God, how can we reconcile the mode of this display of divine justice with the wisdom of a God who meant to save any soul by a belief in it? If the facts of science rested on no better evidence or more credible testimony than these facts of theology, the priesthood would not have the slightest occasion to quarrel with science. They would laugh it to scorn as easily as they do the resurrections of the "Spiritualists."

They seem one and all to have forgotten how the first Christians lived in daily expectation that their risen Lord and Savior would return again bodily from the sky to set up his kingdom on earth, and that if the Scriptures do not positively and absolutely assert that, they assert nothing whatever. It long ago ceased to be possible that that assertion could be true. And if that proves false, what becomes of the assertion that Jesus rose from the dead? We are thrown back on the only credible facts, and nothing is left of Christianity except the searching and salutary appeals which Jesus, as a man, made to the consciences of men.

Those appeals, though they hardly cover the whole ground of life, do contain the highest and happiest morality yet given to mankind. The world can no more afford to throw them away than it can the sunshine. The soul that drinks them in grows too large to worry itself much about its own individual future. It is contagiously happy, accepting so much of truth and justice as it can grasp as a sufficient salvation on the spot, without requiring God to give it any bonds for the next world. But the God-dishonoring falsehood superimposed upon the apothegms and parables of Jesus, beclouding and shutting out the sublime lessons of order and harmony which the universe is more and more revealing to us through scientific investigation, has terribly neutralized the result.

Christianity being false on one side, and that the side most insisted on by the pulpit, breeds falsehood in every department of life. Till we have a pulpit that will preach "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," how can we expect oaths to bind anybody? How can we expect anything but deception anywhere? ELIZUR WRIGHT.

BOSTON, March 4, 1877.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

The whole of the last preceding article was a partial digression, inasmuch as it was subdivisional of the Consciousness or spirit; whereas, we are dealing mainly with the primal distribution of the mentiemus into the Soul, the Consciousness, and the Mind; but this special matter of the subject and object, in the operations of the conscious spirit was so closely trenched upon by the course of the discussion, is so centrally involved, analogically, in the whole subject-matter, and is so intrinsically important, that it could not be well avoided, and will be from time to time recurred to. The direct drift of our investigation is, nevertheless, to establish the parallelism, or more properly the repetative coincidence between the without, the within, and the between of different spheres of being; and, from now on, more immediately as concerning the human body and the human mind, taken as two such spheres.

Let us return to the human body. We are prepared, now, to become somewhat more precise in our discriminations. What was before stated as to the body, making its without to be the flesh, its within to be the viscera or vitals, and its between to be the bony skeleton, we must now take to have been an epitome, somewhat inexact in character, resulting from the fact that it represents the condensation of two such trios into one. To be more specific, and more specifically incipient; that is, to confine ourselves precisely to the first of the two trios in question, the Without of the body is what Dr. Lambert, the distinguished physiologist, classes together as the Head-and-Trunk-Walls, and what, for the want of a better single word, we may call the Hull or Husk of the body, by analogy with a ship. The Within of the body is, then, the viscerismus, extending to and *especially including the breathing or wind apparatus, or breath;* the whole analagous, we may say, with the cargo of the ship, with a special extension of the idea, to include *the sails or wind apparatus, and the breeze or breath-like spirit which plays in the sails.* The Between of the body is not now to be taken literally, as that which merely intervenes between the within and the without, but as that middle view extended, on both sides of itself so as to embrace the without and the within in one *perfectum;* in a special sense the whole body, or ship.

It will be remembered that the without of the mind was shown to be the Spontaneity, and also called, after Hegel, the Soul. By the analogy now instituted, the Soul is the Hull (and if *lost*, or *cast-away*, then the Hulk) of the mentismus; or, to change the figure, it is the chalice or cup which holds a more precious freightage which is the consciousness, or the conscious spirit. To retain the ship analogy, this freightage is the cargo, extending to and including the sails and the wind (or lungs and breath). The wind and breath are the universal analogues of "Spirit." The Within of the mind is the Consciousness with a special and characteristic extension to and partial identification with the Spirit, as will be presently more fully shown. Finally, the whole or resultant Mind, or the Mind proper, is the Betweenity and its embrace of the Spontaneity and the consciousness, which may be now otherwise designated as the soul and the spirit.

We find ourselves, a length, therefore, in the presence of the old and well-established theological, but always heretofore very vague and indefinite distribution of the feeling and thinking man, into Soul, Spirit, and Mind. These present namings are, on the contrary, vigorous and technical; and may not accord with the first impressions, from the side of popular usage. The term soul is very diversely employed, and will continue to be so, no doubt, notwithstanding this technical assignment. It is often used as synonymous with the total mentismus. It is also, familiarly, and perhaps most usually, but hardly as a strict term of philosophy, put for precisely the opposite meaning to that here assigned to it; namely, for the perceiving Consciousness; or for its withinness, the *Ego;* or *Subject*, as distinct from any *object;* as when Mr. Greene says, alluding to Spencer: "A philosophy that ignores the human *Soul* is usually characterized as a materialistic philosophy, just as a philosophy that ignores God is characterized as an atheistic philosophy." *Blazing Star*, p. 128.

All this shows how utterly indefinite the use of the term soul hitherto is; but we certainly need some term to denote that outerness of the total mind (the mentismus) which is most invested in or interlaced with external nature, and which, as it were, repeats Nature, within the mind. I rest on the authority of Hegel for this use of the word soul. It is also, I think, quite certain that he had the authority of the primitive Greek conception and usage; for by the Greeks, Psyche was very closely allied with Nature. It was she who was the lover of Cupid; and who was enticed into his magic palace; but who was even untrue to him; but who when deserted by him, roamed through the earth in search of him, that is to say, of sensuous pleasures or love. Cupidity and *cupidism*, the love of gold and the love of voluptuousness, or animal lust, as the objective counterparts of the soul, certainly imply that the term soul is used to denote the mind's outerness, or its intimate relation, almost its identification with the natural world. It was Proserpine, not Psyche, who was the Greek idealization of the interior spirit of the mind; who came and went like the breath; or who interchanged her residence, regularly and periodically between her subjective or inner, and her objective or external abode. See *Bacon's Essays*, p. 350.

There is, at least, an equal degree of indefiniteness and uncertainty in the use of the word Spirit; and there is a special explanation needed as to why this term is appropriate to the entire Consciousness, as the innerness of the mind, as contrasted with the outer Spontaneity or Soul. The true and complete analogue, in the body, of this innerness of the mind, is as we have seen, the vitals or viscera *plus* the Breath, which comes and goes, into and out from the vitals (like Proserpine's visits to and from the Plutonian regions), and which in an eminent sense feeds and sustains them. The trachea (or windpipe) is, as it were, the stem of the Superior Vitals, the Heart and Lungs; or, in a more refined sense, the breath itself is that stem, and may, therefore, be appropriately put forward, representatively for the naming of the whole visceral region or the inner man entire. This is the solution of the seeming incongruity of the use of the term Spirit for the total Reflective Consciousness of the mind. The word spirit is from the Latin *spiro*, to breathe; as *pneuma*, the Greek word for spirit, means also, and more primitively, the breath (a less figurative or mythical word than Proserpine, for the same idea). Indeed in every language, the words denoting spirit are mere adoptions, or adaptations of or from the words for breath; and it must not be forgotten, and cannot be too strongly emphasized, that all words denoting mental discriminations are derived from words having the prior meanings of bodily or material discriminations; and that for the purposes of our present current of investigations, there is hardly any other clue so important as this etymological one.

After all, it may be convenient and permissible, and to some minds less objectionable, to use the term Soul in a general sense for the entire mind (the mentismus), and then to specify, *The Mundane or Spontaneous Soul*, for the mind's outerness, *The Intelligent Soul* for the Spirit or Consciousness, and the Mind-soul or Mental-soul for the mind's *perfectum*, the resultant mind, from the union and co-action of the former two. Still again we may say the Psychic Soul, the Conscious Soul, and the Psychologic Soul. It is less important what the terms are than that some terms should become fixed and settled for these all-important discriminations. In another article I shall introduce another set of synonyms for these ideas from Swedenborg. Still, for ready reference, and with the explanations now made, I believe the technical and habitual use of the old instructually evolved terms Soul, Spirit, and Mind will prove most satisfactory; although this use of Mind, for a third of the whole domain, will necessitate the frequent use of the new technicality *mentiemus* for the whole domain, when philosophic accuracy is aimed at; although, of course, Mind will continue to be used, popularly, in this general sense.

At all events, I must insist on the vital importance of obtaining, in some way, fixed technicalities for these primal divisions of the mind; and that no proper science of the mind at large (mentology) is even founded until that is effected. It is, indeed, curious, that at this late day, mental science is so little constituted that different writers have no means of rendering themselves mutually intelligible to each other, in talking about mental discriminations and phenomena, even the primary and most general ones. They have no certainty that they are talking about the same things when they use the same words, nor that they are talking about different things when they use different words; and one-half the time of the reader of any book on this class of subjects is consumed in learning, if he can, the author's peculiar use of terms. Such *indicia* are characteristic of the uncertain preliminary stage in the evolution of any science.

To recur to the various uses of the term Soul, it may be noticed that even in common habit it is often used to denote the merest external personality, as when we number a population as containing so many souls; an expression which would include all the idiots, as well; who have not even a well-constituted shell or hull of the mind; and no proper consciousness, or true spirit, nor mental *perfectum*.

The human mind is throughout double-aspected, not now referring to that dual character, technically known as the duality of the mind, especially elaborated by Wigan and Lambert, and represented by the two hemispheres of the brain; but to a difference affecting both brains, or what we ordinarily call the brain; quite at large—that is to say, as between the outward-tending presentation and the inward-tending presentation. The former of these, sensuous, observing, worldly-minded, mundane, looks towards the outer world, and relates the mind to its phenomena, qualities, and character. The latter, spiritual, reflective, thoughtful, pietistic, transcendental, somnambulic or trance-like, looks towards the inner world, the spirit and spiritual world, as contrasted with and opposed to the outer or mundane sphere, and relates the mind to the phenomena, qualities, and character of the inner or subjective world, at large, whatever we may find that to mean. Next to the difference of sex there is no other difference among mankind so all-pervading and dominant, as that which divides them into External Minded and Internal Minded people.

In this first very broad distribution of mentalities it may now appear why abstract intellectual people are classed with pietists and Spiritualists. Swedenborg uses the term rational-spiritual to cover the natural relation of these two seemingly remote aspects of mind. With the French *un homme d'esprit* is not a spiritualist, but an intellectualist. Comte means by the spiritual class of society, his priesthood of the future, the scientists, and philosophers. It is in this broad aspect of the subject that the term Spirit becomes adequate to signify the internal as against the external-mindedness of the individual or the race.

External-mindedness is, therefore, a sort of Outer Consciousness inhering in the Soul; and Internal-mindedness is the Inner Consciousness, or true consciousness, inhering in the spirit. External or worldly-minded men find it impossible to comprehend spiritual-minded men, and spiritual-minded people have nearly the same difficulty as regards the others. The worldly-minded are again, by the analogy, Objective minds, and the spiritual-minded are Subjective minds (for although subject and object are strictly subdivisional of the inner consciousness the distinction is repeated in the outer consciousness).

I have now to add the leading point of importance resulting from this discrimination, so much to be insisted upon, of the subject and object, thus made specially representatives of the withoutness and the withinness of mind. Mr. Greene and the other writers quoted in the last preceding article, points out the nature of the subject-object-relation, as it occurs within the individual mind. In the close of that article, I said that Mr. Greene had failed to generalize the spirit of that relationship. What I mean by such generalization is, in part this: As the human mind and the human body, and all the other things we have considered have, each, a Without and a Within, as their primal differentiation, so *these should be*, to be true to the plan of being so indicated, a corresponding two (and three) foldness in the constitution of the World itself. There should be, therefore, and if the principle holds good, there must be a Spirit World, similar to that talked of by Swedenborg and the Spiritists, which is also a Subjective World, not in the sense that it is merely within you or me, but that it is a Withinness-sphere, holding the same relation to this outer mundane sphere which the subject holds to the object, in the constitution of the individual mind.

It also results that the Subjective state of the individual mind represented especially in *trance*, is in

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natural *rapport* with this interior or subjective world. *In this manner, the fundamental doctrine of spiritism, which has hitherto rested almost wholly upon observational and intuitional grounds, gains a foothold in fundamental philosophy.*

A POLITICAL EXPLANATION.

To The Editor of The Index:

Sir,—There is such constant misrepresentation or misunderstanding of the logical position of those who believe that Tilden was fairly elected, that I presume to trespass upon your space, now that the question is a mere matter of history, in ordered to set ourselves right in regard to it.

No person who voted for Tilden doubts that there was fraud and intimidation in Louisiana before the election; we claim, however, that it was not confined to one party, and we claim that it is not proved or made probable that there was a sufficient predominance of it on the part of the Democrats to justify giving the vote of the State to Hayes, but that, if it is not counted for the candidate for whom it was cast, it should be thrown out altogether, as the precedent of 1872, under precisely similar circumstances, would require. The question ceased to be a political one and became a legal one, on the 7th of November; and we believe that Tilden's election would have been conceded at once if Republicans had been willing to remember that the question was no longer who would be the best President, but which had been fairly chosen.

The following propositions, containing nothing but admitted facts—which at least I have never seen questioned,—sum up our position:—

1. Tilden had a majority of several thousand, in Louisiana, of the votes "actually cast."

2. The Returning Board was composed exclusively of Republicans, although the law of the State required that it should contain members of both parties.

3. It was a Board of notoriously bad character, as testified to by such good Republicans as Gen. Sheridan, and Messrs. Wheeler, Hoar, and Foster.

4. It was detected in fraud during the canvass, as was admitted by Mr. John Sherman at the time, although he said nothing about it in his Report.

5. It did its work in secret, having certain quasi-public sessions in which it heard a certain amount of evidence, but doing the canvassing wholly in secret.

6. In its final report it made no statement as to the process by which it arrived at its result, only giving the result, with the statement in general terms that votes had been thrown out for intimidation.

7. It violated the law of the State, which expressly declares that no votes shall be thrown out unless the affidavit as to intimidation, etc., is made out the day of the election and appended to the original returns.

It is a maxim of law to assume a person to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty. That is technical, criminal law. In daily transactions, on the other hand, it is pretty safe to assume a man to be guilty if he works in the dark and shrinks from investigation. But all the time that these suspicious acts were going on, the entire Republican press—with the honorable exception of the *Nation*, the Springfield *Republican*, and I believe the Boston *Transcript*—were urging confidence in the actions of the Board, never once urging the Board itself to earn confidence by acting legally and openly.

These allegations we supposed would come before the Electoral Commission, and from their ascertainment or disproval we supposed our new President would have a clear title. We looked to the Commission, either to search out the real truth, or, if it could not do that, at any rate to lay down some clear and cogent reason why it could not do so.

If, then, the Commission had fixed upon any one general principle to govern their action—as, it is competent to go behind the Governor's certificate, or it is not competent,—either of these would have been a consistent position; but either of these would have declared Tilden President. Therefore they abstained from committing themselves to any general rule, but made a special rule for each case.

In Florida they voted to receive evidence as to the eligibility of a certain elector.

In Louisiana they absolutely refused to receive any evidence whatever upon any point.

In Oregon they quietly received evidence and went behind the Governor's certificate, which, in the Louisiana case, they had declared positively they could not do.

I am aware that a nominal distinction was made, that they went behind the Oregon certificate on the ground that it was not based upon the canvass. But how could they know this officially except by receiving evidence, which, as to Louisiana, they had refused to do? And see the bearing of this decision. It was equivalent to saying: If the Canvassing Board of Oregon [the Secretary of State] had altered votes or thrown out Republican counties, there would have been no remedy,—it could not be inquired into: The mistake of the Democratic officials of Oregon was therefore in not manipulating the original returns; that would have placed them beyond the reach of the power of Congress and elected Tilden by precisely the same title which Hayes now has.

I have written this, not to open a controversy, but merely to state our position, and for the reason that the supporters of Tilden are constantly taunted with refusing to submit to defeat. We are ready to accept defeat, only prove to us that we are defeated. Let the Louisiana Board make a fair, open count and give valid reasons in detail for reversing the vote of that State; let the Electoral Commission lay down any one principle of law, *as law*, which, applied to every disputed State, will give the election to Hayes, if only as a matter of form, and we will acquiesce cheerfully. As it is, we submit, as good citizens, to the Presidency of a man whom three-fourths of the American people believe to occupy his place by fraud.

I will say in conclusion that I am a life-long Republican, my first Presidential vote having been cast for Hale and Julian in 1852. I voted for Tilden, as did Julian, Adams, Trumbull, and many other Republicans, because I believed the Republican organization to be hopelessly corrupt; and nothing has happened since the election to change this opinion.

A.

[As a sort of personal explanation, this communication is printed in the hope that it will not be the beginning of a controversy which would be profitless and uninteresting here.—Ed.]

CIRCULATE THE PETITION.

Salamanca, Feb. 26, 1877.

Editor Index:—

If the "Religious Freedom Amendment" could be circulated in every town and ward in the United States, two million names at least could be obtained. The trouble will be that nineteen-twentieths of the towns and wards never will hear of it. There are some four hundred and fifty voters in this town of Salamanca, and, from the success I am having in obtaining names, I am confident one-fourth of them at least will sign the petition. This doubtless would be the case in every Northern town, if an opportunity were offered.

Cannot the officers of the National League see to it that a petition is circulated in every town and ward as above suggested? One man might superintend the circulation of petitions in each county and city.

There are in this (Cattaraugus) county thirty-two towns, and if you will send me that number of blank petitions, I will see that each town has one circulated.

Then I would suggest to the managers of the National League that a list of the counties and towns in the United States be made, and, as fast as petitions be received, they be credited to the locality where obtained.

Such a list can be readily copied from the *Tribune Almanac*. In this way a monster petition might be obtained, and a valuable agitation of the subject started.

Yours fraternally, H. L. Green.

P. S.—It might be well to ask through The Index, for the names of volunteer canvassers for each county and city.

[We are much pleased by Mr. Green's active interest in this matter. But the officers of the National Liberal League have done and are doing all in their power—*they need the help of every strong friend of the movement.* They urge the formation of local Leagues for the very purpose of systemizing such work as this of getting signatures; if the great body of liberals are torpid or indifferent, how can a handful of persons do the work alone? The labor of finding canvassers and securing the thorough canvass of each town can only be done locally, and a local League could do it with ease. That is why we urge organization—not for the sake of being organized, but for the sake of doing the work. The truth is that the further advancement of this work depends on the liberals themselves, not on the officers of the N. L. L. But the latter stand ready to do all that is possible, and will be rejoiced to see the signs of a wide-spread spirit of devotion to the cause of State Secularization. The advocates of State Christianization are working like beavers, and gaining fresh triumphs every day; witness the administering of the oath of office to President Hayes on Saturday, thus establishing a new precedent for governmental homage to the "Christian Sabbath." Liberals, you are permitting the foundations of your liberty to be undermined; you can only preserve it by *action*.—Ed.]

THAT TERRIBLE QUESTION.

Mrs. "L. B. C.," in The Index of Feb. 22, attempts a reply to my "Open Letter to Mr. Stebbins." I shall not occupy myself with her uncalled-for personal slurs and innuendoes as not pertaining to the subject at all, but simply desire to correct her statement of my position. I did write—"I cannot permit even the most plausible statements of others to influence me"; but it does not logically follow, it appears to me, that therefore my "stock of knowledge must be very limited." My "stock of *knowledge*" concerning things spiritistic, I frankly admit, I most humbly confess, is not only "very limited," but really amounts to nothing. Is this my fault? Can Mrs. "L. B. C.," or any honest Spiritualist, accuse me of demanding too much when, after years of patient investigation which resulted in nothing, I finally address myself to a person who claims to have obtained "proofs palpable" of spirit existence, and politely request him to have the kindness of enlightening not only myself but hundreds and thousands of earnest truth-seekers? When I addressed my open letter to Mr. Stebbins, it was in the expectation that my statement would be read and answered by one above the average spiritualistic writers; that this gentleman would not regale me with stale ghost-stories, however "plausible," or with a narrative of this or that strange occurrence, or with tales of wonderful, supernatural phenomena which medium so-and-so had experienced once. It was this sort of literature which not only disgusted me, but has sickened thousands of honest investigators; and it was in the ardent hope that Mr. Stebbins would perhaps be able to show us sceptics and materialists the true *modus operandi*, the proofs which convinced him of the "facts" of spirit-intercourse.

I have, as stated before, calmly and patiently investigated for myself, have attended a good many "séances" and "circles" (I was not satisfied with five experiments, as Mrs. "L. B. C." thinks), have read the leading authors on this subject, etc.; and I think Mrs. "L. B. C." has no cause to claim that my "mind was biassed." I have also witnessed some performances of Robert Houdin, Signor Blitz, Robert Heller, and other magicians which were very strange; in fact more inexplicable than many of the so-called spiritistic phenomena as related by Mrs. "L. B. C.'s" "most reliable witnesses by the hundreds"!

But Mrs. "L. B. C." hopes that Mr. Stebbins will not "spend his time" with me; that it would be an "arduous task" to enlighten me. That may be the case or not; I, for my part, consider it preposterous for our Spiritualistic friends to evade such discussions, when all great thinkers, every founder of a new system of philosophy, every discoverer of a new theory have to submit to the most searching criticism. As a general rule they cheerfully do so, and are not afraid of controversy: *vide* Herbert Spencer, Tyndall, Darwin, Huxley, Carpenter, and many others.

My spiritistic friends may be displeased; I cannot help it. They may continue to claim that they form the vanguard of progress; that they are the pioneers of freethought; that they are destroying ecclesiastical superstition, theological bigotry, and superannuated religious dogmas;—what does *their* system, *their cultus* rest upon, if not upon the very same basis, the identical foundation of a blind religious belief in phenomena which cannot be demonstrated, but must be accepted as facts, whether they are such or not?

Hugo Andriessen.

Beaver, Pa.

THE ETERNITY OF MATTER.

Mr. F. E. Abbot:

Dear Sir,—Fénelon says in his *Lives of the Ancient Philosophers* that "Aristotle maintained that the world is eternal; that one generation of men has always produced another, without ever having a beginning. 'If there had been,' said Aristotle, 'a first man, he must have been born without father or mother, which is repugnant to Nature.'" Fénelon says that Aristotle makes the same observation with regard to birds and other species of beings which people the world; and remarks that "it is impossible that there could have been a first egg to give the beginning to birds, or that there could have been a first bird to give the beginning to eggs, for a bird comes from an egg."

Huxley in his New York Lectures says that this was a "favorite fancy with the ancients." I am told that Fénelon misrepresents Aristotle's doctrine, and that not any ancient philosopher of note can be referred to as holding the doctrine. Is this so?

Yours respectfully,

John Chappellsmith.

New Harmony, Ind., Jan. 26, 1877.

[In the *Metaphysics* (xx., 3, 1) Aristotle says: "After these inquiries, there remains for us to make our readers aware that neither matter nor form is generated." All the atomistic school of philosophers, from Leucippus and Democritus downwards, held to the eternity of matter. The Epicurean school, especially, made a dogma of the principle that "nothing can come from the non-existing, and nothing which exists can pass into non-existence" (Ueberweg, i., 205), which Lucretius turned into an hexameter verse: "*Nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus umquam*" (i., 150). So of the Stoics Zeller says, in his *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics* (p. 148), that they identified the conceptions of "God and Original Matter," and that, with them, "property and material, matter and form, are not, as with Aristotle, things radically different though united from all eternity. Far from it, the forming force resides in matter as such; it is in itself something material; it is identical with ether or fiery matter, or atmospheric current." This implies the impossibility of creation, and the Stoic poet Persius has an hexameter verse exactly equivalent to that of Lucretius, as follows: "*De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti.*" The foregoing is enough to sustain Fénelon.—Ed.]

REPLY

TO "AN OPEN LETTER" FROM HUGO ANDRIESSEN.

Dear Sir:—Your "open letter" to me, in The Index of Feb. 1st, is just read. You ask me "to enlighten" you on Spiritualism, and yet you say, "Before I accept anything as a 'fact,' a 'truth,' I must be convinced, and I cannot allow even the most plausible statements of others to influence me in this respect." As all I can do, in The Index, will be to make statements, so far as facts go, I cannot expect, by your own showing, even "to influence," must less to convince you, and therefore must respectfully decline the task.

So far as my arguments or opinions may go, as you promptly characterize my opinions as "inanities," that does not promise well for the amenities of a discussion. The space I can fairly ask in The Index would not suffice for the vain effort you ask of me. These reasons seem ample for declining your request. Yours respectfully,

G. B. Stebbins.

Detroit, Mich., March 1, 1877.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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Journal of Radicalism and Freethought,

EDITED BY

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

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"THE RADICAL REVIEW."

The success or failure of this project will depend upon the more or less encouraging reception which its announcement shall meet with from the public previous to the date mentioned. Believing that

THE LABOR QUESTION—

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The editor and publisher avails himself with pleasure of the permission granted him by the following persons, to announce them as probable contributors; to which list he hopes to make important additions hereafter:—

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1877. WHOLE No. 378.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

REV. JOSEPH COOK has taken pains to announce that "there is no scholarly scepticism in Boston." Such an outburst of mingled petulance, absurdity, and detraction merely shows that His Lectureship is an honest judge neither of scepticism nor of scholarship. If we should say that there is no scholarly Orthodoxy in Boston, we should say what is untrue; but what Mr. Cook says is exactly as untrue. The worst of it is that Mr. Cook is perfectly aware of the character of his own statement, and makes it only for effect.

A CORRESPONDENT asks us to define "righteousness," and says: "My reason for making this request is that I have no other, and know no other, than what is called 'self-righteousness'; and that is said to be like old horses—the more one has, the worse off he is." Righteousness we take to be simply *doing right*; and no "Savior" can do right in our stead, or relieve us from the obligation of doing it, or save us from the moral consequences of not doing it. Probably this is what our friend means by "self-righteousness," though this word usually signifies that one is puffed up with a conceit of his own virtue not warranted by his conduct.

LISTS OF SIGNATURES to the National Liberal League petition have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Mr. Morris Einstein, 92 names; from Mr. H. B. Fletcher, 37; from Mr. Franklin A. Day, Castana, Iowa, 54; from Mr. H. Steinmetz, Pittston, Pa., 18; from Mr. W. A. Johnson, West Exeter, N. Y., 44; from Mr. Asa Haskell, Alleghany, N. Y. (through Mr. H. L. Green), 66; from Mr. Fritz Mittelmann, La Crosse, Wis., 68; from Hon. L. W. Billingsley, Lincoln, Nebraska, 43 (including 12 members of the Legislature). Large lists are promised from other places. Total number of signatures thus far received—2535.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY seems to be a wiser man than many of his clerical brethren. In a visitation sermon delivered not long since, he said: "There are some among ourselves who think that they find a refuge from infidelity in the maintenance of superstition, but I believe that they are few even in numbers, and fewer still in their general influence upon the whole community and on the intelligence of the age. . . . A man may have picked up here and there a good deal from reviews, and yet not be able to meet an intelligent mechanic whom he comes athwart in his daily ministrations, and who has got, by what means we know not, some real acquaintance with subjects of which the clergyman is most profoundly ignorant."

IN THE opening paper of this issue, we have condensed so much of the results of a lifetime that we could covet for it an hour's concentrated attention from all who care to understand us in the least. But especially to our brothers and sisters in the Free Religious Association we would say that the questions here treated of so briefly concern us all alike and have been too much ignored. If this lecture has justly expounded the Constitution of the Association, then THE INDEX is vindicated from the crude and confused and sometimes carping criticisms which have been lavishly bestowed upon it. But if it is mistaken in its construction of the Constitution, these columns are not only hospitably open, but cry importunately for a thorough exposure of the mistake. Let us have a "revival" of plain speaking on behalf of the truth.

NOT LONG since, the St. Louis *Times* thus reported a case of no little importance to the Catholic Church, and of no less importance to all tax-payers: "The Supreme Court yesterday dismissed the suit of St. Joseph *vs.* the St. Joseph College, and thus settled a question of great importance to the Catholics of the State. The suit was instituted several years ago by the city of St. Joseph to compel the college to pay taxes under the Drake Constitution, and it came up before the Supreme Court in St. Joseph three years ago, before the consolidation, and was held under advisement until yesterday, when the case was dismissed, the court thus virtually deciding that such property is not subject to taxation. It involved the right for cities and counties to tax all Catholic schools, asylums, and institutions, and was the only test case ever made under the Drake Constitution, which did not give the Legislature power to exempt property. As the Drake Constitution was in existance ten years, had the decision been in favor of St. Joseph, it would have amounted to a confiscation of Catholic institutions at the present value of real estate."

THE AGITATION begun on the tax-exemption question by the Boston Liberal League, in the winter of 1873-4, has not yet expended itself. In his last inaugural address, as we are informed by a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, Governor Rice, referring to the bulky Report of the Tax Commissioners, recommended further investigation of the subject; and another Joint Committee on "Just and Equal Taxation" was thereupon appointed. If the unjust taxation of mortgages is finally abolished in consequence of this movement, the public ought to thank the Liberal League for this much-needed relief. The Committee held public hearings on the special subject of church-exemption on March 13 and 15. On the former occasion, those in favor of church taxation were represented by Messrs. F. E. Abbot, Warner Johnson, of Greenfield, Mass., and J. S. Verity, of Cambridgeport, while those opposed to it were represented by Rev. Henry W. Foote, of King's Chapel, and a smooth-tongued Catholic priest with the euphonious name of Bodfish. At the second hearing (at which we were unable to be present) Mr. George W. Park made an argument for church taxation; while President Eliot, of Harvard College, President Warren, of Boston University (Methodist), and three Catholic lawyers (Hon. P. A. Collins and a Mr. Crowley being two of them), appeared to defend the right of the public to tax rationalists, sceptics, etc., for the support of the churches. We are informed that the Mr. Crowley above mentioned, of whom we never before heard, made a personal attack on us by name, and read garbled extracts from our writings to support it, his object being to excite odium against the petitioners in the Committee's mind and to make bad names do duty as good arguments! President Eliot, though on the side of injustice, was at least not ungentlemanly.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

The Scientific Method in Religion.

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Mar. 11.—*Francis E. Abbot.* "THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN RELIGION."

BY FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

Herbert Spencer has this forcible and well-expressed passage in his *Social Statics:* "Systems that have had their day, and are beginning here and there to let daylight through, are patched with modern notions utterly unlike in quality and color; and men gravely display these systems, wear them, and walk about in them, quite unconscious of their grotesqueness. This transition state of ours, partaking as it does of the past and the future, breeds hybrid theories, exhibiting the oddest union of bygone despotism and coming freedom."

To nothing is this statement of Herbert Spencer more directly applicable than to the history of religious development in the modern world, and (what more immediately concerns us in the present series of lectures) in our own country during the past century. All sorts of old systems are going to decay about us; new systems are rising to take their places; efforts to combine the old and the new, no matter at what expense of consistency or coherency, are the most characteristic phenomena of the age. At the bottom of all this mental fermentation is the ancient and unfinished issue between "bygone [or bygoing] despotism," on the one hand, and "coming freedom," on the other. The unfinished issue, I say,—for it is not ended yet, nor will it be ended for many a long year to come. There is no lack of cheerful optimists to assure us that—"The battle for freedom was long since fought and won: all that now remains is to learn how to use our freedom rightly." These are they who are simply abreast of the predominant spirit of their time; they float with the current, moving neither slower nor faster. No man feels a pressure to which he unresistingly yields. But all those who are at all ahead of the age they live in,—all those who in any degree attempt to lead men's thought to other and better things, or to make room in the world for new-found truths which cause their own pulses to beat strong and quick,—speedily become aware of the iron limitations which bound the general liberty, and learn perforce that the previous question must first be settled: *shall the human mind be free?* Like the old peasant who went to mill with one of his donkey's panniers filled with stones to balance the other filled with corn, and who, on a mild suggestion that he would more wisely fill them both with corn, hotly retorted that the way of his fathers was good enough for him, mankind are to-day carrying a heavy and useless load of superstitions to keep their "morality" in place, and resent, as sacrilege and irreverence, the suggestion that more morality and less superstition would be a wiser arrangement. Unconscious indeed they are that they carry heavy weights of tradition, as unnecessary as they are exhausting; they will never know what a grievous burden they have borne so long, until they are rid of it forever. Then truly will they perceive what slaves they have been, all to no purpose; then will they perceive with amazement that no one endures a slavery so hopeless as he who enslaves himself. But to-day the human mind is struggling painfully and blindly out of a long-inherited bondage; in the fine and happy phrase of Charles D. B. Mills, our modern civilization is in fact nothing but an "ameliorated barbarism." Only in the imagination of the poet and the prophet shines the broad daylight of true spiritual freedom. The great majority of the race are sunk in subservience to tottering but still enslaving systems; and so profound a truth is the solidarity of man that no thoroughly enlightened and emancipated soul can achieve its destiny freely so long as the community are bound. Outward conformity, at least by silence, or else a terribly narrowed sphere of activity—those are the hard and bitter alternatives; and both are crushing bondage. No—*all men must be free before one man can be fully so.* There are spirits into which this great truth has been burned as with a branding-iron; and these are they who pour out their lives in the service of human liberty.

It is with these convictions that I must approach the subject assigned me in this series of four lectures on "The Development of Religious Thought in our Country during the Past Century."

THE EARLIER PROTESTS AGAINST AUTHORITY IN RELIGION.

That the dominant principle of the Protestant Reformation, formulated in Luther's doctrine of "justification by faith," as opposed to justification by works of ecclesiastical observance and obedience, was essentially a protest against the authority of the See of Rome; that the rise of Anglicanism and the establishment of the State Church of England were essentially a part of the Protestant Reformation, an incomplete realization of the protest against Rome's authority, since the new national Church inherited not a little of Rome's ecclesiastical power, privileges, and claims; that Puritanism was a new protest against semi-Romanized Anglicanism, a fresh insurrection against prelacy and ecclesiastical authority,—all these are mere historical truisms. So far, the protest was more external than internal—a breaking of ecclesiastical rather than spiritual or intellectual yokes, an assertion of the rights of individuality in faith and practice within the still scrupulously reverenced limits of the ancient Christian theology. Variations in doctrine followed, of course, in the wake of these outward changes of church-relationship; the dissolution of ecclesiastical unity inevitably resulted in the dissolution of doctrinal unity. Nevertheless, the theology of Luther, of Calvin, of Cranmer, of John Robinson, of Jonathan Edwards, was substantially identical with that of Augustine and the other chief doctors of the Roman Catholic Church. The Fall of Adam, the Total Depravity of the human race, the Wrath of God against the world, the Everlasting Punishment of the wicked and the unbelieving in Hell, the Salvation of the redeemed believers in Heaven, the absolute necessity of faith in Christ's Atonement as the condition of salvation,—these have always been the great fundamental tenets of the Christian Church in all ages, as little questioned by Orthodox Protestants as by Orthodox Catholics. The Reformation, therefore, notwithstanding its minor theological changes, was in essence a protest against outward ecclesiastical authority, a struggle to be free from priestly lords and masters rather than a struggle to be free from a false, burdensome, and enslaving theology.

But revolutions are never guided and controlled by the will of those who originate them; the logic of ideas dominates the course of history in the long run, and is at last recognized as the so-called logic of events. This appears clearly in the history of Protestantism. When the world-wide ecclesiastical rule of Rome had been so completely shattered as to be reduced to the rule of local churches loosely connected by the feeble threads of New England Congregationalism, Puritanism had carried the external protest against the priestly principle nearly to its last limit. There remained little of external control to furnish a cause of protest, except the control of the local church over its individual members. This had become practically the control of a majority vote; and the majority governed by means of a creed. The passion for liberty, educated by many generations of stern and self-sacrificing struggle, now began to be enlisted against the authority of the creed itself; the progress of religious development brought about a transformation of the old protesting spirit, and the demand for intellectual and spiritual freedom grew out of the old demand for administrative freedom. The authority of the priest had passed over into the authority of the majority vote, and this rested on the authority of the creed-principle inseparable from Christian theology—that is, as Lecky well describes it, on "salvation by belief." The external conflict became an internal conflict; the rebellion extended, and broke out against the prime doctrines of the Christian creed, though still carried on in the name of Christianity. Calvinistic Puritanism, on the very heels of the "Great Awakening" under Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards in 1740, found itself confronted in its own churches with Arminianism, defending man's "free will,"—and, before long, with Socinianism also, defending his right to "free inquiry" and free thought. As Anglicanism had been a protest against Romanism, and Puritanism a protest against Anglicanism, so now, in its own New England stronghold, Puritanism was obliged to bear the brunt of a new protest against itself within the limits of its own communion. This new protest was Unitarianism.

THE PROTEST OF UNITARIANISM.

It was essentially a protest against the authority of "human creeds," as Channing loved to call them, that gave vitality to the Unitarian movement. Above everything else, it demanded "spiritual freedom"—and what it meant by this, let Dr. Channing himself declare:—

"I feel that I cannot better meet the demands of this occasion," he preached, in the Annual Election sermon of May 26, 1830, "than by leading you to prize, above all other rights and liberties, that inward freedom which Christ came to confer. To this topic I now solicit your attention. And first, I may be asked what I mean by inward spiritual freedom. The common and true answer is that it is freedom from sin. I apprehend, however, that to many, if not to most, these words are too vague to convey a full and deep sense of the greatness of the blessing. Let me, then, offer a brief explanation: and the most important remark in illustrating this freedom is that it is not a mere negative state, not the mere absence of sin; for such a freedom may be ascribed to inferior animals, or to children before becoming moral agents. Spiritual freedom is the attribute of a mind in which reason and conscience have begun to act, and which is free through its own energy, through fidelity to the truth, through resistance of temptation. I cannot, therefore, better give my views of spiritual freedom than by saying that it is moral energy or force of holy purpose put forth against the senses, against the passions, against the world, and thus liberating the intellect, conscience, and will, so that they may act with strength and unfold themselves forever. The essence of spiritual freedom is power."

Truly, it was a noble freedom that Unitarianism demanded; yet, noble as it was, it was not a perfect freedom. In Channing's own words, it was "that inward freedom *which Christ came to confer.*" Channing had not learned, Unitarianism to-day has not learned, that true spiritual freedom cannot be "conferred,"—no, not by Christ himself.

To be free is man's *inherent right*, in virtue of his nature as a moral and intellectual being. The passage I have quoted reveals clearly the imperfection of the Unitarian protest; it did not go far enough; it admitted the spiritual Mastership and Lordship of

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Christ, as a supernatural Revealer; it did not even claim complete emancipation of the human mind, did not even demand entire freedom of thought, although it imagined itself to do so. The recognition of Christ's authority did not, and does not, appear to the Unitarians as a limit of liberty; but neither did the recognition of the authority of Bible-founded creeds appear as a limit of liberty to the Puritans or to the English Churchmen, or the recognition of the authority of their Church to the Catholics. They who submit voluntarily to personal authority are always unconscious of being fettered; but they are fettered notwithstanding, as appears plainly enough to all who seek the liberty of ideas. Channing and his followers avowedly submitted to the authority of Jesus as to "the voice of God"; and this submission gave rise to a new and inevitable protest.

THE PROTEST OF TRANSCENDENTALISM.

This new protest was made by Transcendentalism. The authority of the Church, of the Bible, of the Christ, no matter how plausibly disguised, was seen by the Transcendentalists to be what it really is—an external, arbitrary limitation of spiritual freedom; and they raised their voices against it, in all its forms, in the name of Intuition. Certain great ideas—God, Immortality, Duty—they claimed to be facts of consciousness, part and parcel of the human mind, truths wrought into the very structure of the human soul and wholly independent of experience, testimony, or demonstration. Channing demanded freedom in the name of Christ; Parker demanded it in the name of God,—the one simply as a Christian, the other as a Christian Theist, a Transcendentalist, an Intuitionalist. The "religious element in man" was assumed by the Transcendentalists to be a "primary faculty," immediately cognizant of eternal realities which "transcended experience"; hence their name. Let me quote a few passages from Theodore Parker, the "Great Preacher" of Transcendentalism:—

"The Transcendental philosophy appears in its doctrine of God. The idea of God is a fact given in the consciousness of man. . . . The existence of God is a certainty; I am as certain of that as of my own existence." [*Lecture on Transcendentalism*, p. 34.]

"The knowledge of God's existence, therefore, may be called, in the language of philosophy, an *Intuition of Reason*, or, in the mythological language of the elder theology, a *Revelation from God*. . . . It depends primarily on no argument whatever,—not on reasoning, but Reason. . . . It comes spontaneously, by a law of whose action we are at first not conscious. The belief always precedes the proof, intuition giving the thing to be reasoned about." [*Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion*, pp. 21, 22.]

Max Müller very clearly states the same general position as follows:—

"If, then, there is a philosophical discipline which examines into the conditions of sensuous perception, and if there is another philosophical discipline which examines into the conditions of rational conception, there is clearly a place for a third philosophical discipline that has to examine into the conditions of that third faculty of man, coördinate with sense and reason, the faculty of perceiving the Infinite, which is at the root of all religions. In German we can distinguish that third faculty by the name of *Vernunft*, as opposed to *Verstand*, reason, and *Sinne*, sense. In English I know no better name for it than the faculty of faith, though it will have to be guarded by careful definition, and to be restricted to those objects only which cannot be supplied by the evidence of the senses, or by the evidence of reason. . . . There will be and can be no rest till we admit, what cannot be denied, that there is in man a third faculty, which I call simply the faculty of apprehending the Infinite, not only in religion, but in all things,—a power independent of sense and reason, a power in a certain sense contradicted by sense and reason, but yet, I suppose, a very real power, if we see how it has held its own from the beginning of the world, how neither sense nor reason has been able to overcome it, while it alone is able to overcome both reason and sense." [*Science of Religion*, pp. 13, 15.]

Now these passages sufficiently show that the freedom demanded by Transcendentalism, although abolishing the outward limitations imposed by Romanism, Anglicanism, and Puritanism, and also the inward limitation imposed by Unitarianism, nevertheless imposed another inward limitation of its own in the "Intuition of Reason," which, as you notice, Theodore Parker made synonymous with "Revelation from God," and which Max Müller regards as a special "faculty of faith" whose function is simply to receive this "Revelation." By this philosophy the ideas of God, of Immortality, of Duty, are elevated above the reach of legitimate doubt or question or examination; they are pronounced to be primordial truths, facts given in consciousness, absolute certainties, original revelations of God to the soul; they are too sacred to be tested or even scrutinized by the discursive reason or "understanding," and must be accepted by it unreservedly, unquestioningly, submissively. To exercise independent thought on these great ideas, to demand their credentials, to interrogate them touching the validity of their claim to be thus received, to subject them to the strict tests by which science sifts out truth from error,—all this, in the eyes of every genuine Transcendentalist, is proof of something worse than a pitiably low grade of intelligence: it is proof of a religious nature so imperfect or defective or perverted as to cast a sort of stigma or reproach. Thought must approach these great ideas, not with the freedom with which it approaches the Bible or the Church or the Christ, but self-fettered with foregone conclusions; it must believe, or be stigmatized as irreligious—perhaps secretly censured as immoral. A taint of "impiety," a suspicion of ethico-intellectual unsoundness, attaches to overbold speculation on these fundamental articles of the Transcendentalist creed; and the "Intuition of Reason" becomes thus the "last ditch" of dogmatism. A new protest must once more be made.

THE PROTEST OF FREE RELIGION.

In due time this new protest came, under the name of Free Religion. Its name reveals its nature. It was essentially a protest against any and all limitations of freedom of thought and fellowship in religion, whether imposed by Romanism, Anglicanism, Puritanism, Unitarianism, or Transcendentalism—whether in the form of external or of internal authority. It took no negative position. It affirmed the great fact of Religion, with all that Religion may be found necessarily to imply; what it denied was the limitations which all special, historic religions have imposed on the freedom of religious thought and religious fellowship. Its denial was only incidental, being made necessary by the restrictions which transitory creeds have hitherto laid on this freedom; its affirmation was primary, fundamental, vital; yet, while these restrictions exist, its main work in establishing its affirmation lies in vindicating and establishing its denial. That is, the power and beauty of religion can never be realized in human society so long as these limitations of freethought and fellowship are enforced on mankind by their own superstition. Free Religion, therefore, at the outset, found in that unrestricted liberty of thinking which the progress of science has made familiar to the world the one great object to be attained by its own religious reform. Against all the various forms of authority in religion, from the infallibility of the Pope to the infallibility of the Transcendental "Intuition of Reason," Free Religion has steadily maintained the right of the intellect to act unrestricted on any and all subjects, the right of thought to disregard all authority save that of its own natural laws, the right of the human mind to investigate fearlessly and freely even the momentous, tabooed questions of God, Immortality, and Duty. In short, that which differentiates Free Religion from Unitarianism and Transcendentalism,—that which gives it its permanent historical place in "the development of religious thought in our country during the past century,"—can be found only in its demand for unrestricted intellectual liberty on all religious topics, and for the abolition of all the arbitrary restrictions imposed on such liberty by its predecessors. The infallible Pope of Romanism, the infallible Bible of Anglicanism and Puritanism, the infallible Christ of Unitarianism, the infallible Intuition of Transcendentalism,—all these final authorities are heavy chains cast about the human mind; but Free Religion rends them all in the name of Science, and establishes unrestricted intellectual freedom in the pursuit of truth. Science knows nothing of finalities, or authorities that may not be doubted; it accepts all the risks of a fallibility which cannot be escaped, but which is reduced to a *minimum* by the coöperation of many minds. And this is precisely what Free Religion does in all questions of religious belief. There is no room for a further protest on behalf of religious liberty. If there were, I would make it here to-day.

THE CONFLICT OF METHODS.

From beginning to end, the series of protests I have been depicting has been a slow development of the intellectual comprehension of what freedom in religion really is, and an historical development of the demand for it. The whole process has been a gradually intensifying conflict between two methods of thinking—the method of authority and the method of reason. The outward authorities of the Pope, the Bible, and the Christ, on the one hand, and the inward authority of the Transcendental Intuition, on the other, agree in this,—that they must be accepted as final and conclusive, and as cutting off all doubt or discussion. The principle of implicit faith, the suppression of all right in the intellect to demand a reason, is equally characteristic of them all. The Roman Catholic Church recognizes all four of these authorities; the Anglican and Puritan churches recognize three of them, but reject the Pope; the Unitarian Church of to-day recognizes the authority of the Christ and the Intuition, but rejects that of the Pope and the Bible; the Transcendentalist rejects the authority of all but the Intuition; Free Religion rejects them all. To those who believe, as I do, that the Roman Catholic Church represents Christianity in its only complete form, this *diminuendo* process has a double aspect—that of a gradual decay of Christianity and that of a simultaneous growth of Free Religion. In Theodore Parker we behold, on the one hand, the last great radical preacher who could justly retain the Christian name, since his Transcendentalism was the vanishing point of Christianity,—and, on the other hand, the great precursor of Free Religion, since one more step would have brought him out upon the platform of the scientific method. This vast step, however, it is very unlikely that he would ever have taken, even had his great and noble spirit still remained among us. In all its forms, from Romanism to Transcendentalism, Christianity rests on the ancient, traditional method of authority; it cannot cut loose from it, and live. With all its glorious freedom in other respects, Transcendentalism has always retained a certain profound veneration for the *authority* of Jesus,—not as that of an infallible teacher, it is true, yet as that of the Natural Chief of Transcendentalists. Mr. Gannett has very truly said: "Jesus is the *Intuitionist*—the man of deep moral insight, which gives him great faith in God and in man and in the goodness of all things: *a faith that asks no reason for itself* [the italics are mine], and could give none satisfactory, yet is the great fact in him." That phrase utters the inmost soul of Transcendentalism—"a faith that asks no reason for itself." It unfolds the *method* of Christianity in all its forms, from the Catholic to the Transcendentalist. It is a method which neither "asks a reason" itself, nor permits another to ask it; it settles the most tremendous questions that the soul of man can ever ask by authority, not by reason; and it matters little whether this authority be that of an infallible Pope or an infallible Intuition. The method is fundamentally that of dogma, cutting off all discussion, all doubt, all query, by a naked "I say so"; and it is just as marked a characteristic of Transcendentalism as it is of Catholicism. Jesus was indeed the great Intuitionist, meeting the questions which are now stirring the human spirit to its depths with no answer but—"Verily, verily I say unto you." That method makes him not only the great Intuitionist, the great Transcendentalist, but also the great Dogmatist; and therein lies the necessity of a new protest against Christianity in the name of religion itself—a new and irrepressible demand for an enlargement of the freedom of religious thought.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not voicing a protest against the substance of the great ideas of God, of Immortality, of Duty; far from it. The protest I voice is not against these ideas themselves, but against the method which imposes them on the world as dogmas. As dogmas, they must die; as the wonderful GUESS of untutored man at the solution of the universal mystery he inhabits, they must submit themselves to the tests of his now educated intelligence. Thought is to-day asserting its native and indefeasible right to sit in judgment on this sublime Guess of the infantile human race; and its claim must be—yes, I say it with all the strength of conviction of which I am capable—its claim *must* be allowed. Be the result what it may, it is no longer possible to deny jurisdiction in these high matters to the scientific method. For the scientific method is nothing mysterious or recondite; it is nothing but *freedom of thought in active exercise*—nothing but the legitimate use of Reason, disciplined thoroughly and impelled by hunger and thirst after truth, which is just as holy as the hunger and thirst after righteousness, and which, like that, "shall be filled." As well exclaim, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther!" to the rising tide on yonder sea-shore, as hurl a futile prohibition against the rising tide of human thought. I stand here to-day simply to warn you of the advancing ocean, and beg you to desist, if to desist you are not disposed, from the vain attempt to keep back the roused Atlantic with a fence of sand. The dogmas of Christianity, the dogmas of Transcendental Intuition, must go down forever before the love of truth; and Thought, with its victorious waves, will roll over their unresisting ruins. God—Immortality—Duty! Those mighty words of power are not more dear to you than to me; you cannot cherish them more tenderly in your heart of hearts than I. But yet I say there is one word mightier still, and that is—TRUTH! To those who question you whether those great words are words of truth, you cannot wisely fall back on the bare affirmations of "a faith that can give no reason for itself,"—on the authority of Jesus or the strength of your private Intuition; you cannot quiet the questioning thought of the nineteenth century with a simple "I see—I know!" Quick as a flash comes back that other question: "*How* do you know?" If indeed there is no answer to that question but a repetition of the bare assertion, "I see—I know!" then, in spite of your own undoubting certitude, whether based on the authority of Jesus or on the self-guaranteeing Intuition, the intellect of the age, which has been taught by a brilliant and ever-growing galaxy of discoveries to trust the scientific method, will silently record this unchangeable verdict: "*You do not know—you dream!*" And the verdict will be just.

> "The Moving Finger writes, and, having writ,
> Moves on: nor all your piety nor wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
> Nor all your tears wash out a word of it!"

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD: WHAT IS IT?

Believe it or disbelieve it who may, it is a simple fact of observation that the scientific method is slowly but surely extending its jurisdiction over every department of human thought; and it will yet do this, with universal acquiescence, in the domain of religious belief. What, then, is this scientific method?

It is, as I have said, nothing mysterious or recondite, nothing new or unfamiliar; it is simply ordinary thinking corrected by the canons of a more cautious and exact procedure. No one is better qualified to speak on this subject than John Stuart Mill, who says: "A complete logic of the sciences would be also a complete logic of practical business and common life." [*System of Logic*, 8th Ed., I., 328.] In practical affairs, in all concerns vitally affecting their practical interests, men have learned to respect and to use their intellects, and to distrust the unreasoning impulses of mere feeling. Sagacity, prudence, foresight, soberness of judgment, knowledge of affairs, persistence of purpose, executive energy, trained and experienced minds,—these are the things that command success in life; and the same mental qualities are the things that command success in science. Patient industry and resolute clear-headedness are quite as much the secret of insight into scientific truth as they are of professional, commercial, or political achievements. The method of authority in religion relies on inspiration, revelation, supernatural illumination; the method of science relies on brain,—on the mastery of actual facts by accurate thought. The one receives—or imagines it receives; the other patiently acquires. The one appeals to faith, to feeling, to sentiment; the other appeals to knowledge and to intellect. Hence, while science, aiming solely at truth and sacrificing everything else to its attainment, has created an intellectual system of the universe which bears the severest test of verification, religion has only created a theology which the educated world is every day more and more emphatically rejecting as mere mythology. What is the reason of this differ-

ence in results? At bottom it is nothing but a difference of method. There is but one way of arriving at truth, though there are countless ways of arriving at myths; and this one way, the way of scientific method, science alone exemplifies. If, therefore, the love of truth is an essential part of religion, and if the attainment of religious truth is an object of supreme importance to mankind, religion herself must learn wisdom by experience, discard her old method of authority with its proven worthlessness, and courageously adopt the method of science as the only pathway to a true comprehension of man's nature and destiny. I plead to-day for a universal recognition of the transcendent and supreme importance of *truth* in religion; I vindicate the rights of the human intellect as the sole *discoverer* of truth; I maintain the unique and exclusive claim of the scientific method, as the sole *organon* of its discovery. Let me, then, in the briefest possible manner (for it needs no tedious amplification), state the chief characteristics of this scientific method.

ITS CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS.

1. In the first place, it begins with experience alone—with realities—with facts. Among the primary data of knowledge it admits no assumptions, dreams, guesses, abstractions, fancies; it plants itself on that alone which is established and verifiable certainty. Before it proceeds to build, it rigorously sifts and tests its materials; and it throws out as worthless all alleged facts which cannot stand the test of positive verification! So-called "innate ideas"—that is, specific truths furnished *à priori* by the mind itself, in advance of all experience—find no place among the data of science. Experience alone is the basis of the scientific method.

At the same time I must add that scientific men have been too prone to limit arbitrarily the field of human experience; they have cultivated only a part of it hitherto, and have been too ready to deny the existence or scientific value of the rest. By "experience" they have usually meant only *sensuous experience*—the experience of the senses. The scientific method itself permits no such arbitrary limitation; and the first great debate, when this method is fairly applied to solve the great problems of religion, must turn on the question: "Does not the human intellect come as immediately as the senses into contact with the outer universe?" I cannot discuss this question here; it pertains to philosophical science. But I must indicate its existence, and simply state that, in my opinion, the field of human experience with which the scientific method is to deal will prove to be of immensely vaster extent than the scientific men of to-day suppose—will prove to include spiritual no less than physical phenomena, capable of equally valid verification. When the scientific method is applied to religion, I base on this anticipated extension of verifiable experience all my confidence in the final rendering of affirmative answers to the momentous questions of God, Immortality, and Duty.

2. In the second place, the scientific method, beginning with experience, proceeds by comparison, inference, and hypothesis,—by analysis and synthesis,—by induction and deduction,—by classification and generalization,—by observation and experiment,—in short, by all the mental processes exemplified in any text-book on the subject. These will not vary substantially when applied in the new field of religion; they are the well-recognized modes of arriving at truth, and are applicable wherever truth is sought. But there will doubtless be special adaptations of them to the nature of the new inquiries that will arise. Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology are the precursors of more than one new science as yet in its ante-natal state; and when the "Science of Religion," which Max Müller has already heralded with his affluent learning and charming style, shall have achieved its inevitable place in the sisterhood of the sciences, it will illustrate still the rich, inexhaustible method to which are due all the real conquests of the human mind over its own ignorance of the universe.

3. In the third place,—passing over much that might be said,—the scientific method will (if I rightly anticipate in my own thinking the results to which it will at last conduct the human mind) generate a calm and lofty spiritual state unspeakably nobler than the "faith" which Christianity enjoins. I grant that the idea of God, for example, as interpreted by the scientific method, is not at all "a fact given in consciousness,"—the intuitional beholding of an Infinite Object whose existence is as certain as our own; I grant that it is an hypothesis, a conjecture, a great and sublime Guess; I grant that the *knowledge* of God is not a present possession, but simply the grandest aspiration of the human reason—the deepest and hollest and most passionate longing of the human heart. All this I grant, surrendering frankly the absolute certitude which Christianity professes (but, alas, as thousands of tortured souls confess within themselves, professes in vain) to bestow. But nevertheless I maintain that the establishment of the *truth* in this greatest of all great questions, whether it be at last a resistless proof or a resistless disproof of God's existence by the scientific method, will be an unspeakably greater boon to mankind than any possible blind faith that has no better support than the method of authority. I maintain that the love of truth for its own pure sake which brings one to see and feel and admit this, is a loftier spiritual virtue, grace, and treasure than the most absolute faith and trust in God without it. I maintain that the brave appeal to the intellect alone on all questions of truth or error, the brave acceptance of the scientific method as the final judge on all these questions, must at last generate a nobler, fuller, stronger, juster, sweeter religious character than Christianity has ever exemplified to the world. In short, I maintain that truth is of infinitely vaster moment to mankind than any consolations, hopes, ecstasies, or other emotional satisfactions, which rest only on blind and unreasoning faith—that the intellect is the only guide to truth—that the scientific method is the only honest use of the intellect—and that without this honest use of the intellect no religion can create the grandest or fairest or loftiest character that is possible to man. Just as the tested and rugged virtue of the moral hero is worth more than the lovely, tender, untried innocence of the child, so is the massive strength of a soul that has conquered truth for itself worth more than the soft, peach-bloom faith of a soul that takes truth on trust. There is a holiness and purity of the Reason, no less than that of the conscience; and Faith does but corrupt, pollute, and desecrate its integrity, when she intrudes to bias or warp its independent judicial action. There is no sanctity so sacred as that which crowns a soul self-dedicated to truth in thought, word, and deed—no betrayal of humanity so murderous as that which relaxes the soul's absolute loyalty to it. Therefore, I say, the very essence of religion is staked on the triumph of the scientific method; for this is the coming of the Kingdom of Truth.

MIXED ISSUES.

To this conclusion, then have we been led: that the development of religious thought, from the first stirrings of the Protestant Reformation, has been a long battle for the right to think. That is the root of the whole matter. One by one have the ancient fortresses of Authority been razed to the ground; slowly has the standard of Liberty been advanced from post to post. The Church of England separated from the Church of Rome; the churches of Puritanism separated from the Church of England; the churches of Unitarianism separated from the churches of Puritanism; and there the process of conscious and outward separation ceased. There has never been a church of Transcendentalism—never a church of Free Religion. The Transcendental movement in this country grew up within the Unitarian communion, and never, as a whole, broke with it. Some of the leaders went out of the churches altogether; a few founded scattered, isolated, and independent churches of their own; more have remained in Unitarian pulpits to this day. The division never proceeded further than to the establishment of two well-marked schools or wings,—Theodore Parker having never discarded the Unitarian or Christian name, and being still the chief representative of the Unitarian Transcendentalists.

When Free Religion came upon the stage in 1867, it did not effect or propose a separation of churches, or make any attempt to found a new church at all; it simply formed an Association of individuals. But it totally ignored Unitarianism, and even Christianity; it planted itself on wholly new ground, far in advance both of Unitarianism and Transcendentalism—ground which in truth is utterly irreconcilable with either. But the members of the new Association retained whatever individual connections they pleased, and many of them are to this day Unitarians or Transcendentalists. The issues, therefore, between these three *types* of religious thought, which I have shown to be philosophically very distinct and marked, have remained historically very much mixed and confused; and I cannot carry out the purpose of this lecture, which is to trace clearly and intelligibly the "development of religious thought," without referring to some technical details of organization. Technicalities, I know, are dry; but I trust that my references to them here will not be uninteresting, since they are essential to the understanding of a great movement of ideas.

ANTECEDENTS OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

In 1865, for the first time, Unitarianism denominationally organized itself. This step immediately precipitated a collision between its two component schools, which turned on the basis of the new organization, as laid down in the preamble of the Constitution. By this preamble, the Unitarians pledged themselves collectively, as a body of Christian churches, to the "Lordship and Kingship"—that is, to the *authority*—of Jesus Christ. That was all; it contained no special dogmas, but also no recognition of the old Unitarian principle of the right of "free inquiry." Both the assertion and the omission were equally significant; the Christian denial of liberty of thought was made once more in the name of Jesus.*

On the following year, therefore, at Syracuse, a substitute for this preamble was proposed, discussed all day, and defeated. This new preamble affirmed that "the object of Christianity is the universal diffusion of Love, Righteousness, and Truth,"—that "perfect freedom of thought" is "the right and the duty of every human being,"—and that Christian organization should be "based rather on unity of spirit than on uniformity of belief." †

Now these two preambles embodied respectively the *principle of authority* and the *principle of freedom*—the old method of Dogmatism and the new method of Science. That was the clear and clean issue. The reform-preamble was an attempt to put Christianity on the basis of "perfect freedom"—to reconcile it with modern science by frankly planting it on the scientific method. It was, in fact, the protest of the scientific method in religion against the Unitarian dogma of the authority of Jesus; it was not a protest by *Transcendentalism* in the name of Intuition, but the embryo-protest of *Free Religion itself*, in the name of "perfect freedom"—that is, the freedom of science; it grew out of the more liberal tendency or side of primitive Unitarianism, and, wholly passing over the intermediate stage of Transcendentalism, expressed the entire movement of Free Religion in everything but in name. But this last circumstance was very important. It was a great mistake to imagine that Christianity could ever be brought to adopt the method of science; for two thousand years, it had lived by the method of authority; it had grown too gray in obedience to be able now, in its decrepitude, to begin a new life of liberty. Hence the great reform of Free Religion was impossible under the Christian name or in the Unitarian communion; new wine must be put into new bottles. In fact, Unitarianism was too much like the recently elected Scotch bailie, who, taking his seat for the first time on the magisterial bench, looked sternly around, and thus addressed the audience: "Hitherto there have been many complaints as to how impartially affairs have been carried out here; but I intend that the business of this Court shall be hereafter conducted neither partially nor impartially!" Halting between authority and liberty, Unitarianism had a little of both, but not much of either; it could not make up its mind either to think freely or not freely; and by way of compromise it concluded not to think at all. Hence it has left the van of religious progress, and remains respectable, but stationary. Its new Conference was not the place for the appearance of Free Religion.

THE PLATFORM OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION IS ITS CONSTITUTION.

But it was, nevertheless, out of the Unitarian Conference that the Free Religious Association grew. This Association, formed in 1867, is the true representative of Free Religion, to which, indeed, it gave name. Unitarianism had its Channing; Transcendentalism had its Parker; Free Religion has no single representative preacher, but represents itself by an Association, as befits a great protest against all personalism in religion. The members of this Association have individually no right to speak for it; individually they represent only themselves. But the Association has not therefore left itself voiceless—it utters its voice clearly in its Constitution. This is the only authorized declaration of the Association as a whole, by all the members without exception—the only definition and exposition of Free Religion which all the members are bound to accept. No individual member can do more than declare his own individual views, which commit nobody but himself; but the Constitution commits him, for it is his own voice, his own individual declaration, so long as he remains a member. With this point clearly understood, let me point out what the Constitution teaches—no one else, of course, being responsible for my interpretation of it. But if any one dissents from this interpretation, I conjure him to correct it by appealing to the Constitution itself and proving by its own words that my interpretation is erroneous. For, if I am not fundamentally mistaken, the Constitution of this Association, under whose auspices these lectures are given, is pledged irrevocably to the scientific method in religion, and thereby pledged against the method of authority, whether in the shape of an infallible Pope, an infallible Church, an infallible Bible, an infallible Christ, or an infallible Intuition. On all questions of mere opinion or belief or special conclusions, the Association is neutral, and commits nobody; but on the question of method, it is pledged by its Constitution to the method of science, and thereby commits us all. A clear comprehension of this fact, and consistent action based upon it, are essential to the true and enduring success of the Association in prosecuting the great reform for which it was organized; and I maintain that its Constitution unmistakably defines this reform as consisting in the *substitution of the scientific method for the method of authority in religion*. And that means a mighty religious revolution throughout the world.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION PLEDGES IT TO THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD.

The principles and objects of the Free Religious movement, its whole practical and ideal significance, are contained in the first Article and half of the second Article of this Constitution. What are they? Permit me to read them, as they are not long:—

"I. This Organization shall be called the Free Religious Association,—its objects being to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history; and to this end all persons interested in these objects are cordially invited to its membership.

"II. Membership in this Association shall leave

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*The text of the original preamble was as follows:—

PREAMBLE.—*Whereas*, The great opportunities and demands for Christian labor and consecration at this time increase our sense of the obligation of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God and the building-up of the kingdom of his Son:—

ARTICLE I.—Therefore, the Christian churches of the Unitarian faith here assembled unite themselves in a common body, to be known as the National Conference of Unitarian Churches, to the end of energizing and stimulating the denomination with which they are connected to the largest exertions in the cause of Christian faith and work.

†The text of the reform preamble was as follows:—

PREAMBLE.—*Whereas*, The object of Christianity is the universal diffusion of Love, Righteousness, and Truth; and the attainment of this object depends, under God, upon individual and collective Christian activity; and collective Christian activity, to be efficient, must be thoroughly organized; and

Whereas, Perfect freedom of thought, which is at once the right and the duty of every human being, always leads to diversity of opinion, and is therefore hindered by common creeds or statements of faith; and

Whereas, The only reconciliation of the duties of collective Christian activity and individual freedom of thought lies in an efficient organization for practical Christian work, based rather on unity of spirit than on uniformity of belief:—

ARTICLE I.—Therefore the Churches here assembled, disregarding all sectarian or theological differences, and offering a cordial fellowship to all who will join with them in Christian work, unite themselves in a common body, to be known as THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF UNITARIAN AND INDEPENDENT CHURCHES.

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each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations to other associations; and nothing in the name or Constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,—or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, with reference to any such opinion or belief,—or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

All the rest of the Constitution is devoted to the mere details of organization: what I have quoted is the complete and only declaration of the Association's position in reference to religion. Now the essential elements of this position are these:—

The Association is explicitly devoted to "religion," both by its name and by its avowal of objects. But what it means by "religion," which it does not define in express terms, must be gathered from the Constitution as a whole. The three objects it enumerates are its own definition, however, of "Free Religion,"—the only definition which any one, friend or foe, has a moral right to apply to that now famous phrase. These three objects are, 1: The "practical interests of pure religion" (*i. e., Righteousness*); 2. "Fellowship in the spirit" (*i. e., Love*); 3. The "scientific study of man's religious nature and destiny" (*i. e., religious Truth* sought by the scientific method alone). Righteousness, Love, Truth,—these, in brief, are the objects of this Association; they are also the professed objects of every church and every religion on earth. What, then, gives to this Association its distinguishing and unmistakable characteristic—its specific reason for being? Simply that little word "scientific"—"the *scientific* study of man's religious nature and destiny,"—as explained and interpreted by Article II., which proclaims "absolute freedom *of* thought and expression" as the "natural right *of* every rational being." In this emphatic affirmation of the scientific method in religion, and of the unqualified freedom of thought which the scientific method alone gives or even permits, lies compressed the entire historical significance of Free Religion and the Free Religious Association. Suppress their bold affirmation of the scientific method as the *sole legitimate method of religious thought*, and there will remain nothing, absolutely nothing, to justify the movement which called them into existence. That is the one affirmative word which they have to utter to the world; and it is an unflinching, uncompromising denial of the method of authority, whether vested in the Pope, the Church, the Bible, the Christ, or the Transcendental Intuition. It is a sweeping protest against the oppressive claims of Christianity in all its forms,—a frank abandonment of the old method of authority and a complete advance to the new method of liberty, of reason, of science. Purely by the inherent force and meaning of its one great affirmation, Free Religion, as interpreted by the Constitution of the Association which gave it name, is *anti-Christian* because it is *pro-liberty, pro-science, pro-truth*. That fact is more or less dimly perceived by the churches to-day, and will be very clearly recognized when the future comes to write the religious history of the nineteenth century. But it is not perceived or admitted to be a fact by some of our own number; and I must support the interpretation I have put on our common Constitution by a few facts of vital importance to a correct understanding of the origin of this Association and the "development of religious thought in our country during the past century,"—nay, more, to a correct understanding of our own position, work, and function in this process of development.

THE PICTURE OF AN IDEAL.

In March, 1866, about seven months before the meeting of the Unitarian Conference at Syracuse, an article entitled "Positivism in Theology" was published in the now discontinued periodical called the *Christian Examiner*. This article was in substance a plea for the scientific method in religion, and its essential positions were as definite, as clearly made, and as unqualified as anything I have said to-day. To that article must be referred all those who are curious to trace the origin of that which is alone distinctive in the Free Religious movement—its adoption of the scientific method of perfect intellectual freedom as the recognized basis of religious organization, and its consequent rejection of all dogmatic finalities, names, and limits of fellowship. Not to the influence of Transcendentalism, but to the direct influence of modern science and philosophy on the older Unitarianism, must this origin be traced; for the new movement was only a maturing of the old Unitarian demand for "free inquiry" *minus* the old Unitarian confession of the authority of Jesus. Transcendentalism and Free Religion were two coördinate and independent, though successive, outgrowths from a common historical root—Unitarianism; and it would be an error to consider the second as an outgrowth from the first.

In order, then, to understand the ancestry and true place of Free Religion, in the history of the development of recent religious thought, it is necessary to bear in mind these three facts:—

1. The supremacy and sole legitimacy of the scientific method in religion were explicitly, unqualifiedly, and strenuously affirmed in an article in the *Christian Examiner* several months before the meeting of the Unitarian Conference at Syracuse in October, 1866.

2. The reform-preamble which was proposed at that Conference, declaring that "the object of Christianity is the universal diffusion of Love, Righteousness, and Truth," and that "perfect freedom of thought is at once the right and the duty of every human being," was simply an attempt to reconcile Christianity with modern science by placing it unequivocally on the scientific method; and this is made still more clear by the fact that the writer of the *Christian Examiner* article wrote and proposed this reform-preamble.

3. This attempt having failed because Christianity is logically and historically pledged to the method of authority, and therefore logically and historically pledged against the method of science—"whose service is perfect freedom," an attempt was made the next year to maintain the *self-same principles* in the name of *Religion*, and succeeded in the formation of the Free Religious Association. The very name of the Association is a sufficient proof of this statement; but its Constitution proves it even to superfluity. For the objects of Free Religion are there set forth as "the practical interests of pure religion"—a mere periphrasis for "Righteousness"; "fellowship in the spirit"—a mere periphrasis for "Love"; and "the scientific study of man's religious nature and destiny"—a mere periphrasis for the pursuit of religious "Truth" by the scientific method. Thus the "universal diffusion of Love, Righteousness, and Truth" was declared in 1867 the essence of Free Religion, as it had failed to be declared in 1866 the essence of Christianity. Moreover (and this tells the innermost soul of the new movement), the Constitution planted the Association still more unequivocally on the scientific method, when it, like the rejected reform-preamble, explicitly proclaimed that "absolute freedom of thought and expression is the natural right of every rational being."

These three facts reveal the origin and justify the existence of our Association. No religious body, so far as I know, has ever before even tried to organize itself on the platform of "perfect freedom,"—of the scientific method. You have both tried and succeeded; and, if you are only true to the spirit of the principles you have adopted, you have a most glorious mission to accomplish. The creed of Christianity is a dream, a myth, a falsity; and the world has found it out. The creed of the future is science alone; but science is still in its infancy. To you belongs the first splendid affirmation that the method of science is the way to all truth, the secret of all brotherhood, the hope of all religion. You first have recorded it in the great book of human experience that the noblest religious fellowship can be built on absolute loyalty to truth and perfect freedom of the human mind. Stand firm on the height you have attained, and the whole world shall climb slowly to your side. Comprehend fully the greatness and loftiness of your own position, maintain it sacredly for the countless millions yet to inherit its immeasurable blessings, and, long ages after you and I have slept peacefully in our unremembered graves, the nobler and juster and purer life of posterity shall be the proof that we have not lived in vain. The acorn you have planted; its first tiny shoots you have watered and tended; let others rest their tired limbs in the shade of the mighty oak. What matters it if the vast torrent of the world's life bears down to the future on its bosom no memory of our petty lives? Enough be it,—enough it is,—that the grand, eternal beauty of the idea that has visited us has not been selfishly secluded from mankind in the privacy of our own "chambers of imagery," but has been painted for all eyes on the canvas of an outward, living fact. That is the meaning and mission of our Association—it is only the visible picture of a glorious ideal. Let it stand in all the power of its mute appeal before the world, until the soul of humanity shall have seized the great thought of PERFECT FREEDOM that stands invisibly behind it. Then shall come the universal Kingdom of Truth; and then let our poor little picture, with all recollection of its painters, be consigned to the garret of oblivion. It is enough for us that we have not been "disobedient to the heavenly vision."

THE POPULATION OF THE EARTH.

The annual compilation known as "Behm & Wagner's" estimates the population of the globe at 1,423,917,000, being an increase of about 27,000,000 over that reported by the same authorities in 1875. So far as Europe and America are concerned it is not difficult to make a proximate estimate of their populations. Most of the countries on the two continents take censuses at regular intervals. But the number of inhabitants in Asia and Africa can only be the subject of enlightened guesswork. What purports to be the official census of China has always been open to the most serious doubts. Good authorities have insisted that the population of that country is reported, for government purposes, at far above—even twice—its real strength. Behm & Wagner give it at 405,000,000, with 28,500,000 of outlying people. This estimate, if correct, would show a marked decrease from the census reported to have been taken as far back as 1852, which put the population of China at 450,000,000. The gain in population in Asia alone is set down at 25,000,000. The advance is not attributable to the increase of births over deaths during the year, but to the ample means of information which the compilers of the work claim to have. The statistics about Africa—excepting on its semi-civilized borders—are necessarily almost worthless. European powers afraid of Russia will be concerned to know that she counts as her own 86,586,000 human beings, both in Europe and Asia, which is an increase of 900,000 over the estimate of 1875. Some of this is explained by the annexation of territory in Asia during the year. The whole Turkish Empire, including tributary States in Europe, Asia, and Africa, is said to have a population of 47,660,000; but that of Turkey proper numbers only 8,500,000. There is a computed increase of 1,200,000 over the area of North and South America within the year. This can be only conjecture. To illustrate how little reliance can be placed on statistics which aim to make a clean sweep of the habitable area and population of this planet, it may be said that, according to the work under notice, the land surface of the globe seems to have decreased within a year by no less than 83,349 square miles. This fact is not explained by the encroachment of the sea upon the land, but simply by the rectification of surveys lately made. The density of population to the square mile for three continents is given as follows: Europe, 82; Asia, 48, and America, 5¼. The spare room is here, and it should be the policy of the United States in every way to encourage foreigners to come in and possess it.

A PRIEST was hearing confession, and a boy came to him and said he had a bad sin in his mind. "Well, me good boy, come on wid it," said his reverence. "Augh, thin, your riverence, I do be always sayin' 'Be the Holy Father.'" "You do?—that's very bad, me boy. Now, how often do you be sayin' that?" "Begor, more than forty times a day, your riverence." "Go home now," said the priest, "and get your sister to make you a bag and hang it round your neck, and every time you say 'Be the Holy Father' drop a little stone in it, and come to me this day week." That day week his reverence was as usual in his box, and he heard an awful noise in the church, so he looked out and saw his penitent dragging a sack. "Tady Mulloy," says he, "what do you mane by such conduct as that in the church?" "Shure, yer riverence," says the fellow, "those is all, 'Be the Holy Fathers,' an' the rest of um's outside on the dray."

Poetry.

TO THE VENUS OF MELOS.

O Goddess of that Grecian isle
Whose shore the blue Ægean laves,
Whose cliffs repeat with answering smile
Their features in its sun-kissed waves,—

An exile from thy native place,
We view thee in a Northern clime,
Yet mark on thy majestic face
A glory still undimmed by Time.

Through those calm lips, proud Goddess, speak!
Portray to us thy gorgeous fane,
Where Melian suitors thronged to seek
Thine aid, Love's Paradise to gain;

Where, oft as in the saffron East
Day's jewelled gates were open flung,
With stately pomp th' attendant priest
Drew back the veil before thee hung;

And as the daring kiss of morn,
Empurpling, made thy charms more fair,
Sweet strains, from unseen minstrels born,
Awoke from dreams the perfumed air.

Vouchsafe at least our minds to free
From doubts pertaining to thy charms;
The meaning of thy bended knee,
The secret of thy vanished arms!

Wast thou in truth conjoined with Mars?
Did thy fair hands his shield embrace,
The surface of whose golden bars
Grew lovely from thy mirrored face?

Or was it some bright scroll of Fame
Thus poised on thine extended knee,
Upon which thou didst trace the name
Of that fierce god so dear to thee?

Whate'er thou hadst, no mere delight
Was thine, the glittering prize to hold;
Not thine the form which met thy sight
Replying from the burnished gold!

Unmindful what thy hands retained,
Thy gaze was fixed beyond, above;
Some dearer object held enchained
The goddess of immortal love!

We mark the motion of thine eyes
And smile,—for holdst thou shield or scroll,
A tender love-glance we surprise
Which tells the secret of thy soul!

J. L. STODDARD.

—Boston Transcript.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 17.

J. E. Norton, $1; R. P. Johnson, $3.20; S. F. Schild, $3.20; Joseph De Godt, $3; W. W. Moore, $3.20; G. W. Topping, $2.50; M. B. Linton, $3.20; C. W. Boulware, $1; E. G. Burnett, $2; J. Davis, 10 cents; B. M. Smith, 25 cents; W. R. Lukens, $1; W. W. Parker, 10 cents; Cash, $2.84; G. H. Morse, 25 cents; S. C. Clark, 80 cents; J. H. Bays, 50 cents; R. P. Hallowell, $3.20; J. L. Stoddard, $1; Lizzie Richards, $1.60; Myron Smith, $8; A. P. Ware, $3.20; G. H. Foster, $3; E. C. Walker, $1; Fred Beck, $10; E. S. Aldrich, $3.20; Nath'l Cummings, $3.20; J. C. Hill, $3.20; R. W. Jess, $3.20; C. F. Williston, $3.20; Hon. A. D. White, $3.20; Kate Q. Greene, $3.20; W. P. Atkinson, $3; Jefferson Church, $10; M. G. Kimball, $4; A. O. Durham, 10 cents; B. C. Buck, $5; A. Wolfe, $5; T. B. Collins, $3; Thos. Davis, $13.20; S. R. Campbell, $3; Dr. H. B. Clark, $33.20; Estate of B. Rodman, $28.80.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are not on hand will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 22, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 36 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix. Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals;" by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle, President of the Ohio State branch of the "National Reform Association," used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

W. S. BELL and Horace Seaver will speak next Sunday evening at Paine Memorial Building on this question: "Liberalism or Moodyism—which?"

THIS HISTORICAL incident is solemnly commended to the attention of all subscribers in arrears, in the hope that they may be warned in season of the fate awaiting them: "An editor once applied at the door of Hades for admission. 'Well, sir,' replied his sable majesty, 'we let one of your profession in here many years ago, and he kept up a continual row with his former delinquent subscribers, and, as we have more of that class of persons here than any other, we have passed a law prohibiting the admission of editors.'"

PROFESSOR HUNT ON THE CHEMICAL HISTORY OF THE EARTH.

Inasmuch as we have taken so much space in this issue of THE INDEX for our recent lecture at Horticultural Hall, it seems no more than fair to make room here for the appended report of Professor Hunt's very instructive and interesting address to the Chestnut Street Club—for which THE INDEX is indebted to the kindness of Mrs. Sargent. There is especial significance, in connection with our own plea for "The Scientific Method in Religion," in this statement by so eminent a student of science as Professor Hunt: "Of late the notion of a general unity, and an interdependence of the various parts of the universe, has been asserted and reasserted, and has finally taken the shape of a law of adaptation of means to ends, and a recognition of efficient and final causes. The entire plan of the universe was designed by one great efficient cause, and is subordinate to one great purpose." This position is essentially that of the scientific theism which we have so often advocated; and it is one which the most rigorous use of the scientific method will, we believe, strengthen and confirm as time goes on. But here is the report of the meeting:—

The February meeting was held on the third Monday of the month, in the parlors of Rev. J. T. Sargent, as usual; and the knowledge that Professor T. Sterry Hunt, the eminent geologist and chemist, would read a paper filled the parlors with an intelligent and appreciative audience.

The essayist in his usual happy manner, after remarking that he should depart somewhat from the traditional topics of the club, philosophy, metaphysics, etc., gave in an easy conversational manner, without notes, a sketch of the chemical history of the earth, dwelling more particularly upon the harmonies and balancing of the forces in cosmical chemistry with the indications of a general unity of Nature even to its remotest portions.

The old philosophers and alchemists were greatly interested in these subjects, and entertained many curious ideas which modern science has banished. Of late the notion of a general unity and an interdependence of the various parts of the universe has been asserted and reasserted, and has finally taken the shape of a law of adaptation of means to ends, and a recognition of efficient and final causes. The entire plan of the universe was designed by one great efficient cause, and is subordinate to one great purpose.

It had long been recognized that the vegetable depended upon the mineral kingdom, while the animal kingdom in its turn was dependent upon the vegetable; and certain philosophers and theologians had come to the conclusion that all had been created expressly for man's use, while others, like Linnæus, interpreted the facts in an entirely different way, finding that vegetables existed entirely for themselves; that animals, by holding destructive vegetation in check, seemed rather created for the benefit of the vegetables than the reverse; and that man, being a hunter and slayer of animals, maintained a balance between them and the vegetable kingdom.

Writers like Pope had seen the weakness of either of these teleological modes of reasoning, which he illustrates in the couplet:—

"While man exclaims, 'See all things for my use!'
'See man for mine!' replies a pampered goose."

Disclaiming any intention to discuss the philosophical aspects of the questions presented in these prefatory remarks, Dr. Hunt said he wanted to present a few thoughts in regard to the chemical, physical, and vital forces which presided over the whole earth, or, he would rather say, the universe. It would at first glance seem that there was no field for the investigation of such subjects outside of our earth, and that there must come a time when, having exhausted this field, we must, like Alexander, weep for other worlds to conquer. But modern science has given us these new worlds to conquer, and we are able by means of the telescope and spectroscope to learn something of their physics and chemistry, and to see that the same great laws prevail there as here.

In the far-off regions of space we discern great masses of nebulous matter from which, in their turns, suns and planets are slowly formed; while from the latter, satellites are developed, as was our moon from the original great earth-mass. Curious revelations are afforded by the light which comes from these bodies, showing that the same laws obtain there as here. Those far-distant *nebulæ* contain the same elements that form our own atmosphere, and these elements are found without exception in all the stars and other worlds which are visible to us. We are thus led to admit the continuity of our atmosphere to the farthest bounds of space, so that, if there are animals upon distant worlds, they have atmospheres similar to our own.

Farther, when we trace the evolution of suns, we find in them the same chemical elements as in our own earth. Later researches have led some to conclude that the so-called chemical elements are themselves the product of growth or evolution; that is, they are not really elementary, but compound. In that cosmical chemistry by which glowing suns are slowly generated and planets afterwards elaborated, combinations are effected by mystic processes which cannot be imitated in our laboratories. Suns in their earlier conditions are intensely white in color, and their spectra indicate a more dissociated condition of the components of what are considered by us to be chemical elements. As they become more and more red in color, the spectra indicate fewer differences from the spectra of elements found upon the earth.

Let us see what *nebulæ* are. First, we have the ether of space extending to its utmost limits. Sir William Thomson supposes the *nebulæ* to be developed from the ether by some process of cosmical chemistry. In this way the formation of a *nebula* might be as simple as that of rain-drops,—a process of condensation. We look up into the clear blue sky, and see, first a haze, then a cloud, and at last the minute particles of water gather in drops and fall as rain. Just such a thing is a *nebula*,—a cloud produced by some cause in the far-off ether. Farther condensation succeeds, until at last we have a sun with its planets and satellites.

You will, perhaps, say that we are getting far away from our subject in considering these distant bodies. But the fact is, we cannot understand our own present condition without some consideration of the stages through which we have passed. The planet Mars has attained a condition very similar to our own. Her polar regions, like ours, are enveloped with snow in winter, and doubtless other physical and chemical phenomena are the same there as here. Aërolites (or uranolites, as they are sometimes called) appear to be messengers from other worlds. They are all made up of the same chemical elements, and are subject to the same physical and chemical laws which we have upon the earth. They also frequently contain evidences of life, indirect, but not less certain.

What was our earth in its early history? At one time it was a huge mass of intensely heated rock. The atmosphere then contained not only all the waters of the ocean but much of the present solid mass of the earth which had not then been condensed. The remaining rock-mass was composed of granite, but the temperature was so great that much of the material of the present earth was maintained in the form of vapor. There was no ocean and no atmosphere such as we now have. Then it was that chemical and physical laws began to differentiate the materials now found upon our planet, many of which man now thinks were stored away for his own use and behoof.

The condensations of this hot vapor formed the first rains, which came down charged with corrosive acids. These, forming channels of descent, united into an ocean which, with the remaining dry land, was totally unfit for life. But after a time gentler forces began to work, resulting in a partially purified atmosphere, and on conditions a little nearer those which are now found. In those past conditions carbonic acid was far more abundant than now, and was capable of rapidly corroding hard rocks like granite.

Then it was that there began one of the most striking examples that we know of chemical harmony. This atmospheric decay of the granite rock gave rise to clays and alkalies. It is a property of these alkalies to absorb carbonic acid. In the laboratory, if we wish to remove carbonic acid, we introduce some caustic potash or soda, and the thing is speedily accomplished. We find soda abundantly in rocks in the form of carbonate of soda. In fact, the process of absorption of carbonic acid from the atmosphere is still going on in many parts of the earth. But in those earlier times the forces were far more active. The carbonate of soda thus formed came down into the sea. Here it became again changed into salt in the sea, and into carbonate of lime in sea-shells and corals. The old granite rocks, so decayed, became beds of slate, and thus gave us a soil for vegetation. The first forms of animal life appeared in the sea as mollusks, etc. No animal life could yet exist upon the land. These processes did not take place in years or centuries, but in the long process of ages and it took ages after the first appearance of life in the sea before the land was prepared for vegetation. The records of many dynasties of animal life are written upon the stony pages of the rocky strata. Here we see that higher and higher forms of life came into existence as the purification went on, rendering the earth more fit for vegetable life, until at last lower forms of animal life appeared on land. Great monsters, "dragons tearing each other in the slime,"—then, in more favorable conditions, higher and higher forms of animals and planets, till finally man appears upon the scene.

These operations have important relations with the climate. When great heat and moisture prevail, gigantic ferns and other lower plants appear; the higher forms come when the climate has become cooler. Whence came this cooler climate? Some geologists believe that there were many glacial periods; but this seems quite problematical. It seems more probable that refrigeration took place at a very late period of geological history. The cause of the cooling was not simply the cooling of the earth's materials going on through the long ages.

There is a curious relation between the composition of the atmosphere and the temperature of the earth. Carbonic acid, which, as we have seen, gradually became removed from the atmosphere by combination with the granite, has the singular property of arresting the loss of heat from the earth's surface. As in a greenhouse the sun's rays come in through the glass, and then are detained by the glass from passing out, so an atmosphere charged with carbonic acid entraps the sun's heat; and if a greenhouse could be built with double sashes and carbonic acid imprisoned between, the heat would be retained much more effectively than now. In the earlier times a warm and moist climate was thus kept up till the air lost much of its carbonic acid. The prevalence of this warm, steaming atmosphere will probably account for the remains of tropical plants and animals found in the polar regions, Greenland, Spitzbergen, and Nova Zembla, where in early geological periods

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existed a most luxuriant vegetation, and such animals as lions, tigers, hyenas, etc. But the gradual extraction of the carbonic acid gave rise to a cooling down of the temperature, until much of the polar area is covered permanently with ice and snow, in spite of the warm currents which prevent a still greater refrigeration.

Thus we have traced the chemical agencies till we find the atmosphere in its purified condition of to-day. It would seem that the balance is now very nearly established. A small proportion of carbonic acid still remains in the atmosphere to protect us from the bitter cold of the interstellar spaces. Vegetable life could not exist without carbonic acid in the atmosphere, so that its extinction would be the death of every plant and animal.

While a salutary balance seems to be preserved by the absorption of carbonic acid into plants and its restoration to the atmosphere by animals, man is at the same time adding large amounts to the carbonic acid of the air by burning the coal stored in the earth in past ages. Human agency seems to be exhausting the store of carbonic acid which has been absorbed by the rocks and carried to the sea and locked up in the lime stones at its bottom.

It is very difficult to say what is to be the fate of our earth. Man is slowly but surely burning the coal and ores of iron, and year by year they are disappearing, so that, unless new processes of restoration can be invented, the limit of human development must soon be reached, and we cannot escape the conclusion that the present order of things in a temporary one, to be succeeded by another entirely different.

But here it seems difficult to consider man as a final cause or object of creation. The great saurians of earlier periods, and the monkeys, later, could they have reasoned, might have said the same with regard to themselves, not knowing what was coming after. Only he who sees the end from the beginning can know the real objects of creation.

When we reflect upon this subject, we see the impotence of one who would attempt to sound the vast abysses of the infinite with his short plummet, and are admonished to avoid so hopeless a task.

In the discussion which followed, Rev. John Weiss asked if the cycle of ten thousand five hundred years, or thereabouts, of variation in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, and those due to the precession of the equinoxes, etc., might not account for some of the changes of temperature. Dr. Hunt thought the effect due to this cause, while it was a *vera causa*, be strictly inadequate to account for the great changes in temperature.

Rev. Samuel Longfellow asked if there was any doubt of the existence of a great glacial period such as Agassiz had supposed, and Dr. Hunt replied that there were serious doubts in the minds of eminent geologists, for example, Phillips and Dr. Dawson, as to so great an extent of the glaciation as Agassiz had supposed,—whether it was indeed any greater than might be expected even at the present time, if the polar ocean avenues were closed so that warm equatorial currents were shut off. In that case, the ice would creep down far below our latitude. Geographical changes and changes of ocean currents would produce important changes of temperature.

Dr. Bartol and Mr. Wasson inquired as to the existence of any criterion in regard to the elementary nature of things, and if there was any established order in regard to it; to which the reply was that all which science tells us is that only nitrogen, hydrogen, and oxygen are found in the undifferentiated *nebulæ*, while in more developed suns the number of chemical elements increases. Where the temperature is very great, more are found than we know here. In the chromosphere of the sun is a green line not representing any known element, and it is supposed to be caused by a substance called the *X*, or unknown element, also called "helium."

Mr. Walling suggested that the principle demonstrated by Sir William Thomson of the dissipation of energy led to the same conclusion of a final catastrophe that had been intimated by the essayist; also that the dynamic phenomena accompanying chemical reactions afforded the criterion asked for by some of the questioners as to the elementary or compound nature of substances,—force being always evolved in combinations and being required to effect separation.

In reply to a question by Rev. Mr. Dole as to the evidences of organic life in meteorites, Dr. Hunt gave an interesting account of the amber-like and unmistakably organic substances found in some of these bodies.

"OPPOSING" WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

I am very glad that THE INDEX has spoken frankly, and so made clear the source of the lukewarmness towards the woman suffrage movement which has always pained those who are alike friends of both. But its position seems to me as untenable as inconsistent.

To make the question of the extension of suffrage dependent upon the way in which the enfranchised people will vote seems to me false to the whole idea of suffrage, which implies a power of choice. If you are an intelligent, moral being fit to be trusted with self-government, you have a right to a voice in the choice of rulers, and in the decision of methods and laws as much as I; and to withhold your right because I think you would vote for unwise measures is tyranny. We did not ask the foreigner how he would vote before we naturalized him, nor the negro before we conferred suffrage upon him. We knew that he would often vote ignorantly and unwisely. Probably, on the very points which THE INDEX considers more important than the question of woman suffrage, both the negro and the Irishman would take, as a rule, what it considers the wrong side far more generally than women would. The same is true in regard to many other questions. But we have no more right to postpone their enfranchisement until they have enlightened opinions on all questions or any questions of politics, than to delay emancipation till the slave was rich and educated.

The opposition to woman suffrage seems to me as impolitic in this respect as it is unjust. Why is woman so much attached to the Church? Largely because she has been more fully recognized in it than in any other of the great departments of society. She does not understand the questions of the rights of the State as against the Church, because the State shuts her out from all participation in its affairs. The strongest influence to make her advocate the true relations of Church and State is to give her an equal interest—an equal right in and an equal duty towards both. Whether she votes or not, she is not wholly without influence on these questions, as the Church very well knows.

I consider the cause of Free Religion and of woman suffrage to be one, because both advocate the right of the individual human being to full equality and to freedom of judgment; and I believe that each movement will help on the other. Every person has a right to lift that end of the beam which seems to him to be most important; but no one has a right to sacrifice one true cause to another. I should work for religious freedom, though I knew that it would postpone the success of woman suffrage till the grave hid its triumph from me; I should labor for woman suffrage, though I foresaw that its first result would be to keep the Bible in the schools and strengthen the hold of sectarianism.

In conclusion I must say that I do not agree with THE INDEX that women are so largely opposed to liberal movements. The most entirely liberal person in regard to the secularization of schools I ever knew was a woman, a zealous, conscientious member of an Orthodox Church, with whom I had the great pleasure of serving on a school committee. I shall be glad if the feeling of the Church party in England helps forward woman suffrage there; and while I do not believe with them that it will put back the cause of religious progress for a great while, I do believe that it will make its results broader and truer. I shall be sorry if any triumph of woman hinders the success of liberal religion here; but I do not believe it will be for any long time. If the principles we hold dear are true, they need only to be studied and tested, and women will be far more likely to accept them when a broader sphere of life and duty liberalizes her whole thought.

E. D. C.

[If we had been really either "lukewarm" or "opposed" to the woman suffrage movement, we should instantly acknowledge the justice of our friend's rebuke. As the fact is exactly the contrary, we can only receive it in silent wonder.—ED.]

THE MOODY AND SANKEY REVIVAL.

The following letter will be read with interest, as the testimony of a Radical eye-witness:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I accompanied some friends last evening to the meetings of the famous Revivalists, Moody and Sankey. I heard the noon lecture of the now not less renowned Joseph Cook, to an audience that crowded Tremont Temple in every part, many standing to the end, myself one of them. The lecture was a critique on some views of Theodore Parker, specially as to the Trinity, which doctrines the lecturer seemed to comprehend much as the Court Committee of the Lilliputs did the contents of Gulliver's pockets. Still he was several times loudly cheered, proving that he had an appreciative as well as approving audience.

But it was the Inquiry Meeting of the Revivalists which was most interesting, instructing, and humiliating. I never before felt how human nature can be degraded, debased, by darkness and superstition in the name of religion and for the sake of what was there called salvation. I have seen much revival of religion before, but never on that fashion. Some of the scenes outraged all decency, as well as reason and common-sense. A poor pale-faced little boy was weeping between two rather pretty girls (none of them more than sixteen) who were laboring for his conversion. They read to him in low tone, argued, exhorted, expostulated; and twice they all knelt in an inaudible prayer.

On the other side was a little girl, plainly dressed, of about the same age, who had fallen into the hands of a not very prepossessing middle-aged saint who was seeking her salvation by precisely the same means, only in louder voice. They knelt three or four times to pray; the man absolutely *feeding* her with prayer, putting the words in her mouth, as mothers sometimes chew the food for their toothless babes. We were in the gallery of the church, and these two groups were quite near on either side of us. The church above and below was scattered with such persons, of all ages down to very little girls, and the meeting continued till eleven o'clock, when not only the children, but all of us should have been in bed. Of our interview with Mr. Moody and his aids more might be said than would suit your space. A bright little woman asked one of my friends at the outset: "*Are you a Christian?*" to which he answered: "I would rather refer that question to those who best know me." A long but pleasant talk ensued, in which my friend was evidently getting the best of the argument. Finally, the husband of the woman appeared, and, comprehending the situation, sent her away and entered the lists himself. But he soon lost ground by losing his sweetness and serenity. At last, he said: "Come with me and be introduced to Mr. Moody." So we all three went; but Mr. Moody, though admirable in temper and manner, declined "*to reason*"; and, after pelting us with a few Scripture texts and saying that Boston was the greatest place for arguments he had ever found, called up a clean, smooth-shaved, silver-haired man named (as I understood) *Durant*, and then business began in earnest, to continue till eleven o'clock. My other friend was a lady, sister of him who was first assailed, and Mr. Moody summoned a Mrs. Gordon to undertake in behalf of her soul.

Mr. Durant was amiable in manner, but assumed with fearful assurance that we were all three sinners, having no rights which he *and other saints were bound to respect*,—the ground of the Church and clergy from time immemorial.

My course was to put him on the defensive. I told him there was nothing about that meeting nor him which could make my two friends better; that I had known them thirty years and their parents before them; that they showed far better temper and spirit than did he; that their lives were all beautiful and true; that I would far rather take my chance with them in the last judgment than with him; and, turning to Mr. Moody, I quoted Burns, pointing to Mr. W., my friend:—

> "With such as he, where'er it be,
> May I be saved or damned."

And there was a great deal more of the same; but I spare your columns.

Moody, as a man, I liked. He seems earnest, sincere, and is always amiable. But without Sankey's songs, and a surrounding of seedy, threadbare, but crafty, cunning clergymen to manage the whole machinery, he would be as powerless as they have long ago proved themselves to be, without him or some other equally absurd and preposterous appliances.

Boston will yet be ashamed of the whole of them, or of herself on account of them; until it will hardly be creditable to any one to have been born within her borders.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

March 13, 1877.

Communications.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In your friendly comments on my article, headed "Woman Suffrage and Free Religion," published in THE INDEX of March 1, you say that I strangely "misread" the article that I criticised. That part of your editorial to which my remarks had reference is in these words:—

[We take the liberty of prefixing to Mr. Hunt's quotation the words which immediately preceded it:

"In presenting the foregoing propositions for serious consideration, we wish to be understood. *We do not*, as some have done under the stress of these thoughts, *take new ground and oppose woman suffrage; on the contrary, we believe in it and advocate it as heartily as ever.* But we prefer to work for it so that, when it comes, it may come to stay and do good, not mischief, to humanity."]

"Just as soon as this Republic can be induced to plant itself on the principle of State Secularization, it will be safe to establish woman suffrage on that principle; but to establish woman suffrage in the present half-secularized condition of the Republic would be to imperil, nay, to destroy, the very principles which all men and all women alike ought to hold most precious. It is through State Secularization, therefore, that we hope yet to see woman suffrage established; without that guarantee of general security for free-thought, we can take no part in the establishment of woman suffrage."

It is this limitation of suffrage to those who think

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as we do on the question of State Secularization, that I was criticising. And now you uphold this limitation more emphatically in your reply to my criticism. These are your words: "If it is true that women would use the suffrage to Christianize the State and destroy its secularity, they have no right to the suffrage whatever." You may be correct in your views, but I am not, with my present light, prepared to admit it. I find the woman suffrage movement is proving to be a great test-question, going down to the bed-rock on which universal suffrage, or republican government, rests. While circulating petitions to give women the ballot I have found some of the opponents driven to take the ground that suffrage ought to be restricted, thus virtually denying the old doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Now the point has got to be settled, what restrictions, if any, should be put on the ballot? Your doctrine quoted above, if carried out, would not only deny the suffrage, as now, to a large number of women, but would also close the ballot-box against a great many men who are already voters.

Instead of restricting, my impressions are now in favor of *enlarging* the range of the elective franchise. I believe the wisest course for the friends of civil and religious liberty is to go for putting the ballot into the hands of every member of the community; and, particularly, those of the poor and friendless, the despised and outcast. Certainly no distinction should be made on account of sex or color. Is it not wise and just that every adult of sound mind should have a vote, whether he be pharisee or publican, saint or sinner, believer or infidel? For if we disfranchise sinners, who will cast the first vote?

But the first great reform which our government must at once bring about is to enable every voter to go to the polls in safety, with none to molest or make afraid. Otherwise, our Republic is a bloody conspiracy,—a gigantic fraud and sham.

SETH HUNT.

[Mr. Hunt would refuse, if we may judge by his last paragraph, to give the suffrage to men who meant to use the power thus acquired in driving away others from the polls. That would be simply the destruction of all republican liberty; and, to save this, Mr. Hunt would, if we understand him, restrict the suffrage himself. Of course, no government can live which puts traitors in supreme command. Very well—State Christianization is nothing but revolution and treason to republicanism. Women have the right to vote under this government, *if they will accept this government*. But no one has a right to vote under it *to work its overthrow*. If Mr. Hunt approves the disfranchisement of criminals, must he not approve this position?—ED.]

THE CONVENTION OF THE DONORS OF THE PAINE MEMORIAL BUILDING FUND.

In accordance with the call for this Convention issued by a Committee appointed at a previous meeting of the donors, a number of the donors assembled in Paine Memorial Building, Saturday, March 3. Judge Thomas Robinson was called to the chair, and Mr. W. S. Bell appointed Secretary.

The result of this meeting was the organization of an association, the Constitution of which explains sufficiently its object:—

"*Resolved*, That we, the donors assembled in a legally called meeting, do hereby organize ourselves under the name of the PAINE MEMORIAL BUILDING ASSOCIATION.

"*Resolved*, That we adopt the following Constitution:—

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION.

"ART. I. The name of this organization shall be the Paine Memorial Building Association, and all donors to the Paine Memorial Building Fund shall be considered members of the same.

"ART. II. The objects of this Association shall be to effect a permanent legal organization of the donors of the Paine Memorial Building Fund, and to elect a permanent Board of Trustees, in order to preserve and perpetuate the Paine Memorial Building for the purposes for which the original donations were made.

"ART. III. This Board shall consist of seven members, including four of the five original Trustees; namely, Messrs. J. P. Mendum, Horace Seaver, T. L. Savage, D. R. Burt, B. F. Underwood (to fill vacancy of Morris Altman, deceased), together with Osmore Jenkins, and Thomas Robinson. This Board of Trustees shall constitute the officers of the Association and shall have power to transact all business connected therewith. They shall also have power to fill all vacancies that may occur in their own number. They are hereby instructed to take the necessary steps for incorporating the Association, under the General Statutes of Massachusetts. They are furthermore instructed to raise, if possible, by public appeal or by other appropriate means, such funds as they may find necessary to render it safe for them to release the three joint tenants who now hold the fee simple of the Paine Memorial Building from all personal liabilities on its account, and to assume the same as Trustees. They are hereby empowered to hold real or personal property in trust for this Association.

"*Voted*, That J. P. Mendum, Horace Seaver, T. L. Savage, D. R. Burt, B. F. Underwood, Osmore Jenkins, and Thomas Robinson are hereby elected and declared the Board of Trustees of this Association.

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this meeting that Mr. Mendum should confer with Mr. Savage for the immediate transfer of the property from the Joint Tenants to the Trustees named above; and if he fails in this negotiation, that he then should adopt such legal measures as may ultimately result in placing the Building in the hands of the Trustees, provided the latter can succeed in raising the necessary funds."

Among those present who participated in the discussions were Messrs. Horace Seaver, J. P. Mendum, Thomas Robinson, Francis E. Abbot, W. S. Bell, A. B. Brown, Osmore Jenkins, J. S. Verity, S. R. Urbino, and H. Marston.

W. S. BELL, *Secretary*.

CHICAGO LETTER.

CHICAGO, March 6, 1877.

Last Sunday Prof. Wm. D. Gunning finished a course of six Sunday afternoon lectures on "Man and Science." The last three were given to a consideration of what science will do for man, physically, socially, and religiously. We all know what science has done for man physically. It has helped him to better ways of living; constructed from the rude hut of the savage the present system of modern inconvenience which we call the household; and turned the gods of rain-cloud and lightning-flash into the playthings of his will, as the idols of ancient worship have become ornaments for the mantel. But science has by no means completed her work of physical regeneration. If she had, Chicago would not have beat so shameless a retreat before the advancing hosts of disease as she did this past winter. Scarlet-fever, that out-Herods Herod, in the destruction of innocents, has been spending the winter with us, and a thousand homes have felt the desolation of the presence of Death. A council of physicians met, and discussed learnedly about bacteria, vibrios, and sulpho-carbolate of soda; but the children went on dying just the same.

The revelations which science is making with regard to disease will, it is to be hoped, have this wholesome effect: to raise in us a feeling of unequivocal disgust towards sickness of all kinds. If, as Tyndall says in his article on "Fermentation," "reproductive parasitic life is at the root of epidemic diseases," let us hope that all the little aches and ills of life may be proved to be no more romantic in their character and origin. As fast as we come to know that disease is something more than slow pining away, and learn that it is nothing more poetical than the surrender of the body to a horde of minute microscopic monsters, who prey and feed upon it with the most vulture-like avidity, we shall not yield so readily to the thraldom of the sick-room. Let the scientists go on showing the repulsiveness of disease, until we come to be as ashamed of poor health as of moral delinquency. We hold men responsible for a waste of mental energy, but not for a too lavish expenditure of physical powers. The doctrine of moral accountability few think of disputing; but who was ever wise enough to plan a system of rewards and punishments for the observance of the laws of health?

We look upon the man who has overtaxed his strength at desk or in counting-room as something of a hero, and half-envy him the prestige he has gained through "overwork." We can all count one or more acquaintances among the graceful sisterhood of "confirmed invalids." Professional invalidism is, with a certain class of women, the pleasing occupation to which they devote themselves with an assidnity worthy a better cause. Congratulate a blooming matron, with stout frame and ruddy countenance, on her excellent health, and she immediately collapses into a series of sighs, and informs you, reproachfully, that she is by no means as well as she looks. Delicacy of constitution has come to be an accomplishment necessary to one's standing in good society. But we'll be quickly cured of these airs and follies when science has done her perfect work. The scientist may not be able to find the cause of Belinda's headache and general debility in an overplus of bacteria in the brain tissue; but he may inspire us with such a thorough aversion to all the grosser forms of disease, that we shall never think of cultivating its milder forms, under the mistaken notion that we are thereby adding to our attractiveness.

According to Prof. Gunning, science will do for man religiously about what it has done and is doing for him physically and socially. As it has made life better worth the living, so it will make religion more religious. It is science which has stripped anthropomorphic delusions from the notion of deity, and is so rapidly reducing the sensationalisms of religion to the dust of superstition whence they sprung. We talk about science destroying religion, when it is science which keeps religion alive. This it does in twofold fashion, by continually goading it on to renewed struggles for existence, and by lifting it from age to age, to a higher level of thought. "Science is a mighty slayer of gods," said Prof. Gunning. True; but science is revelator as well as destroyer. With one hand she overthrows the hydra-headed monster of polytheism, and with the other traces the God-idea in the universe.

Rev. E. P. Powell of the Third Unitarian Church lately took as the subject of his sermon, "Who is the genuine Unitarian?" The position of the Third Church is distinctive among the Unitarian denominations of the city,—Mr. Powell being the recognized radical among the liberal clergy. His pulpit is an absolutely free one, he entering it only on the condition that he might say therein what seemed to him fit. Mr. Powell's definitions are as broad as his theology, and I doubt if a few Unitarians would not be lost in the roomy enclosure they afford.

Unitarianism, says Mr. Powell, is simply belief in the unity of God. So far, so good. The unity of God is a general proposition to which we can all give assent. It is in the implied truths arising out of this fundamental that all differences of opinion are found. "In *Him* we live and move and have our being; not in Abraham, nor Moses, nor Isaiah—*nor Jesus*." Would all Unitarians have added that last clause, and have paused to give it emphasis?

Christ is rejected by the liberals in as various ways as there are differences of belief among them. With some he is not divinely-inspired but only divinely-illuminated. Many who do not believe in his miraculous birth believe in his divine attributes; others think him the Master, by force of the wonderful example of his life; still others look upon him as a disproportioned character, where a mild infusion of the fanatic is blended with the saint and teacher. Another of the implied doctrines of Unitarianism is the "utter rejection of the whole paraphernalia of heaven and hell." Mr. Powell has no great opinion of the judgment-day, and calls it the "great gossip-day." Again, Unitarians cannot consistently lend their aid to Orthodox measures and movements. Belief in the unity of God, rejecting as it must the doctrine of Christ's divinity can only be practically maintained by refusing to coöperate with those who make this doctrine the prime factor in their system. As Mr. Powell said, the history of Unitarianism shows no Westminster Catechism, no Augsburg Confession, and every conviction must adjust itself to the fundamental belief in the unchangeability of God and his laws.

At first it would seem as if Mr. Powell had but entered on the thankless task of imposing a new and more liberal interpretation on an old and somewhat restricted word. The majority of people receive and use words according to their common acceptation; and while the Unitarianism which Mr. Powell represents may be the only consistent exposition of the doctrine, the fact still remains that between the average Unitarian and the "radical" of our day there stretches a narrow but impassable gulf. The vast penumbra of partial belief which separates the darkest superstitions from true spiritual enlightenment is made up of those varying but scarcely discernible shades of opinion which are found in the liberalism of to-day. There is the liberal Christian, the conservative and radical Unitarian, and the radical proper,—a qualifying term no longer, but an independent substantive whose excuse for being does not lie in its relation to something else. The nearer men approach each other in matters of belief, the more tenacious are they of the differences which still keep them apart. And why not? It's not so easy giving up opinions as some people seem to think. Especially when they stand for certain definite duties in life, and represent honor and courage and freedom, may we be pardoned for clinging to them as to our good angel.

CELIA P. WOOLLEY.

A CODE OF ETHICS.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Some weeks ago one of your thoughtful readers asked, in your columns, if we did not need a code of ethics and morals. Doubtless he saw the absolute authority of the Bible passing away, and felt that some substitute was needed; but can such code be written, and could the effort meet the wants of our time, or of any time? I think we can go back to Jesus for a fit answer. Standing in the green fields, amidst a multitude of "the common people who heard him gladly," he asked them a simple yet vital question: "Why judge ye not, even of yourselves, what is right?" He went back to no command of the Levitical law, to no word of prophet or apostle, asked no final allegiance to his own teachings, but pointed to *the within*, to the spiritual faculties and mental powers of man; recognizing that use of intuition, conscience, and reason, that exercise of judgment, that test and comparison by experience, which make up the best process of free religious thought to-day.

Christianity, so-called, does not follow its Master, for he lifted the truths of the soul above all outward authority, and made no vain effort to limit them by any code or creed. Ethical principles reach all time and space. Ideas are universal and transcendent. Justice, purity, fraternity, immortality, and their like, are of the infinite soul, and are in and of the soul of man as well, microcosmic in spirit and body as he is. No words can more than tell a small part of their beauty and power; no statement can more than cover a little segment of their infinite sweep; and their application to the duties and needs of life varies with every hour, and with each new occasion. Fidelity to these interior truths is the aim of the religious man; spiritual culture and the use of reason his means for growth in grace.

No vague and shadowy ideals or theories, without confirmation in outward life, are these truths of the soul; but all history is the record of their grand results, the test of their reality and strength, the evidence of their growth from within. That wise and noble Israelite, Philo Judæus, well said: "As buttresses support great houses, so does justice support great nations." And we find that where there is finest allegiance to justice, and its kindred ideas, there is safety, peace, culture, and abundance. That is a great word of the Hebrew Bible, "Righteousness alone exalteth a nation," and history verifies this inspiration of the seer.

Let us have the best thoughts on the conduct of life, but no code or creed. We want simple fidelity to our own souls, a wise outlook toward a larger life, a finer insight and a broader vision to-morrow. Shakspeare gives us the eloquent utterance of his deep intuition:—

"Unto thyself be true,
And it shall follow, as the day the night;
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

Truly yours, G. B. STEBBINS.

DETROIT, Mich., March, 1877.

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VARYING VIEWS OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

EDITOR OF INDEX:—

John H. Noyes has said: "On the whole, Stephan Pearl Andrews may be regarded as the American rival of Comte." The New York *Tribune* once said: "He (Andrews) may be the Fichte, the Hegel of America." The *Modern Thinker*, a review issued by some New York positivists, says: "If this claim (Andrews') can be established, America has at length produced a philosopher of the very highest type—a greater than Aristotle, Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza, or Comte." I have been a patient student of Universology for six years, and have no hesitation in affirming as my inmost conviction that the "claim" is established and the philosopher produced. Among the noble uses the most noble INDEX has served, none will render it more illustrious than its mediumship of "The Method of Methods, the Science of Sciences." "There is no royal road to knowledge," it is said; but an educational method has been discovered, which shall be to instruction what the steam-engine is to locomotion and the telegraph to communication. Mr. Andrews once wrote: "I mean that every schoolmaster at a country cross-road shall be able by the aid of the newspaper and his own exertions to gain a more thorough education than he could by graduating at all the colleges in the country." A science of organization has been discovered, and is ready for elaboration and application, by which every kind of human society, from the family, primary school, and other primary assemblies up to those of the nation and the world, can be scientifically organized, disciplined, and governed;—an integral system of medicine, in which there is such an extension of our knowledge of the laws of health, hygiene, and remedy as shall make disease, unless congenital, as disgraceful as drunkenness, and shall bring about an indefinite prolongation of life. Lastly, the scientific, universal, and absolute religion, reconciliative and aggressive, at once, in which faith shall no more be seeing as through a glass darkly, but shall be as sight, face to face with the eternal TRUTH. Mr. J. G. Whyte, whose attack upon Universology in THE INDEX of March 1st has induced me to write the above, will doubtless regard all this as extravagant. If he will purchase the *Basic Outline of Universology*, and carefully study it, using his eyes and not his prejudices, he will find that the discoverer has grappled all the difficult problems he mentions, and many more. The editor of THE INDEX well says: "The one test of a philosophical system is the question—*is it true?*" Universology *demonstrates* itself to me with the positiveness and absolute certainty of mathematics. The audacious logic of Hegel, the coördinative grasp of Comte, the generalizing magnificence of Spencer, are all exceeded by its far-reaching, wide-sweeping, and all-embracing scope. I have no reluctance in making the statement that the *Basic Outline* is the broadest, deepest, and highest, the most rigorous and most vigorous book I have ever read. I unhesitatingly affirm that to me, in comparison with its author, Charles Fourier was a dreamer, Auguste Comte an experimenter, and Herbert Spencer a merely exceptional thinker. Such is my estimate of Stephen Pearl Andrews and Universology.

E. B. HAZZEN.

NORTHFIELD, Mass., March 7, 1877.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I was somewhat surprised to find by J. G. Whyte's letter that one of so much penetration could read Mr. Andrews' articles on "Universology," and be unable to make anything out of them "except a mass of more or less incoherent words without meaning." To me they were luminous with meaning; the ideas were definite and the language clear-cut. There is nothing vague or cloudy about "Universology." It is the product of a deep and sharp thinker; it shows study, insight, and comprehension. On the whole, it strikes me as the most inclusive system of philosophy the world has yet seen. It is manifold in its aspects and explanations. It fronts all ways with kindly appreciation; it gives one plenty of room to think and act. It is much better adapted to the many-sided tendencies of the time than Mr. Spencer's.

But the question arises, Is "Universology" true? *wholly true?* It is *partially* true, no doubt, like all other systems. But does it really settle the problem of the universe, or is it simply a glimpse, and so only a temporary explanation of things? I incline to the latter way of accepting it. The trouble with Mr. Andrews is that he undertakes to explain the whole universe; to give an all-comprehensive theory. In this he is like Plato, Calvin, Swedenborg, Hegel, and others. His explanation is new, interesting, and valuable, and is, perhaps, the best thing the human mind has yet done. But it seems to me a radical mistake to endeavor to explain all things; to find a law or method that shall include the sweep and meaning of universal life. I think that philosophy and science can only explain some things, and these only in a few aspects and relations. There must ever be mystery, unexplainableness, an immeasurable being that transcends human thought altogether, of which we can only have glimpses, flashes. We can know something of it deeply and truly; but we cannot *methodize* it. It is a transcendent quantity, too illimitable even for the most many sided thought.

So I think Mr. Andrews will fall just where others have failed. He simply gives us a new outlook, broad and deep and high, but only an outlook. The mystery haunts us still, over all and in all. There are many things that we know nothing about. *We do not even know that we don't know them.* We can't have a creed for our ignorance any more than for our knowledge. We don't know the extent of either in regard to Ultimate Being.

Mr. Andrews' "Universology" is a "nutshell" with much more meat in it than in Calvin's or other bygone "nutshells"; but it is a "nutshell" still, and outside of it the interminable universe moves on. The nutshell is measurably true, but is it the symbol of all?

It seems to me that we can only get at *partial* explanation even of the least thing. Mr. Andrews' "Universology" is an illumination, brilliant and fine; but the secret of nature is not these. He helps us to understand some things better, but the Ultimate Fact is a mystery still. We cannot *explain* it; we can only *trust* it.

S. P. PUTNAM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

When I lately subscribed to your good little paper, I little thought what an intellectual banquet was in store for me in the perusal of those wonderful articles on the "Science of Universology." There was always to me something in human knowledge remaining to be cleared up, some incompleteness, some void. But all is clear now; I am a changed man.

The Betweenity of the Palpal no longer separates the *Dunmhett* of Hegel from the *Spundinudlichkeit* of Oken, because the Kanteo-Mentology, hitherto veiled in the dim twilight of the Betwixt, has dawned clearly in my mind since I began the study of those papers. I read Universology constantly to my wife; and when friends come in to enjoy an evening, I read it to them, and flatter myself the seed will bring forth precious fruit. If, perhaps, my friends do not come around so frequently as they did before, it is probable they are staying at home to ponder over the philosophy of Mr. Andrews. As Shakspeare says: "There's a Withinity shapes our ends"; and we may add, What is a Withinity without a Withoutity? With a Withoutity or without a Withinity, life would be a burden.

We have no children, but when we have some, which may perhaps now be possible, I shall make study pleasant to them by letting them read all about this Science. I shall bring them up strict Universologists.

As the bony jointings of the human corporosity are the Becoming of Aggregation, so is the unsolidated Thinkality (Guessography)—the outlook-taking or teleo-spyology of philosophic abstraction.

Socdology, or æsthetico-doxology in its more concrete form, falls utterly when brought face to face with this problem. Unless the Soft Solids are clearly distinguished from the Hard Liquids in contemplating the bony tissues of the mind (mento or menteologically speaking), there will be set up an empirical, untenable and utterly inevitable——

But I must pause. I know you do not hold yourself responsible for the views of your contributors; but although these are doubtless very advanced, they may, perhaps, through your courtesy, find publicity in THE INDEX. Some heart may be touched.

W. H.

MONTREAL, March 1.

THE NAIL HIT ON THE HEAD.

EDITOR INDEX:—

What the liberal cause needs at this time is a body of able, thoughtful, brave, self-sacrificing men and women, like unto those who, for thirty years, prosecuted the anti-slavery conflict; men and women who are willing to give everything to the cause,—to go from town to town without money and without price, holding conventions and arousing and educating the people. Such men and women could draw large audiences anywhere, for the people are prepared for such a movement. In Scripture language, "the fields are ripe for the harvest, but the laborers are few." I know that here and there we find such persons as C. D. B. Mills, B. F. Underwood, W. S. Bell, and a few others, giving their time and energies to this work,—for which we should all feel thankful; but we need more such and more united and concentrated action.

We need, in fact, such a perfect organization of our liberal forces as the anti-slavery cause had, and workers who will go forth with the same eagerness and spirit that characterized Garrison, Phillips, Stephen Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Samuel J. May, Gerrit Smith, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy N. Coleman, and their co-laborers. Then Liberal Leagues would spring up in every town, and liberals and liberalism would command respect.

But so long as we work in the halting manner we do at present, we are entitled to no respect and will be sure to get none. We are unworthy of the principles we profess.

We need a few Moodys and Sankeys on our side who shall arouse the thoughtless, liberally-inclined minds to the danger we are in from the encroachments of the Church power. I wish Col. Ingersoll could be prevailed upon to visit every large town in this country, and in his fearless, bold, and eloquent manner, show up the machinations of the Christian Church, doing it in a way that would draw the fire from the clergy.

We want speakers who will proclaim from the liberal platform, as Garrison did in the *Liberator*: "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; AND I WILL BE HEARD." We want speakers who will announce boldly of the Church, as he did of slavery, that it is "a covenant with death and a league with hell." Then the second irrepressible conflict would commence in earnest, and the vital questions which need at this hour to be considered would get a hearing.

The people are to-day bound hand and foot by the ecclesiastical powers, *but do not realize their condition.* They are as dead to this great wrong as they were to the wrongs of American slavery forty years ago. The priests rule everywhere in the social and political world. Freethinkers are shut out of "respectable society," and denied the immunities of life, and have not the courage to resent it. When are the friends of political and religious liberty in this country going to awake from their lethargy, organize and commence the battle for equal religious rights that must, sooner or later, be fought out in this country?

G.

SALAMANCA, Feb. 22, 1877.

THE CO-OPERATIVE STATE COLONY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

A letter from Mr. Ivan Panin, headed "War of Capital and Labor," in THE INDEX of March 1, seems to demand a few words from me by way of reply.

As he has made some mistakes of fact in regard to the particular meeting to which he refers (with which, also, the names of gentlemen held in general respect are associated by my act as chairman of the meeting), I feel it incumbent on me to correct his misapprehensions so far as that meeting was concerned.

In the first place, then, the meeting was not called simply "to discuss a plan for obtaining State aid towards establishing a Coöperative Industrial Colony," but was called to consider the causes of the stagnation of business, the disemployment of labor, and a plan for relieving both of these calamities by the establishment of an Industrial Coöperative *State Colony*. (I put the last two words in italics because our friend, towards the latter part of his letter, gives the impression that a "Coöperative Colonization Society," with the voluntary aid of capitalists, is the project proposed; which is an entire mistake, and about the last thing I should propose.)

The Committee appointed at a meeting, furthermore, was not "a Committee of Arrangements," but was a committee to "consider the general subject," to prepare a plan for such State action as I had suggested, and to call a future public meeting at its discretion. As our friend has not stated the *personnel* of that committee correctly, to avoid confusion of persons (which may well happen in *one*, if not in two cases), I will give the names correctly: Rev. M. J. Savage, Charles Wyllys Elliott, Rev. Frederick Frothingham, W. G. H. Smart and Preston Warren.

It is proper for me to add that, although the first three named gentlemen were not present, they had all expressed to me their interest in the movement, and, in one instance at least, considerable sympathy of opinion. They had also signified their desire to be present at the meeting, and subsequent correspondence has shown to me that their absence was accidental or unavoidable, and that I took no unwarrantable liberty in making the appointments. This, I have reason to expect, will be made more evident by future events.

In the matter of "resolutions," in which Mr. Panin seems to think the meeting was prolific, I will only say that there was a single series of brief resolutions just sufficient to embrace all the subjects of the inquiry for which the three meetings were held, and no other resolutions were offered; and these were unanimously adopted.

W. G. H. SMART.

THE DISCUSSION over the "success" of Moody is without consideration that, so far as numerical results are concerned, the same work is repeated by Mormons, Indian "White Clouds," and Hindoo Fakirs. The simple question is, Can anything be relied upon to develop any legitimate power of man except education? Is there a cross-road to scholarship or to saintship? We know very well that figures will not lie in the long run; but they may be made to tell some strange stories before the problem is worked out. So when Unitarians groan over the wonderful success of Mr. Moody, let them remember to wait till the problem is worked out. For one, two, or possibly six months a religious excitement may grow in fervor and accumulate strength; but no power of flaming placards, illuminated street-cars, vast tabernacles, and all the minutiæ of preparation and organization can keep up the appearance of success when the novelty is gone. Then comes the time for testing the work. If Mr. Moody and his co-laborers will make out a list of one thousand converts in Chicago by name, and will tell in what church they are finally reaped, I will volunteer to furnish a table of those men one year from date, and we will learn how many recede and how many proceed. A list has been published of so many atheists, so many infidels, etc., who have been brought to Jesus. Let us see if they will stay there. I say this in no spirit of carping or disrespect for honest endeavors. I have the figures for several revival movements, and would like more. Of one great uprising in Central New York, six held to the churches at the end of two years out of nearly two hundred. The testimony of St. Louis is emphatic that the work of Mr. Hammond three years ago ended in a collapse.—*N. Y. Inquirer, Jan. 18th.*

THE FRIENDS of the Papacy are a little troubled just now to account for Antonelli's large fortune, which is said to amount to about $10,000,000, besides his great collection of gems and other works of art. Sir George Bowyer writes to the London *Times* that he probably inherited it from an uncle in very moderate circumstances, which makes people smile. His enemies say, campaign style, that it was the product of unmitigated bribery, while the judicious and moderate say it was made up by long-established perquisites received from persons having business with the Papal court. But, somehow, it does not look well, whatever way one takes it; and we should not be surprised to see the Cardinal figure in American stump-speeches, *vice* Sir Robert Walpole, as a corruptionist whose career may console us when we contemplate the vices of our own public men.—*Nation.*

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE LABOR QUESTION—

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient coöperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

NEW HAMPSHIRE cannot yet make up her mind to throw the word "Protestant" out of her Constitution.

THE FOLLOWING additional lists of signatures to the Liberal League petition have been received since our last acknowledgment: from Mr. J. M. Kerr, Troy, O., 36 names; from Mr. E. C. Miles, Santa Monica, Cal., 83; from Dr. C. H. Horsch and Mr. Joseph Hayes, Dover, N. H., 150. Total number of signatures thus far received—2,804.

COL. ROBERT G. INGERSOLL lectured in this city at Tremont Temple, on the evening of March 20. Although he is an "awful unbeliever," he succeeded in doing what Moody and Sankey have so far struggled in vain to do: as the distinguished people on the platform and in the audience showed, Boston at last "bowed her haughty intellectual head"!

PIETY has a peculiar rhetoric of its own, as illustrated by these remarks of a young man at a recent Wall Street prayer-meeting: "When I belonged to the devil, I was like an old steamboat tied to a wharf, and bump against it as I might I could not get away; but Jesus came and broke me loose from the pier, and now I'm sailing on the sea straight to glory. Glory to Jesus."

WITH UNUSUAL candor and fairness, ex-President Woolsey, of Yale College, says: "I question very much whether the formal reading by rote of the Bible in schools as a school-book does so much good as to be justly regarded as essential. The children are not generally in a state of mind to receive instruction from it. Its meaning cannot be explained where its style is archaic or the sense obscure beyond the comprehension of children. Still something valuable may be gained by the children through familiarity with the gospels, and some influences even from a perfunctory formal treatment of this school exercise may pass over into the child's future life. If any of the inhabitants of a school district should object to this for conscience' sake, I would grant every indulgence consistent with school order; for instance, would allow a lesson from some other books to be substituted in its place. To cling tenaciously to the reading of the Bible against a considerable minority in the school district, or the State, could be insisted on, I should think, only on the ground that this exercise is of vast importance for the moral and spiritual welfare of the children, which I am not prepared to admit."

GOLDWIN SMITH writes thus about the Jesuits: "Jesuitism is dominant in the councils of Rome. Jesuitism dictated the Syllabus and the Encyclical. Jesuitism called the Œcumenical Council, and framed the dogma of infallibility, which is the dogma of Jesuit supremacy. But Jesuitism is not religion; Jesuitism is, and always was, conspiracy. It conspired of old with Catholic despots for the overthrow of Protestant governments, and of the liberty in which Protestantism has its being. It conspires with factions for the same purpose now. Jesuitism is at work in every country, organizing a movement the object of which is the extinction of Protestantism and modern civilization. This movement has made great progress in some European countries, especially in Belgium, where it is getting hold of education, of the polls, of the judiciary, of all the organs of national life. It is advancing in Italy; it is advancing in Lower Canada. The Jesuit comes in time to the polls, the legislature, the judiciary, the executive, but first lays his hand on education."

THE BOSTON *Herald* shrewdly points out that the Presbyterian administration is too lax for the interests of ecclesiasticism and too stringent for those of civilization: "An infallible church has some important advantages in administration. Here is Rev. Mr. See, a Presbyterian, charged with violating the Scriptures by admitting a woman to his pulpit, and in the judgment upon his case sixteen ministers voted that the charge was sustained and eleven voted that it was not. The majority rules, but the audacity of the minority raises an annoying doubt. The Presbyterians believe in the infallibility of the Scriptures, but what good does that do if they cannot agree upon what the Scriptures teach? The Catholic Church is more logical. It has found it necessary to supplement an infallible Bible with an infallible interpreter, and by doing this it avoids idle disputes. If you want to build up a powerful organization to control the minds of men, the Catholic way is the true one; but if the object of the Church is human progress, a more liberal course than the Presbyterians allow is wiser, even if it lead to the belief that Paul was a trifle behind the nineteenth century."

THE ANNUAL REPORT of Mr. Neil Gilmour, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, gives 1,583,000 as the total number of children in the State of New York between the ages of 5 and 21, of whom 1,067,000, or about two-thirds only, attend school. In view of this fact, Mr. Gilmour's remarks on "compulsory education" are of interest: "In September last I addressed to School Commissioners and the Presidents of Boards of Education in cities a circular embracing a copy of the compulsory education act, as amended at the last session of the legislature, and urging those officers to exert themselves to give effect to the provisions of the law. A copy of this circular will be found among the documents submitted herewith. Later I called for special reports from city Superintendents of Schools in regard to the workings of the act, and have received several, which are also printed in the appendix, and to which I respectfully invite your attention. These reports show that, except in the city of New York, no practical steps have been taken to enforce the law. It seems to be conceded, however, that the moral effect of the law has been good, and I believe that attendance at school has been somewhat increased in consequence of its existence. The effort to obtain statistics showing the workings of the act in the rural districts was much more successful than that of last year. The reports of trustees are not, however, especially encouraging, and beyond the adoption of rules and regulations as required by the eighth section of the act, but little has been done under the law in the rural districts. The reports show that in most of the rural districts, in the villages, and in the smaller cities, a very large proportion of children between the ages of eight and fourteen years attend school the prescribed length of time and did so attend before the compulsory education act was passed."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

What Liberalism offers in the Place of Christianity.

A LECTURE* AT DENVER, COL., DEC. 20, 1876.

BY B. F. UNDERWOOD.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

After an absence of some two years I have returned to this "City of the Plains" to give another course of lectures in exposition and defence of liberal thought. I have been requested by the committee that has made arrangements for these lectures to speak this evening on this subject: "What has Liberalism to offer in the Place of Christianity?" This question is very often asked, and it is supposed by many to be one of the questions which admits of no satisfactory answer, from the fact of the inherent weakness, inefficiency, and entirely negative character of liberal thought.

The question as usually propounded involves some fallacies which I deem it proper to indicate before proceeding to answer the inquiry. The first is the implication that liberalism aims to destroy, arbitrarily and suddenly, the whole Christian system, and to substitute, as arbitrarily and suddenly, some vagaries in its place, when, in fact, any such change were utterly impossible, the facts of history attesting that no religion has ever been destroyed at once and immediately replaced by another.

All religions are gradual formations, which in their growth have necessarily assimilated much that is of value, and which, were it suddenly swept away, the effects upon society would be disastrous. And no rational man desires the sudden destruction of all that is interwoven with the habits, the thoughts, the literature of a people, and the sudden replacement of it by something else. The change that we want and work for is, rather, the gradual disappearance of that which has lost or is losing its hold upon the people and the as gradual incorporation of our liberal principles into so much of the old system as must be retained. No doubt the sudden destruction of any religion—Christianity, Mohammedanism, Buddhism,—any old faith that has become intimately associated in the minds of the people with the principles of morality, with social order, with the foundation of the fabric of society and government, that the sudden destruction of any religion, supposing it possible, would be injurious in its consequences, because the people, deprived of the old motives by which they had been actuated to a considerable extent, and unable to adjust themselves to the new order of things, would for a time be in a state of intellectual and moral anarchy. Even the Protestant Reformation, which was by no means a sudden religious revolution, but one, the beginning of which dated centuries back of Luther, was attended in some places by a temporary loosening of social and moral restraints; and it was one of the complaints of the Roman Catholic writers, when they commented on that great movement, that in France, especially, it led to a vast amount of immorality, vice, and crime. There are few, if any, here, I presume, who would maintain that there was anything in the doctrines taught by the reformers more inimical to virtue and morality than the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. It was the destruction or partial destruction of old beliefs and authorities to which the people had been accustomed and which had been connected with their ideas of right and duty, and their inability to harmonise their thoughts and feelings of right and duty with the absence of the old familiar beliefs and authorities, that were the cause of the social and moral disorders which were appealed to in proof of the wickedness of Protestant teachings.

It is very unjust to represent that the liberals of to-day aim at the *entire* destruction of the Christian system, when, in fact, no intelligent liberal desires anything more, in this connection, than the destruction of the false, the absurd, and the injurious which are connected with, or a part of, the old system. There is a great deal of the system, especially as defined and interpreted by the more advanced and enlightened Christians, that is true and good, and that the liberal not only has no desire to destroy, but would use all his efforts to maintain and perpetuate, strengthen and intensify. All the old religions have in them a general element that no reasonable iconoclast wishes to see destroyed. I speak now particularly of the ethical element which, although not dependent upon any religious faith, is claimed by their advocates as an essential part of all these systems.

The advocates of Orthodox Christianity must not define their system as one which includes all the principles and precepts of virtue, and then expect to reason with us on the assumption that we desire and aim to sweep the whole thing out of existence.

But right here I am led to inquire what is really to be understood by Christianity. If you ask what I will give in its place, I have a right to a definition of the system which shall be marked by clearness and definiteness of statement. There is great confusion of ideas and looseness of language on this point. One says that the essence of Christianity is love; another will quote a list of beautiful precepts that the enlightened minds of all ages have taught, and he will tell you that *they* constitute the essential principles of Christianity. A Christian who is more theologically inclined will tell you that Christianity consists in certain great doctrines and facts, chief among which is that Jesus Christ is the savior of the world. Another will declare that "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" are the essence and spirit of Christianity. Thus we can hardly get the same definition from two persons who call themselves Christians.

How shall we ascertain what is meant by Christianity? We may be directed to the New Testament wherein, it may be thought, we can find for ourselves what Christianity really is. But I reply that hundreds and thousands, distinguished for their learning, have studied this subject not only with great care, but with all the assistance which is supposed to come from prayer; and these hundreds and thousands have failed to arrive at anything like unanimity of belief as to the meaning of the New Testament; nay, in many cases, and on important points, they have come to conclusions diametrically opposite. So we see the Roman Catholic consigning to everlasting punishment the different Protestant denominations; the Protestants almost a unit in denouncing the Roman Catholic Church as the harlot of the world; while all the evangelical denominations are more or less hostile to one another. Yet I doubt not all are equally sincere, and all have for representatives men equally learned and pious, and desirous of teaching the true faith. Thus is illustrated the utter inability of the human mind, accepting the Bible as the word of God, to come to any unanimity of belief as to what Christianity really is. We find denominations founded upon different contradictory doctrines all claimed to form an important part of Christianity by their respective adherents.

If you insist that I go to the New Testament and get my idea of Christianity from its pages, I must say that I find there doctrines and teachings which are not taught and which are not recognized as a part of Christianity by the great influential denominations of Christendom, and which would not be acknowledged as a part of their system by those who ask us what we will give in its place. I find taught in the New Testament "a thorough cult of poverty and mendicity," as Strauss observed is the case. I find passive obedience and unresisting submission enjoined. I find poverty extolled as a virtue, and wealth denounced as a crime and a curse. I find celibacy recommended as a virtue, and marriage regarded with aversion. I find woman represented as man's subordinate, and required to submit to him in all things. I find slavery endorsed, and the slaves required to "count their masters worthy of all honor." I find submission to "the powers that be" commanded, and damnation threatened to such opposers of tyranny as Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. If, then, I should go to the New Testament and judge as to what Christianity is by its teachings, considered as a whole, every Orthodox Christian who hears me would dissent from me and claim I had no right to take my individual interpretations of the New Testament as the system for which I was attempting to offer a substitute, that I should go to the leading denominations which represent the belief of the masses, the belief that has become established in the minds of the people, and exerts an influence on their lives, and show what liberalism offers in the place of *that*. And indeed that is the only thing to do.

Now what are the doctrines which the Orthodox denominations teach in common? It may be said that they all accept the Bible, and since liberalism rejects that book, what can it give in its place? Let me say in reply that liberals recognize the worth and value of the Bible, I trust, considered as a collection of books that have come to us a legacy from antiquity. It contains words of imperishable worth, and lessons of priceless value. It contains also a great deal of error, many mistakes, numerous childish ideas which had their origin in ages of ignorance; it often conflicts with common sense; written when men did not to the extent they now do depend upon observation and reason, and when there were fewer and poorer opportunities than the nineteenth century with all its culture and experience affords, it is not strange that it contains many errors, and fails to stand the severe tests of modern criticism. Yet while we accept the Bible—as we accept the Koran—and while we would have it take its proper place in the literature of the race, the theologian wants to know what we have to offer in the place of it. Have we ever asked to have the Bible destroyed? Have we ever suggested that the Bible ought to be expelled from the literature of mankind? Nothing of the sort. Then the Christian has no right to inquire what we have to give in the place of this book. Let it be preserved, the good, bad, and indifferent, the true and the erroneous alike, even the immoral and obscene parts, which ought to be retained as similar passages are, for instance, in the Odes of Anacreon, for they help to show us what were the intellectual and moral conditions of the times in which they were written.

But the Christian may reply: "Liberalism does not accept the Bible as a divinely-inspired book and cannot, therefore, appeal to it as an authoritative standard. What will it give us in the place of the Bible as a *standard* of truth and right?" Let the question be this, and we will endeavor to meet it fairly. The only standard we know of worthy of the name is the *enlightened reason of man*. It is the standard to which all persons of intelligence ultimately turn for the settlement of questions of whatever kind. Even the best, the most enlightened human reason is not infallible; but it is certainly the highest and the most reliable standard that we have, and to which all others, in the final appeal, must be subordinate.

The Bible is valueless to the theologian as a rule of faith and practice until he has made use of this subjective standard, that man, in all ages and climes, possesses human reason, subject to such revisions in its judgments as observation and experience in every generation enable it to make. Taking the Bible, how can the theologian accept it, or how can he interpret its teachings, or make an application of them to daily

*Reported by Henry L. Denison.

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life until he has at least made a pretence of subjecting them to that common standard and criterion, the highest and best that man has, or ever can have,—human reason. It is useless to object that reason is fallible; so are all books, including real or pretended objective revelations, which indeed have furnished sanction and authority for almost every crime and iniquity that can be mentioned.

The Christian may say his religion teaches the existence of a God of infinite power, wisdom, and love, who created the universe and governs it by his will, who made man in his own intellectual and moral image, and gave him an immortal destiny. He may say these are the leading cardinal ideas of his theology, and ask us what we have to offer in their place. But these are fundamental teachings of other religions than the Christian, and religions, too, that preceded, by many centuries, the advent of Christianity. Why did God make a revelation and take on flesh and dwell among men to teach what was already believed by men? Why are these doctrines appealed to as the central principles of Christianity, when the very object of this faith, its advocates say, was to supplement these truths with the great principle of Atonement through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ? Perhaps, the majority of those who reject Christianity still hold to the belief in an intelligent Deity and the conscious existence of man after death. Such might reply to the Christian after he had presented his "central principles of Christianity," by reminding him that they are equally the central principles of his own religious system. But my reply shall be from the stand-point of one who is commonly regarded as an atheist. God! what does the word signify. Evidently just what the condition, the intellectual and moral culture of a person or people determine. The savage has a God, who is like himself, physically and mentally, to a considerable extent. The enlightened believer, accustomed to reflection on this subject, has a God, stripped of the grosser anthropomorphisms, who appears to the mind as possessing only the best qualities of human nature. Suppose I should go to the savage and criticise his conception of God, and he, unable to grasp a higher and grander thought, should turn on me, and charge me with trying to deprive him of his God without being able to offer anything in its place. He would be no more unreasonable than is the Christian theologian to-day, when, because we will not, cannot, accept his anthropomorphic conception of the Absolute, would have it appear we deny that absolute existence, of which we affirm that all our thoughts and ideas of it are relative, and which we decline to invest with merely human qualities. The theologian who talks about a God, a being, a person, who thinks and reasons, who is pleased and displeased, who contrives plans and designs, who approves and disapproves, who existed through a beginningless past, doing nothing (since if he is the cause of all things, there was time without beginning back of his first creative effort), and at some time aroused from this "masterly inactivity," and for the first time experienced the feelings and assumed the relations of a maker of worlds and sentient beings,—I say the theologian who talks thus reasons just like the savage who is satisfied that he knows God, since he is so lacking in philosophical grasp of thought that he fails to see that his God is his own nature and thought projected ideally into the objective world. Each is unable to see that in his conception of God he only reflects his own nature, and is all the time speaking of himself.

Whether theism or atheism be true, there is something that may be called the *absolute*,—that which existed before us; that which will exist after our bodily organization is destroyed; that of which we can have no knowledge except as it is related to our organism. We know it only as it is related to us; as it impresses our senses; as it appears to our consciousness. We exist. This is a fact of consciousness. Descartes' famous demonstration, "I think, therefore I am," does not add to the proof or the certainty of our existence. We know that there is an external world, that there is something external to ourselves; but when we come to question what that outside world is, we have no means of knowing, and the wisdom of mankind has never been able to show. Our knowledge, I repeat, is relative. We see that stove and feel the heat. But what we consider as a state of the stove-heat is dependent upon an organism, for it is something felt,—a *sensation*. This is the subjective aspect of the subject. Viewed objectively heat is a mode of motion dependent upon an externality. How, then, can we decide what it is absolutely considered? Surely it belongs to the "unknowable." We smell the rose, but the fragrance depends upon two factors—the emanations of particles from the object, and the sense of smell,—the absence of either of which renders the fragrance of the rose impossible. What the rose is in itself, unmodified by the organism, we have no possible means of ascertaining. Sound is commonly thought to be something outside of us,—an objective reality which would exist even though the organism were absent.

But what is sound? Waves of air coming in contact with the auditory nerve produce a sensation, and we call it sound. The sensation is in the organism, and can have no existence outside of it; but if you tell an unreflecting man that there is no sound where there is no ear, he will look at you in astonishment, and ask, perhaps, in imagined refutation of your statement, whether there is no sound in the heavens when the lightnings flash and the thunders roar, even though no person is present to hear it! What is true of sound is true of light. Ethereal undulations coming in contact with the sensitive retina produce the phenomenon or sensation of luminousness. The vibrations of the ether would be the same whether there were eye or not; but what we call luminousness is a sensation, and it depends as much upon the retina as it does upon the ethereal undulations. Thus we see that all phenomena *as observed by us* depends upon two factors,—the organism and the externality, the subject and the object. What things are in themselves, what they are, considered out of all relation to our consciousness, we have no means of knowing, for the reason that the limits of our organism restrict us to the relations between it and the objective world. Were we differently organized, phenomena might appear to us quite different from what they now do.

I am not an advocate of idealism—that system which tells us that there is nothing but the *ego*; that everything which appears objectively is simply representations or modifications of the *ego*. That is not what I am trying to present to you this evening. We are in contact, through our senses, with a real outer world; but as it appears to us, it is colored or modified; in other words, its appearance is determined by our own mental constitution. What the external world is absolutely considered, I repeat, we have no means of learning, since we cannot take cognizance of it except as it is related to and colored by our consciousness. But we must all admit the *absolute*, whether we believe in an intelligent Deity or not. The difference between the liberal of the school to which I belong—scientific materialism—and the theologian is this: the theologian invests the absolute with anthropomorphic qualities which are a projection of his own mind, while the liberal accepts the principle of the relativity of human knowledge and declines to give predicates to that which he sees must forever remain inscrutable to the mind of man. The savage, as I have remarked, gives it color, form, hate, and fear, and all the worst qualities as well as the good ones of his own nature. As man becomes more intelligent he begins to take away or modify the grosser qualities with which his ancestors invested God. He divests him of color, afterwards of form; then begins to question whether God is really capable of anger and hate. He calls God father; but after a while he uses the term only in the sense of a protector, a being who produces and governs his creatures; and at length the advanced theologian to-day asks only that we admit that God is intelligent and possesses the amiable qualities of benevolence and love. But it seems to me that there is just as much logical propriety in saying that God has form and color as in saying that God possesses the quality of intelligence; for intelligence can be shown to depend upon organism and environment, and closely analyzed is shown to be made up of faculties, every one of which is finite, and implies restriction and infirmity.

Take reason and inquire what it is, as far as we can speak of it—the perception of relations, the comparison of ideas, and deducing conclusions therefrom. But when ideas are compared and conclusions are arrived at, there is a condition of partial knowledge; hence, where there is reason there must be finiteness. So we might go through with the list of faculties and qualities that constitute intelligence, and show that they all imply finiteness, ignorance, lack of power, etc. This theologians are beginning to see—I mean the more profound among them,—and they say, "Very well, we admit the force of this reasoning; but when we ascribe these anthropomorphic qualities to God, it is because they express the highest conceptions we have, while in fact we believe that God is something of which we can give no description, or have even a representative thought." But when they say this, they virtually confess the correctness of the position of those liberals with whom the word God is like the letter x in an indeterminate algebraic problem.

When we come to examine this subject closely, and with philosophical exactitude, we see that there is not one intellectual or moral quality that can be ascribed to the absolute without making it anthropomorphic and subjecting it to limitations. To qualify is to limit. The unconditioned is the absolute.

Instead, then, of a personal, man-like God, we recognize the reality of an absolute existence, outside of us, of which we can have no knowledge except as related to our consciousness, and which may therefore be properly termed the *unknowable*.

But *what theology presents in God we offer in humanity*. We have seen that every conceptional God is simply a man. God is man, projected ideally into the outer world. Man becomes God long before God became man. As Fuerbach observes very finely: "God is the mirror in which man sees himself as he is." Religion is a dream in which man contemplates his own nature.

Subject to analysis the God of any system of worship, and you will discover nothing in it that is not in man. God has intelligence and love and hate because man has; he reasons, plans, and designs because man does; he approves and disapproves because man does; indeed, all the predicates of his being are the predicates of human nature. The mysteries of the Christian theology, as Fuerbach has shown, are simply mysteries of the subjective nature of man, and the relations of God are simply human relations. Man loves company, and his own nature projected into the outer world has the same needs; hence all systems of worship involve the idea of plurality, community, and companionship. The triune God of the Christian theology is three gods; in fact, even though by a kind of intellectual slight-of-hand, in order to silence the reason, he is made to appear as one. In the conception the desire for community is satisfied. In the Christian God we have the relations of father and son, because these are essential relations of the human race. Man is a father, and man's nature viewed objectively would be incomplete without the same capacity and relation. Hence God is a father; he is also—in the second person—a son; and the third person of the trinity concerning which there has been and is so much dispute, so much indefiniteness, which Henry Ward Beecher once said appeared to him as a kind of *aroma* that proceeds from the father and son, is the sense and sentiment of community between the two. But father and son imply a mother, and consequently the maternal element must have some representation in the projected nature of man, which appears before him as an objective being under the name of God. With the progress of infidelity and rationalistic criticism, God loses one after another his human qualities; and even Protestantism has subordinated the position and character of the maternal element in the divine character. The Roman Catholic Church in its theology, which has been less modified by scepticism, attaches as much importance to the mother of God as to the son of God. In the incarnation we have simply the realized wish of man viewing himself as an object of thought to see himself as an object of sense. Man's own nature "projected into objectivity" had long been an object of contemplation and reverence. There was a longing of the heart to feel, to see, to hear this being who loved man and sympathized with him in his sorrows. The incarnation is the satisfaction of that longing.

In the doctrine of the Atonement human nature is still further revealed. It signifies what every father and mother have felt, what every person among us has experienced. Man's moral nature condemns many of his acts, as none of us live up to our highest ideal of duty; but love is always devising some means by which to excuse the offender or to mitigate his punishment. The mother tries to spare her child the punishment threatened for disobedience, in some way that will not involve the violation of her word or the lessening of her authority. A king of Iran, so the story runs, ordained that any subject convicted of treason should have his eyes put out. His own son incurred the terrible penalty. The law must be enforced and justice vindicated; but his paternal heart felt for his guilty son, and he devised a "scheme" to "satisfy justice" and to "show his love." He caused one of his own eyes to be put out, and mercifully allowed his son to go with the loss of one of his eyes only. In the Atonement we have this same principle. God has employed man's methods because God is no other being than man himself.

We would then have all those qualities which are admired and praised in God, made the direct object of consideration in man. Since it is evident that all we reverence in God exists in man, and since man is the substance and God is but the shadow, or the face seen in the mirror, we would make man the direct object of all our respect and gratitude and love and devotion. We would build temples and dedicate them to man, not to God. We would chant the triumphs and sing the praises of man, not of God. We would encourage the elevation of man, not the glorifying of God. In short, for theology we would substitute anthropology; for the shadow we would give the substance; for the worship of God the advancement and happiness of man. Profound consideration of our race, and the cultivation of the nobler side of our nature will, we fondly hope, gradually replace blind reverence for and adoration of an imaginary anthropomorphic God. Then all the time and money, all the effort and moral enthusiasm which are now directed to the advancement of the glory of God, will be devoted to the improvement of our race. As much will be done to make men good as is now done to make men religious; and the world will be better, mankind will be happier.

For the notion of creation we submit the proposition that the universe in its entirety is eternal. We thus get rid of the necessity of a "beginning," and, of course, of a Beginner, a great Being who was once the sole denizen of illimitable space; who was, although possessed of the most splendid powers, during a past eternity doing nothing; who was able to make a perfect universe; yet made a world which has been a scene of distress, torture, and death from the first appearance of life up to the present time.

The theory of evolution naturally takes the place of the making of worlds and the origination of life by supernatural power. We explain the growth of worlds from a fire-mist by natural laws and natural forces, without having recourse to a world-maker. The arguments of Laplace have more weight in our mind than the mere word of an old Hebrew cosmogonist. For the doctrine of special Providence and Divine interference, we offer the conception of the universality and invariableness of natural law, a conception the truth of which has been demonstrated by a wide induction, based upon the observed order of Nature.

For the idea of design in Nature we substitute the principle of "natural selection," which in the struggle for life gives us what Spencer has fitly termed "the survival of the fittest"; i.e., the organisms which have been able in a changing environment to adjust themselves to their medium, while a far greater number for the contrary reason have perished. We thus account for the white bears in the Polar regions, the black bear in Hindostan; for the dark color of nocturnal animals, the brilliant color of fish among the coral reefs, the unobtrusive color of female birds that sit on open nests, and even the vertical markings on the body of the Bengal tiger; also the peculiarities of form and disposition of other animals which teleology represents were created for a specific purpose, in contradiction to all the facts with which we are acquainted.

For the notion that evil is the result of some accident in the universe; that once perfection reigned, but through the mistake or ambition of an angel evil appeared; and that all wrong and suffering are attributable to that source, we substitute the rational conception that what we call evil is non-adjustment to our conditions. The words good and evil are relative terms that stand for events or actions that are advan-

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tageous or disadvantageous to us, but which in the order of nature are equally natural and equally necessary. In the school of experience, in which an incalculable amount of suffering has been inevitable, man has learned during the existence of the race that there are certain courses of conduct and certain processes of Nature which contribute to his well-being, and that there are others which are injurious to him. The former he calls good, the latter evil. Actions which a long and wide experience have demonstrated to be beneficial to him we call right; actions which he has learned are pernicious in their tendency we call wrong. How conscience, which gives so much significance to the word "ought," has been evolved from a moral condition hardly above that of the brute, has been shown by Mr. Darwin in a manner so lucid and so admirable that no mere *á priori* theological notion deserves any consideration in comparison, or rather in contrast with it.

Some doubt whether man knows more about moral principles than he did thousands of years ago. Even Mr. Buckle took the ground that morality is not a progressive science. Yet it seems clear to me that the experience of every age gives us clearer conceptions of our rights, relations, and duties. It is true that for ages have been taught certain general precepts that cover all the duties of man, such, for instance, as "Be just"; but it must be remembered that progress in ethical science consists in learning *what is involved in these precepts.*

For the doctrine of original sin we substitute the scientific fact that ancestral experiences have been organized in the race as inherited tendencies, aptitudes, or predispositions. The brain at birth is not like a blank sheet of paper. It is written all over with invisible ink, which needs but the influence of circumstances to reveal it to our sight. Human beings come into existence with good tendencies and with bad tendencies. We are what we are intellectually and morally, as well as physically, largely because of our ancestors. Two beings of depraved appetites and debased moral nature, and lacking in intellectual qualities, can never be parents of children distinguished for great intellectual power and strong moral disposition. Undeveloped savages were our ancestors, and we have received their characteristics, except so far as they have been modified by many generations of civilized life. Our bad impulses, dispositions, and tendencies, or many of them, are due to ages of savage life, they having been transmitted by the law of heredity. We thus account for whatever bad there is in our nature without having recourse to the childish fable of the fall of man. We are no "degenerate sons of an illustrious ancestry," but rather the improved and improving descendants of savage ancestors.

We think the bad tendencies may be gradually weakened and the good tendencies strengthened. If as much time and effort had been expended in trying to make man good as have been in trying to make him religious, the tendency of his nature in the direction of right would be vastly greater than it is now. Good tendencies, love of truth, benevolence, virtue, temperance must be encouraged, increased, and intensified, and by the law of heredity transmitted and organized in the race, so that man's love of the good and the true, and his disposition to pursue them, will become almost a passion as well as a principle of his moral being.

For the doctrine of "salvation" through Jesus Christ we substitute the more rational principle of observance of the conditions and laws of our being, the cultivation and improvement of our physical, intellectual, and moral nature. We do not look back through the mists and the darkness of centuries to the gentle Nazarene for elevation and advancement, although glad to recognize his efforts in the cause of humanity; we look rather to ourselves, to the aid of our fellow-men—those among whom we live,—to the powerful aids of science, to the experience of the world and in the evolution of the race, to the principle of "the survival of the fittest."

For prayer we substitute self-reliance and an intelligent use of natural forces and agencies in accomplishing our ends. We look to our own efforts for success. In danger we must rely on our own resources, and not look to an anthropomorphic Deity who never calms the ocean for the perishing mariner, nor extinguishes the fire when men, women, and children are perishing amidst flames in railroad cars, theatres, or even churches.

Instead of speculating in regard to another life, the reality of which, to say the least, is doubtful, we hold that *this* life should occupy all our attention here, where there is so much to do, and where our efforts are so greatly needed. If beyond the portals of death there is another state of being, doubtless he will be the best adapted to enjoy its blessings who discharges all the active duties of this life. Instead of teaching men to "prepare to die," we would rather have them taught how to live. In place of the clergy we would have teachers with the ability and disposition to impart to the people useful knowledge, such as expands the mind, refines its taste, and improves the condition of man. We need more science and less theology; more intellectual culture and less piety; more knowledge and less faith; more regard for man and less reverence for God.

Before I close I wish to add that liberalism aims, among other things, to secularize this government; to separate Church and State so effectually that there will be no vestige of a union between the two, so that the Liberal, the Jew, the Mohammedan, and "the heathen Chinee" shall have their rights as fully and completely recognized as are those of the Christian. We are working to have all churches taxed; to have all religious exercises excluded from our public schools; to have all religious services expelled from our halls of legislation; to have the judicial oath abolished; to have Sunday laws harmonize with the principles of secular government. These are some of the reforms we have pledged ourselves to advance with a view to securing equal rights and impartial religious liberty to all. They involve principles of more importance than any on which the two great political parties of the country are divided to-day, and they appeal to every man who loves justice and respects the rights of all mankind. This is a part of our constructive work.

[For The Index.]

DETERIORATION IN HEAVEN.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Among the many self-contradictions of Orthodoxy is one which I have rarely seen remarked on.

Heaven, whether a place (as Mr. Moody energetically maintains) or a state, is assumed to be sinless, and to be not only without sin, but without temptation. Its inhabitants are all to be "holy"; and though "holiness," as far as one can judge of it by the character and life of its principal representatives in our own community, omits and ignores some of the qualities most prized among human beings in their "natural" state, it seems to be assumed among the pious that in heaven all sorts of excellence, moral and spiritual, will not only exist, in a degree far exceeding their earthly rate, but go on perpetually refining and increasing. This is the assumption, in a general way; yet, looking at the matter in detail, certain essential features of the Orthodox system are found to be strongly in contrast with that assumption.

Benevolence and beneficence, a desire to benefit others, pushed to the extent of actually doing them service at one's own cost,—this is esteemed, both by saints and sinners, one of the best traits of human character. Among the saints, what is called missionary labor is considered to be its highest manifestation. When a man voluntarily relinquishes those occupations in life which combine justifiable self-indulgence with an average amount of usefulness to others, and adopts instead a career full of hardship and privation, with the sole object of doing good to those who are most in need, we inevitably admire and honor him, even when our judgment differs from his in regard to the necessity or advantage of the particular work in question. Whether the necessities of the people called heathen are, in kind and degree, such as the Christian missionary assumes; whether the probabilities of persuading them show the field in question to be the best investment for such labor and self-sacrifice; whether the theological ideas and customs proposed by missionaries are really a great advance upon those which their heathen hearers now accept; and whether reason, fact, and truth uphold one of these sets of doctrines and observances much more than the other,—upon all these points, opinions may be and are divided; nevertheless, everybody respects and honors the sincere missionary, and pays this tribute in proportion to the thoroughness of his disinterestedness and self-sacrifice.

On the other hand, the few men and women who are so penetrated with the missionary spirit as to feel constrained to devote their lives to missionary labors, sacrificing to that impulse all that is commonly considered comfort, as well as prosperity and success in this world's life, are filled with wonder and sadness at the indifference to that work displayed by ordinary Christians. The rescue of a single soul counterbalances, the missionaries think, all the suffering and privation which they have undergone; yet the knowledge that millions are perishing for want of more laborers in the vineyard makes little impression upon the members of Christian churches generally. If they feebly pray that the glad tidings of salvation may (somehow) be carried into all lands, and if they back their petitions by a small sum dropped annually into the missionary-box, these Christians seem to think their share of that work accomplished sufficiently for their *standing* as Christians, even if not quite satisfactorily for their *credit* as Christians.

In heaven, however, according to the Orthodox assumption, this state of things is to be reversed. The heathen will be, and will be known by the saints to be, in a condition unspeakably worse than that unregenerate earthly condition which aroused such intense compassion in the missionary mind. Yet not only will the great majority of the saints continue in that indifference to heathen sin and suffering which was imputed to them as a fault by the missionaries on earth, but the missionaries themselves will have relapsed from that benevolent and self-sacrificing spirit which distinguished them in their mortal life, and will have permanently fallen back into that average or low grade of Christian character which astonished and shocked them when, from their posts of duty in China, India, or Turkey, they saw its manifestation in lands called Christian. Knowing that the heathen are in a worse condition than ever, the missionaries, on reaching heaven, will have ceased to care for it; knowing that the heathen are suffering far more than on earth, they will have ceased to regard that; knowing that the corruption and depravity of the heathen are increasing, and continuing to increase, they will have ceased to trouble themselves about even that. According to the Orthodox theory, they will have lost their most characteristic Christian grace by the change from earth to heaven.

Two young men in the Theological Seminary at Andover, took great delight in the study and practice of music. After their graduation as Orthodox ministers, one continued to cultivate and enjoy that art, in such leisure as his pastoral duties afforded; the other, feeling that duty called him to labor among the heathen, relinquished music with other indulgences of civilization, spent his life in self-sacrificing toil for the love of souls, and was thought a better Christian for doing so. When they get to heaven, according to the Orthodox theory, they will renew their pleasant intimacy, and will play duets upon the harp together, the missionary caring no more than the other for either the sin or the suffering which they know to be going on among the "spirits in prison."

Does the heavenly state involve and produce deterioration in the better class of Christians? And do they recognize that they are less Christ-like than they were on earth, without caring for the lamentable fact?

Less Christlike! That phrase suggests the inquiry, Is there a yet sadder case of deterioration in heaven than the one we have just glanced at?

The great characteristic distinction of Jesus during his earthly ministry was love to the needy and suffering, and self-sacrificing labor in their behalf. His love for sinners was not prevented nor neutralized by their sins. He did not despair, even in the case of such depravity as the respectable Pharisees accounted hopeless. He came to seek and to save *that which was lost.*

Now, "the lost," according to the Orthodox theory, are to be found in the future world even more emphatically than in the present. Their dreadful situation is known in heaven, and the place of their confinement is known there. Harriet Newell and Henry Martyn, Wesley and Whitefield and Harlan Page all know these things, but they have ceased to care about them. They are comfortably enjoying their harps and crowns, and if they hear any wailing and gnashing of teeth, it will seem to chord well enough with the heavenly strains. But has Jesus also changed to that extent? Is *he*, too, content to leave sufferers in suffering, and sinners in sin? Will he sit, forever, calmly observing "the smoke of their torment"? A Savior, and having "all power" committed to him, will he not save, nor even try to save them? "The great Intercessor," will he not even ask that another chance be given them?

Alas, the Orthodox system pitilessly demands the deterioration, not only of the saints, but of the Savior, to the extent above described. Strange to say, the change from the imperfection of earth to the holiness of heaven will remove or diminish such natural affection and human sympathy as the saints formerly possessed, and will substitute for it utter regardlessness of the sins and sufferings of others, even of their nearest relatives and most cherished friends. The unchangeable Intercessor will no longer intercede; the unchangeable Savior will cease to save; the unchangeable Heavenly *Father* will laugh at the calamity of a portion of his human creatures, and mock when their fear cometh! But these are only a small portion of the self-contradictions of orthodoxy.

FELIX ADLER.

The new exponent of radical ideas, Prof. Felix Adler, is attracting a good deal of attention, especially among the more liberal Jews. He lectures on Sunday at Standard Hall, corner of Forty-second Street and Broadway. It is a snug little place, that will hold three or four hundred people, and on Sunday morning last was crowded with as many as it could comfortably seat. We looked about for Daniel Deronda and Mirah, for we feel sure that by this time they have learned that the promise of their race is in the West instead of the East. There were plenty of Hebrew physiognomies, some of them cultured and refined, some of them belonging to the good-natured, rather oily, pawn-broking type of Jacob Cohen. There were bright-faced young girls, and occasionally an old man who looked like the prophet Jeremiah. These sons and daughters of Israel came in with a brisk, week-day air, some of them with books and newspapers. There was also a considerable sprinkling of Gentiles, and the whole assembly was curious and nondescript, such as no other American city can call together.

The service is purely secular, without prayer or hymn, text or benediction. A choir up in a little gallery sings a few selections from Mendelssohn and Rossini to an organ accompaniment, and then Prof. Adler takes his place at the reading-desk. Some of our readers may know that he is the son of a rabbi, and was brought up, figuratively speaking, in the courts of the temple. His radicalism must have developed at an early period, for he is still a young man, and during the three years he served at Cornell it is said to have been quite pronounced. He is slightly built and scholarly-looking, with a well-formed head and massive brain. The Jewish type is marked in him, but it is toned down and refined by his strong intellectual bias. The slight pallor of the student is contrasted with black hair and eyes, and a close-cut beard of the same hue.

He speaks entirely without notes, and from the first sentences it is apparent that his intellect is of a keen, relentless, and incisive order, and his scholarship ripe and rare. Absolute fearlessness seems to be one of his leading characteristics, and some of the things we heard him say on Sunday must have been peculiarly startling to his Jewish auditors; but he said them as if he deserved thanks for his almost pitiless sincerity. He stood easily by the side of his desk with the air of pondering and weighing his thoughts, as he gave them forth. His sentences seem to drop out of a great profound, and his whole manner so singularly unstudied, instead of suggesting gibness, shows hardly a sign of preparation. What he says is the natural overflow of a full mind thoroughly convinced, in dead earnest. This manner, so unusual among our pulpit and platform-speakers, who generally come well-primed with the directions, "laugh here," "cry here," if not written upon the MS., jotted down mentally, has a charm of of its own.

A profound interest is developed in the audience

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as soon as the speaker begins his lecture. He is now delivering a course on the "History of Religion," and on Sunday his subject was the "God of Force." Though his manner is quiet, at moments, through the warmth of a fervid nature, it rises to an intense but ungesticulatory kind of eloquence.

He partially refuted the common opinion that religion had its origin fear. It sprang equally from the instinctive reverence for power. The old gods were men deified,—vast human images cast upon the screen of the unknown. God made man in his image, man has made God in his own likeness. He traced the sun-myth to its place in the centre of every mythology. The myth-makers were the Keplers and Newtons of the antique world. They strove to account for the movements of the heavenly bodies by fanciful stories drawn from human experience. Some of these were given with very good effect. Samson he told us was a sun-god. The shearing of the hair does not deprive man of strength, but in many religions there is a fable of the sun-god which likens his rays to hair. In the summer this flourishes and becomes luxuriant. His force is then great. In the winter he falls into the power of an enchantress who shears his locks, and he becomes bald and weak. The blinded Samson, struggling against his enemies, the Philistines, is an allegory of the sun contending with clouds and darkness.

He related the fable of Adonis, god of spring, slain in the forest by a wild boar, and described the festival of the Adonaea, when the Syrian women mourned and wept and beat their breasts over the figure of the god laid out for burial. Suddenly the people raised a great shout, "Adonis lives! Adonis is risen again!" Every mythology has a myth of the death and resurrection of a beautiful young god, celebrated about the time of Easter.

He dwelt at some length on the dark and fearful side of the religion of force, especially human sacrifice, and described the rites of the sun-god among the ancient Mexicans, in whose temples twenty-five hundred human victims were annually slain. Flagellation and the mutilation of the body were described as survivals from the worship of an ogre-god who thirsted for human gore. He dwelt earnestly upon the necessity of expelling from modern religion every trace of these dark and baleful superstitions. The whole discourse evinced a profound acquaintance with his subject, and an earnest desire to instruct his hearers in essential truths. He announced that the organization of his society would take place this week, and judging from the lively interest of the something more than handful he has already drawn, it is safe to predict that Prof. Adler will soon have no inconsiderable following.—*Christian Register, Feb. 24.*

MOHAMMEDANS AND CHRISTIANS.

A meeting of Christians was held last Tuesday evening, at Association Hall, to denounce the recent Mohammedan outrages in Bulgaria. Speeches were made by several Christian clergymen, in which not merely the conduct of the Mohammedans in Bulgaria, but also their religion in general was violently attacked. One reverend gentleman even went so far as to thank God that the Turkish Empire, the great bulwark of the Mohammedan faith, would soon be blotted out in Europe by Christian gunpowder, swords, and bayonets. The Mohammedans hate Christians, he said, fiercely and bitterly; and this, he appeared to think, requires Christians to be equally fierce and bitter in hating them.

No one pretends, we believe, to defend the Mohammedan treatment of the Bulgarians. It was, according to all accounts, cruel and inhuman to the last degree. Nor is it to be denied that religious fanaticism inflamed the ferocity which the Mohammedans displayed. It is also true that Christians in Mohammedan countries labor under civil and political disabilities, and are the objects of social dislike by their Mohammedan fellow-citizens. But to infer from these facts that Mohammedanism ought to be suppressed by the strong hand is to argue in a manner peculiar only to men deficient in practical common-sense, such as clergymen often are.

Like Christianity, Mohammedanism is at once a reforming and a proselyting faith. The object of its founder was to destroy idolatry and replace it with the worship of the one invisible God. Its first successes were gained in regions where Christianity had failed to make converts at all, or at least failed to keep them when they were made. At this moment it is advancing rapidly in regions, both of Asia and of Africa, in which Christian missionaries have been unable to gain a foothold. African tribes, which are insensible to the subtleties of Christian theology, welcome the simpler doctrines of the Koran, and willingly accept the comparative civilization which they produce. In India, sixty millions of Mohammedans, living side by side with less than two millions of Christians, attest the comparative superiority, in the estimation of the population, of Islam over Christianity. And, while the total Christian population of the world does not greatly exceed three hundred millions, the Mohammedans number over one hundred and fifty millions. The history of religious persecutions proves that far less numerous sects have resisted violent efforts for their suppression; and the means which have failed with them are not likely to succeed with a system whose adherents comprise one-tenth the inhabitants of the globe, and who, less than two centuries ago, were powerful enough to imperil the integrity of Europe.

Nor is it easy for an impartial judge to discover grounds upon which Christians may rightfully reproach Mohammedans for their intolerance and fanaticism. Deeds such as those which their Tuesday evening meeting was called to condemn, spring not from Mohammedanism, but from those evil passions which all religions endeavor to subdue; and they disfigure the annals of Christendom no less than those of the empire of the Turks. Catholics have burned heretics at the stake, Protestants have persecuted Catholics and Quakers. It is only a few years since Jews were not permitted to sit in the British Parliament, and, within the recollection of readers of the *Sun*, a mob professing one kind of Christian faith burned, in Philadelphia, the church-edifices of Christians of another. Not long ago a man was convicted and punished in Massachusetts for not keeping the Christian Sabbath, and the testimony of a disbeliever in a God such as Christians believe in is not received in our courts of justice. If our intolerance does not result in atrocities like those practised on the Bulgarians, it is because of our superior refinement, and not of our greater goodness.

The worst of it is, that exhibitions of ill-temper, such as the Christians at Association Hall made on Tuesday evening, tend to bring their religion into disrepute, and impair its real usefulness. When, half a century ago, the Christian population of the country was called on to sympathize with the Greeks against the Turks, as they are now called on to sympathize with the Bulgarians, the caustic John Randolph protested that the real Greeks were at our own doors. The clergymen who spoke at Association Hall might profitably turn their eyes away from the Mohammedan ruffians in Bulgaria to the Christian husbands among us who murder their wives, and the Christian fathers who burn their children on red-hot stoves and scald them with boiling water; to the Christian statesmen who sell their votes and the Christian merchants who buy them; to the Christian bank-presidents and cashiers who rob their stockholders, the Christian trustees who embezzle the money of widows and orphans, and the Christian swindlers of every kind who swarm about the country. And if this is not enough to occupy their time, they will find multitudes of Christian sick and poor and suffering all over the land who need the aid of Christian philanthropy. A denunciation of Mohammedans for their cruelty, while there is so much misery all about us unrelieved, shows that Christianity as well as Mohammedanism has its weak points, and dwells in a fragile house which cannot safely provoke stone-throwing.—*N. Y. Sun, Feb. 4.*

RECEIVED.

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THE CENSUS OF MASSACHUSETTS: 1875. Vol. III. Prepared under the Direction of Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor. Boston: A. J. Wright. 1876.

LESSONS IN ELECTRICITY at the Royal Institution, 1875-6. By John Tyndall, D.C.L., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877.

MAJOLICA AND FAYENCE: Italian, Sicilian, Majorcan, Hispano-Moresque, and Persian. By Arthur Beckwith. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877.

SOCIOLOGY: or, The Reconstruction of Society, Government, and Property. By Lewis Masquerier. New York: published by the Author. 1877.

THE PROBLEM OF PROBLEMS, and its Various Solutions; or, Atheism, Darwinism, and Theism. By Clark Braden, President of Abingdon College, Illinois. Cincinnati: Chase & Hall. 1877.

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SUNDAY IN ENGLAND. From the *Westminster Review*. London: The Sunday Society. 1876.

PUBLICATIONS of Thomas Scott, Esq. London, England. —Hereafter. By J. L. Stoddard. [Reprinted from THE INDEX.]—Constructive Rationalism.—On Prayer.—An Interior.—The Supreme Power in the Universe. By T. L. Strange.—Ethics and Æsthetics. By Dr. G. G. Zerffi.—Order.—Signs of the Times.—Farewell Address of Thomas Scott, Esq.

SERMONS of the Rev. Charles Voysey, London.—The Popular Idea of a Church.—The Judgment of God.—The Lessons of the Bengal Cyclone.—God's Thoughts not our Thoughts.—Solomon's Foolishness.—The Preservation of Health.—The Trial of Jesus Christ.—Did Jesus really die on the Cross?—Priests vs. Parliament.—Justice to Ritualists.—Charity in Controversy.—Proper Division of Time?—Is God Love? Or is it a fearful thing to fall into his Hands?

ALCESTIS IN ENGLAND. A Discourse delivered at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, Jan. 21, 1877. By Moncure D. Conway.

IMMORTAL LIFE, and IDEALIZING THE REAL: Sermons by Rev. John W. Chadwick, of Brooklyn. New York: C. P. Somerby.

HELL AND DAMNATION. By Rev. G. H. Humphrey, Pittsburgh, Pa. Rochester, N.Y.: 1876.

A VOICE FROM THE PEWS; or, A Tabernacle Supplement. By A Men Der. Boston: Blanchard Brothers. 1877.

ARGUMENT in Favor of Discriminating Legislation regarding the Sale of Fermented and Distilled Liquors, addressed to the Joint Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature. Boston: Franklin Press. 1877.

DANTE. II. Purgatorio. By Louis Soldan.

TEXAS AND PACIFIC RAILWAY. Speech of Hon. J. W. Throckmorton, in Congress.

RATIONALISM AND SPIRITUALISM. By S. B. Brittan, M.D. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1877.

SPIRITUALISM AND INSANITY. By Eugene Crowell, M.D. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1877.

CONTRAST between Medicine and Magnetism.

TWENTY-EIGHTH Annual Report of the Trustees of the Astor Library.

ANNUAL REPORT of the New England Hospital for Women and Children, for the Year ending Sept. 30, 1876.

CATALOGUE of the Officers and Students of the Meadville Theological School. 1876-7.

ANNUAL REPORT of the School Committee of the Town of Sterling. March 1, 1877.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION of New Hampshire, December, 1876. The Constitution as Amended by the Convention.

HISTORY of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass. 1876.

JOURNAL OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY. St. Louis.

POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. New York.

SUNDAY REVIEW. London.

UNITARIAN REVIEW. Boston.

LA RELIGION LAIQUE. Paris.

THE WESTERN. St. Louis.

THE CANADIAN MONTHLY. Toronto.

THE SANITARIAN. New York.

HERALD OF HEALTH. New York.

POTTER'S AMERICAN MONTHLY. Philadelphia.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

MY FREEDOM.

Oh joy! at last my soul is free!
In ruins lie its prison-bars!
My bark hath gained the open sea
And sails beneath the eternal stars!

I languish in the clutch no more
Of Superstition's palsied hands;
Behind me fades the narrow shore;
Beyond, the sea of Truth expands!

Henceforth no fettering, Church-wrought creed
The freedom of my thought shall chain!
The Truth alone my steps shall lead
Through Reason's limitless domain.

The awful nightmare of despair
Which first the trembling soul appals,
That sees old faiths dissolve in air,
And marks Tradition's crumbling walls,

Hath long since passed away with time;
Their wonted stroke my pulses keep,
While nearer on their course sublime
The coming waves of Freedom sweep.

Reproachful voices now are hushed;
The conflict's angry murmurs cease:
With dawning hope my sky is flushed,
And o'er me blow the airs of peace.

Not long can Dogma's gloomy night
In darkness hold its captive souls:
For ever into broadening light
The earth with sun-born impulse rolls.

J. L. STODDARD.

ONLY A TRAMP.

"Only a tramp!" said the "star," as he found
At dim, early dawn, a man lying dead,
His face pinched and wan, eyes set with a stare,
"Died of starvation," the coroner said.
Somebody's darling and somebody's son;
Somebody rocked him, a baby, to sleep;
Childhood and manhood forever are done;
Now there is no one who careth to weep.

Once he was young and ambitious, perchance;
Sought, like the rest, for both riches and place,
Perchance might the world have honored his name;
Now there is no one who knoweth his face.
But what careth Dives, pausing to gaze—
"A wretched, dead vagrant under the lamp."
Honors are his, wealth and fame are secure;
Besides, that dead body is—only a tramp!

Somewhere there may be a woman who waits;
She once was a bride—now wretched, alone,
Somewhere are children, too old for their years;
"We're cold and we're hungry," runneth their moan.
Is it their fault if their young foreheads wear
Blighting of hunger and poverty's stamp?
White were their souls as your darling's can be;
Are they to blame if their father's a tramp?

Perchance to your door last evening he came,
Asked for a crumb and to warm him a breath.
Coldly you shut all the comfort within—
Without there was naught but hunger and death.
And so laid him down; the chill, creeping on,
Stiffened his limbs, in his hair left a damp.
Life's warfare is done, all chances are gone,
Whether used or abused—he was only a tramp!

No mourners for him, nor children nor wife;
On lips pale and cold no kisses are pressed;
A pine coffin only, nor flower nor wreath
Tells of our love as we lay him to rest.
Lay him down softly, and make him a bed
In earth's kindly bosom, under the sod;
Life's been a failure, and we can but trust
His body to earth—his soul unto God.

Meanwhile, I bethink me, if Jesus were here,
To wander, as oft in Galilee old,
No roof for his head, though foxes have holes,
Who sometimes was hungry, sometimes was cold—
Should come to our door and ask for his bread,
Foot-sore and shabby with poverty's stamp,
Would we bid welcome to warmth and to cheer,
Or, shutting the door, say—"Only a tramp"?

—*Maggie Stuart Sibley, in Harper's Bazar.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 24.

Rev. A. M. Haskell, $8.20; E. C. Alphonse, $3; Dennis Murphy, $3; C. H. True, $1.50; A. Mangussen, $3.20; J. W. Marshall, $1; V. Keen, $3.20; Chas. Collins, $3.20; John A. Todd, $2; A. Miller, $3.20; Isaac Ketcham, $3; Richard Hoppin, 10 cents; Rev. E. T. Bartlett, 25 cents; M. E. Adams, 25 cents; J. H. Butterfield, 50 cents; J. L. Fort, $1.25; J. A. J. Wilcox, $81.92; A. Bauman, $2.60; Angell & Co., $3; Emily F. Newhall, $1.60; Mr. Cook, 80 cents; Rev. C. W. Buck, $3.20; Lee's Bazaar, $5; Nina Moore, $1; C. F. Cruft, 80 cents; John A. Peters, 25 cents; M. S. White, 25 cents; W. B. Sutton, $3.20; E. W. Meddaugh, $106.40; V. Dalrimple, $1; L. B. Farrar, $2; Chas. H. White, $3.20; F. S. Reefy, 25 cents; G. H. Young, 50 cents; Susan A. Tyrrell, 25 cents; Allan Greeley, $3.20; Harry Hoover, $3.20; J. D. Hitchcock, $10; Alex. Grant, $3; Rev. L. S. Ware, $3.20; Geo. W. Brown, $6; Mrs. T. F. Von Arnim, $3.87; Rev. J. H. Allen, $3.20; Parker Pillsbury, 25 cents; William Phillips, 27 cents; J. A. J. Wilcox, $1.51; F. V. Balch, $6.20; Rev. B. H. Winkley, $3.50; Nellie Forman, $3.20; Cash, 90 cents; W. C. Macdonald, 80 cents; J. P. Mendum, 35 cents; L. A. Le Mieux, $1.50; Chas. Churchill, $2.40; R. F. Briggs, $3.20.

N. B.—When writing about a former remittance, always give the date of such remittance as exactly as possible.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 29, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix. Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals;" by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle, President of the Ohio State branch of the "National Reform Association," used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE *New Century for Woman* had this among its paragraphs: "Society profits by every consideration that puts the sacred institution of marriage into clearer light and more deliberate acceptance. If it be, after all, as political economists tell us, very much a matter of statistics, dependent upon the price of a barrel of flour; if it be that the extravagant gauge of modern households forces more of prudent foresight of his responsibilities upon the modern man, by so much the more is it matter for congratulation that the modern woman takes her place intelligently as a contracting party; and though the old formula, 'Who giveth this woman in marriage unto this man?' —a relic of patriarchal days—still holds its place in the ritual, none the less is it certain that she, and none other, gives herself away. She has a higher standard than heretofore, not in vague fantasies of champion and hero, but in comprehension of her own requirements in a companionship for life."

SHALL THERE BE AN ARISTOCRACY OF ABECEDARIANS?

Mr. Wasson addresses to us a rhetorical question (to which he will please accept a negative answer) as follows:—

ARE WE YAHOOS?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your correspondent, "C. M.," whose penetrating questions are printed and replied to in your number for March 15, is a man I would like to know. His questions are exceedingly well-put. It is not at all my purpose to come to his assistance; he is quite able to speak for himself. But upon one statement of yours I beg leave to remark. In answer to his third question you speak as follows: "If the law disfranchises a man simply because he cannot read and write, it does a very arbitrary and unjust act. The ignorant man has his *equal rights*, which will not be in the least regarded if he is stripped of political power."

Will not be in the least regarded! Are you, then, so firm a believer in total depravity? Do you assume that Hobbes' "state of nature," described as a "war of all upon all," is the permanent moral condition of mankind to be provided against by political arrangements? Is universal suffrage the necessary bridle upon the universal beast? I can understand you no otherwise. You seem to say that the rights of every man are protected, not by any honest respect for them on the part of the community generally, but solely by a political weapon in his own hands. Can any other construction be put upon your words? And what is this but to say that we are all Yahoos together? Do you, then, discover in your own breast the depraved egotism which you attribute to the American people at large? I should call it a vile calumny, were it said of you by another. But no man would have the hardihood to say it of you. You are very capable of a generous concern for others. Were there a class of men excluded from the polls by want of personal qualification, I am sure you would be particularly careful that they should suffer no wrong in consequence. But are you alone capable of this unselfish interest? You would be the last to pretend it. In short, I cannot accept your estimate of human nature, nor can believe that you will be able, upon a deliberate review, to accept it yourself.

Do you really believe that those people of Boston who can read wish to injure those who cannot do so, and would avail themselves of their opportunity accordingly? Do you indeed believe that, if the latter were not voters, the others would at once combine to oppress and prey upon them? Or can you name a single measure designed, and wisely designed, for the good of the most ignorant, which has ever originated with them and been resisted by the more educated? Where is the evidence in the history of Boston or of Massachusetts to support your assertion? What good has ignorant suffrage yet done? What are the rights it has saved from destruction? What the beneficial measures that owe to it their paternity? You are a professor of the scientific method, and so confident in your opinion that you venture to say, "All else is inhumanity and folly." I necessarily presume that you have a broad ground of observed fact, from which your induction has been made with the severe care and conscience of science. What are these facts, or some of them? If they exist, they have wholly escaped my observation. I was early interested in politics, and for the last ten years have given more study to political science, especially to its underlying ethical principles, than to any other subject, or than to all others together, perhaps. The matter is never far from my mind, and instances that bear upon it do not have to solicit my attention. I have met with many facts to show what evil ignorant suffrage does to the community; never with one to indicate that it is of benefit to the possessor. Absolutely, I know not of any one fact to render it in the remotest degree probable that the man who votes without being able to read his own ballot, and therefore without knowing for whom he votes, is, as a rule, made better, and not rather made worse, by his part in politics. Now, it would be easy for a writer with your pen to deliver himself of many effective paragraphs concerning the elevating influence which the franchise of such a man might, could, would, or should have upon its possessor. You will not, however, be tempted to escape into such declamation; for you know the difference between declamation and scientific induction. I desire to know from what facts, scientifically observed and verified, you have learned that, were a very moderate educational qualification for the franchise established, the rights of such as should prove too ignorant to stand the small test, would "not be in the least regarded" by the voting community? I desire to know from what determinate facts you have become assured that the ignorant voter is in any way whatever benefited by casting a vote, he knows not for whom nor to what effect. Of course, you practise the method you profess; and I beg you, be so good as to give me at least some clew to your induction. D. A. WASSON.

We regret the unnecessary heat and vehemence which Mr. Wasson brings to the discussion of a subject demanding the soberest, most dispassionate, and most unprejudiced consideration of the American people. Having said nothing which could justly provoke it, we are at a loss to understand the reason of his impetuosity. Although we make no scientific pretensions whatever, we shall endeavor to "practise the scientific method" at least so far as to avoid rhetorical extravagance and pointless reflections.

1. Because we said that "the ignorant man has his *equal rights*, which will not be in the least regarded if he is stripped of political power," Mr. Wasson indignantly accuses us of believing in "total depravity," of regarding mankind as "the universal beast," and teaching that "we are all Yahoos together." This is too wild for serious consideration. Let him be pacified: we bring no railing accusations, and repudiate those which he ventures to bring in our name. The sentence which inflames his ire means that whoever would disfranchise the ignorant man, and thereby strip him of all political power, in that very act disregards his equal rights as a citizen; but it does not mean that whoever would thus disfranchise him would forthwith proceed to murder, rob, or consciously "prey" upon him. Nevertheless, any community which begins by disfranchising a particular class is very apt, not through "total depravity," but through forgetfulness or ignorance or even mere lack of imagination, to neglect the interests of those who have no power to protect them. The worst wrongs of women, of children, of lunatics, of prisoners, grow out of the tendency of legislators not to do full justice to unrepresented and non-voting classes, and not to provide adequate protection for those who are politically powerless. Yet we are not therefore "all Yahoos together"; and to foist any such absurd inference upon us is as irrational as it would be for us, when Mr. Wasson expresses an opinion different from our own, to roar out in a rage: "Sir, do you call me a liar?" The world is at least old enough to have outgrown such an argument as that. It does Mr. Wasson great injustice.

2. But Mr. Wasson clearly implies that "the rights of every man are protected" by "honest respect for them on the part of the community." We agree with him to this extent, that no man's rights can be efficiently protected until the community do indeed honestly respect them. But that it is safe for any class of the community to trust its own interests and rights to a mere general sense of justice in a ruling power of which it is not itself a part,—that it is safe for the poor to let themselves be governed without political representation by the rich, or the many by the few, or the black by the white, or the weak by the strong, or the female by the male, or the taxpayer by the tax-spender, or the ignorant by the learned,—those are propositions which it is the glory of republicanism and of all modern civilization to deny.

All political power—that is, all right to make and enforce laws—belongs to the people as a whole, and must be exercised by the suffrage of the whole; adequate cause must be shown for excluding any part of the people from its exercise; and the burden of proof in establishing the justice of such exclusion must rest on him who would exclude. In this sense, suffrage is a natural right of the individual citizen,—that is, a political right resulting from the very nature of civil society as a political organism composed of individuals with equal personal rights. Republicanism or democracy, as a political theory, rests on the foundation of these ideas. But we doubt much whether Mr. Wasson accepts them as true. He at least thinks that there is adequate cause for excluding the ignorant from the polls; we do not, but we decline to assume the *onus probandi* in his stead. Let him show good and positive cause for disfranchising those who cannot read and write, and let him begin, not by asking us for fresh facts or fresh arguments, but by paying attention to those we have already presented. We are prepared to defend the ground we have taken, until convinced that it is mistaken. But we decline to be called upon for further arguments or facts until those already presented shall have been, first, *understood*, and, secondly, *overthrown*.

3. We discover no "depraved egotism" in our own "breast" (though sundry lynx-eyed critics discovered it there long ago!); and we certainly discover none in Mr. Wasson. He would assuredly be solicitous to mete out justice to the ignorant man, even while withholding the ballot that is his right. We have repeatedly listened to him with great admiration, even if sometimes with dissent as great. We are no more than he in favor of "ignorant suffrage"—no more anxious to commit the destinies of this great nation to the control of unintelligence. But there are at least two methods of getting rid of "ignorant suffrage." We claim to be a bitterer foe to illiteracy than he himself; for he is apparently willing to tolerate it, provided it be not enfranchised,—while we would not suffer it to survive, either enfranchised or disfranchised, within the limits of the republic, but would exterminate the pest by a "compulsory education" system that shall be something better than a sham. There is call for a close comparison of the respective merits of these different remedies for the

evils of ignorant suffrage; but one must first take the trouble to understand them both. So far, in fact, are we from "depraved egotism" in this matter that we are not even egotistic enough to suppose ourself capable of governing the community, or any part of it, half so wisely or justly as the classes concerned could govern themselves, however ignorant they may be. We are not egotistic enough to imagine that, because we can read and write, we have become thereby endowed with a divine right to cast the illiterate man's ballot in his stead. We are not egotistic enough to fancy that he is unable to see some very important things which may be hidden from our own eyes. On the contrary, we are sufficiently humble to distrust our own capacity to take any man's rights out of his own hands and do better by him than he can do by himself; and we do not admire the officiousness of any class of the people who are anxious to relieve everybody else of the responsibilities of freemen. The best use to which we have been able to put the alphabet has been to learn that no aristocracy, not even an aristocracy of abecedarians, is as competent to govern the whole people as the whole people is to govern itself.

4. "What good has ignorant suffrage yet done?" That is not the question. We have not pleaded for ignorant suffrage,—no, not by a word. But we have said that the country will not get rid of ignorant suffrage by establishing an abecedarian test. Does Mr. Wasson imagine that it will? The object of our articles has been to expose this quack nostrum of an abecedarian test altogether, and to point out a real and honest remedy in a wisely-planned and well-administered system of compulsory education. We pointedly decline to be put, in defiance of our explicit statements, into the attitude of *defending ignorant suffrage*. We insist on being understood as aiming to explode this delusive educational test, and as advocating a radical, efficient remedy for illiterate suffrage by the abolition of illiteracy itself.

5. "'You are a professor of the scientific method, and so confident in your opinion that you venture to say, 'All else is inhumanity and folly.'" Mr. Wasson is so careless as seemingly to apply these quoted words to the "scientific method." What we applied them to will appear by giving the quotation in full: "Do nothing to foster the increase of the 'dangerous classes'; seek rather to absorb them in the community by raising them to self-respect, to knowledge, to industry, to happiness. That is statesmanship; everything else is inhumanity and folly." Will Mr. Wasson "venture to say" anything contrary to that?

6. The "clew" to our "induction" which Mr. Wasson asks for is not far to seek; it is before him in the articles already printed. We shall be encouraged to say more when what we have already said has been understood and digested. The above letter shows that he has read these articles in the most superficial and inattentive manner; we will not do him the injustice of taking him at his word, when he declares that he "can understand" us "no otherwise" than to be uttering nonsense about "Yahoos" and the "universal beast." He can certainly understand us, if he tries, to be saying something worthy of his most strict attention. Let him grapple with the subject in good earnest, and he will find that the position we take cannot be shaken by mere rhetorical flippancies, or satirical allusions to the scientific method, or the reckless confounding of an argument for the abolition of all illiteracy with an argument on behalf of ignorant suffrage. Mr. Wasson's "understanding" is not so feeble as he represents; he is a highly-intellectual, finely-cultivated, and rarely-gifted man, and we shall be glad to publish his keenest criticism of our position, if he will but first take the little pains necessary to understand it.

RELIGION IN THE PINE WOODS.

One Sunday morning in February, as fair a morning as ever comes in New England in May, I set out from my inn in pursuit of a church in the North Carolina woods. In our drives through the country I had seen one—a plain, unpainted, wooden structure, standing at the meeting of four roads in a native grove of magnificent oaks,—that seemed to have special attractions on such a morning. The air was just crisp enough to make a walk inviting, yet so warm as to make even a thin overcoat burdensome. What was the theology of the meeting-house or whether its congregation was white or black, I was ignorant. I only knew that it was fair for situation. Two or three miles over hills and valleys and through cathedral forests brought me to the spot. To my surprise it was as solitary as I had seen it on any week-day. Evidently there was to be no service; at least, not in the morning. One door, however, had but a slight fastening and I ventured in. The unpainted seats and pulpit of pine, the whitewashed walls, the perfect simplicity of the whole, told me that it was a Baptist or Methodist conventicle, after the primitive fashion of those sects. There was not the slightest attempt at decoration, and its only glory was in the blue heavens that arched over its solitude and the old oaks that stretched their arms around it.

But I was not to be cheated of the service which I had come out to seek. On my way, a half-mile or more back, I had noticed, a little off the main road, in a pine woods, a humbler house of logs, around which a few colored folks were gathering. This, I said, is probably their church, and I will go back to the service there. And right glad was I of this change of fortune, for as soon as I approached I saw there was promise of unusual interest. The building itself was unique in its fascinations for a New Englander. It was of pine logs, the interstices being filled with the reddish clay of the neighborhood. Portions of the bark still remained on the logs, and the structure, having been put up within a year, was still redolent of the pleasant pine odor. This was its natural incense. The benches were pine slabs with the bark side down, and mostly without backs, and the pulpit almost as rude in its structure. The windows were innocent of glass, and were only orifices about two feet square, covered with wooden shutters, two or three of which, as well as the door, were left open to let in the necessary light. The roof was also of pine slabs, and not so tight but that some spots of sky could be seen through it, and some rays of sunshine streamed down upon the congregation. No paint nor plaster covered the log walls within more than without. Nor did stove or fire of any kind infect the natural atmosphere of the place. Just in front of the house, on a low pile of stones, a fire was burning in the open air, at which the early comers who rode might warm their feet or fingers and enjoy a social conference before the service. It was a good symbol of an altar. An awning of pine boughs covered the space between this and the front door, under which rude seats were also arranged to receive the overflow of the congregation. The building itself would hold, packed as it was this day, at least one hundred and fifty people—perhaps two hundred.

The minister, a wide-awake-looking colored man of about forty years, soon discovered the stranger in his fold, and soon too, got out of him the secret that he also sometimes tried to preach. I found it quite useless to attempt to make him understand the theological differences between us, for he seemed guiltless of any theology except his own; appeared to have heard of no one more liberal than Henry Ward Beecher. I courteously declined, however, his courteous invitation to preach then and there, for to have been compelled to hear my own voice would have been a worse disappointment than the silence of the other church. So the minister himself preached and performed most of the service, I only assenting to take a seat by his side. He had evidently little knowledge of books; stumbled a good deal over some of the long words in his reading of the Bible, and sometimes, it was apparent, did not take in the meaning of the sentences. But when he came to the sermon he showed considerable power of language and no little natural eloquence. As one of his flock said to me before the service, "He was a right smart preacher." He *was* earnest and held the close attention of his hearers, who clearly had a great liking for him. At times he became quite excited and boisterous, and then the people readily responded with "Amens," and some of the women came very near going into trances. The discourse, however, had few of the characteristic features of the best negro preaching. It savored too much of imitation of white folks' preaching, as did also the singing, thoroughly to satisfy me, though it was enjoyable. The preacher was Methodist, I discovered, and his sermon, the subject of which was courage and strength in the heart to serve God, was run in the mould of the ordinary Evangelical theology. The only application of the subject was to the one step of "getting religion" and keeping it to the end,—namely, death. Not a word did the preacher have to say about these great qualities of trust, courage, and the strong heart in the daily habits and doings of life.

Yet he quickly took the hint of such an application from some words that I dropped, when I could not refrain from accepting his renewed invitation to speak, just for the sake of pointing the way to an application of the doctrine of the discourse to the common affairs of life,—to education, industry, struggle with poverty, bad habits, etc. For then he took up the subject again in just that line, and made some most excellent remarks on what was required in the matter of education. He became both pertinent and personal; told them that there were men among them who, if they would save the money they spent for whiskey, could send their children to school with it four months every year, and that there were women there who could do the same with the money they might save by leaving off dipping snuff. And he proved it to them by a plain example in arithmetic.

After the service the minister and his daughters brought out their lunch-basket and offered its hospitality to me. The people mostly appeared to have brought somewhat of refreshments with them, for they would linger an hour or two yet in the beautiful grove. I could not decline this simple form of communion,—which was not a tradition, but had the heart of a living fellowship.

The two thoughts that especially remained with me as I walked homeward towards the westering sun, were, first, what a mighty power the colored preachers have over their people; and, secondly, what a misfortune that this power is not more enlightened, and turned in this civil exigency into the practical directions where the colored people of the South now so greatly need wise assistance. Here, in this simple, hearty congregation of worshippers in the woods, were excellent emotions, pure aspirations, true instincts. What was needed was light, knowledge. These people can be best reached through their own ministers at present. But cannot philanthropy devise some agencies more efficient than any now in operation for reaching and enlightening the colored ministers in the South?

W. J. P.

Communications.

THE INCENTIVES TO MORALITY IN LIBERALISM.

I was particularly out of sorts that day; and yet I ought not to have been, for it was one of those bright invigorating days, with cloudless skies and crisp, bracing air, of which we had so many in February, and which were so expressive of joy in Nature that one felt almost a churl to refuse to be in sympathy with it. But there had been an unfortunate combination of news coming to me from different sources for a day or two previously, which had caused me to feel as if the world was more than usually awry. Several people, of whom I expected better things, had gone astray and disappointed me. The more I tried to reconcile the things that were with the things I had hoped for, the more my brain became confused and the harder my head and heart ached. I took a sudden resolution; I would escape from these distressing thoughts by immediate contact with Nature. I would take a walk.

My walk led me by the abode of my friend Gloriana. I was too deeply absorbed in thought to look up as I was passing, until a tap at the window arrested my attention. I looked up then to see Gloriana's bright face framed in one of the squares of glass. She beckoned me impatiently to come in, and opened the door for me herself as I ascended the steps.

"Come in, and defend your faith, Amie," was her greeting; "the new faith—isn't that what you call it?"

"From what or from whom shall I defend it?" I asked.

"From Christine and myself—and a letter, or the writer of a letter," was the reply. Christine was there, then! She had evidently just arrived and was reading a letter; and her expressive face showed that she was in full sympathy and accord with the spirit of the writer; but it was a pained sympathy, a sad accord, I felt, as she raised her tear-moistened eyes to me in greeting.

"Whose is the letter, yours, or Christine's, or mine?" I asked; "and who is the writer?"

"The letter is addressed to me," replied Gloriana, "and is from my friend Olive B——, who visited me last summer, you remember, and who so strongly disapproved of my investigating tendencies. She is a more belligerent Christian than our friend Christine, here, and in her correspondence with me never fails to attack whatever weak point she finds, or thinks she finds, in 'so-called liberalism' (that is her expression, not mine, remember, Amie), a mode of procedure which I, of course, approve of and encourage, since I am still 'halting between two opinions,' yours and Christine's. In this letter her arraignment of the new religion is more than usually grave and severe. I had just referred the case to Christine, and was wishing for your aid in the discussion of the *pros* and *cons* of the question which is raised by it, when, fortunately, I caught sight of you going past. Now let me read to you that part of the letter relating the case."

And taking the letter from Christine she read as follows:—

"I have just had an illustration of the dangerous tendencies of your 'new faith' brought home to me in a bitter way by a visit to the home of a dear brother whom I have not seen for years, and who, it seems, in the meantime has become a convert to liberalism. You never knew my brother Harold,

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Gloriana, but he was a noble, brave, intellectual, and manly fellow, of whom we were all proud, and of whom we anticipated great things. He was brought up, as we all were, very religiously, and he was himself a consistent member of our church until he grew to manhood and entered the army, serving his country well and faithfully until her time of need was passed. Then he resumed the law practice which he had given up at the call of patriotism, married a lovely, lovable, and intellectual woman, and moved West. Since then I have known very little about him until I made up my mind to visit him this winter. Ah me! what a disappointment has this visit been to me. I find my once strictly moral and conscientious brother a frequenter of liquor-sal ons, a devotee of the billiard-table, an attendant of theatres and balls, often out till very late, leaving his wife a prey to gloomy fears and forebodings; and he is slowly breaking her heart and spirit, not by positive unkindness (he is incapable of anything like cruelty or unkindness), but because she sees so plainly whereto these lax habits are tending. He is not in anything really wicked, but is a victim to the invidious growth of bad morals, needing reformation sadly, but resenting any intimation that he is in need of reform. His wife sees and feels this keenly, but loves him too well to venture to take any decided action to bring him 'about face' to right doing again, for fear of losing his love or hurting his feelings. Worst of all, he has four fine boys on whose characters his example must have an evil influence. I, as in sisterly duty bound, have several times ventured to speak to him of the danger and folly of his course, but the result has been only a cold avoidance of me on his part, and I see plainly that I can do no good in that way. I pray for him daily, but with a knowledge of his peculiar views I am afraid I do not pray in faith. Now you are wondering what all this has to do with liberalism. Well, this once pious brother of mine has made what he calls a scholarly investigation of theology, and, being convinced of its errors, loves to proclaim himself a liberal; and you cannot blame me if I connect my brother's fall from a strictly conscientious course of life to his present dissipated habits to his loss of faith in the religion of his childhood. At least, is there anything in liberalism or free religion to reach and reform these cases? That this *is* often done by the churches which the freethinker so decries, you must admit. They are caught up, as it were, in a whirlwind of repentance, and quit at once and forever their evil habits and lax mode of life. They are made over into attentive husbands, faithful fathers, and good citizens. Oh, my friend, abide by the Church which has power to *reform*,—which all your boasted freedom of thought fails to do."

"That is one of the strongest props of my faith in the Christian religion," assented Christine, as Gloriana finished reading,—"this great power of moral reform."

"And I must confess that the lack of strong moral incentive in liberalism has been one of the greatest hindrances to my full faith in its intellectual conclusions," added Gloriana.

"And my confession is," said I with a sigh, "that the great moral weakness and imperfection of human nature, the constant necessity for strong moral incentives to reform, has been one of the greatest drawbacks to my belief in any overruling or interfering Providence such as Christianity professes to believe in. The Church gets credit for a great deal of reformatory work which it is not entitled to. It has had eighteen centuries in which to perfect the morality of the world, and how much has it accomplished toward that result? If it were so strong a reformatory engine as it professes to be, it ought, at the very least, to have made all the believers in its doctrines men and women of the highest moral character."

"Well, and does it not do that Amie?" gently urged Christine; "are not all church-members persons at least expected to be of the best moral character? Is not every one who is known to be of questionable repute at once turned out of the church, and their names stricken off its records?"

"Yes, that is true," I went on; "but the church *membership* is no true standard by which to judge the number of believers in Christianity, for the church-members do not form a tithe of the believers on whom so reformatory a belief should do its pure and perfect work. It is just by this careful winnowing and sifting process that the Church is able to build itself up upon so magnificent a sophism. Only the best disposed Christians, only those persons who have inherited or achieved by self-culture a desire for the good and true, are accepted out of the great mass of Christian believers to be called to the 'inner sanctuary' of church membership. But the multitude of outside Christians who countenance and aid Christianity by money, work, and undoubting assent to its teachings and dogmas, who are just as truly Christians as such men as the one referred to in this letter is a freethinker,—does the Church hold itself responsible for the vast amount of immorality and crime which may be and is among them? If not, why then should liberalism be chargeable with the weaknesses or immoralities of its mere professing believers? What we have to discuss is the relative power of these two intellectual forces to mould and train rightly the human race into habits of the highest importance to the welfare of the coming man and woman."

"But really, Amie," said Christine in a tone of surprise, "do you not think that Christianity will have by far the strongest argument to put forward in such a discussion,—Christianity with its assured immortality; its heaven of reprisal and reward to put hope into the hearts of the tired and discouraged ones of earth; its threat of punishment to the frowardly wicked; its promise of present love, sympathy, and help from the ever watchful Father, to the despairing and disconsolate; its assurance of the companionship of our loved and lost in the beyond?"

"In all these things which you hold up as the glory of your religion, Christine, do you not see that the central idea of all is a constant appeal to a coarse selfishness? Its heaven is one where you are to be supremely happy because *you* personally are safe and provided for, where you are to sing and shout hosannas to the Lord who, with power to save, lets your weaker brother or sister slip down to the gates of hell, and slip into hell itself; who punishes weakness and inability to see things in an Orthodox light with a cruel torture which has revenge and not reform for its end. The promise held up to the faithful of 'present help in time of need,' is a promise never fulfilled save in imagination. The hope of meeting again with our beloved is not asserted, nor is it denied by those who build their hopes only on the sure foundation of what they know. It is a selfish ideal throughout; that is, it teaches us to be selfish. In all the highest idealisms of mankind, self-abnegation, a pure unselfishness of action, wins our highest praise and touches nearest our ideal of true glory. It is the story of Christ's unselfish sacrifice that throws the greatest halo around Christianity, and it is unselfish morality which is the highest lesson being taught to-day by liberalism. To deny one's self present pleasures, to overcome inherited weakness of character and will by force of moral courage, not for present or personal gratification, but that our children and our children's children may inherit from us only the best humanity, the highest perfected manhood and womanhood,—*that* is the lesson the new faith teaches; that is liberalism's incentive to morality."

"Ah, that is glorious!" exclaimed Gloriana, her dark eyes kindling; "if that was what liberalism really meant, I could at once accept it. But so many pervert freethought into immorality and a right to seek only their own selfish good! Now in this case of my friend's brother—he, it seems, takes the coarse materialistic view that this life is all the life we are to have; therefore he has a right to enjoy that life in any way that is most easy and agreeable to himself; that he must 'eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die'; and what incentive has he to act otherwise?"

"I am afraid that he and such as he have only looked at one aspect of the new philosophy. He has become convinced of the inconsistencies of Christianity without caring to understand clearly the new duties laid upon him by acceptance of the religion of evolution. If he fully understood those duties, he would not dare encourage in himself ways of life which will not only work harm to himself in debilitating his physical system and weakening his brain-force, by making his home-life, which should be sweet and harmonious, discordant and jarring. But the sadness and depression which his actions have brought upon the mind of his wife, as well as the weakness of body and brain he has brought upon himself, will be sure to be repeated by the unyielding laws of heredity, not only in the minds, characters, and bodies of those four fine boys of which he is the father, and as many more children as shall be born to him, but those evils will be renewed perpetually in all their descendants. To the real thinker such knowledge as this must brace him to self-reform or sink him to self-contempt."

Christine shook her head with a smile of tenderest pity for my delusions, as she said:—

"Ah, my friend, you hope too much from poor, frail humanity. Not in his own strength is it possible for man to overcome his corrupt nature."

"That may be, Christine," observed Gloriana, whose beautiful eyes were just now lustrous with wistful longing; "but the idea is nevertheless a grand one. I wish we could so perfect ourselves as to work unselfishly for humanity at large. It is a work, too, in which the humblest of us could take part."

And I, catching a little her enthusiasm, repeat from Winwood Reade:—

"All men indeed cannot be poets, inventors, or philanthropists; but all men can join in that gigantic and god-like work, the progress of creation. Whoever improves his own nature improves the universe of which he is a part. He who strives to subdue his evil passions—vile remnants of the old four-footed life—and who cultivates the social affections,—he who endeavors to better his condition, and to make his children wiser and happier than himself,—whatever may have been his motives, will not have lived in vain."

With that our discussion rested; and I took my departure—and my deferred walk—from which I returned home in a more cheerful frame of mind; but whether that was a result of my walk or our talk I am not sure. SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

STRAWS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

It may seem only a trifle which now and then I am able to send you concerning the progress of liberalism in Milwaukee; but every indication, however slight, that betokens progress at all, I send speeding across the country, sure of its generous welcome to the hospitable columns of THE INDEX.

There have been no Moody and Sankey shows in our city this season, which, I take it, is a good sign, although the Orthodox churches are, I believe, flourishing after their usual fashion. The usual number of fairs, festivals, church concerts, and the like, have been in order to promote their financial affairs; so I fancy they are not altogether paying institutions.

We have had regular lectures in the Popular Sunday Course, which have been well attended whenever the programme presented enough attraction to draw. The society made the mistake of engaging lecturers through a Bureau, and the consequence has been that third-rate talent, or less, has been foisted upon the community, advertised as first-rate, and the financial matters of the society do not stand as well as at the same date last season. There is little doubt, however, that the Sunday Lecture will become a permanent institution. Experience will give wisdom to the directors, and eventually the public may hope to receive a higher order of platform instruction than is just now offered in a course which aims solely at popularity. Literary treats have been furnished by the society at the low price of twenty cents admission, which compare more than favorably with long-established lecture courses with prices at fifty cents and one dollar.

The Liberal League is not dead, as might be assumed from the long period which has passed since last heard from. Its members were active in a very quiet way in getting a bill before the legislature for the taxation of church property. This bill, all glory to Wisconsin legislators, was ably advocated, and lost by only a very small majority.

A noticeable feature in the legislature this winter has been the absence of any appointed chaplain. In the reporters' column of legislative matter we have seen such notes as these: "The session was opened without prayer"; "No praying done to-day"; "Rev. ——— assaulted the Lord for the benefit of the members"; etc., etc. This is quite a significant straw, to be blown from the stack of superstitions, and shows which way the breath of public opinion is veering.

At the celebration of Thomas Paine's birthday anniversary, held in the German Turner Hall, Rev. G. E. Gordon, of the Unitarian society, read an admirable paper on the "Political and Religious Character of Thomas Paine." It was a fine effort, temperate in tone, placing this much-abused man in a just and pleasing light. The courage of Mr. Gordon, who in the teeth of lingering prejudices endeavored to remove from the public mind the stigma which prejudice branded upon the name of a man and a patriot whom a nation should remember with honor, can scarcely be mentioned in terms too commendatory. A minister presenting the virtues of Thomas Paine, at a public festival in a public hall, is an innovation that seems almost miraculous, in the thought of one who well remembers that thirty years ago a "Tom Paine supper," as it was styled, was looked upon in a community as the culmination of vulgar wickedness. Men who participated in the festivities were hardly considered good citizens, and were the subjects of prayers from the pulpits. Were a lady to have attended such a place, she would have been tabooed from all respectable society. In fact, although I was very young, I well remember a lady, who must have been as brave as she was in advance of all her compeers, who did attend such a supper. Her lover discarded her, and the village women all gave her a cold shoulder. At the risk of a somewhat uncalled-for episode, I will relate further of this lady that she afterward married an ordinary but upright young man, and emigrated to the then far West. The record of her life ran henceforth to the same measure as did that of Maud Muller. This glorious woman, rusted under the drudgery of farm-life, without books or papers, who had given such promise in her early womanhood as is seldom seen, shunned as that most awful of anomalies, an "infidel woman,"—this accomplished lady, who had read exhaustively and thought broadly, coming to conclusions that are too common nowadays to be noticeable, after the struggle for existence on an Illinois prairie, lapsed into a careless, almost crude woman without incentive to improvement; too worn and hopeless for intellectual effort.

This little story tells in stronger language than I could otherwise speak of the strides which freethought has taken in the last quarter of a century. It is possible to-day for the name of a noted infidel to be remembered and honored in a mixed assemblage of ladies and gentlemen. To-day a lady of refinement, and greatly respected, writes a popular book entitled the *Heroines of Freethought*. In those other days the reputation of a lady was sacrificed because she dared be a "heroine of freethought."

Science has had a fair showing in our city this season. Among our own citizens we have men capable of giving first-class lectures on scientific subjects, who are broad and liberal in their views and are thus in various ways educating the public thought.

Then we have been furnished with courses of scientific lectures by two eminent teachers, Prof. Edward S. Morse and Prof. Gunning. Prof. Gunning is throwing bomb-shells of new thought throughout the West, making sad havoc with old religious and social opinions.

Prof. Morse paid a high compliment to his Milwaukee audience, and it deserved it. It was an audience of attentive, thoughtful people, so much in sympathy with the scientist that he could not help answering to it by his finest effort, and by a freer expression of his evolution theories than is possible with an ordinary assemblage.

To conclude: our newspapers are gradually becoming freed from the policy which fancies it can only please by being "cheerful toward prejudices." Their columns are opened to discussion on subjects hitherto denied it, and fair reports are given of all meetings and lectures of a secular as well as of a religious character. In large cities where this course has become common the value of this forward step can hardly be appreciated. A timorous press is one of the serious drawbacks to progress which every provincial town must endure; and "it is easy to understand," as John Morley says in his book on *Compromise*, "the reaction of this intellectual timorousness upon the minds of ordinary readers, who have too little natural force and too little cultivation to be able to resist the narrowing and deadly effect of the daily iteration of poor, short-sighted common-places."

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To note a straw in connection with the press is a pleasant task. There is less to be feared from craven priests than a cowardly press.

While writing these concluding words, the intelligence comes of the appointment of Carl Schurz to the Cabinet of the new President. As Mr. Schurz is indisputably a Wisconsin man and a representative radical, a bit of exultation will, I trust, be excusable. One of our morning journals raises the objection to this appointment that Carl Schurz is an "open and avowed infidel, and that there will be no God injected into the Constitution by his leave." Very good! I am almost ready to forgive President Hayes for consenting to the country's coöperative praying on Sunday last in consideration of his appointment of Carl Schurz. AMELIA W. BATE.

MILWAUKEE, March 9, 1877.

THE "SHAKER" DOCTRINE OF THE SABBATH.

A LETTER FROM ELDER EVANS.

What is it? "God did rest, the Sabbath day, from all his works. He rested and was *refreshed*." How did he rest? Was he tired? He that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his. How did God cease from working?

Had Jesus given them rest, he would not afterwards have spoken of another day—another Sabbath. "There remaineth, therefore, a rest, or Sabbath, for the people of God," yet to come. Jesus gave to his followers no Sabbath day. When himself and disciples broke the Jewish Sabbath, Jesus justified it. We do good on the Sabbath, and so will ye also, when it suits your selfish convenience. "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." Jesus was Lord of the true Sabbath.

The Centennial Commissioners admitted thousands each Sabbath day. They excluded the masses, to whom the Exposition belonged, and who had as good a right as the Commissioners to be their own judges of what comported with their own welfare. It was a national affair—a World's Fair. As this nation is composed of all theological sectarians on earth, each day is a Sabbath, held sacred by some of its people. The American government is no more Christian than Hindu, and has no constitutional right to teach or enforce any form of theology, nor to appoint a theological Sabbath. It was insulting the people of the whole world to invite them to a World's Exhibition, and then compel them, at great expense, to lose one day in seven, observing a Sabbath, not their own—and then have to keep their own Sabbath, or be irreligious.

As a people, an order, our existence is assured only so long as the government remains unsectarian, separate from all theology, just as Jefferson and Paine created and left it,—a *civil government*.

The Shaker Church, or dispensation, is "the Sabbath of the Lord—the Sabbath of Jesus." It includes the short-time Sabbaths of the Jews, one day in seven, one month in seven, and one year in seven, and then the Jubilee, typical of the dispensation wherein there should be no poverty, the land and labor being in common. At the Jubilee of Jubilees, or Sabbath of Sabbaths, the land returned to its proper owners—the people,—men, women, and children. A general bankrupt law released all debtors, and slaves were made land-owners. The radical principle revealed by Jehovah, that land was no more property than sea, air, or sunshine, was operative in the short-time Sabbaths. Shakerism is Lord of the short-time Sabbaths,—swallows them up. It is a long-time perpetual Sabbath, a day of rest from selfish property and its concomitant curses. The truth, the good, this blessing of Gospel brotherhood and sisterhood, ultimated in Pentecostal love, the law of life, the Pentecostal Church. This was the man-child which the dragon, Rome, the first beast, coming up out of the sea, destroyed from earth. The murderous Emperor Constantine sat up in its stead an anti-Christian kingdom, likened to a bear, lion, and leopard. It was a Church-and-State system of rights, ceremonies, dogmas, creeds, and a *Sunday*, with other days of saints and martyrs innumerable, as now observed by Catholics; marriage, war, land monopoly, religious persecution, the inquisition, and the misery to the poor, consequent upon the abrogation of even the short-time Sabbaths that, under the law did provide for a day, a month, a year, and then during the Jubilee, all the substantial necessaries and comforts of life, by universal possession and enjoyments of the earth, for a time leaving the *all things common* of the Pentecostal Church entirely out of sight of the poor, as being utterly impracticable on earth.

The second beast—Protestantism—came up out of the earth, copying all the evils of the first, and omitting nearly all the good of the short-time Sabbaths of the Jews, and many of the doctrines and practices of the Primitive Christian Church. Then we have the Protestant Puritan Sabbath, Thanksgiving, and Christmas, *stuffing those who have and starving those who have not*,—a purely ceremonial day, no Sabbath at all, nay, not even the shadow of one. Anti-Christ has reigned and made desolate. All is Babylon, a permanent religious panic. "Come out of her, *my people*, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and receive not of her plagues, her seven plagues," was the call of God to Mother Ann and her followers, no less than to the rationalists, infidels to Babylon theology, sceptics of all kinds, those who had "wondered after the beast or his image." Through the more spiritual elements, these latter were first called by the Gospel to found the first cycle of the new heavens. The former class were called by the same spirit, at the same time, to found the first cycle of the new earthly governments—the government of the United States. The earth had to be redeemed, as a basis for the new heavens to rest upon, and as a source of supply of members, by which alone a celibate order could be supported. Is it consistent, or would it be right, for followers of the first and second beast—Sectarians—to bring into Zion the prejudices and persecuting spirit of religious bigots against the infidels to false theology and its damnable effects upon mankind? It is an error to be eradicated. Each of these parties has some truths the other needs, and each has some errors to be shaken off.

Hume, Voltaire, Humboldt, Tyndall, Paine, Jefferson, Franklin, and their fellows, search for God in Nature, in man. Their religion was, and is, to do good to all men; to kill no human being, nor even to torture them. Voltaire caused the abolition of torture in France as applied to witnesses. Paine sought to abolish capital punishment and war, and voted in the French Assembly to kill the King, but to spare the *man*, Louis.

The infidel class in America have effected the abolition of imprisonment for debt, caused homestead bills to be passed, and secured the freedom of the public lands to actual settlers, given women protection in property to some extent,—have done good, and nothing but good. Lincoln, an infidel, signed the Emancipation Act. What have the religious, Orthodox party of America to show of practical, national good done on earth? Have they not opposed every good measure for redeeming the earth, from that of land limitation to the abolition of slavery? Is not their selfish, cruel oppression enough to make men mad? The Orthodox party did make men mad by their crusades and St. Bartholomew massacres, their Inquisition, religious wars, and persecutions. Is not all the blood shed upon earth of Babylon—Church and State—religion? And God gave her blood to drink in the American and French Revolutions,—a reaction of humanity against the ecclesiastical, theological tyranny and oppression of past ages. Paul said to the Galatians: "I stand in doubt of you—ye observe days, and months, and times, and seasons. The son of man is Lord of all these." Having been called into the Gospel with its increasing cross, they preferred the shadow to the substance. They would rather pay a tenth than sacrifice all their property,—preferred being circumcised to living a virgin life. It was easier to give eye for eye, tooth for tooth, than be non-resistant, or return good for evil. The anti-Christian world would much sooner keep a Puritanical, artificial Sabbath-day than abolish slavery, forgive debts, or undo heavy burthens and let the oppressed poor go free. Even the New England Sabbath-day keeping, with the non-observance of dietetic and procreative laws, enjoined by Moses, is likely to end in the extinction of the Yankee race. Two children to three families indicates a lack of blessing somewhere. This New England Gospel is not equal to the *law of types and shadows* of the true Gospel.

In short, there is no objection to the civil government's appointing a non-theological day of rest; neither is there any objection to peoples observing any day as a theological Sabbath, as do the Jews. And believers, like Friends, may regard as sacred any time set apart for spiritual and religious observance. But they should never lose sight of the fact that the Gospel is full salvation from the multifarious sins of the world—is the great jubilee of jubilees—the Sabbath of Sabbaths—the Sabbath of Jesus.

F. W. EVANS.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I am pleased to see the woman question discussed by editor and correspondents in THE INDEX. I can see but one course for liberal people to take, and that is to favor the equal rights of women with men. As to the elective franchise, the only question is: "Is it just that women should vote?" If it is, then they should vote without regard to consequences.

The denial of the ballot has always been put on the ground that those deserving it are incapable of using it. That is the argument of despots. I feel sure that, if the women could vote to-day *just as they are* they would vote God into the Constitution; but they cannot vote to-day, and if liberals are true to their principles, the women will learn, or the most intelligent ones will learn by the time they get the franchise, who their friends are politically.

As I heard Wendell Phillips say once: "Do justice though the heavens fall, and you will find that the heavens will not fall." So I would say: "Do justice to the women though they vote God into the Constitution, and they will not vote God into that instrument."

One thing is evident: the Christian Church will never allow women equal rights with men. Recently a number of the Christian denominations have had the question under discussion, and have all so far decided against women. The best proceedings of the kind that I have seen I cut from the *Sun* of to-day which is as follows:—

NOW THE BAPTISTS TAKING UP A SUBJECT THAT HAS DISTURBED THE METHODISTS.

The Rev. William Hayne Leavell, pastor of the Stanton Street Baptist Church, read an essay in the Baptist ministers' meeting yesterday, entitled, "Shall women participate in the public exercises of the church?" He said that in order to appreciate the prohibition by Paul, the manner of primitive worship should be considered. Worship was spontaneous; persons took part according to their ability to edify and entertain. Two rules were of binding force,—non-interference with the services, and the edification of the whole church and not of single individuals. In such meetings about which Paul gives special directions, women are plainly prohibited from a public exercise of their gifts. The Apostle says first that there shall be no insubordination of the established order and usages. Then he says particularly, "Let your women keep silence in the churches." He says, also, that it is not permitted unto them to speak, "inasmuch as it manifests a spirit of independence at war with the social position to which God has assigned them." Women are here required to occupy a position secondary to that of man, "for it is incumbent on them to be under obedience," according to the plain teachings of the law. "And if they will learn anything," says Paul, "let them ask their husbands at home." The Apostle goes further and makes an appeal to the public sense of propriety, saying, "For it is a shame for women to speak in the church." As the peculiar power and influence of women depend on their being the objects of admiration and affection, anything that tends to lower women in the estimation of men should be avoided. In the first epistle to Timothy, Paul says:—

"Let women learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression."

These interdictions are upheld by four of the ablest of modern critics,—Alford, Angus, Hodge, and Lange. Women are, however, not enjoined from laboring in and for the church. There are many ways in which women may exercise their gifts and influence for Christ without putting themselves in a position in which they will be subject to unfavorable criticism.

The ministers, after listening attentively to the essay, made no comment.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 7, 1877. G.

STATE SECULARIZATION AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The cause of woman's suffrage has long lain very near my heart. I believed that, granted this right pertaining to her as an individual, she would have larger incentive and wider opportunity to develop the mind which she has inherited equally with her brother man. Until within a few years, save in rare instances, women have been servants and drudges, or pets and playthings. With the power to vote, I thought she would necessarily be led to inform herself upon the vital questions which lie at the foundation of true liberty.

I heard an ordinarily intelligent woman, not long since, express herself with surprise that "any intelligent man can take an interest in politics. I do not read the papers; I am tired of the very name of politics; and as for enthusiasm it is positively childish!"

It is only too true that the present state of political trickery and "wire-pulling" presents to all upright people a disgusting appearance. Yet I have faith to believe that the right is slowly evolving from the mass of corruption; that in God's good time not only a green shoot but a stately and vigorous tree will rear its head in the pure air, whose fruit shall bless the nations. It has been hard for me to give up the hope of seeing woman suffrage established soon. A few years ago it seemed as if it were near at hand. But when I witness the apathy of women themselves, their utter indifference as a class, and, worse than all, their illogical devotion to their Church, I not only begin to think the time far-off, but I conscientiously question the *expediency* of giving to women their just right until State Secularization be effected.

A Democrat informed me, a few days since, that the reason Republicans oppose woman suffrage is because nearly all women are Democrats! I for one do not believe this. But I am personally acquainted with but two women who would work for State Secularization as a preliminary to woman suffrage.

It is, of course, a matter of small moment whether I record my individual convictions or not. But I could not resist the wish to express my hearty assent to the truths which Mr. Abbot has so admirably presented in "Woman Suffrage and State Secularization" published in THE INDEX of February 15,—and I wish to ask how many women can and will join with me in the following resolutions; namely—

Whereas, Woman should enjoy the right of suffrage equally as an individual with man; but, since the Christian Church has ever opposed and will continue to oppose equal individual rights,—and since the Secularization of the State affords the only sure means of establishing such rights on a just and permanent basis,—therefore,

Resolved, That we will uphold and work for, by every means in our power, State Secularization, believing that thereby woman suffrage will not only result, but *equal rights for all without regard to race, creed, or sex*, and that thus will come the greatest good to humanity.

MRS. MAGGIE STUART SIBLEY.

DR. FIELD writes in the *Evangelist*: "You know that, in crossing the Pacific, it becomes necessary to alter the reckoning of the days to conform to that of the Eastern or Western Hemisphere, according as a ship is sailing in one direction or the other. In going to Japan, when the 180th degree of longitude is reached (which is just half-way around the world from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, England, from which longitude is reckoned), a day is dropped, and in returning one is added. We crossed that meridian on the 18th inst., and so two days were put down in the ship's calendar as the 18th of June. Now as it happened that this was Sunday, we had two Sabbaths succeeding each other, one of which was the Sabbath in Japan and in all Asia, and the other was the Sabbath in America and in Europe. Some of our ship's company were puzzled to know which to keep; but I did not think it would do me any harm to keep both, and shall always remember with pleasure this double Sabbath on the sea."

ONE OF THE Democratic journals which has been conspicuously shocked at Col. Ingersoll's infidelity is the Chicago *Times*, a journal of such deep and humble piety, that it heads an account of a hanging, "Jerked to Jesus," and alludes to the new Moody Tabernacle in Chicago as "That Salvation Shop," adding: "The devil will catch it when they get that Moody machine in good working order, and the revivalist and his musical attachment begin to grind out Gospel. It will probably prove the biggest investment God has made for many years. After which a select assortment of patent-right souls will be thrown on the market."—*Tribune*.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE LABOR QUESTION—

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE CHICAGO woman who claimed to be miraculously cured of paralysis by prayer is pronounced a humbug by several physicians of that city.

THE MASSACHUSETTS House of Representatives, on March 30, rejected the woman suffrage bill by a vote of 122 to 88. It was the Bible that did it.

MLLE. AIMÉE, the singer, recently advertised a performance in New York on Sunday evening, but the police prevented it, on the ground that only "sacred concerts" were allowed on that day.

REV. DR. BELLOWS, of New York, is witty. At the recent dinner of the Harvard Alumni in New York, he is said to have alluded to Boston as "the Hub"; to Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, as "the Bub"; and to New York, a somewhat noisy place between the two, as "the Hub-bub."

THE EXPERIMENT of Catholic services by Father Byrne at the Massachusetts State Prison has aroused the open opposition of the Protestant Chaplain, Rev. Mr. Speare. The quarrel has got into the State House, and the Committee on Prisons has given public hearings on the subject. The chaplaincy system will be shaken by these outbreaks of sectarian jealousy, and it is to be hoped that the public will do a little hard thinking on the question—what right has the State to tax anybody for the preaching of Church dogmas?

ADDITIONAL SIGNATURES have been received as follows to the Liberal League petition for the Religious Freedom Amendment since our last issue: from Messrs. F. O. Dorr and Joseph Knight, Troy, N. Y., 143 names; from Dr. J. E. Wallace, New Orleans, La., 27; from Mr. Benj. F. Smith, Dedham, Mass., 140. Mr. Dorr had previously sent a list of 235 names from the same place, and the chirography shows plainly enough that most of them belong to professional and business men. Total number of signatures thus far received—8,114.

CONFUCIUS, it seems, was the founder of a peculiar aristocracy. "The recent death of his oldest male descendant calls attention to the curious fact that this family is the only one which has retained a grand position owing to a pedigree derived from a peaceful thinker. This family holds the highest place in the kingdom except the throne itself, and has retained it for two hundred and two years longer than the Christian Era. The governorship of the district surrounding the tomb of the sage and an estate of one hundred and sixty-five thousand acres are still held by the representative of the family, which now numbers over eleven thousand persons, and all this multitude are subject to him, while he receives royal honors even from the highest officials."

THERE IS a very candid article on "Thomas Paine" in *Potter's American Monthly* for February. Philadelphia's indescribable meanness in rejecting officially a tribute of general gratitude to Paine for his national services, and refusing to allow his bust in her public places, seems to be creating shame and chagrin in Philadelphia itself, if this magazine represents the city fairly. The writer of this article writes as a Christian, but nevertheless in a very just and appreciative spirit, of Paine's character and services, closing with these words: "Whatever may have been his private errors and infirmities, they ought not to be conspicuously obtruded. His political integrity and great public services were acknowledged by our forefathers of the Revolution, and we, their descendants, may not indeed deny the existence of such faults, but we ought to put them in the shaded background of a Centennial picture radiant with the glory of his patriotic deeds."

GOVERNOR HUBBARD, of Connecticut, appointed Good Friday, March 30, as "a day of humiliation and prayer." The *Jewish Messenger* protests indignantly against this new encroachment of the Christian Church. Says our good neighbor, the *Christian Register*: "The *Messenger's* indignation may seem rather excessive, unless we put ourselves in the places of our Jewish fellow-citizens, and remember that there is no established religion in the United States. The Jews cast so few votes that men in public life can afford to displease them by pleasing the far more numerous Christians; and yet what is just is not to be determined by the census or poll-list. Minorities have some rights that majorities are bound to respect, and religious rights are among them. The rights of a hundred good citizens are as sacred as the rights of a million, and are so regarded by fair-minded and magnanimous rulers." We wish the *Register* could speak half as respectfully of the protest of those who are neither Christians nor Jews against *all* such violations of secular government—even those which the *Register* itself approves.

REV. JOHN T. SARGENT, of this city, whose hospitable residence has so often harbored the Radical Club and the later Chestnut Street Club, died of pneumonia on March 26, aged sixty-eight years. The funeral took place on the afternoon of the 30th. James Freeman Clarke, Wendell Phillips, and John Weiss made addresses; Dr. Bartol prayed and Samuel Longfellow gave the benediction. The tribute of Mr. Phillips to the worth of his dead friend and comrade in the anti-slavery warfare of so many years—"true friend, loyal gentleman, brave reformer, devout Christian man," as he called him, in a farewell apostrophe of great pathos—was very impressive by reason of its exquisite simplicity and deep feeling. Mr. Sargent was dismissed from the Ministry-at-Large by the Unitarians of Boston about 1840, merely because he opened his pulpit to the heretic Theodore Parker—an event which, painful as it was at the time, he used to mention frequently afterwards with honorable pride. All through the dark and bitter years when freedom was a word of mockery in the United States, John T. Sargent stood forth boldly for the rights of the slave, and identified his life with the cause of the most hated agitators. Not especially conspicuous for intellectual ability, he was true and good to the core, and fought the good fight, and proved himself a moral hero, when so many men of mighty powers sold themselves to the enemy and slowly sank to shame. As we looked upon the motionless features for the last time, with their patient, gentle, relieved expression, we thought that here lay one who had grandly earned his repose. Peace to his ashes and long honor to his name!

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Alcestis in England.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL, FINSBURY, JANUARY 21, 1877.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

Not long ago the *Alcestis* of Euripides was produced at the Crystal Palace, with accompaniment of beautiful music by an English composer, Mr. Henry Gadsby. The large audience was profoundly interested, and evinced genuine sympathy with all that was noble, and abhorrence of what was base, in the characters and action brought before them. The event has appeared to me significant. *Alcestis* is one of the few ancient Greek melodramas. The majority of dramas left us by the poets of Greece turn upon religious themes, and usually they are tragedies. It is evident that to them the popular religion around them was itself a tragedy. Their heroes and heroines —such as Prometheus and Macaria—were generally victims of the jealousy or caprice of the gods; and though the poets display in their dramas the irresistible power of the gods, they do so without reverence for that power, and generally show the human victims to be more honorable than the gods. But the *Alcestis* of Euripides is not a tragedy; it ends happily, and in the rescue of one of those victims of the gods. It stands as about the first notice served on the gods that the human heart had got tired of their high-handed proceedings, and they might prepare to quit the thrones of the universe unless they could exhibit more humanity.

The story of *Alcestis* opens with the decree of the Fates that a certain man, Admetus, shall die. But Apollo, who had been befriended by Admetus, asks the Fates to spare him: The Fates say they are willing, provided any one can be found to die in his place; for the powers below have been promised their victim and must not be cheated, though it does not matter whether their victim be Admetus or somebody else. Upon this, Alcestis, the wife of Admetus, steps forward and offers to die in his stead. Admetus accepts this vicarious arrangement, but Apollo feels that it is a rather mean affair; so when Death comes to claim Alcestis, Apollo tries to argue the case with him. But Death plants himself upon the principle of divine justice. The notion of justice among the gods is, that either the sentenced culprit shall die or else some innocent person for him. Apollo is too well read in heavenly law to dispute this code, but he is rather ashamed of it, and then follows something peculiar. Knowing that neither he nor any other Deity can legally resist the decree of another deity, Apollo is reduced to hope for help from man. Human justice may save where divine justice sacrifices. He prophesies to Death that although he may seize Alcestis, a man will come who will conquer him, and deliver that woman from the infernal realm. There is then a pathetic scene in which Alcestis dies, making her last request to her husband to devote himself to her children, and reminding him of the happiness she had left in her father's palace to share his destiny, and at last die for him. But, now, when she is dead, Admetus' father, Pheres, bitterly reproaches his son for accepting life on such base terms as the death of another. The people generally reproach him in the same way, and at length Admetus feels that he has acted a disgraceful part, and his life so unworthily saved becomes worthless and miserable.

Then Hercules comes on the scene. He has been slaying lion and dragon, and he now resolves to conquer Death and deliver Alcestis. This he does; he descends into Hades, and delivers her from prison. He brings her to her husband amid the general joy.

There are several points in the story which present a significant parallelism to the very letter of the legend, that arose some centuries later, of Christ's descent into hell. For instance, when the rescued and risen Alcestis is brought into the presence of Admetus he cannot recognize her: she has yet too much that is ghostly about her. Hercules tells Admetus it is not lawful for her to speak to him "until she is unbound from her consecration to the gods beneath, and the third day come." So we see whence this idea of rising on the third day is derived, and what notions surrounded him who reported Jesus as at first not recognized by Mary, and then as saying to her, "Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to my Father." The consecration of Hades was still upon him.

However, it is not to such details as these that I wish to call your attention. It is more important to consider that the entire drama turns upon the same principles as the popular religion of England. It only requires a change of names to make *Alcestis* a Christian passion-play. We have in it the unappeasable law of fate corresponding to the divine decree, by which Jehovah himself was so fettered that there could be no remission of sentence without the shedding of blood. We have the barbaric notion that justice is satisfied by the vicarious suffering of any one at all, willing to sacrifice himself for the person involved—punishment by proxy. And then, we have a being who is a god in power, but man in heart: the god-man Hercules, whose father was Jupiter, but whose mother was a woman, Alcmene; and this incarnate son of God vanquishes the infernal powers, where a mere deity was powerless to do so on account of the heavenly etiquette, and the gods' peculiar notion of justice.

The god-man Hercules went through the earth destroying earthly evils in twelve great Labors. The legend was one of the most wide-spread and impressive throughout the Greek and Roman world at the time of the establishment of Christianity. From the old pictures of Christ's triumphal pilgrimage on earth, parallels to the chief labors of Hercules may be found. Christ is shown treading on the lion, the asp, the dragon, and Satan; and all the myths converge in his conquest of death and hell. In the old pictures of Christ delivering souls from Hades, Eve is generally shown coming out first in suggestive similarity to Eurydice following Orpheus, and Alcestis Hercules.

Such Greek myths mark an ascent of the human mind above the idea of their early theology, which had become a sort of pagan Calvinism. The advanced minds had plainly grown ashamed of gods who reigned with such an unjust idea as that of vicarious suffering; and Euripides dealt with the notion just as a freethinker now deals with the same. The audience at the Crystal Palace applauded Pheres when he denounced his own son for the meanness of accepting salvation through the suffering of another. What they applauded was an attack on the Christian schemes of redemption. Pheres only anticipated James Martineau, who once similarly rebuked the baseness of those who would not rather go to hell than be saved by the death and suffering of an innocent being. What would the audience have said to Pheres' sentiment, if it had been told them that they themselves were so many Admetuses, accepting safety at the cost of the innocent Alcestis of Calvary? What, if they had been reminded that the principle represented by death, that justice is satisfied by so much suffering without respect to who is the sufferer, is precisely the same as that by which Christianity declares that the divine law required a victim, but was quite satisfied if the innocent suffer for the guilty? The audience would, perhaps, have regarded such suggestions with horror, and yet they applauded the principle by which Christianity is now assailed. We need not complain of this. It is much to congratulate ourselves upon that in art, at least, we may have high and noble principles brought before the people, and responded to by them. It is much that a miserable superstition, though it may have enfeebled the moral sentiment of the people, has not yet eaten into their heart and instinct so far as to make them really put darkness for light, and honor disease as health.

In the ancient Greek religion, Jupiter stood just where Jehovah stood in the Jewish religion. They were both stern, jealous, vindictive deities—personifications of thunder and lightning,—with no humanity about them. Gradually, the Greeks became ashamed of Jupiter, and they began to worship heroes who had human hearts,—such as Hercules. In the same way, in another line of development, men became ashamed of Jehovah, and had to set up the human-hearted Christ instead of him. In the early days, when the worship of Christ meant an appeal against deified despotism, it was a healthy and noble worship. But that was before there was anything in the world called Christianity. Christianity was the overthrow of Christ. It was the invention of a priesthood who found that this novel idea of Christ, that God is love, sending sunshine alike on good and evil, would prove fatal to their power. For their purpose men must be terrified. So they contrived and intrigued until they unseated Christ with his gospel of love, by tacking on to him the discredited Jove and Jehovah, and setting their lightnings to work again. They were but too successful. He who came "not to condemn but to save" was make into an awful Judge of the quick and dead. They have transmitted to us precisely those ideas of death and hell, vicarious suffering and remorseless, divine decrees, which the Heraclean apotheosis in Greece at one period and Christ-worship at another, overthrew for a time; and they have compelled us to do the whole Protestant work over again, and recover Christ by a rebellion against Christianity.

To-day, again, we see rising a certain shame of theologic dogmas. Though the Church declares the Bible to be the word of God, it excludes much of it from its Lectionary, as unfit to be read in public. The preachers are so ashamed of their dogmas that they are angry at hearing them quoted, and say they are caricatures even when taken literally from their creeds and confessions. Lately, the honor has been conferred upon us of having our heresies made the subject of special treatment by the Christian Evidence Society, over which the Archbishop of Canterbury presides, assisted by many other prelates. Some recent controversies which we have had in Holloway led that Society to delegate four eminent clergymen to demolish our principles during the Sundays of Advent. Now, those sermons have been published; I have read them carefully; and in not one of them is there any defence of Christianity at all. Not one of them deals with the fall of man, human depravity, the atonement, or hell-fire. Not one of them has touched on anything distinctive in Christianity. They eulogize Christ's character, applaud his charity, praise the Sermon on the Mount, and discourse of everything but the real points at issue. No Hindu, reading those Advent sermons, could gather from any word in them that English religion believed in the devil at all, much less as the natural father of the human family; or in eternal hell-fire, or vicarious atonement to an unrelenting God. And yet these men were especially appointed to defend Christianity!

Why did they not defend it? Why, they are scholars, and scholars are ashamed of such dogmas. They are ashamed of a God who says he will laugh at the calamity of men and mock when their fear cometh; they blush for a dogma which says there was a bargain struck between the Divine Sovereign and Christ,—so much sin ransomed with so much blood; they feel the scandal of such guilty calumnies on men and God as human depravity and future tortures: they dare not defend such things. So they surround themselves with a cloud of verbal incense to Christ and Christianity, and hope people will understand that at the heart of the rhetorical cloud there is sound Orthodoxy. But I have never seen so

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startling a manifestation of the irresistible rationalism of this age as that four clergymen—among them a Professor of History and a Bampton lecturer—delegated by a Society of Bishops and Clergy to defend Christianity, should pass over its every distinctive dogma to praise virtues common to all religions of the world.

As Balaam in the legend was sent for by Balak to curse Israel but proceeded to bless them, these defenders of the faith have left at the end of their labors an impressive testimony that their so-called faith is indefensible, and that the most superstition can hope for is a golden bridge for its retreat before the reason and sentiment of our time.

I say the "sentiment" of our time, for the Orthodox theology is not only repudiated by disciplined reasoners, but the whole population have become so ashamed of it that it cannot be taught in the public schools. The religion now taught in the national schools is nearly the religion of Dr. Channing. It mainly depends now upon the advance of a higher order of teachers, such as is sure to appear, that those schools shall diffuse a rational religion. Such a phenomenon would be impossible were it not that the people have become ashamed of the traditional dogmas. It has become possible for our daily papers to write of "the unpardonable sin" as a curious survival of antiquity, as if it were not in both Bible and theology. An inquest was recently held on a poor lady who died of the belief that she had committed that Scriptural sin, and a leading newspaper* recommends the sea-side for such diseases. It also says such persons should be surrounded by friendship and love. Exactly so. Like Alcestis they are under the dark, deadly shadow of some heartless, though happily imaginary, deity or demon—some phantom of the terrors in Nature,—and like Alcestis they are to be brought from that region of shadows by such love as dwells in human hearts.

All this means a new religion subtilely penetrating, widely transfusing, the whole heart and brain of society. Mankind are saved by a divine humanity. This is what our ancestors tried to express, as they fled from gods of the storm to deities of love, incarnate in human hearts,—born of human mothers that they may bear a maternal tenderness to meet the needs of a humanity born of woman. "Had men been angels," says the Koran, "we had sent them an angel out of heaven; but we have sent them a man like themselves." All the incarnations believed in—Vishnu, Krishna, Christ—meant the universal love recognized in human love, as the sun might sign its course on a dial. Omar Khèyam said, "Diversity of worship has divided the human race into seventy-two nations; from among all their doctrines I have selected one—divine love." And now, seven centuries after him, the civilized world is making the same selection. It is quietly hiding out of sight, secretly burying, the dismal dogmas of divine wrath.

But we must take warning by the fact that this process has been gone through before our time; it has been gone through again and again, but in every case has been followed by relapse. Every bright incarnation marks a period when the human heart rebelled against some heavenly tyrant; but invariably has the new form been coerced into the vesture of the old, and the fallen thunderbolts pressed back into his hand. And this has always been done by one and the same power—that of self-interested priesthood. No priesthood can be strong except through fear. Many ages have proved that. To cultivate religious fear has always been their life in the past; and now, when the community has outgrown infra-natural fears—at least in civilized centres—they must invent some new kind of terror, or else abdicate. The investment in Christianity is too great for such abdication in this country, and so the priestly interest is busily conjuring up phantoms of another—a social—kind. It is declared that all morality depends upon churches and sects. There is still enough superstition to influence women and children, and this, we are told, must be carefully retained and fostered, or else men will break all restraints and carry society to rack and ruin. We are warned that our institutions are all built up together like an arch, Christianity among them; and if one stone gives way all the rest will tumble.

The only dark feature of our age is the spread of this guilty notion, that falsehood is essential to the welfare of human society. It is just that hypocrisy which really endangers society. If ever the loyalty of the people to law fails, it will be because the law insists on maintaining proven error, and on turning the means of education and happiness to the repression of science under superstition.

That the social edifice needs pious fraud to support it is the last superstition surviving among the educated, and it is that we have mainly to combat.

And neither Hercules nor Christ ever had a more monstrous thing to encounter. To identify the interests of superstition with those of social morality is not mere atheism; it is antitheism; it is not mere belief that there is no God; it is going against God; it is pitting falsehood against truth, upholding darkness against light, ascribing to ignorance more potency than right knowledge; it is to declare a universe whose every corner-stone is a lie!

The only saving faith of to-day is a faith that right can never do wrong, that truth can never misguide those who trust in it. The absence of this faith is the only scepticism of our time worth a moment's concern. The downfall of Jehovah, or the Trinity, is no more than the vanishing away of Jupiter and Diana who preceded them. Our posterity will witness the performance of "Paradise Lost" as calmly as we now do the same plot in the play of *Alcestis*. These things will pass away. But human society will not pass away; the habit of mind—whether it be truthful or untruthful; the human character—whether it be faithful or faithless;—these will not pass away. We are to-day weaving the destinies of the future, and every false, rotten thread we weave in will tell in the woof. We are weaving not for our own race alone, but for humanity. As the priestly frauds of seventeen centuries ago are fettering millions to-day—among them many of our own friends, and ourselves more than we know,—so will every lie sustained to-day bequeath a chain to those who come after us. Is humanity nothing to us? Then may we creep through our little conventional life, enjoy its petty rewards; but it will still be true that he who has not known the love of humanity, nor felt its inspiration, has missed and lost the great gospel of his time.

We must learn to read these ever new, though most ancient, revelations of the life in Nature to be unfolded through man. Long ago has *Alcestis* been set to the still, sad music of humanity, for those who can listen deep. All around us there is a Hades, and many there be that go in thereat. Even while we claim the triumphs of reason, and mark the skulking retreat of dogmatic phantoms waylaid by the morn, the shadow falls again upon us from the *miasma* of moral infidelity. Out of it darts the double-tongue, striking at the heart of all manly character. This is the inferno of those who see the truth, and applaud when it confronts the wrongs of distant ages, but before the errors of to-day cringe and crawl, and have one tongue for the conventional, another for the secret audience. Even honest ritualism is better than this unfaithful rationalism.

Each manly heart has an Alcestis to deliver. Each must combat with death,—whether it be the skeleton arms of a dead creed holding the mind in deadly grip of fear; or be it the moral death which has cheated our brother of his soul, and left him the social simulacrum of a man.

It does not require of us the might of Hercules, nor cost the blood of Christ, to make some rescues at least from the dark abodes of faithlessness and fear; but it does require still that we shall be filled with divine love, that we shall be animated by that alone, till in our human hearts there flame a passion for saving men, women, and children from the bondage of fear and the degradation of falsehood.

*See *Daily News*, January 19, 1877.

[For The Index.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

We are by no means treading upon entirely new ground, when we divide, as we have done, the entire domain of the mind (the mentismus) into a Without, a Within, and a Between. We have for so doing the illustrious authority of Emanuel Swedenborg, than whom, as yet, no mental scientist can take higher rank. As is appropriate to the mere mentalist, which Swedenborg was subsequent to his illumination, he uses the word Man as synonymous with Mind, or as if man were mind (mentismus) and nothing else. His terms for this threefold division, accordingly, are 1, The External Man, 2, The Internal Man, and 3, The Interior Man.

"In every person there is," says this wonderful author, "an internal and an external man; the internal man is called the *Spiritual* man, because it dwells in the light of heaven; the external man is what is called the natural man, because it dwells in the light of this world only."—*New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine*, 38, 179. Again, "The interior man is the *middle* between the internal and the external man; by means of the interior man, the internal communicates with the external, and without such *medium* no communication could possibly exist. The interior man is called the *rational* man, and is a mediatory communication between the celestial, spiritual, and corporeal principles."—*Arcana Cœlestia*, 1702. Again, "The internal man is formed of things celestial and spiritual; the interior or middle man of things rational; the external man of things sensual, not such as belong to the body, but such as are derived from bodily things; and this is the case, not only with men, but also with spirits."—*Arcana Cœlestia*, 978.

These technicalities of Swedenborg we may take as substantially synonymous with the Soul, the Spirit, and the Mind, as previously defined upon other grounds; and when thought more convenient, I shall not hesitate to substitute the Swedenborgian expressions. There are in other respects, also, exceedingly important correlations to establish between Swedenborg's thought, and the similar universological discriminations; and the universological method will enable us to interpret his writings throughout, into simple and ordinary modes of expression; or into the new technicalities when these are indispensable.

Swedenborg's mode of exhibiting the closer relation of the soul or of the external man to mundane things, and the greater remove of the spirit or internal man from such things—using his weird Biblical symbolism—is this: "The internal man is called the firmament; the knowledges in the internal man, the waters above the firmament; and the scientifics appertaining to the external man are called the waters beneath the firmament" (Gen. 1., 6).—*Arc. Cœl.* 24. All this must seem sufficiently mystical to the unaccustomed reader. A few words of explanation will render it clearer. Water is an emblem, as it is indeed, and will be shown to be, a true scientific analogue of mental lucidity, and hence of "knowledges" and "scientifics." By the firmament is meant the aerial world over our heads, with the seemingly fixed or immovable sky, which by the ancients was supposed to be really such. Under this ancient conception, the waters that came down in rain were supposed to be from a reservoir above the fixed sky. We now know these waters to be vaporous or diffused into absolute transparency, within the aerial firmament, not above it, but still above the earth's level, that is to say within the atmosphere or breath-sphere of the planet. This breath-sphere is, then, the analogue of spirit or breath generally. It is, therefore, by the analogy, both firmament and internal man; putting the planetary structure for the human structure. The twofold lodgement of the *hydrosphere* still holds good notwithstanding our scientific advancement in knowledge, one part and kind of it being in the atmosphere (or firmament), and the other (oceanic) beneath the atmosphere (or firmament). The waters diffused in the atmosphere hence come (with our author) to mean the kind of mental lucidity or of knowledges which inhere in the Spirit, or in the Internal Man, and the waters beneath the firmament to mean, ordinary scientifics, such as belong to the soul, or to the External Man.

The atmosphere or firmament means, with Swedenborg, always the Superior and Spiritual Condition; which he also always identifies with the internal world or man. That "up" or "on high" or "the highest" means with him the same as the Within is shown by the following passages: "Highest denotes the inmost, because interior things with man, who is in space, appear as superior things [higher up], and exterior things as inferior [lower down]; but when the idea of space is put off, as is the case in heaven, and also in the interior [or spiritual] thought of man, then is put off the idea of what is high and deep, for height and depth come from the idea of space; yea, in the interior heaven, neither is there the idea of things interior and exterior [a Within and a Without] because to this idea there also adheres somewhat of space; but there is the idea of more perfect or imperfect state [the analogous spiritual ideas], for interior things are in a more perfect state than exterior things, because interior things are nearer to what is divine, and exterior things are more remote thence; this is the reason why what is highest signifies what is inmost."—*Arcana Cœlestia*, 5146; *Divine Love and Wisdom*, 103.

I have quoted these passages not merely to explain the previous quotations from Swedenborg, but for a more serious purpose. Swedenborg's whole method and system of thought is well illustrated here. He brings into comparison two different worlds of mental operation, one of which—"the scientifics of the external man"—involves the conditions of external space and time; and the other of which—"the knowledges of the internal or spiritual man"—transcends the conditions of space and time. He then affirms, however, that these two systems of thought, while wholly different in substance, are so correlated with each other, by an identical *schema* of distribution, that they are as it were copies of each other, the resemblance of the copies being what he calls *Correspondence*. Correspondence, he says, "is between those things which appertain to the light of heaven, and those things which appertain to the light of the world; that is between those things which appertain to the internal or spiritual man, and those which appertain to the external and natural man."—*Arcana Cœlestia*, 3225. "There is a correspondence between all things in heaven [the superior spiritual state and world] and all things in man [the inferior natural state and world]."—*Heaven and Hell*, 87—102. "There is not given the least thing with man, with which there is no correspondence."—*Arcana Cœlestia*, 4791. We are thus brought to the seeming entrance to a broad highway which is to conduct us unerringly from the field of ordinary, external scientific knowledge, to the complete understanding, in every detail and particular, of the whole body of spiritual knowledge. The case is like that in which the word *uprightness* means, originally, a fact of position in space, *perpendicularity to the earth's surface*, but has come to mean also, by a spiritual transfer, *honesty of individual character*, from a perceived analogy between the two ideas, although in wholly different spheres; so of *inclination* in space, and in the mind, etc.; and we are told by our author, that all spiritual and ideal things are related to natural and material things in a similar way; and, so definitely, that we have only to discover and adhere to this law of metaphor, what he calls correspondence, and what I have called analogy, to be able to translate, with perfect accuracy, all the facts and phenomena of the natural world into their corresponding facts and phenomena in the spiritual world of thought; and inversely.

Having brought us to this immense expectation, Swedenborg does indeed, exhibit, in the aggregate, numerous and remarkable instances of striking coincidences between the overt facts of nature and the inner facts of consciousness; and so between the facts of this outer mundane world, and what we may readily conceive to be the facts of a subjective and spiritual world, somewhere extant in the universe; but, in the main, he fails to feed the appetite he has excited. He comes wholly short of maintaining, in any logical or scientific sense, his fundamental proposition. He establishes no systematic and exhaustive correlation between natural and spiritual phenomena. Called by the nature of his own basis to make good this universal relationship, he gives the go-by to the outer sphere, that of "Scientifics," and glides up and away, like a balloon, into the spiritual-aerial firmament, which, by his own analogies, alternates between the extraordinary lucidity of the clear sky, and the cloudiness, fogginess, and mistiness of the lower atmosphere; and thence he dogmatizes the doctrines he draws from such inspiration as he finds there without substantiation, or any method of test. He has hitherto almost wholly escaped criticism, for the reason that his mode of conception and exposition is so peculiar, and his writings so voluminous, that nobody but ardent disciples, who are rarely critical, has had the persistent hardihood to read and master his works and their contents; and perhaps I

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may add, that, that difficulty being overcome, few would be competent to the task of a just appreciation of such an immense and extraordinary body of doctrine.

I have, however, no criticism to make upon Swedenborg, in any unfriendly spirit. I have the pleasure of knowing that some of the most advanced accepters of the "doctrines of the New Church" have long felt an interest in the confirmations of Swedenborg's teachings, which they think they foresee will result from my labors. The confirmations will surely come, in an almost unlimited abundance; but the strictures and rectifications will come also; addressed far more distinctly than Swedenborg's own utterances to the rational faculty in man—which characteristic is the boast of New Churchmen. It is very usually the case that Swedenborg is right, even when his proofs are left utterly wanting; and in such cases, his disciples should feel grateful for distinctive verifications; but let us keep *to the truth, lead where it may;* and should any system of doctrines be partially recast by the advent of a universal science, its materials will all be saved, and any readjustment of them, and things complementary of the system, from new sources, can only serve still better the purposes already attained. Neither Swedenborg, at all events, nor his friends for him, can decline any criticism which his own fundamental principle justly entails upon him.

Universology is, at bottom, nothing else but a vigorous intellectual grasp of this fundamental principle of Swedenborg, (which is also that of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Oken, and Fourier); but which he failed to carry out *on the scientific plane*,—a work which we shall see, in the end, has to be accomplished, before a complete delivery can be made of the truths of *the spiritual plane;* and especially before *the responsive identity of the two planes*, by correspondence, analogy, or the true law of metaphor, can be demonstrated. This last is the main point at issue, and its achievement the only thing which can elevate "the doctrine of correspondences" into the dignity of a universal science. Universology accepts this crucial test, and will claim for itself scientific rank, only in so far as it is able *to bring all mental, moral, and spiritual phenomena into a definite correlation with natural and objective phenomena.*

Swedenborg definitively abandons science when he informs us that in the spirit-world *scientifics* cease to be valued; and virtually, as a consequence, that spiritual knowledges, must be delivered, from that world, as self-evident; that is to say, dogmatically, and not, therefore, in correlation with their objective counterparts in the natural world. We are thus baffled and disappointed in the expectation he has raised. We, at least, are of this world; and a revelation to us, as a rational and scientific revelation (as is claimed) must stand by Swedenborg's fundamental principle, and not by any defective and unsatisfactory application of the principle; and still less by its absolute abandonment.

To foreshadow the criticism which must come to dogmatic Swedenborgianism, by an appeal from it to Swedenborg's own fundamental theoretical basis, let us recur to one of the preceding quotations (*Arcana Cœlestia*, 5146; *Divine Love and Wisdom*, 103). Having posited the principle of an absolute correspondence, out to the minutest detail, between all things of the spiritual world and all things of the natural world, *and as between all the parts of each*, giving the basis of a universal science, not merely for spiritual matters, but for the comparology of all the special sciences (*Heaven and Hell*, 87—102)—having laid down this magnificent platform, and subjected himself to its test, he says, dogmatically, that "highest denotes inmost [the within]," and "*because* interior things, with man who is in space, appear as superior [upper or higher], and exterior things [the without] as inferior [lower down]." In other words, he affirms, as the entire truth of the matter, that In and Above always coincide in our human thought, and inversely, Out and Below; "for," he adds, "interior things are in a more perfect state than exterior things, and exterior things are more remote thence."

It may not be obvious at first how much of a whole system of doctrine depends upon the truth or erroneousness of these utterances. That is not now important; but let us confine our attention to their literal exactitude, or want of it. Undoubtedly, in a very great measure, and from a very important point of view, they are justified by the facts of Nature; but are they universally true? or only from a certain point of view? And, from other points of view, perhaps equally important, are they not diametrically opposed to the truth; and the opposite statements, in that case, alone true? If, for example, we were ascending the steps in the vestibule of a church or temple, as we advanced *upward* we should also advance *inward;* and we should be going towards the altar or high place, the supposed seat of goodness; and the opposite of all this would be true, if we were to recede. So, indeed, if we conceive the dome of the sky with its floor on the earth, as such a temple, ascension from the mineral to the aerial spheres would accord with the previous analogies; and this conception of universal nature as a temple has an important place in the whole scope of analogy, or illustrative symbolism. But it is deficient in the fact that it is only an aspect and not the whole of nature.

Is it true, for instance, if instead of the temple idea, as erected on the earth, we take the earth-ball itself; either, that as we go *within* the earth we go *up*, and as we go *out* from the earth's centre we go *down* (or just the contrary); or that the deep interior things of the earth are superior in quality, and things on the surface, including the whole human family, inferior in quality to the "stocks and stones" which lie beneath and more within? The test proves at once the inadequacy of the dogmatic rule; and, nevertheless, it has a large sweep of truth, and its own true rank of importance. But, when a whole series of moral consequences is made to rest upon an analogy, it behooves us to be sure that we have rightly understood and limited the analogy itself. So when such immense seeming contradictions occur in nature, as that there are two *ups* and two *downs*, one set from the earth, and another set from the sun—geocentric and heliocentric, it behooves us to know very definitely which *up* and which *down* we are talking about.

BENEDICT DE SPINOZA.

A PANEGYRIC BY PROFESSOR FELIX ADLER.

A LARGE AUDIENCE PRESENT IN STANDARD HALL—SPINOZA'S LIFE AND CHARACTER EULOGIZED—HIS EXCOMMUNICATION AT THE AMSTERDAM SYNAGOGUE—HIS TEACHINGS AND PHILOSOPHY—THE HIGH ESTEEM IN WHICH HE IS NOW HELD.

Standard Hall was well filled yesterday morning with a fashionably-dressed audience, composed almost exclusively of Hebrews, to listen to Prof. Felix Adler's panegyric on Spinoza, it being the two hundredth anniversary of the latter's death. In front of the platform hung an old engraving of the philosopher framed in smilax and white pinks, and bearing the inscription:—

BENEDICT DE SPINOZA.

Cui natura Deus rerum, cui cognitus ordo,
Hoc Spinoza statu conspiciendus erat.
Expressere viri faciem, sed pingue mentem
Zeuxidis artifices non valuere manus.
Illa viget scriptis, ubi sublimia tractat,
Hanc quicunque cupis noscere scripta lege. [*sic.*]

A double-wicker basket stood above, filled with cut lilies, carnation pinks, roses, wheat sprays, and other exotics. On either side was drooping ivy. Festoons of evergreens draped the outer edges. A potted lily occupied the right of the platform and a dwarf rubber-tree the left.

During a voluntary from the choir, which was an invocation to Memory, the Professor mounted the platform. He is a small, light-complexioned man, with short hair, and a small, full beard. He wore evening costume of black, with unpolished boots. He spoke slowly and very distinctly, without notes, and at times was very eloquent. After the singing, he stepped forward and said that as the years roll by the great men whom the past has wronged are receiving their recompense. Two centuries ago, Spinoza was hounded down, and to-day he once more walks the earth, and men open wide their hearts to receive his memory and his name. "If thou canst turn thine eyes, dilated with infinity," continued the speaker, reverently lifting his eyes, "oh, mighty shade, upon this mundane sphere, thou wilt behold men nearer the truth, the obliquy dispelled from thy fame, and a new generation arisen who are thy work." Then resuming: On the day that Columbus set sail for America the Jews left Spain for exile. Many who could not reconcile themselves to parting from their home and country became devout Catholics outwardly, while in their hearts they remained faithful to the religion of their ancestors. Some of them were raised to high dignities in the Church, were made monks and prelates; but soon their fidelity was suspected, and the Inquisition began to hunt them down. Some perished miserably at the stake, and others spent years in loathsome dungeons. Those who had means made their escape and found security in distant lands. A great number of these fugitives received asylum in the free States of Holland. They enriched the country by their thrift, frugality, and enterprise. About the opening of the seventeenth century a considerable colony had collected in Amsterdam, and there, in 1632, the son of Spanish Jews, Benedict de Spinoza, was born. In his early youth he was educated in the new school that the Jews had erected. He learned the mysteries of Hebrew law and the doctrines of the Old Testament. The subtle discussions of the Talmud gave edge to his mind. Lastly he studied philosophy under Mimonides and Obenezera, the first of whom sought to harmonize the teachings of Aristotle with the Bible, and signally failed, and the other was a confirmed sceptic, whose notes on the Bible have anticipated modern criticism, though he did not dare to present his meaning in a shape for the understanding of the vulgar. In all these studies young Spinoza showed astonishing proficiency, and so delighted his teachers that they destined him for the Jewish ministry. Subsequently he sought out Dr. Van Ende, a teacher of liberal learning, and under his tutorship became a good classical Latin scholar, and acquired a knowledge of geometry, physics, and the art of sketching. Then he took up the works of Descartes, whose metaphysical philosophy exerted a decided influence on his future. Descartes was then the leader of a new school. Weary with the discussions of scholastics, he took as his motto *De omnibus dubitandum est* (it is necessary to doubt all things), though he, too, did not venture to push his convictions to the utmost. Jordan Bruno also determined the bias of Spinoza's mind. Bruno it was who first proclaimed the teachings of Copernicus. He inculcated a species of pantheism. He was burned in 1600. By these influences Spinoza's mind was widened. From the broad plane on which he stood he looked with derision upon the rites and practices of external religion. He absented himself from public worship, he neglected the synagogue, and there were even dark rumors that he had been seen to partake of forbidden food. At first the rabbis treated his case with great leniency, and it is even said that he was offered one thousand florins a year if he would remain faithful. He hesitated at the suspicion of ingratitude in deserting a religion which had done so much for him, and he well knew that he would be cut off from friends and kinsmen, and wealth and honorable position. But he tells us in the introduction to a work that was long lost, and has been only recently reclaimed, that, contemplating all that was offered him on one hand and a serene life on the other, the shams and evils were nothing to him compared with the great good. He felt as one sick unto death having one sufficient balm toward which he must strive. A great commotion was raised against him in Amsterdam. One evening an assassin was put upon his track,—a fanatic Jew. The stroke of the stiletto was skilfully parried, and Spinoza suffered only a rent in his cloak. But the city was no longer safe for him. He fled, and was obliged to change his residence frequently, until at last he found a resting-place at The Hague, where he remained until his death. In the meantime, the leniency of the rabbis had changed to anger and rigor. It had been the pride of Judaism from the most ancient times, that the widest tolerance was granted in matters of religion. They believed that the practice of religion was more essential than its theory. But persecution begets persecution. These Jews, fresh from the horrors of the Inquisition, themselves had imbibed from it cruelty.

THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF SPINOZA.

On the 27th of July, 1656, in the synagogue of Amsterdam, while the sacred ark was kept open, an edict of excommunication was solemnly pronounced against Spinoza, and Mortari, one of his former masters, read the decree. Prof. Adler here read a translation of the original document. It is in substance: "By decree of the angels and saints, and by consent of the holy God, Benedict de Spinoza is hereby cursed and excommunicated. May he be banned with the ban with which Joshua banned Jericho. May he be cursed as Elijah cursed the Jews. May he be accursed by day, and may he be accursed by night. May he be accursed when he lies down, and may he be accursed when he rises up. May he be accursed on his going forth, and may he be accursed on his coming in. May the Lord God refuse to pardon him. May His wrath and anger be kindled against him, and on him rest all the curses of the book and the law. May the Lord wipe out his name, and separate him from his kindred. May all the curses under the firmanent light upon his writings. No one of the faithful shall communicate with him by word of mouth or by letter; nor shall any one show him favor; nor shall any one rest under the same roof with him; nor approach his person within four yards, nor read any writing written by him." When this was read to Spinoza, he replied: "They compel me to do nothing that I was not resolved of my own accord to fulfil." He retired into his silent chamber and lived in a world of his own. There by twenty years' toil he built up the mighty edifice of his system, whose simplicity, unity, and grandeur are the wonder of men. It is man's questioning spirit seeking to penetrate into the heart of Nature, and to grasp the origin of things. The riddle remains unsolved despite many attempts; but who will solve it? Spinoza was the great philosopher of pantheism. He taught that there is a unity in Nature, and that under her thousand-formed changes there is somewhat unchangeable. In all her myriad hues and forms there is an undefinable substance, which is the uncreated, undivided, absolute, infinite God. Thought and extension are its attributes. It is one in all, and all in one. God is not matter, and cannot be ruined. He is that deeper unity in which mind and matter are one. God is Nature. God is in the tree, the stone, the stars, in man. He does not love or labor for any specific purpose, but produces from the necessities of His being endless variety with ceaseless activity. His end is to cause all things, and all are as in Nature; they partake of Him. Man also is of God. The essence of man is mind. He is a logical being. God alone has truth, and so far as man sees things clearly and truthfully he is of God. Logic is the basis of ethics. Spinoza ignores sentiment. He teaches that intellect alone is useful to follow the universal laws. Virtue is the pursuit of knowledge. There are three kinds of virtue,—blurred perception, the light of reason, and the perception of the intellect. The last is the best. Virtue being whatever heightens enjoyment, the gratification of the appetites is good. The wise man delights in good food and comforts, but the true being is only in the intellect. That which is moral helps, and that which is immoral hinders, thought. Man is also a social being. The individual mind is exalted by congregated minds. He should hate evil at all times, for evil is a weakness of the powers of reason. He should reward hatred with love. Love is a sense of kinship in the common search for reason's goal, which is wisdom. All men should act as though they were possessed of one body and one mind. This, Spinoza says, is ideal life. He looks upon friendship as the dearest of earth's possessions, and he esteems wedlock as the holy union of two souls in the common search for truth. Man should be serene. He should fear, because it is the child of passion, and hope, because it is the child of desire. He should avoid humbleness, haughtiness, remorse, and pity. He should court stillness and be collected for reason's sake. When we come to know the passions that bind us to passing phenomena our nature is enabled to conquer our outward nature, and we become masters, free. Thus the emotional nature is extinguished, and the man is freed from the restraints of the passions. He dwells in the intellect and grows into converse with God. Against the blows of misfortune reason steels us. When we know that all things are by necessity we will find tranquillity in yielding to the inevitable. When the body passes away the mind does not wholly perish, but something remains that is infinite. Whether the mind be immortal or not, it is best to live by reason, for a man would be foolish to eat only deadly poison, because at times he cannot get healthy food. Religion and piety consist in living so as to conform to

the necessities arising in the outward world, and that is intellectual love of God.

SPINOZA A TYPE OF THE INFINITE.

Such, said Prof. Adler, is a brief summary of Spinoza's system. Thus is seen this giant wrestling with Nature for her secret, and the riddle remains unread. He errs, also, in turning aside from the world's manifold emotions. Emotions are not in themselves evil; nay, they are the seminal principle of all virtues. Spinoza's system towers on lofty pillars of rock, but it is devoid of color. It is impressive in its simple grandeur; but whatever momentary glow it has passes away quickly like the reflection of the setting sun on the evening sky. His name marks a lofty peak in human history. He was a true man. No man more fully lived up to his teachings. He was an adept in natural sciences, understood the microscope, and was a good optician. Miller has incorporated his book on Ethics into his *Philosophy of Man*, and Morrison, the English philosopher, at a later date, paid him an equally high compliment. His religion, however, was opposed to every sort of superstition. He wrote against the false claims of the Bible. Miracles, he said, are past belief. He thought the beauty of cosmos much more admirable. He demanded that the principles of natural sciences be applied to the Bible,—each scientist to be separated from the rest, and the surrounding circumstances of the investigators to be considered. He wanted, in fact, a natural history of the Bible to be written. He asserted that the priests falsified the Bible, and he denied that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, which he claimed was written many centuries later. He pointed out the many discrepancies with which the Scriptures abound, and he included in it a magnificent plea for liberty of conscience and speech. Religion and piety, he said, the State must demand, but nothing hereafter should be known by that name but the practice of equity and healthful love. The theologians were fierce, and Christian curses were added to Jewish anathemas. His book was confiscated. Few men have so suffered; few so triumphed. For days he did not leave his student's room. Those that knew him well revered him. His soul was pure; his character crystal. He was frugal, living on a few pence a day; yet he was not averse to others taking comfort. His sense of honor was scrupulously nice. Again and again he rejected pensions. He made his living by grinding lenses. In intercourse with the family of his landlord, a painter, he found the relief he needed.* When an Electoral Palatinate offered him the Professorship of Metaphysics at Heidelberg he declined it, because there was a condition attached that he should so teach philosophy as not to interfere with the established religion. He answered that he could only teach the truth as he saw it. Yet he was fearless; and when his life was again threatened he calmed his friends by his confidence. He had now reached his forty-fourth year. For twenty years he had been fighting a treacherous disease. This giant in intellect was a pallid consumptive. Yet no complaint ever crossed his lips. In the early part of 1677, in February, while the family of the painter was at church, only a single friend being present, the end came. He passed away as calmly as he had lived in the stillness of a Sunday afternoon. He has left a name in history that will not pass away. The Christians and the Jews have cast him out, but he has won a nobler title than theirs,—he belongs to all mankind. [Applause.] He was the helper of mankind. He taught men to calm their passions. It is a sacred hour when we read his Ethics and feel the calm of his soul come over our own. We enter into them as into a dark, ancient temple; but there is no idol there,—only the spirit of truth that sanctifies him and us. A great man, he was a type of the Infinite. So, more and more, as the light increases among men, he will be esteemed, and as the centuries elapse posterity will name him Benedictus, Benedictus.

Another voluntary by the choir followed. Prof. Adler, possibly by way of benediction, then announced that the subject for next Sunday would be "The Office of Priests," and the congregation dispersed.—*N. Y. Times, Feb. 26th.*

MR. FROTHINGHAM'S NEW BOOK.

THE CRADLE OF THE CHRIST. A Study in Primitive Christianity. By Octavius Brooks Frothingham. 12mo. pp. 233. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The design of this essay is to discuss the origin of the New Testament, especially of the Four Gospels, from a purely literary point of view; that is, considered as the productions of the intellectual activity of the age. In the accomplishment of this purpose, Mr. Frothingham disclaims all controversial intent. His book has been written, not in the interests of theology, but of history and criticism. It is far from his wish to weaken the moral supports of any form of religion. In his opinion, religion is independent of history, and therefore cannot be compromised by scientific or literary studies. His conclusions, if accepted, he believes, would not affect the institution of the Church, or the habits of society. "The lily's perfect charm," he suggests, "suffers no abatement from the chemist's analysis of the slime into which it strikes its slender root; the grape of the Johannisberg vineyard is no less luscious from the fact that the soil has been subjected to the microscope; the fine qualities of the human being, man or woman, are the same on any theory,—the Bible theory of the perfect Adam, or Darwin's of the anthropoid ape. The hero is hero still, and the saint saint, whatever his ancestry." Hence, the author contends the basis of Christianity is not involved in the history of the Four Gospels. It does not follow that because their genuineness is called in question, Christianity is doomed. The early records of the religion, however curious as literary remains, are not essential to the constitution or the work of the Church. In the author's view, the New Testament is to be received as the natural fruit of the Hebrew mind. Its different books are the last expression of ideas that have exerted a vital influence on the development of that branch of the human family. This conception of the New Testament, Mr. Frothingham maintains, would probably explain even its most obscure and difficult passages. The literary method of treatment which grows out of it is neither dogmatic nor controversial, but consults only the laws of literary expression in which human thought is embodied. In the application of these principles to the contents of the Four Gospels, Mr. Frothingham starts with the expectation of the Messiah, which at the commencement of the Christian era had long been the cardinal idea of the Jewish mind. The earliest writings of the New Testament—the genuine letters of Paul,—the author affirms, take up and continue the line of Hebrew tradition. The earliest Gospels, which must probably be placed at a later date of from twenty to thirty years, bear the impress of ideas which owe their currency to Paul. Their authors had respect for his school, and regarded its claims. Though concerned with a period prior to his conversion, and with events of which he had no knowledge, the Gospels are written not so much in the style of memoirs or chronicles, as of disquisitions. "They are meditative biographies in which the biographical material is selected and qualified by speculative motives." This sentence may be taken as the key-stone to Mr. Frothingham's theory of their construction. Still, he remarks, they are the only fragments presumably of historical character that we possess. In the absence of any such documents on the subject, the utter want of early memoranda, the advanced age of the Evangelists at the time they wrote, the effect of age in weakening recollection and in suggesting fancies, theories, and marvels, and the influence on the disciples of a man so powerful as Paul, the author concludes, that the laws of literary composition compel us to read the Gospel narratives as reflective disquisitions rather than as authentic histories. Mr. Frothingham then proceeds to analyze the character of the Messianic hope as it existed in the time of the disciples, and the effect which it produced on the contents of the Gospels. The essence of the volume may be found in the chapter devoted to this topic, and in the general summary in the conclusion of the work. His purpose, the author remarks, has been to give the history of an idea, not the history of a person; to trace the development of a thought, not the influence of a life; and hence he has avoided all expression of opinion concerning the character and works of Jesus. "Jesus is the name of a man; Christ, or rather the Christ, is the name of an idea. The history of Jesus is the history of an individual; the history of the Christ is the history of a doctrine." With regard to the person of Jesus, Mr. Frothingham acknowledges the difficulty—which he states with great strength of language—of forming a consistent and harmonious conception from the narratives of the Evangelists. He is content with the confession that the image of Jesus is lost, and that no materials exist for the true construction of his personal history. The results of Mr. Frothingham's inquiries, however vehemently they may be called in question, will not surprise the student of speculative criticism since the commencement of the nineteenth century. Its essential features have been anticipated by the ingenious European scholars, to whom the author acknowledges his obligations, although the method of treatment and the course of illustration in the present volume bear the stamp of originality, as well as of acuteness and vigor.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

AT THE SUPPER in Bayreuth, given to the patrons of the performance, just after the first cycle of the "Ring of the Nibelungs," Count Apponyi, a distinguished Hungarian nobleman and a well-known musical amateur, proposed Wagner's health. The toast was a beautiful and poetic one, and as its text is drawn from the great opera itself it may not prove uninteresting. It was as follows:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—A distinguished German's eloquent words having done homage to the creator of the beautiful work that has held us all entranced, I trust that it may not seem too presumptuous in a foreign attendant on this grand festival if he endeavor to give utterance to our common feelings.

You yourself, revered and honored master, based on a quotation the words in which you disclosed to us the very soul of your ideal. With your permission I shall follow the example you have set. Allow me to quote the author of the drama which has delighted us all these beautiful days. Yet not his words alone am I desirous of borrowing, but rather the inspiration of an entire scene.

On a lonely peak, wrapped in death-like slumber, lay Brünhilde, the virgin Muse of Tragedy. A sea of fire surged at the base of this mountain; envenomed hatred in every form, scathing tongues of envy, slander, and mocking insolence shot up in flames and sparks, striking terror into the hearts of all who had come to deliver the maid. Round about lay heaped the sooty ashes of mediocrity, hot and scorching. That hero alone who knew no fear might pass through them to awaken the sleeping beauty.

And he has come, the fearless one. You heard of the spell-bound maiden. Without hesitation you plunged into the blaze, brandishing Nothung, the mighty sword which your own hand had forged again out of the fragments of classic art. In heroic disregard of the consequences, you cleft your way through those ash-heaps of mediocrity, the hot dust whirling hither and thither. Your eyes were fixed upon that lofty ideal. You strode through the vengeful element that was impotent to singe a single hair of your head, for you knew no fear! At last you climbed the final crag, and before the eyes of your enthusiastic followers you woke the spell-bound goddess with the kiss of your genius.

Let us then join in the exultant cry of the divine muse, as, born again into a new and ideal life, she sinks into her hero's arms—"All hail, thou conquering light!"

A CORRESPONDENT sends us the story of a certain clergyman, who in one of his sermons discussed at some length the "farmers' war," and among other things said, "Beware of middlemen! Have nothing to do with them; but always buy direct from headquarters." The next morning our pastor started for the market, basket upon arm, for the butcher's shop, where he ordered a steak. "No, sir," said the butcher, "you can have no steak from my shop." "Why not?" exclaimed the astonished preacher; "haven't I always paid for my meat?" "Oh, yes; but I heard you preach yesterday, and you pledged yourself to buy nothing more of middlemen. Now, I am a middleman, and if you want any more beef you can just go to the steer for it." A very pretty story, though it may not prove much, upon fair consideration, either for or against the Grangers.—*New York Tribune.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

DREAMS.

"We're dreamin' all the time, ain't we?"
  Said a wee boy, as he
Stood by the window, drawing
  His tiny bird and tree.

In a long silence buried,
  He busily had wrought,
Till suddenly he queried
  If true had been his thought.

Well, we *are* often dreaming
  In daytime's earnest hours,
When night is far, in seeming,
  And sunny are the bowers;

And, did we never waken
  To know the real, I ween
Our joy were more unshaken,
  Our sorrow far less keen.

We dream of homes unbroken;
  We wake to feel the pain,—
The agony unspoken
  Comes back again—again.

In dreams we're nearing ever
  Some verdant isle of peace,
Where care's corroding fever
  And vexing tumult cease.

We wake to the caressing
  Of burden and of band,
Each day more closely pressing
  The strife on every hand.

We dream the wave our pebbles
  Have made along the shore
May waft some shining jewel
  Upon the Evermore.

We wake as o'er it yonder
  Opposing waters beat;
Our precious little billow
  Lies foaming at our feet.

We dream a gory fountain
  Will make us whole and clean;
What wonder, if we hasten
  To bathe us in its sheen?

We wake to find the garment
  Our souls had worn of yore,
In tattered, soiled adornment,
  Tight-clinging as before.

Our dreams divine relying,
  We break the "living bread";
We wake still famished, crying,
  Unsatisfied, unfed.

We dream of perfect goodness;
  We dream of perfect love,—
That all we wish and wait for
  Is waiting us above.

Be patient, darling Winny!
  For long the years will seem,
If you find out too early
  That "life is but a dream."

E. M.

GROTON, N. Y.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 31.

Carl Doerflinger, $1.60; J. Davis, 20 cents; Reuben Sherburne, $4.66; J. D. Van Slyck, $3.20; J. H. Elliott, $3.20; R. Marston, $9.60; Dr. E. Wigglesworth, $3; Thos. Lamay, 54 cents; H. Duhme, $3.20; C. M. Stiles, $2; F. H. Dyer, $3; E. Evans, 60 cents; W. L. Foster, 25 cents; N. Millington, $1.50; A. M. Howland, $3.20; Mrs. Jno. T. Bagley, $6.20; Dr. A. Robertson, $6.40; D. G. Hoffman, $3; A. O. Dunham, $1.50; S. S. Wemott, $1; Wash. Cross, $3.20; W. W. Justice, $6.94; J. M. Stiles, $3.20; M. H. McKay, $3; M. Roderick, $6; Frank Cheney, $3.50; Mrs. E. S. Miller, $3; C. M. Lungren, $3.20; J. Matteson, 10 cents; C. A. Gurley, $3.20; Hon. S. E. Sewall, $3.20; Geo. O. Smith, $9.20; Rev. W. H. Knapp, $1.60; C. A. W. Crosby, $18.20; J. L. Stoddard, 60 cents; Mrs. E. G. Francis, $3.20; B. F. Dyer, $3.20; Humphrey Clark, 60 cents; J. J. Reakurn, 10 cents; James Shaw, $3.82; M. B. Sherwin, $1; W. E. Lukens, $2.50.

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

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The Index.

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THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS.

EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, and Organization of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, on the Fourth of July, 1876. With an Introduction and Appendix. Boston: Published by the National Liberal League. 1876. Pages 190. Price, in paper covers, $1.00; in cloth, $1.25.

The above Report contains a complete history of the Liberal League movement, a full report of the eight sessions of the Congress, lists of the contributors to the Congress fund and of the charter members of the National Liberal League, the Constitution and list of officers of the latter, extracts from letters by distinguished supporters of the movement, etc., etc. It also contains essays by F. E. Abbot on "The Liberal League movement; its Principles, Objects, and Scope"; by Mrs. C. B. Kilgore on "Democracy"; by James Parton on "Cathedrals and Beer; or, The Immorality of Religious Capitals;" by B. F. Underwood on "The Practical Separation of Church and State"; by C. F. Paige on the question, "Is Christianity Part of the Common Law?" by D. Y. Kilgore on "Ecclesiasticism in American Politics and Institutions"; and by C. D. B. Mills on "The Sufficiency of Morality as the Basis of Civil Society." Also, the "Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists to the Centennial Congress of Liberals," and the "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League to the People of the United States." This book is the Centennial monument of American Liberalism, and must acquire new interest and importance every year as the record of the first organized demand by American freemen for the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

All those who received the "Certificate of Membership of the Centennial Congress of Liberals," which was sent to the eight hundred persons who signed and returned the "application for membership," will receive this Report on forwarding ten cents to defray expenses. Others can receive it at the above-mentioned price by addressing the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT" PETITION.

At a public meeting held in Cambridge, Ohio, November 14, 1876, by the advocates of the Christian Amendment, Rev. J. P. Lytle, President of the Ohio State branch of the "National Reform Association," used this argument in favor of recognizing Christianity in the United States Constitution: "Mr. Lytle in his address pointed out the fact that the religious [Christian] amendment of the Constitution, so far from being a measure contemptible for the fewness and weakness of its advocates, has been in principle indorsed and adopted by the Senate of the United States. In the School Amendment, as passed in the Senate last summer by a vote of nearly two to one, the necessity for some such Constitutional provision as we seek was confessed, and an attempt made to supply it which, if successful, would have been a long step toward the end we seek."

What Mr. Lytle said is only too true. The passage of some Constitutional amendment involving the whole question of State Christianization or State Secularization is certain in the not distant future. All friends of such an amendment as shall guarantee and protect *Equal Rights in Religion* by securing the *Total Separation of Church and State* are earnestly urged to circulate the petition of the National Liberal League to that effect. Printed petitions, all ready for circulation, will be sent to any one on receipt of a stamp for return postage. Address the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

THE NEW YORK *Independent* of March 15 remarked: "How many people are there in the United States, we wonder, who ever heard of Chauncey Wright? Very few, we presume; yet the London *Academy* says that 'one of the finest philosophical minds which America or any country has produced was Mr. Chauncey Wright, of Cambridge, Mass., who died some two years ago, in the prime of life.'" This "wonder" is delicious. Is the "wonderer" aware that Henry Holt & Co., of New York, have published a most valuable volume entitled *Philosophical Discussions by Chauncey Wright*, and edited by one of the first scholars of Harvard, Professor Charles Eliot Norton? It is evident that the *Independent* writes for "the unlettered sceptics of the West." Its own graphic phrase has come home to roost at last.

WOMEN AND CHRISTIANITY.

Several weeks ago, being struck with the great disparity in the number of requests for prayer made by men as compared with the number of those made by women, at the Moody and Sankey meetings, we began to clip from the daily issues of the Boston *Journal* the successive lists of these requests. Such lists were not published every day, and latterly seem to be almost discontinued; nevertheless, collating all that came under our notice in the morning *Journal* day after day, we now subjoin a statistical table of no little interest, following the classification of the revivalists themselves and presenting in convenient form the condensed results of our comparison. We give the number only of those *by* whom, not of those *for* whom, the requests were made, and pass over all cases in which the sex is not indicated:—

TABLE.

Showing the Relative Number of Men and Women who made Requests for Prayer at the Moody and Sankey Meetings in Boston, from Feb. 3 to Mar. 24, 1877.

	Men.					Women.					Totals.	
Date.	*Fathers.*	*Sons.*	*Husbands.*	*Brothers.*	*Miscell.*	*Mothers.*	*Daughters.*	*Wives.*	*Sisters.*	*Miscell.*	*Men.*	*Women.*
Feb. 3	2	1		1	2	3		7	5	1	6	16
" 9	1	1			2	13	1	7	9		4	30
" 13	5		3	5	2	35		13	21	2	15	71
" 15	5			6	1	13	1	13	9	1	12	36
" 16	5	1	1	2	2	25		14	23	2	11	64
" 17	4	1		5	1	16		12	20		11	48
" 20	6		5	3	1	49		17	24		15	90
" 21	9	2	3	1	3	46	1	19	26		18	92
" 22	4		3			19	3	7			7	29
" 24	6				3	26	4	14	17	2	9	63
" 28	6	1			1	59	6	30	25	1	8	121
" 28	1					13		10	11		1	34
Mar. 1	4				1	32		15	1		5	48
" 2	5		1			8		8	8		6	24
" 3	1			2		18		22	24		3	64
" 7	9		5	5		37		45	46		19	128
" 8	5		3	5		31		19	21		13	71
" 9	4			2		23		12	16		6	51
" 10	2				1	17	1	9	13		3	40
" 14				4	1		1	54	35		5	90
" 17	1			4	3	11		6	17		8	34
" 24	2					21	7	12			2	40
	87	7	24	45	24	515	25	364	371	9	187	1284

There are many points of interest in these figures.

1. No other equally trustworthy criterion could probably be found of the relative degrees of *faith in the Orthodox gospel* really cherished by the two sexes. All sects and denominations of Protestantism have combined and coöperated in support of the Moody and Sankey revival, from the Episcopalian even to the Unitarian; and the general proportion of men to women above exemplified may be fairly considered as representative of the present status of Protestant Evangelical believers as a whole. No analysis of the same kind with respect to the lists of church-members or the constitution of Sunday congregations could furnish so satisfactory conclusions; for a great many men attend church services, and even join the church itself, merely from social, family, or business considerations. But these requests for prayer can be supposed to spring only from genuine faith in the Orthodox religion (except in the very few ludicrous instances in which the petitioners may be reasonably suspected of a design to quiz the revivalists), since no motive of fashionable or selfish conformity can be imagined for making these private requests. Here, if anywhere, earnestness and sincerity must be taken for granted. The above comparison throws more light than any other that can be instituted upon the relative numbers of men and women who cherish a deep, vital, controlling *faith* in the gospel which the Evangelical churches all nominally profess and teach.

2. The greater solicitude of parents for the salvation of their children than of children for that of their parents, which it is one of the incidental results of our comparison to show, may have various reasons; but it is a striking fact that 87 fathers request prayers, and only 7 sons,—515 mothers, and only 25 daughters. This noticeable discrepancy may be due to the giddiness of childhood and youth, to the greater intensity of parental love, or possibly, in part at least, to the fact that the rising generation are less devout, and cherish far less earnest faith in the truth of Orthodoxy, than the generations which precede. So many influences of a heterodox kind increasingly surround the young to-day, that it is difficult not to recognize in them at least one of the causes for the remarkable difference thus brought out.

3. But it is not the difference in the intensity of faith in parents and in children which is the chief lesson of these instructive statistics. A far more significant fact is the difference with regard to men and to women. Here are requests for prayer from 87 fathers and 515 mothers, 7 sons and 25 daughters, 24 husbands and 364 wives, 45 brothers and 371 sisters,—in all 187 men and 1284 women! What does this mean? That women are better than men, more spiritually-minded, more devoted to ideals of divine purity and goodness? Or that women on the average are less educated than men, less emancipated from superstition, less protected from the narrowing and stunting influence of the clergy? Or that Christianity itself, by its overstrained emotionalism and its excessive emphasis on love at the expense of truth, is essentially a woman's religion, and ill-adapted to the intellectual, moral, and practical demands of manly men? Probably there is some degree of truth in all these suppositions. But when (judging by the above table) we see that, out of the whole number of earnest believers who have faith in the prayers of the Church sufficiently strong to ask for them, 87 and three-tenths *per cent.* are women, and only 12 and seven-tenths *per cent.* are men, is it not quite clear that women are the chief dependence and support of Christianity in the United States, and that, without this support, Christianity could not long sustain itself as a social power at all? Nothing is more evident to our own mind than that the Christian religion has already lost its real, if not its nominal, hold on the cultivated masculine mind of the nineteenth century, and only retains its hold on modern society because, comparatively speaking, the feminine mind is seldom sufficiently cultivated to have outgrown its influence.

4. When the education of women is made thorough and comprehensive,—when all artificial obstacles to her free development and activity have been removed,—when her participation in public affairs has given scope and career to her long-repressed intellectual powers, and matters of universal concern, no longer regarded as dry and tedious, assume their due importance in her eyes,—then we believe that, without losing a particle of the loveliness and sweet domesticity which must always remain her especial and peculiar power, woman will realize her own destiny far less haltingly than now, and at the same time unite it more truly, intelligently, and nobly with that of man. The spectacle exhibited in the above table is to us a most sad and humiliating one. It tells of woman's degradation and man's danger. It proves that she is at once the tool and the victim of ecclesiasticism, and that, if she possessed to-day a decisive voice in the determination of our national destinies, it is too probable that she would remand the Republic to the ecclesiastical despotisms and miseries of a thousand years ago. The enlightened minority of her sex, the Somervilles, the Martineaus, the George Eliots, the Lucretia Motts, prove to the world what sublime possibilities of universal import lie in woman's nature, and prophesy what the future has yet in store for the world when woman has shaken off the superstitions by which she has been so long and so cruelly bound. But she must shake them off, or she will sink herself and man in one common ruin.

We will close this article by the following letter, which we find published in the Toledo *Ballot Box* for March—whether it was read at the Convention referred to, or not, we do not know:—

BOSTON, Mass., Jan. 10, 1877.

DEAR MRS. STANTON:—

It is with some little pain, I confess, that I accept your very courteous invitation to write a letter for your Washington Convention on the 19th instant; for what I must say, if I say anything at all, is what I know will be very unacceptable—I fear very displeasing—to the majority of those to whom you will read it. If you conclude that my letter will obstruct, and not facilitate, the advancement of the cause you have so faithfully labored for these many years, you have my most cheerful consent to deliver it over to that general asylum of profitless productions—the waste-basket.

Running this risk, however, I have this brief message to send to those who now meet on behalf of woman's full recognition as politically the equal of man: namely, that every woman suffragist who upholds Christianity tears down with one hand what she seeks to build up with the other—that the Bible sanctions the slavery-principle itself, and applies it to woman as the divinely ordained subordinate of man,—and that, by making herself the great support and mainstay of instituted Christianity, woman rivets the chain of superstition on her own soul and on man's soul alike, and justifies him in obeying this religion by keeping her in subjection to himself. If Christianity and the Bible are true, woman is man's servant, and ought to be. The Bible gave to negro slavery its most terrible power—that of summoning the *consciences* of the Christians to its defence; and the Bible gives to woman slavery the same terrible power. So plain is this to me that I take it as a mere matter of course, when all the eloquence of the woman suffrage platform fails to rouse the Christian women of this country to a proper assertion of their rights. What else could one expect? Women will remain contented subjects and subordinates just so long as they remain devoted believers in Christianity; and no amount of argument, or appeal, or agitation

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can change this fact. If you cannot educate women as a whole out of Christianity, you cannot educate them as a whole into the demand for equal rights.

The reason of this is short: Christianity teaches the rights of God, not the rights of man or woman. You may search the Bible from Genesis to Revelations, and not find one clear, strong, bold affirmation of *human rights as such*; yet it is on human rights as such,—on the equality of all individuals, man or woman, with respect to natural rights,—that the demand for woman suffrage must ultimately rest. I know I stand nearly alone in this, but I believe from my soul that the woman movement is fundamentally *anti-Christian*, and can find no deep justification but in the ideas, the spirit, and the faith of Free Religion. Until women come to see this too, and to give their united influence to this latter faith, political power in their hands would destroy even that measure of liberty which freethinkers of both sexes have painfully established by the sacrifices of many generations. Yet I should vote for woman suffrage all the same, because it is woman's right.

Yours very cordially,
FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

UNITARIAN CHRIST-IANS.

The significance of the communion service at "Trinity," in which representative Unitarians joined, is not exhausted. The discussion has thus far turned on the propriety of participating in a rite without regard to the meaning attached to it by the officiating priest. As Mr. Brooks was the first to disregard the distinctive purport of the rite in giving the invitation, the Unitarians who accepted it are to this extent relieved from the responsibility. The more important matter is the admission by an Episcopal priest that a Unitarian may be a Christian, for it cannot be presumed that he would offer the sacrament to any others. The denial of the Christian name to Unitarians has been almost universal. All the great Christian bodies, Eastern and Western, Southern and Northern Roman and Lutheran, Anglican and Dissenting, agree in declaring Unitarianism to be no legitimate form of Christianity. Dr. Arnold deliberately put on paper his persuasion that the tenets of the Unitarians alone, among all the dissenters in the kingdom, were irreconcilable with the "essentials of Christianity." The grounds for such an opinion are obvious and reasonable. The Christ of the Unitarians has none of the attributes and performs none of the functions of the Christian Savior. He is not God; he is neither omnipotent nor omniscient; at the highest, he is a derivative and subordinate being, superhuman, preëxistent perhaps, but not the absolute Lord of the spiritual world; not the final arbiter of the spiritual destinies of man. The *rationale* of his mission is thus taken away; the doctrine of the fall of man in Adam being rejected, the depravity of human nature being denied, the impossibility of salvation outside of the Christian Church being called in question, the everlasting reprobation of unbelievers being repudiated, the Christ has no longer a *raison d' être*. A reformer, teacher, inspirer, saint he may be, but no *Savior*. The entire discrediting of his divine claims, and the adoption of him into the order of humanity, followed speedily and unavoidably. The stand made on the position that he revealed by special commission the doctrines of God and Immortality, was abandoned almost as soon as taken, and there remained only the assumed perfection of his manhood, which, even if admitted, offered no substitute for the quality of a divine Redeemer. The Unitarians, therefore, were logically driven out of Christendom and forced to take refuge among the friends of social culture and reform. Their place was with men of letters, teachers, philanthropists, believers in progress. The Christian name they still claimed and bore, partly from habit, partly from association, partly from reverent affection, partly from conviction that the New Testament justified them in so doing. For a good while it seemed clear that the Christianity of Christ had been corrupted, that the doctrines entertained by Christendom were falsifications of the original faith, and they felt more than justified,—they felt called to recover and recommend the best religion. Recent investigations into the origin of Christianity have disclosed the fact that "Christianity," the professed faith of Christendom, is a natural development from the original germ, not a corruption, and the last logical foothold of Unitarianism is removed. Its position outside of Christendom is now distinctly assigned. It is seen to have been, at its brightest, what M. D. Conway well names the "after-glow" of Christianity; an after-glow that seemed rapidly fading into the gray.

And now is it, or is it not, an encouraging sign that "Christianity" is beginning to acknowledge what it had so persistently discarded? Is it a good sign that W. E. Gladstone speaks of James Martineau as one of the eminent Christian teachers of this generation; that Phillips Brooks invites Unitarian ministers to receive the holy sacrament at his hands? It may signify one of two things: either that Christianity is losing its distinctive character and falling into a state of decline, or that Unitarianism is reconsidering its positions, and is returning to the Christendom it had left. They who are not prepared to accept either inference, must at all events allow that definitions and interpretations are losing their sharpness, and this is an indication that the intellectual boundaries of faith are giving way. When this occurs, the faith is in process of decomposition,—a fact that may as well be admitted. O. B. F.

Communications.

PROFESSOR HYATT ON THE RISE AND DECAY OF THE RACES.

A NEW VIEW IN EVOLUTION.

This interesting paper, followed by a discussion no less interesting, was read at the December meeting of the Chestnut Street Club, at the house of Rev. J. T. Sargent. Prof. Alpheus Hyatt, a pupil of Agassiz, has become widely known in the world of biological science by the interesting additions to human knowledge which have resulted from his original investigations in zoölogy and palæontology. He commenced by saying that his subject was "A new view *in*, rather than *of*, Evolution"; and then gave a brief sketch of the Darwinian hypothesis. This hypothesis found science in possession of the knowledge that there was in the animal kingdom a certain progress in structure. Vertebrate animals possess backbones; articulata are characterized by their rings; radiata by their star-like forms, etc. Long before Darwin's time, a progression was seen from the lower or more general types to the higher or more specific. As the subject was investigated, it became apparent that the differences between those kinds of animals most nearly related became smaller and smaller, and that the hypothesis which would account for these differences would account for all the varieties of the animal kingdom. Darwin proposed the doctrine of Natural Selection, according to which contentions arising between animals resulted in favor of the strongest or most skilful, so that, if more were crowded into one spot than could survive with their rapidly-increasing progeny, the survivors were naturally those most able to conquer in the contention, and thus their peculiar advantages were perpetuated by inheritance.

This hypothesis seems so simple and almost self-evident that we may call it mere plain common-sense.

The little hypothesis which I shall now try to present, while in general subordinate to this main hypothesis, seems in one point to come into collision with it, as we shall see.

When we trace back all the different kinds of animal life to its simplest conditions, we find almost perfect similarity; and the very differences arise out of the similarities. An *amœba* was then sketched upon the black-board, a mere irregular-shaped mass enclosing a simple cell. This is the type of the most simple of animals. As we advance to the higher groups, small differences occur, the general similarity remaining, and new races arise from these slight differences.

The supposition, therefore, becomes very strong, not perhaps amounting to absolute demonstration, as claimed by Huxley and others, that these small elementary differences and gradual changes produced by outward circumstances are sufficient to account for all the varieties of the animal kingdom.

Specimens of nautiloids and ammonites, both of fossil and living species, were then exhibited and their structure described. It is hardly possible to do this part of the essay justice without drawings, but the general results may be stated as follows: the animal, as it increases in size, leaves one partition of its shell to occupy a new and larger one, thus forming a coiled shell with many compartments, the smallest being in the centre. In some the egg-bag of the original ovum is retained; in others only the scar is left.

In higher groups the shell becomes more and more uncoiled, until at last a nearly straight cone-shaped animal appears. In these changes the progress of the animal from lower to higher is indicated by the gradual unclosing of the coils.

Agassiz' great law that the young of existing races resemble the adults of former races finds application here. We have followed backward and downward the steps thus indicated. If we now look forward and upward again, somewhat as we might look up a flight of stairs, we shall see the connecting links, the vertical parts, of these steps.

Attention was then directed to facts illustrated by numerous drawings upon the black-board. These facts indicated that certain characteristics of adult life in former animals of allied families appeared earlier and earlier in the youth of later representatives, until some of them disappeared entirely. The fact of this disappearance, though strongly controverted by an eminent German palæontologist, had been demonstrated by the finding of actual examples in collections of fossils by Prof. Hyatt and himself.

But now a significant fact appears; namely, that *the characteristics of old age do not disappear, or even diminish, in the later families*. But there is also a resemblance in these characteristics to those of the early youth of the race, and this was the particular research to which the essayist had given much attention.

It seemed to indicate that not only did individuals have their youth, prime, old age, decay, and death, but that the same is the fate of different races of animals, probably including man himself.

A spirited discussion followed the reading of the essay, calling out Rev. Dr. Bartol, Dr. T. Sterry Hunt, the eminent geologist and chemist, Mr. F. E. Abbot, Rev. M. J. Savage, Rev. Dr. Warren, the President of Boston University, D. A. Wasson, Mrs. E. D. Cheney, and others.

In answer to questions by Dr. Bartol as to whether any of the higher qualities of the adult age seemed to disappear in the older ages of races, Prof. Hyatt remarked that, while this was a matter of some doubt, it seemed to be so indicated. The life of races seems to be epitomized by that of individuals. If you know the individual, you know the whole race. Evolution does not seem to indicate perpetuity. There may be a law of *avolution*, the reverse of *evolution*,—a law of decay and death. This he had tried to illustrate in the groups of ammonites and nautiloids. Races develop as individuals; groups branch off, grow old, and finally the race becomes worn out, the vitality diminishes, as in individuals, and the race dies.

Dr. Bartol asked if the essayist had noticed, when extraordinary powers were inherited by individuals in the human race, whether they had appeared earlier than in the parents, and that vitality had become sooner exhausted in their descendants. While ignorant on this subject, he had the impression that this tendency is indicated in history and biography.

Prof. Hyatt could not answer this question, having only investigated animals; but its discussion was extremely interesting to him. If the facts were as Dr. Bartol supposed, it was a very strong point. Darwin had only accounted for the inheritance of favorable qualities, not of unfavorable ones. As strongly favorable characteristics disappear, miscellaneous ones come in, so that in the old age of groups there is a complete hodge-podge of characteristics, a refuse lot of odds and ends; and thus the study of these groups becomes very perplexing.

DR. BARTOL.—Have you been able to see any other mode of development aside from that proposed by Darwin?

PROF. HYATT.—No other, excepting perhaps cataclysms and old age.

DR. BARTOL.—Then are the so-called "missing links" a necessary consequence of the facts of the case in the disappearance mentioned by you?

PROF. HYATT.—There is no possibility of ever tracing all the links; for the distinction of species really means nothing. No two persons would decide alike in marking out species; it is only an idea. Mediterranean and West Indian sponges are examples. Even dealers could see great differences; yet when you try to draw the lines defining the differences, you find it very difficult. Species run together as you get more facts. Darwin's hypothesis does not explain all the facts, as for instance those of old age. He does not treat of growth, at least in his published writings.

DR. WARREN.—At what point in the history of races do new races originate? Do they always spring from the adult growth of races and never from their old age?

PROF. HYATT.—This is a very important question. The investigations so far made seem to point in this direction. Some races are much longer-lived than others. In fact, the hypothesis I have stated seems to agree with the fact almost too well. It would seem that there should be some exceptions to prove the rule.

In reply to questions by Mr. Wasson, Prof. Hyatt said that the whole discussion lies in the fact that successive small variations may be traced, showing that wide differences like those between man and animals are only differences of degree, not of kind.

MRS. CHENEY.—Mr. Wasson seems to point towards reproduction as an important element. Animals are born, live, and die; so with new races. Does not the fact that new races arise from the adult condition of parent races find a representation in individual reproduction?

PROF. HYATT.—Reproduction is eminently concerned in the whole principle of acceleration, evolution, etc.

REV. M. J. SAVAGE.—If the evolution and Darwinian theories be discarded, is there anything else which can take their place?

PROF. HYATT.—I will not go so far as to say that there is no other possible hypothesis. Agassiz believed in special creations.

REV. MR. SAVAGE.—Is the Creator then a performer of miracles?

PROF. HYATT.—Not to me. I do not take account of miracles in scientific investigations.

Mr. Abbot was glad that discussions like this were introduced into the Club, and was confident that in the future the scientific method would be introduced with great advantage in the investigations of religious questions. He believed that no solutions arrived at by other methods would ever again command general credence.

Here Prof. Hyatt had a sketch upon the board, showing a trunk line with many branches, but all originating in a single point at the bottom. Mr. Wasson, stepping to the board, and pointing to this origin, asked: "Have you any theory of the production of this point?" (General laughter.) Prof. Hyatt here referred to his sketches of the primary egg of the simple ammonite, and described it as a prototype of animal life.

DR. HUNT.—It seems to be the question in the minds of the people here, what is the nature of life itself? We are shown how animals differ from each other,—how they change from lower to higher. If man has sprung from a lower type of animal, what is the *vis* or force within which is creating these new forms? That power, call it what you will, has

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something of the nature of creative force. The fact that its action is gradual does not change its nature.

PROF. HYATT.—Dr. Hunt, as usual with him, has gone directly to the root of the whole matter. I do not now propose to treat this part of the subject. (Laughter.) If I did, however, I should put myself on the other side of the question. Two years ago I took the same side, but my subsequent investigations have led me to my present views. As has been said by Prof. Huxley, I see no more reason for naming the force of water *aquosity* than for calling the force of life *vitality*.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

II.

We have seen that where capital controls the means to production, labor is in a condition of absolute dependence. Great as this power already is, it is increasing as the increased productive power of machinery supersedes the employment of manual labor. The more machinery enters into production, the greater will be the amount of capital required; the larger the amount of capital required in any business, the less competition there will be; and the less competition there is, the better opportunity for combination. Now competition, where a large amount of capital is necessary to establish the business, and especially where the rate of profit is increased by an increase of capital (as is almost always the case), is sure to end in combination as soon as the smaller capitalists are driven from the field. Having now become masters of the situation, it will be found much more profitable to combine than to compete with each other. Prices are accordingly raised until some luckless individual or corporation is tempted to start in opposition. Those in combination immediately reduce their prices until the unwelcome intruder is forced to sell, or driven into bankruptcy, when the monopolists buy in the concern, and no one cares to repeat the experiment.

When this stage has been reached, the price may be fixed by those in combination through their ability to control the amount of production, and the amount produced will be just that quantity which will insure the largest aggregate amount (not the largest percentage) of profit for the amount of capital employed. A certain amount of goods can be sold at a certain percentage of profit; an increased amount can only be sold at a reduced rate of profit. This reduction in the percentage of profit, together with the increased cost of capital, will reduce (after a certain limit has been passed) the aggregate amount of profit below what would accrue from a more limited production. It is manifest, therefore, that, if the same amount of profit can be secured by the production of one thousand articles, which can be secured by the production of two, only one thousand will be produced, as the production of more would involve the risk of an increased amount of capital, and increased labor in superintendence.

Besides the advantage which results from limiting the quantity of goods produced, there is another which results from limiting the time in which they are produced. Although this applies more or less to almost all kinds of manufactured articles, it is especially true of goods the value of which are effected by a frequent change of style. In the production of this class of goods, the interest of the capitalist is best promoted by securing such facilities as will enable him to supply the market for a season or a year in a few weeks or months.

The result is enforced idleness on the part of the laborer for so large a portion of his time as to keep him in a chronic condition of poverty. These causes mainly produce that periodical stagnation in business which some attribute to over-production, others to under-consumption. If there is over-production it is because the interest of the capitalist is best served by limiting the supply to secure a larger profit, thus keeping the cost above the means of those who would gladly become consumers. In proportion as the profit of capital diminished, the reward of labor would increase. A lower price would bring the article within the means of a larger number of consumers, employing more laborers, who in turn would become larger consumers.

Why is it, then, with this desire to consume more and this willingness to labor in production, that all those who are willing to work are not supplied with the necessaries and even the comforts of life? It is because capital, as it is now held, not only limits production, but claims, and is in a condition to enforce its claim to so large a share of what is produced, that labor is left without the means to consume. Why is it, when the improvements in machinery enable one man on an average to produce as much as six could one hundred years ago, that the condition of the laborer is so little improved? That it is improved to some extent is true, but not at all in proportion to the increased power of production. This furnishes an illustration, if one were needed, to prove that the power of capital increases in proportion as it secures control of the means of production. No one can fail to recognize the fact that the inevitable tendency of our modern civilization is to increase this control, because it leaves no work, or will soon leave none, to be performed which is not dependent upon the use of capital in such large masses as to limit and finally destroy competition. This process can have but one result,—that of forcing the small manufacturer and dealer, the small capitalist, into the ranks of the already over-crowded wage-laborers, thus producing two distinct classes in society: a large and constantly-increasing class of dependent laborers on one side, a small and controlling class of capitalists on the other, whose control in the end would only be maintained by the establishment of a more despotic form of government.

Great as the injustice which capital inflicts upon labor is, and dangerous as its power threatens to become in the domain of productive industry, it is in the deportment of distribution that its power has been the most rapidly developed; and it is here that the evils resulting from its irresponsible control will first have to be met. The steam-engine has effected a greater revolution in our system of commercial exchange than in our manufacturing industries, rendering possible a further division of labor and so facilitating and cheapening transportation as to add greatly to the productive capacity of the country. It has also replaced the muscular power of millions of animals, enabling men to become consumers of the food which must otherwise have been devoted to their sustenance. Yet the producers and consumers have been but little benefited, because here even more than elsewhere the capitalist has had the power to secure the lion's share. The cost of railroads is so great as practically to exclude competition where the system has been sufficiently developed to be capable of effecting the necessary transfer of goods. Where competition does not materially affect prices, or where a combination can be made, the reward which the owners of the means of effecting the transfer may secure does not necessarily bear any relation to the cost of the labor or capital in making the exchange, but will be determined by the increased value of the goods resulting from the change of location. How great this reward is under favorable conditions we may judge by the fact that one man, by the exercise of this controlling power, has been able to accumulate a hundred million dollars in a few years. Railroads are to our social system what the veins and arteries are to the human system; it is through these avenues that our social system is nourished and its waste repaired. The control of this system in irresponsible hands renders the public subject to the interest and caprice of those who possess it, to an extent which is far from pleasant to contemplate. Already there is invested in the railroads of the country a capital of over four thousand millions of dollars.

Prejudicial as this power is, when applied to the promotion of its interest by what are regarded as legitimate methods, it becomes doubly so from its ability to secure special privileges through political control. Already it defies or creates State governments as its interest requires. Says Jay Gould, when under oath: "I needed the Legislatures of four States, and in order to acquire them I created them with my money. I found that the cheapest way."

"When we consider the colossal strides of the New York Central and Pennsylvania Central, the latter now owning or operating more than four thousand miles of road, making thousand-year leases and guaranteeing dividends for thirty generations, and reflect that the owners of trunk lines control their feeders as absolutely as though they owned them, it will not seem improbable that the whole system may ultimately pass under one general management." (*Gov. Booth of California*).

D. J. K.

THE WESTBORO REFORM SCHOOL.

"In an institution where a boy is flogged three times on the bare back for one offence, and until he faints, and then sent to the house of correction for the same, as was Fitzgibbons, is it strange if a spirit of revenge should be generated in that boy sufficient to lead him to violent conduct, and to escape from the institution as he did, after serving out his sentence in the house of correction? When boys are confined in the lodge on bread and water for nine weeks without their clothing for attempting to escape, as were Turner, Quinn, and Goss, is it strange that they should have a hand in the riot of January 12th? And is it strange that many another boy who had been flogged upon the bare back, until his skin was welted and marked from shoulders to heels in a manner that would have disgraced a Southern plantation in the palmiest days of slavery, should have been ready to join in the riot? Miller was flogged in this way by the superintendent for swearing. Sullivan and Flynn and Hector by officer Rawson, for whispering when at work in the shop, were stripped naked, and flogged with an old trace until their backs were a horrid sight. Kelley and Sullivan were flogged by Assistant Superintendent Wood for a *supposed* attempt to take a piece of meat from a table which they were passing—flogged on the bare back in an inhuman manner,—leaving cruel marks which were noticeable for more than a week. These are but a few of hundreds of cases which have occurred and are constantly occurring at the institution. I know the difficulties of getting facts of this kind, but the committee knew of the above cases, and examined several of the boys' backs, adding the evidence of their own sight to the statements made. Boys fear to tell of their treatment in many cases, and the officers intend to have no other witnesses of their inhuman beatings present. Any officer who reveals the facts is in peril of losing his position, because it would bring odium on the institution, and of course he will not criminate himself. Thomas Gartland committed suicide at the institution in January, 1876, after being unmercifully flogged on the bare back, and put in the lodge with the promise of more flogging by the superintendent, which he escaped by hanging himself. Boys have been kept under the torture of the sweat-box in many instances until they have fainted and fallen on being taken out. In summing up the causes of the riot, I should agree with the committee so far as to say that they are three-fold: First, revenge for cruel treatment; second, a desperate state of mind from long confinement; third, a determination to get out of it, even at the risk of getting into the house of correction, where they say they are treated much better."—*From the statement of F. Hinckley, Master of the Farm House, published in the Springfield Republican of March 27th.*

Please publish this account. *Spread* the knowledge of the manner of treatment in the State Reform School all that is possible. Let it be understood that it is managed strictly according to Scripture; namely, "by beating the child till his folly depart from him." When it is found that such process has not killed every particle of spirit in him, and that he has sufficient remaining to resent his abuses, he is sent, without any hearing, to the house of correction. Shall his tormentors go unpunished? Let us hope they will receive something more than a reprimand with request to resign. If our public institutions are to *prevent* crime they must be managed otherwise than most of them now are. Who cares for these poor unfortunates who by no actual fault of their own have found a home (?) in the Reform School? Attempt to excuse them in the least, and what do we hear? "O, they are a bad set of boys!" What has made them bad but circumstances and conditions over which they had no control? The spirit which prompted them to rebel at such outrageous treatment would, under proper guidance and control, make useful members of society of them. Let us hope that the affairs of the school will have a thorough investigation, and that the members thereof may be made to understand that society intends to see to it that justice is rendered them, while at the same time the officials thereof, and of all similar institutions, learn that they cannot tamper with the best interests of society in such a manner, without meeting the righteous indignation of the people, in the form of imprisonment or something equally suggestive. I have been thinking that if the man who prayed to the Lord in the Tabernacle, telling him that Hartford was the capital of Connecticut, would make another prayer informing the Lord that there is a school in Westboro called a "Reform School," he might be induced to become interested in it; and possibly, when Moody and Sankey have done with the Savior in Boston, he too may go to these poor boys, for in no other way will they be likely to find him. Moody's people *find the Savior*, but these poor boys must be found by him, or some other power that will break the galling yoke of oppression which is binding them to a life worse than death. God speed the day when the Savior of such as these shall come!

M. S. W.

CHURCH EXEMPTION IN THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

I was present at the second hearing before the legislative committee, March 15th. After Mr. George W. Park had made his argument for church taxation, the chairman remarked that the committee were determined to close the hearing that day; whereupon, addressing the audience present, he requested all who intended to speak upon the subject to rise in their seats. On counting heads, the chairman remarked that the parties on both sides must confine their arguments to fifteen minutes each. Withdrawing from the number, I remained long enough to hear the arguments of President Eliot, of Harvard College, President Warren, of Boston University (Methodist), and Mr. Crowley, a young Catholic lawyer. Hon. P. A. Collins, being of the same faith and practice, relinquished his fifteen minutes of time to his brother Crowley. The arguments of those in favor of church taxation having been concluded, with all the dignity of a refined scholar and gentleman, President Eliot, addressing the committee, remarked that he had but little to offer, more than what he said on a former occasion, against the taxation of institutions of learning. It did not appear to me, that the whole time occupied by President Eliot, was more than five or eight minutes. Toward the close he paused for a moment or two, and then proceeded to recite, with an impressiveness which hushed the audience to stillness, the following passage: "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Much as I admired the delivery of the quotation, I confess I did not comprehend its application. Perhaps the young Irish lawyers present did, presuming that he referred to the Mother Church.

I remained to hear Crowley's argument. He commenced by reading the nine "Demands of Liberalism," which are printed in every issue of THE INDEX; but the note at the bottom, signed by Mr. Francis E. Abbot, he did not read, which is as follows: "The above is the platform of THE INDEX so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval." What Mr. Crowley read from tracts, and what he said, made it evident to my mind that his purpose was to excite odium against the petitioners as a whole, in the mind of the committee and members of the Legislature in general. At the moment when Mr. Crowley was reading extracts from the "Demands," it did not occur to me that he had *purposely* left out the lines above quoted.

In the days of the American Revolution, was it sufficient cause of defamation and misrepresentation for George Washington, James Otis, Benjamin Franklin, and John Hancock to "demand" equal taxation? No man with Yankee blood in his veins would be guilty of such injustice. I would, if possible, have all unsectarian institutions of learning freed from taxation; but on no consideration would I consent that a sectarian religious association should be exempt.

After Mr. Crowley had concluded his remarks, I obtained permission of the Committee to put to him the following question: "Supposing that you, myself, or any man in the State, were worth as much as the great millionnaire, Vanderbilt, who died a few weeks ago in the city of New York, leaving $76,000,000. This man accumulated this vast property from

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the productive industries of other men,—never earning it as the farmer does his extra bushel of wheat or corn more than he requires for his family support. Now I ask, would it be right, would it be just in the sight of God, for this man of millions to alienate, by will or otherwise, a part or the whole of his vast estate to sectarian institutions of learning, or to any sectarian religious denomination, to remain forever exempt from taxation?"

Meeting an ex-Judge a few days after the hearing, he remarked to me that my questions "were more than an argument." N. C. NASH.

A WOMAN ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

DEAR INDEX:—

Are you too tired of this question of woman suffrage to listen to a few words from a strong-minded woman (free from superstition) who dwells among Vermont hills, reads her Bible in the light of conscience, and settles her theological questions in the clear radiance of science and common sense? For my part I am tired of much of the talk. I like to have people reasonable, like to be reasonable myself, even though it may debar me from dwelling in beautiful "châteaux en Espagne." Because woman has been from time immemorial the humored pet of man and she has accepted the position, it does not follow that he shall give her gunpowder and matches to play with because she demands them. Better for him if he wait and ascertain if she understands their nature and the natural result of their careless combination. Suffrage seems to be the aim of the "woman's movement." Certainly we have a right somewhere in the dim future to demand it. But would it not be better for some of us women to look at this matter a little more calmly and philosophically?

In all Nature every element occupies its allotted place. We may make combinations and raise elements to a higher sphere of usefulness. But until the combination be made, the elements remain in their proper sphere. "Certain causes always produce certain effects." If the foundation is solid, your structure will be likely to stand, if put together firmly, piece by piece. Let us consider in the first place some qualifications needful for a legislator in the high sense of the term. It does not follow, because *men* gain the position who are devoid of them, that there are not certain things that should be required. Ought we not to demand strict honesty, thorough unselfishness combined with firmness to stand for the right at all hazards,—these, joined with a philosophic cast of mind, enabling the possessor carefully to weigh and determine the effect from the cause? The first do we find in woman? Is she honest in her purpose, strictly speaking? Is it honest to demand as a right what one has not shown himself worthy of possessing? Unselfishness, yes—plenty of it; but unfortunately *not* joined with firmness for the right. Woman's philosophy (understand me, I mean woman as a sex) is, alas, that I must say it! all outside of herself. If she undertakes to settle a question for herself, she falls back upon—"What will they say?" And if "THEY SAY" it isn't right and proper and according to the latest style, she has not moral courage enough to act according to her honest conviction. Woman has ample opportunity for illustrating her fitness for making and executing law. She has a kingdom where she rules supreme; all acknowledge *her* as the supreme ruler and governor of the home. Let us for a moment consider how she has shown her power. We judge of laws by their effect upon the community. Look upon the young women and men as they come forth from woman's kingdom, home. Do we see a result that indicates in the ruler a mind that makes its laws wisely, administers them justly, and leaves its impress on all who came under its sway? We do see some such. Alas, how few! When you show me the nation whose mothers send forth into the world men and women honest, unselfish, self-poised, living up to the highest call of their nature, then I will show you a nation whose women can make laws to govern the public welfare, if they wish to; and they will wish to, because it would belong to them.

But how is all this to be brought about? Certainly not by teasing to vote. Woman has every avenue open to her for self-culture. If she takes a low seat, it is her own fault. Hers is the privilege to study and to think for herself. But one woman says: "I have no time; I have children; I have to do my own work." Ah, my dear woman, it seems to me we are getting to the foundation-stones. When woman becomes content to eat, to live, to dress for freedom of action and comfort,—when she can be persuaded to let the demands of the body be used merely as a means to prolong the life of that body,—I think she will find plenty of time to attend to the cultivation of the divine part of her being. No more overworked muscles, when *that* time comes,—no more weary days and sleepless nights. She will have time to commune with God in the sunlight, in the sweet, pure air, to wander in flower-strewn fields with her little flock, and, recognizing the purity in which God dwells, teach them all to imitate this purity, that God may dwell in them. It seems to me that you *cannot* force this matter of woman's voting. It is not in accordance with divine law to put matter where it does not belong. I know very well we have plenty of voters and legislators who do not possess the qualifications they should. But will it better the matter by conferring the much-abused privilege on more? When was one wrong ever righted by committing another?

When woman stands morally and intellectually where she has the privilege of standing to-day, she will not have to ask for suffrage; her right will be recognized. W.

BRATTLEBORO, Vt.

THE STRONGEST ARGUMENT FOR THE IMMEDIATE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

EDITOR INDEX:—

There need be little fear of woman long remaining subject to priests after her enfranchisement. It is the law of self-government to beget secularism. As men have gradually learned to accomplish ends of government through human means,—as their sense of entity and volition has strengthened,—as they have become more and more conscious that themselves were factors, they have lost respect for the supernatural, and have withdrawn their allegiance from religions that, like the Christian religion, are in their nature despotic. Habits of civil self-government soon beget habits of religious self-government. A pure republic is a deadly foe to despotism in religion.

Women to-day are the bulwark of Christianity in this country. They furnish three-fourths of its membership, money, and power. They are not to be changed by an able argument, nor by the contemptuous sneers that I have heard from a certain class of liberals, especially Germans, who seem to have inherited notions of the inferiority of one-half of humanity which makes sad work of the logic with which they demand freedom for the other half.

Make women, like men, self-governors, and, like men, they will soon begin to find authority in themselves instead of in the supernatural. Nothing would so quickly put government on human foundations as equal participation in government.

If a man holds and teaches a particular class to look upon another as having superior and exclusive authority in civil government, I don't see that his demand that women should not be subject to Christian priests ought to excite anything but contempt for his logic and selfishness.

The calling of meetings, discussion of methods, appointment of committees, raising money, and other purely human means to accomplish human ends incident to the famous temperance crusade, did more to make women think about society and the means of affecting it, and therefore more to promote woman suffrage, than all the suffrage work preceding, in the crusade States. The moment people meet on an equality in conventions, committees, and so forth, to discuss and decide upon human methods of affecting human results, that moment they begin to *work* themselves into secularism. It may be unconscious and slow, but it is inevitable. The first State to adopt woman suffrage will be the first in which women will withdraw their support from the Church as it is now. Nobody knows this better than the intelligent Catholic priests. J. E. L.

LAWRENCEBURG, Ind.

[The above is the best argument for *immediately* establishing woman suffrage that we have yet seen; and it is this very argument which would make us vote affirmatively for that measure. It is not an absolutely conclusive argument, but it is entitled to very great weight. There would be a very great risk of overthrowing secular government altogether, if women *as they are* were to vote at once; but it is a risk we are, and have been all along, in favor of running, because we too hope that women would be taught political wisdom by experience, as men are taught. Every friend of humanity, however, and especially every friend of woman, should appreciate the vast importance of opening woman's eyes to the degradations and dangers of Christian superstitions.—ED.]

AN OLD QUOTATION.

BEAVER, Pa., March 26, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I am glad to notice that the question of "woman suffrage" is still so ably, so vigorously discussed in the columns of THE INDEX, and I take herewith the liberty of giving you a quotation from one of your own articles on this subject which I first read in your paper a few years since. I do this, not only on account of the noble position you then took in regard to this problem, but also in order to convince Mrs. E. D. C. (if that be possible) that the just cause of "woman suffrage" finds in you, not a lukewarm supporter," but an enthusiastic advocate. The language in the following extract cannot be mistaken; it has the true ring of progress; it shows that, to the emancipated thinker at least, there is and can only be one side of this much agitated question.

"In candor"—you wrote then,—"we must confess that the majority of women would probably favor the Christian Amendment; but that is no more reason for disfranchising them than for disfranchising the male advocates of that pernicious measure. Liberty must perish in this country, unless the majority of the people, men and women together, love it enough to preserve it. If they want to be slaves, slaves let them be! We aim solely to show them what liberty is and requires, and to arouse a deeper love of it; but we would not crush the Christian Amendment movement itself by disfranchising its advocates. They would certainly disfranchise and disqualify us, but not so would we do to them. Our trust is in truth and justice alone; if it proves a broken reed, it shall not be because we have been false to it, or because we dare not grant the liberty we demand. Women have a right to vote, and that is enough, whether they use or abuse the right. It seems strange that so clear and simple a principle should not be better understood."

If there is one word in the English language a true radical abhors, it is that word "expediency"! It deadens all noble impulse; it incapacitates for all prompt action; it is a narcotic for true heroism. The only way to make the people, *i. e.*, men and women, virtuous, strong, intelligent, is to throw them upon themselves. If they commit blunders, let them smart for them, and they will act wiser in the future. This is the broad democratic principle on which our entire social structure rests; you cannot deny the same rights to woman which you have faith enough to grant to man!

Very sincerely yours, HUGO ANDRIESSEN.

MR. MILLS' LECTURES.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 27, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Mr. C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, N. Y., delivered two lectures in this village last week. The first was entitled "Humanity as it is and as it is to be," and the subject of the second one was "Emerson." These lectures were full of food for thought, and they made a profound impression on the minds of the listeners. A number of the young men here were so much interested with them that they have been stimulated to organize a literary and free conversational society. Mr. Mills was on his way home from a three months' lecturing tour through the North-West. He has lectured publicly or given conversational lectures in parlors in nearly every city and large town in that vicinity. The subjects of his lectures have been those above mentioned and also "The Signs of the Times," "Max Müller," and "Huxley." These lectures have everywhere been well received by the intelligent and thoughtful, and have doubtless done much for the advancement of humanity. The friends of freethought should not allow Mr. Mills to rest long from his labors. He should be kept in the lecture-field a portion of the time during the summer as well as during the winter months. The press of the West has spoken in very high terms of his lectures. The following notices are taken from the Western city papers: "The best representatives of the intelligence and culture of Chicago society are listening to Prof. Mills' second course of lectures. These lectures are among the most rare and attractive ever offered to our people." "The lecture was one of rare culture and ability. Every thought was a gem." "He is in truth enamored of the spiritual nature in man, holding it as his crowning dignity to be, in the highest sense of the word, a son of God." "The lecture of Prof. Mills last evening was a remarkable fine and learned effort, and was much enjoyed by his audience."

To those who may desire the services of Mr. Mills I would say that his postoffice address is Syracuse, New York. H. L. GREEN.

P. S.—May I be permitted to say in this postscript that nothing I have read for many a year has so gratified me as your lecture on "The Scientific Method in Religion"? That lecture should be published on the finest print paper and bound in the most beautiful and attractive manner with a portrait of the author, and purchased as a keepsake by all those who indorse and appreciate its clear and unanswerable exposition of the basis of free religion. H. L. G.

EVANS ANNIVERSARY.

The third anniversary meeting in commemoration of George H. Evans was held at the residence of Dr. C. S. Weeks, New York, on March 25. The audience was mainly made up of the surviving associates of Evans in the Land Reform movement in this country. Nearly all the participants in the exercises were aged agitators and co-laborers with Evans in the cause connected with his name. J. K. Ingalls was called to the chair, and S. H. Preston was appointed secretary. Able and appropriate addresses were made by J. K. Ingalls, John Cummerford, Lewis Masquerier, A. H. Rowe, Thomas Davis, Dr. Shepard, Dr. Weeks, Mrs. R. W. S. Briggs, after which a eulogy on Evans and a brief review of the Land Reform was read by S. H. Preston. Propositions for effecting a practical and permanent working organization were discussed, and a committee was chosen to select a proper place for regular meetings. It was unanimously resolved to carry on the movement by means of tracts and missionary work. All the proceedings were prevaded by an earnestness and spirit of self-sacrifice such as characterize real reformers. Most of the speakers gave interesting incidents and reminiscences of their intimate association with the man to whose memory they had met to pay their tribute of respect.

THE BOSTON *Globe* relates an amusing incident which recently occurred on the New York and Boston express while the train was stopping at Springfield. A small and almost voiceless newsboy entered one of the cars, and, walking back and forth, murmured something about the Springfield *Union*, a single copy of which he carried under one arm. The boy's apathy and consequent ill-success in trade attracted the attention of a nervous-looking passenger, who presently jumped from his seat, and cried out: "See here, boy! let me show you how to sell newspapers!" Snatching the paper from under the urchin's arm and placing it beneath his own, he commenced slowly pacing the car, shouting loudly, "Spr-r-ing-g-g-g-field *Union!* Double sheet! Terrible fire in Philadelphia-a-a-a! Suicide of Bam Sowles and Arles Chancis Fradams! The Centennial Building in ashes! Dom Pedro and President Grant reduced to cinders! Four lengths of linen hose busted! Spr-r-r-r—" And his further exclamations were lost amid the uproarious merriment of the other passengers and the yells of the little news-peddler, who had found his voice, and was tugging at the gentleman's coat-tails in vain endeavor to recover his paper, as the train had begun to move from the station. That boy has probably learned how to sell newspapers by that one lesson.

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE LABOR QUESTION—

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influence or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

MR. MOODY has been preaching about "The Precious Blood" lately, with a delight in his sanguinary subject worthy only of an Aztec. And this is the religion that all the Christians of the United States are crowding to uphold and propagate!

THE FOLLOWING additional signatures to the Religious Freedom Amendment Petition have been received since last week: from Mr. L. A. Le Mieux, Seymour, Wis., 128; from Mr. William Dudgeon, New Hartford, N. Y., 33; from Mr. Charles Nash, Worcester, Mass., 30; from Mr. G. E. Frothingham, Professor of Materia Medica at Ann Arbor, Mich., 128. Professor Frothingham writes: "The above names are those of students in the Medical Department of the University of Michigan, except two Professors in the same Department, and two others who are Probate Judges, living in Ann Arbor. Many more names can be obtained in this town. There has been no attempt to canvass among the citizens." Total number of signatures thus far received—3,368.

THIS MOMENTOUS PIECE of information, which is calculated to impress the public mind of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceanica with unutterable awe and hopeless envy in view of the blessings bestowed upon America by a partial Providence in the person of His Elephantine Lectureship, may be found recorded in the eleventh verse of the ninth chapter of the Lewiston (Maine) *Journal* of March 31: "Mr. Joseph Cook, at 6 o'clock this morning, took a seat on a rock near West Pitch, opened *Evangeline*, and began to read, every once in a while lifting his eyes to admire the cataract. He expresses himself as delighted with this region, its people and its natural scenery, and hopes that he may be able next winter to accept the invitation already tendered him to give another course of lectures in Auburn." But our right-minded readers will be shocked to learn that the clipping which described this tender incident at West Pitch was communicated to us by an irreverent being who did not scruple to write beneath it, in ink as black as his own depraved heart: "With his he-diddle, ho-diddle, pop tweedle-dee!"

TO WHAT ruinous lengths the "gospel of gush" may be carried, and what infatuated connivance it may foster in all sorts of wrong, provided only Christians commit it! This extract is from *Zion's Herald* of November 30, 1876: "To find blemishes and defects in the Church and in your brethren is an almost infallible sign that your love has declined, and that you have entered on the first stages of backsliding. Love is blind, so covers a multitude of sins. A soul filled with love finds it difficult to detect faults in either the gospel or in Christian people. Charity wears an ample mantle, and can never be persuaded to turn critic. There is so much that is good, it will not believe any evil. But charity is a fruit of the spirit, and a decline of the influences of the spirit is indicated by the appearance in us of this critical mood. Your feet have begun to slide. The decline of grace in the heart is beginning to appear without. Arrest yourself in this downward course before your feet take hold on hell. Here is the beginning of ruin. Dare you stand here another moment? If you have found something ill in your brethren, the finding of it indicates a still greater wrong in you. It is apt to be the evil eye that sees evil in our brethren, or that detects irregularities in the household of our Lord."

THE JOINT COMMITTEE on "Just and Equal Taxation," in the Massachusetts Legislature, reported in the Senate on April 3, by Mr. Coffin of Middlesex, a bill providing that every literary, educational, benevolent, charitable, scientific, and religious society shall make an annual return, before May 15, to the Assessors of the city or town in which it is located, of the fair cash value of all real and personal estate owned by it on the 1st of said May, the amount of encumbrances on its untaxed property, the amount of trust funds held by it or for its benefit, and also the amount of money raised or received from all sources during its next preceding financial year, and the disposition made of such income. Any society not making such report of property exempt from taxation shall not enjoy further exemption. These statements thus obtained may be made the basis of any change in the laws, if it is thought advisable to make such change after obtaining these statistics. It is to be hoped that this bill will become a law, for it is a long step towards success in the abolition of tax-exemptions. We predict that, if these returns are ever honestly made, the public will be astounded at the magnitude of the amount of property which pays nothing whatever for the protection it receives.

THAT THE REVIVAL has for its real object the *increase of membership in the coöperating churches*, and that the real reason why the ministers so solidly back Moody and Sankey is to avail themselves of the services of such efficient recruiting sergeants, is a not very remote inference from this *naïve* confession of Rev. A. E. Kittredge, writing from Chicago to the *Independent* of January 18: "The following are the additions to some of the other churches yesterday: Union Park Congregational, 26 by letter and 28 on profession; Second Baptist, 22 by letter and 14 by baptism; Fourth Baptist, 16 by letter and 10 by baptism; Leavitt Street Congregational, 16 by letter and 41 by profession; Reunion Presbyterian, 11 by letter and 7 by profession; Fourth Presbyterian, 8 by letter and 15 by profession; Fifth Presbyterian, 12 by letter and 48 by profession; Sixth Presbyterian, 32 by letter and 50 by profession; Christ Reformed Episcopal, 26 by letter and 9 by profession; First Presbyterian, 26 by profession; Park Avenue Methodist, 40 by letter and 67 on probation; Centenary Methodist, 35 by letter and 35 on profession. This will give you some idea of the work in the different churches during these precious months. And I only wish I might add to this list some, at least, of our Episcopal churches; but they have *all* stood aloof from the revival movement, and, if report be true, have received no drops of the shower of grace. About 140 will unite with the First Congregational Church next Sabbath, 90 of whom will come on profession; and 40 new converts will be added to the Second Presbyterian and about the same number to the New England Congregational."

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N. B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 8, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[Corrected for THE INDEX.]

The Two Law-Givers:

MOSES AND JESUS AS TEACHERS COMPARED.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT ARMORY HALL, ST. LOUIS, FEB. 3, 1877.

BY RABBI S. H. SONNESCHEIN.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—At the time when I undertook to address, for the first time in my public career in this conntry, an audience of this kind, upon a subject of so dangerous and slippery a nature, I was at a loss how to introduce myself and my subject. But I believe a little in my luck, or my good fortune, and so my faith in my good fortune has borne me out even now. The announcement made by my honorable friend, that the lady who will address this audience next week intended first to speak on "The Great West, the New Continent," and changed her mind to speak about the superabundance of our daughters, and answer the question, "What Shall we do with Our Daughters?" has given me the best possible cue to introduce myself and my subject. There are two great law-givers in history, Moses and Jesus. Imagine for a moment that these, the two greatest of all the immortals, are looking upon the events, the accidents, the doings, and goings on of our day. How embarrassed they must feel! The one who, about three thousand four hundred years ago, gave the basis of human progress as seen in the light of the eternal God—the other who, about one thousand five hundred years later, thoroughly dissatisfied with the standing the race had achieved in his time, gave them, as it were, a new dispensation.

The one has given life to a daughter called the Synagogue, the other to a daughter called the Church,—each thinking that his single child would remain true to him; yet look what a superabundance of daughters we have now. The Synagogue is divided against itself, with a hundred rabbis disputing and quarrelling the whole year round, while the daughters of the Church are numberless, countless, in more than myriads. "What shall we do with our daughters?" would be the question asked by each of the other. And the older master would say to his younger brother, "Go West—there is a new country, the land of which my prophets, my scholars, and disciples have prophesied. In that grand Western continent has God created his new world, and there the daughters shall cease from quarrelling, and by-and-by learn to suffer each other's faults, and only try to soften, to level, to equalize, and to harmonize that which was the groundwork of all their dissensions and fanatical persecutions." Thus, ladies and gentlemen, have I been enabled by my good fortune, thank God, to introduce my subject and myself.

Moses and Jesus,—the two greatest law-givers under the sun. The one a prophet of whom it can well be said and forever will be said—father of all the prophets as he was,—that before him was none like him, and none like him after him; the other, a young man, dying in the early prime of life, snatched away from his dearest friends by the cruel hands of fanatics and politicians. The one a venerable figure, standing out boldly before the whole world; the other, a pure, sympathetic soul, challenging our sympathy and our profound admiration,—a martyr of the grandest kind and in the noblest sense of the word. In how much alike are these two men, and yet how far and high and wide and deep the distance between them! Both born at a time when the children of their race were persecuted and condemned to death; both dying at a time when they thought "we have won"; the one at the threshold of the promised land, the other on his cross in terrible agony, crying, "My Father, why hast thou forsaken me?" both misunderstood by their cotemporaries, both entirely misconceived by some of their best disciples and nearest friends; both being fully convinced of the truth, the vigor, the eternal progress and infinite capability for development of the germ they have laid down as the foundation of history. Such are their resemblances. And still how different from each other. They both try to cure, to bring balm to Gilead; both are the physicians of the human race; but while the one has in view a single patient and caring for him only, the other beholds the whole world sick, as if the world were one grand hospital, and tries to cure them all. The one is the physician of preventive measures, thinking the human race healthy, but given to debauchery, and tries to prevent it, saying: "That and this you shall *not* do. You are *forbidden* to do so and so. I place before you life and death. You are healthy, possessed of a vigorous constitution. Beware! Don't commit the wrong deed and you shall remain healthy forever." The other is differently situated. To him goes a man who is already sick to the core, seeing death before him, yet clinging to life and saying: "Good doctor, heal me, cure me if you can." "Yes, I can," says the doctor; "but you must do so and so, and take this and that medicine." Hence the difference between the "*Thou shalt not*" of Moses, and the "*Thou shalt*" of Jesus. The one, the older one, a man of action, a leader who tries to elevate his followers, who have already God's promise of old. They have heard that they never can remain in as low a situation as that in which he found them. They were slaves in Egypt, they were outcasts, they were in the last ditch of bondage, and through all, dim and gleaming yet, is the promise to their ancestors that there shall come the time when Heaven will strike—and lo! Moses comes, the redeemer is here. "Here I am. I shall lead you. I shall bring you out of bondage."

He is their leader, and goes onward, and pulls and pulls with all the strength of his divine enthusiasm, till he succeeds in bringing them out of the pit of deep damnation and foul superstition to the clear mountain-heights of truth and liberty. That is the one. The other is entirely differently situated. He is living in an age where almost everybody is at peace. The Roman Empire has nearly reached that tranquil, calm, serene, and peaceful aspect where every wheel of empire and society seems to revolve smoothly and without jar. But the clear and acute observer sees from afar a great, deep gulf of perdition, a terrible abyss of misery, yawning and opening before that mighty colossus of Rome. They think the wheels of their progress are going on level ground; but slowly their descendancy is commencing,—more rapidly and rapid the wheels go on; society is pent up by corruption; religion obliterated by scoffing; manhood is deadened by debauching lords on one side, and slaves and beggars on the other. The human race is not going forward at all; it is going slowly down, surely backward. And a man arises who says: "I shall check that perdition, I shall redeem the world, I shall save the world from being ruined." What a task for one man! It is no wonder that the wheels went over him and crushed him. The one, Moses, is a teacher, with a very young and ignorant class of scholars. He only needed to teach his pupils the A B C of religion. They don't ask much. They accept everything he says as the truth, and nothing else. They look up to him as the greatest mind of their age,—as to a man full of knowledge and wisdom, and science and power, who has drunk in learning at the very fountains of philosophy and art, and for all this and more they believe in him.

Still, like children who rush to play when the lesson is over, they forthwith seek their pleasure, doing, perhaps, exactly that which their teacher has forbidden, and that immediately after receiving the warning admonition. They are children. The other is a teacher who has to keep evening-school. His pupils are grown-up men and women, experienced in life, earning their daily bread, perchance with bitter disappointment. Their passion is tired out. Still they know they must learn something, and they go to evening-school. They listen not with such rapt attention as the teacher would expect. Rather would they inquire after the character of their own teacher, perchance would embarrass him by some impertinent question, and while but a few have the patience and industry and perseverance to hold out to the end of the scholastic season, the majority of the class go away, and, it may be, despise knowledge more than ever before.

But why should I go on depicting to you these two men? We are living in an age where doubting and scoffing and ridicule are laid alike at the door of the church and of the synagogue. There are empty churches and as empty synagogues all over the civilized world, and if a foreigner, who never knew anything of the Jewish or of the Christian religion, should nowadays pass the synagogue on the Sabbath or the church on Sunday, and peep into the inner room, finding it empty, he would ask, "Why, what is going on there? Why don't they give up the whole concern in despair? Why are they still believing, while, one of these days, church and synagogue will go by forever and ever? What a queer, self-deluding faith is this!" Ladies and gentlemen, suppose some one who is totally unacquainted with the location of the streets of your city, and the pursuits of her citizens, should happen to stand to-morrow morning between eight o'clock and nine, say on the corner of Chestnut and Sixteenth, and see all the cars coming from down town empty, and being very rash in his judgment, as foreigners generally are, he should ask, "What is that which every five or ten minutes is plodding its way up town?" and you say, "That is a car, my dear friend, a street-car." "But it must cost a great deal of money to keep up such an institution as that?" "Oh, yes." "But it must be a very losing concern, all the time empty?" "My dear friend, you are mistaken. Go you to Market Street, one block from here, and there you will see the cars crowded brimful of passengers. They are just now, in the morning, going down town to business. If you will call at my house in the evening you will find the whole thing reversed." Such, my friends, is the condition of Church and Synagogue to-day. People are rushing down town to business. People are, nowadays, not given much to prayer, but to work, and their work may be as holy and as pure, nay, holier and purer than going to Church or Synagogue with a holy, sanctimonious look. The two great law-givers, if they were to-day in our midst to undertake once more that great and still thankless task of teaching the race, would tell us in their own language the same thing I have indicated just now.

Remember, at the time of Moses, offering sacrifices upon the altars of the gods, and giving the best piece of the offering to the priest, was considered the highest grade of piety and religion. Moses, in giving his people a law entirely at variance with the habits of heathendom—knowing that he cannot cut off entirely their customs of bringing sacrifices,—does not forbid sacrifice. Not at all. You listen to the peculiar language of the first chapter of Leviticus, that part of the law of Moses which treats and dwells upon offerings, in which is couched that commandment, "If," he says, "if any one of you want to bring an offering to the altar of the Eternal God, you must do it of your own free account." Mark you the "if" and "your own free account." Moses knew that burning sacrifices, in the mere empty, hollow, shallow sense of the word, is not only not pleasing to the Eternal Father, but an abomination to him, and he tells them what we have just read, "If . . . on your own free account." In the same way, fifteen hundred years later, when a more liberal culture and more progressive civilization has instructed the race to a little better understanding of the relation between

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them and the Eternal Master, when offering of sacrifice was almost done away with, and in its stead prayers were initiated, the prayers held the same position as the sacrifices fifteen hundred years before. People were praying, but there was no sense in it. They were going to their synagogues from mere custom, the son-in-law being afraid of his father-in-law, who has given his daughter to a pious young man, a member of some pious association, and that young man must keep up the appearance of his going to the synagogue. His heart is not with him. Praying has become to him a mere stammering of syllables of no account to him. He was accustomed to look at Nature and at himself in the light of Greek philosophy. He was, to a certain degree, an infidel, but he is afraid of the pious old man, or of his-mother-in-law. And so, says Jesus, "I tell you what to do. If you want to pray, go into your closet. Shut the door, and don't shout. Speak with your Father in heaven in a still and meek way, and it will be sufficient if he hears you, notwithstanding you are one of the most abominable infidels in town. For men must not only pray, but must also work. Work is the main duty of the human race." So says the younger and the elder law-giver. If anybody thinks that there is a deep and irreconcilable gulf between the two, he or she is mistaken. There are three cardinal principles of religion standing forth in both books. "What is the main doctrine of your faith?" Jesus was asked by the Scribes, who were doubting his integrity and sincerity, and he answered, as you know: "The Eternal, thy God, is only one. Thou shalt love the Eternal, thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." These are the teachings of both. All else is liable to change, alteration, misconception, and abuse.

I remember once I met with a so-called doubter, a gay young business man, not given much to meditating about religion, and still he had a good nature and a clear head. He was not an infidel from frivolity; he was an infidel by imitation. Just at that time it was fashionable to be an infidel, and you know that fashions are clung to with more devotion, for the short time they are adopted, than any deep-laid principle in society. That is a fashion, too. And I and my young friend had a little dispute about some matters of religion. I wanted to show him by his own insight into both the books of the Old and the New Testament that he was mistaken, that he was betrayed into maintaining a thing that was entirely false and baseless. I asked him, "Do you want to take the New or the Old Testament?" My gay young friend thought, "Now I shall strike a heavy blow at that preacher," and he said, "Give me the New Testament." I asked, "Why?" "Oh," said he, "of two evils I take the less." Instead of feeling rebuked, and knowing my man, knowing that it was only a fashion with him, and that at evening he would go among his young friends and tell, "How nicely I have served this minister; I have got the best of him," I said, "You are right, really following the right, my friend. It is an evil. Both books are evils. Do you know why? Because the books are written. The books are printed, and for over eighteen hundred years the letter has been stronger than the spirit, and over the dead letters, priestcraft, demagoguery, and the frivolity of all the ages have quarrelled, as vultures fight over dead carcasses on a battle-field. The letters, the printed letters, the written laws, they are the evil in religion. But let the spirit be life, let the sentences be interpreted with an eternal truth and life-giving meaning, and you will repent, my friend, your frivolous remarks." What Moses of old warned his people against, was the adoration of the dead letters of idolatry. Even the name of God was altered. It is said: "To Abraham, and Issac, and Jacob I have appeared as God Almighty. Now, I shall be known henceforth as Jehovah—the Eternal." You see even the name of God is entirely new. And so he did away with all the useless traditions and customs of his tribe. He forbade, with the most severe and stringent admonitions, the repetition of those abominable customs which prevailed beyond the river Euphrates in former times. He is breaking away from old customs; he is killing the letter and reviving the spirit.

And so Jesus did. The human race will always undergo such changes from age to age. What is new and fresh now will be dull and stale and obsolete in a thousand years. The shrine before which we kneel down now with uplifted hands will be cast aside into some nook and corner, where the cobwebs of superstition shall alone embrace it. But there are some living truths, some living principles, which forever will, from age to age, be held before a wondering and doubting race, as the great banners leading mankind to triumph and victory, and in such a time we are living now.

If Moses and Jesus would come down now, and survey the field of human progress, they would not change a single jot in their teaching,—in those teachings which are not adulterated and mutilated and distorted by priestcraft and demagoguery. They would still say, as Moses, to the rich: "If a fallen and poverty-stricken brother comes to you, lend him your helping hand." And Jesus would admonish the debauched and corrupt bondholder: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter Paradise. This may not be applicable to all rich men and all poor men; the rich are sometimes very poor. They may be as unhappy as the poorest among the poor. Who can tell? And the same, in another sense of the word, with the poor. The poor millionnaire is the man who only serves one master,—mammon; the rich beggar he who only serves the Eternal Father in heaven. Jesus would teach still that a man cannot serve both the Eternal Father and mammon.

And if ever there was an opportunity to reconcile the great opposing parties and questions and issues of the age, it is here in this great new continent. Here poverty is not established poverty. The poor men, coming from the other world, seeking new homes and new fields of action here, if they are industrious and temperate, sincere and able in their pursuits, become rich very soon; that is, contented, and having more than they need. And the rich who would come from the other country, scions of the large-estated nobility of England or Germany, accustomed to do nothing but to go from pleasure to pleasure, who would like to pursue the same course here, soon find themselves cast upon the charity of American citizens. This is a new world, where opposing questions and issues are blending and changing and shifting from year to year. Here is that continent where the new faith in the time to come shall spring up, bloom and ripen, and mature, a blessing to the citizens of America. Why? Because the disciples of Moses, the disciples of Jesus, and the disciples of every good and noble teacher of former ages and nations will be received with candor and appreciation. The American is a learning people; does not abhor the truth because it is foreign truth. The true American has no detestation for foreign advice because it comes from Germany or elsewhere. He is cosmopolitan, a member of what we call the broadest church in the world, that takes in everybody. And, therefore, the two greatest law-givers will be able to teach here a new dispensation by blending and mingling their dispensations into one. Is it not partly done already? Do I preach a hollow hallucination? Look at the most advanced school of the Synagogue, look at the most advanced school of the Church, look at the reformed Jew and at the reformed Christian, at the Unitarian; they are no more very far from each other. The time is near when the younger dispensation will shake hands with the old over the bloody chasm of the past. The time is near when the boy in the little story which I am going to tell in conclusion, will appear as a type, as a prototype of the American destiny in regard to religion.

I had once an opportunity, nine years ago, when I was in this country only a few months, to go over to the old home once more; and on the steamer by which I went was a German family, a family who were introduced to me by a friend; very well educated, the lady a perfect lady in every sense of the word, the gentleman a nobleman every inch. I only missed one thing: they were like a great many well-educated and well-to-do Germans in this country, they were rather more than indifferent towards any Church or Synagogue. They cultivated the arts and sciences and good society; they educated their little ones according to the standard of nobility and purity and charity, and still no religion. Their children—and the oldest one was a boy of about eleven years—didn't even know what the Old or New Testament was. And when we came to Hamburg the parents, wishing to go abroad and see the Continent, tried to leave the oldest boy behind, so that he could frequent school. They asked me, knowing I was a little acquainted in Hamburg, to what school they should send the boy. I recommended ——'s day-school for young gentlemen, which was, according to my recollection at that time, just befitting a boy like him. He went there with his father. They were introduced to the director of the school, and received with the utmost politeness. One of the first questions put to the boy by the director was, "What religion do you belong to?" That was a question he was unable to answer, and the boy was embarrassed. Knowing that his father knew more than he, he looked up to him for advice. The father was embarrassed too. He took the boy in hand and tried to explain the difficulty as a well-educated father would. He told him that there were formerly a great many religions, which had all gone astray; that they had persecuted each other, and instead of being peace-makers they were fanning and kindling hatred and malice and persecution, and that there is only one religion, and that the one which the German poet Schiller describes in saying: "What faith I do confess? None of such as you name to me,—and why? For faith's sake!" Here the boy brightened up, and, with American frankness, goes right up to the principal, and says: "Now I know what religion I have; I have the American religion." That boy was a prophet. There will come a time when American religion will be the watchword, as American liberty is. And liberty and religion will go hand in hand; the conscience of the human race will be free from all the superstition of the dark ages, and the poor in spirit and in pocket will have their Redeemer, who will bring down the kingdom of heaven upon earth; and those insolent men, who are wanting to thrust upon their needs a superabundance, they will become softened and meek, and charitable and lenient. There will be one great link of brotherhood among all, that which Moses, the older, and Jesus, the younger, have considered and known, for which they have died willingly, submitting to the will of the Eternal Father. And the future of the Church and of the Synagogue, of the different churches and the different synagogues, will be the completest and most satisfactory answer to that embarrassing question of Moses and Jesus: "What shall we do with our daughters?"

"If I PLACE my money in the savings bank," inquired one of the newly-arrived, "when can I draw it out?" "Oh!" responded his Hibernian friend, "sure, an' if you put it in to-day you can get it out again to-morrow, by giving a fortnight's notice."

"Is THERE much water in the cistern, Biddy?" inquired a Providence gentleman a few days ago of his servant-girl as she came up from the kitchen. "It is full on the bottom, sir, but there's none at all on the top," was the reply.—*N. Y. Post.*

MR. ABBOT'S NEW DEPARTURE.

EDITOR COMMONWEALTH:—

I do not see THE INDEX regularly, but I saw in a late *Commonwealth* an abstract of Mr. F. E. Abbot's address on the "Scientific Method in Religion." It contained statements which seemed to me so unlikely to have been made that I turned to the columns of THE INDEX and found that your abstract did him no injustice. The fact that his lecture was the closing word of a special course arranged by the Free Religious Association gives a semi-official character to it; and, as it contains assumptions and interpretations which seem to me to strike at the very principles on which that organization was founded, I wish to enter a modest protest against what seems to me a wholly new departure.

Six years ago Mr. Abbot gave a lecture, which may be found in THE INDEX for April 15, 1871. It was first announced by the rather startling title, "The Civil War in Free Religion"—afterwards softened to "The Intuitional and Scientific Schools of Free Religion." The very title of this lecture recognizes both of these so-called schools as legitimate component parts of the free religious movement; nor is there anything in the lecture to revoke this admission. On the contrary, it is distinctly stated that "both classes are equally strong and pronounced in their adherence to free religion—whether by that name or not is of little consequence."

With this in my memory I confess to having been somewhat surprised—though perhaps I ought not to have been surprised—in reading Mr. Abbot's new lecture, in which he claims for "the scientific method" the monopoly of the free religious movement. He reads out of that movement, almost in express words, Max Müller with his "faculty of faith," and William Gannett with his "faith that asks no reason for itself." He sacrifices, at a blow, that noble comprehensiveness which has been the glory of the Free Religious Association, and which has won for it the reluctant respect of bigots and dogmatists. And this he does by bringing to bear his microscope upon the Constitution of the Association and extracting from it, with as much verbal ingenuity as Catholic or Protestant ever used, a meaning which, six years ago, he apparently had not even suspected.

The objects of the Free Religious Association are stated in the Constitution to be "to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history." It would seem hard to frame a more liberal statement. But Mr. Abbot, by setting aside the first two objects as comparatively trivial, and then omitting (INDEX, p. 137) the guarded and significant word "encourage," converts the whole clause into a "bold affirmation of the scientific method as the *sole* legitimate method of religious thought." (The italics are my own.)

The significance of the word "encourage" is this: As compared with the words "promote" and "increase," it is a very guarded phrase. A liberal man may "encourage" a hundred things in which he takes but little personal part, and which, so far from seeming to him the "sole" method in any direction, may not seem even the best method. I encourage measures every day with money, or even with time, from which I really expect very little. It will not at all do, therefore, to drop so important a word out of the argument.

Again, how extraordinary an assumption is that of the word "sole," above inserted. The most extreme intuitionalist may be very ready to "encourage the scientific study of religious thought," but no one has a right to say that he therefore believes it the sole legitimate method. Because an agricultural society mentions as one of its aims to encourage the experimental study of agriculture, does it imply that there is no such thing as theoretic investigation? Because I direct a man from Tremont Street to Boston State House across the Common, do I assert that it is the sole way, and that he could not possibly get there through Park Street?

Among those who framed the Free Religious Constitution there were, fortunately, people of various temperaments and modes of thought. There were those who, like Mr. Abbot, believed in "the scientific method" as the essential thing. But there were those also who believed that another path to religious truth lay in religious life itself, on the principle, "Whoso doeth the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine." There were those who believed that another path lay in the spirit of love, on the principle, "God known through love." The Constitution of the Association was intended to provide, and does provide, for all of these methods, or fancied methods; and all their representatives have hitherto met on equal terms upon its platform. Those whom Mr. Abbot called intuitionalists have never so much as suggested the expediency of reading him out of the Association; it is he who now claims that they have no logical place there. Against an interpretation so suicidal I, for one, must respectfully protest.

T. W. H.

NEWPORT, R. I.

HUXLEY AND DARWIN.

BY M. D. CONWAY.

LONDON, March 3, 1877.

Professor Huxley's reception at the Royal Institution last night, on the occasion of his first appearance there since his return from America, partook of the character of an ovation. The capacity of the theatre, which can contain eleven hundred people, was more strained than ever before in its long history, one or two hundred more than the above number having found standing-room, and many more, finding their cards of invitation of no avail, being compelled to leave after vain efforts to get near

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enough to the doors to hear the Professor's voice. The ladies were in their most brilliant costumes, and passed an hour before the lecture in chatting. Many distinguished folk, even Lords and Ladies, came too late to get good seats, and some were glad of the humblest position on the steps. After the entire space in front of the lecture-desk was occupied with chairs there were a dozen gentlemen who could only make up their minds to stand; and among these Lord Arthur Russell, Professor Tyndall, and the President of the Institution, Mr. W. Spottiswoode. Mrs. Tyndall, her mother, Lady Claude Hamilton, Mrs. Spottiswoode, and other ladies of their set, from the comfortable seats cast anxious glances at this unhappy situation of the two eminent gentlemen, but were ultimately relieved by seeing Tyndall provided with a chair which, however, brought him into near relation with Huxley's skirts. Among the audience were Tennyson, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, the Duke of Argyle, and sundry other noblemen. Dr. Hooker presided, and brought in Mrs. Huxley, who sat at his left. Among the most honored of those present was the venerable widow of Faraday. As the old lady entered the hall below she gazed for a time on the marble statue of her famous husband set up this week. In one hand he held an electric coil, the other being extended in that slight gesture which he rarely exceeded, while his benevolent face, even in marble, seemed to beam the old welcome on the audience he so well knew and loved. To the widow in her becoming cap the face no doubt had power to recall that happy day when, as Miss Barnard, she received the note that said, "for this world I am yours"—now more than fifty years in the past,—and when that love began of which Tennyson said, "Like a burning diamond it continued to shed for six and forty years its white and smokeless glow."

At length the clock struck nine, and the Professor, looking rather more thick-set than when we last saw him in the same place, but with whiskers grown more gray, was seen fairly elbowing his way in at the crowded door. He looked just a little bored as he glanced around at the throng. The applause burst out; he closed his eyes for an instant, and the next moment began with a quotation from Cuvier to the effect that the geologist is a new kind of antiquary. This statement he justified. The geologist joined hands with the archæologist on one side and the historian on the other, and travelled with them a long distance. He introduced no new method, but only extended an old one. They parted, however, at the surface of the earth, beneath which the geologist had to journey. Professor Huxley's subject as announced was "The Geological History of Birds." Really, the lecture was upon Professor Marsh's wonderful discoveries in the West, and the object to weave these discoveries into the authentic science of Europe. But before these forms were introduced and set in their right place, Professor Huxley, with that simple art which is characteristic of him, outlined the whole natural area to which they belong, as one might lay out an ornamental space, and set a central pedestal where a statue was presently to be set and unveiled. He again affirmed his faith in the general constancy of inorganic nature, and the steadfastness of the forces which have so long been shaping it. If, he said, we could now transport ourselves back in time to the bottom of the Silurian rocks and epoch, we have no reason to believe that we should be impressed by any very remarkable difference between the scene and that which now surrounds us. We should see the same wash of the sea upon similar shores, the same denudation by rivers going on, and the like outlines of mountain and valley. The temperature of the earth would be but little different from now. But when we pass from inorganic nature to the forms of life the changes are very striking. If we penetrate the most superficial of layers in the crust of the earth, the gravel, we find forms seemingly unlike any that now exist; if we dig down into that London clay, of which this metropolis is chiefly built, we find many animals—crocodiles and others—which are more related to far Southern regions than to England. And yet, notwithstanding these outward differences between the earlier and later animals, the divergence is not so very great to the eye of the anatomist who looks beneath the form to the structure. It is a very noteworthy fact that of all the extinct animals whose remains have been discovered, not one has yet been brought to light which may not be easily classified by their relation to families now living.

Are these groups of animals, first and latest, variations of one theme,—each group on its several theme? This question, said the Professor, is to be answered by evidence; and he proposed to show what answer came to it from one group,—birds. He then pointed out, in some of the score of diagrams on the wall, the great variations of birds—the ostrich, unable to fly but a great walker; the emu; the aerial hummingbird; the duck, adapted for water and fishing; the penguin, walking upright; the vulture and falcon; the puffin, which digs holes in the ground,—showing that the bird runs through many contrarious variations in adaptation to diversities of environment. But through all these there runs the bird-principle, certain constant characteristics found in all birds, and in birds alone. Their first distinction is the feather. It has an analogy in hair, but it is not hair, nor a variation of it. Professor Huxley here turned to the black-board to describe by chalk-drawing the difference between a hair and a feather, but he found it would have to be done through the faces of Tyndall, Spottiswoode, and others; so he gave it up, and tried to do it with his hand,—whose finger might represent the mere solid hair, while the handkerchief wrapped around it with an edge floating out, and that edge broken up into a fringe, would indicate the structure of a feather. The bones of the haunch were shown by a diagram to possess an invariable peculiarity in large or small birds, in contrast with all other animals; and *hitherto* there have been included in their definition toothlessness (though this was not an exclusive characteristic of birds), and the distinctive blending of the toes in one leg-bone and the wrapping up of their fingers in one integument. Hitherto; but the characteristic of toothlessness and the distinctions of the leg and hand had now been obliterated; the former by the wonderful discoveries of Professor Marsh, to whose devotion, generous expenditure, "wonderful energy and sagacity," Professor Huxley paid due homage. He spoke of the Yale Professor as his friend, and declared that his achievements had largely extended the frontiers of knowledge. At the first step below the tertiary the reptilian signs began to appear; namely, in the "Odontopterix," which showed something like teeth, though they are spurious teeth. But in that wonderful stretch of land between the Colorado and the Rocky Mountains—once a shallow sea,—where Professor Marsh had found millions of fossils preserved to perfection, each in a *matrix* fine as plaster of Paris, there had been discovered two fossil birds with unmistakable teeth. The diagrams made for Professor Huxley by Professor Marsh were exhibited—the "Ichthyornis Dispar," which was about the size of a pigeon, and the more wonderful "Hesperornis Regalis," six feet high, standing upright—as complete a skeleton as if the flesh had been removed yesterday. One of its teeth, an inch and a half long and two-thirds of an inch thick, was separately shown. "There can be no doubt about it," said Huxley.

But there is another bird older than these, of which only one feather was known for a long time. Nine years ago I heard Professor Huxley deliver a lecture at the Royal Institute upon that feather of an extinct bird. Upon that slender basis he then predicted that if the bird that owned that feather were ever discovered it would be found to possess reptilian characters of a kind not known then in any bird, living or fossil. Since then this fossil bird has been found, and is now in the British Museum. It is the "Archeopterix," and at the end of its wing the three digits are free from the usual integument, and curved into claws. It combines wing and reptilian claw. This verification of Professor Huxley's scientific induction from a feather, which many present as well as myself no doubt remembered, was recalled when last night he presented the figure itself, which showed the boundaries of the bird and reptile kingdoms overlapping each other.

Mr. Tennyson, who listened last night with absorbed attention to the clear, calm story of the *savant*, might make those dry fossil bones live and soar in as good a poem as any he ever wrote. His eye followed the pointing of his friend to the strange climax,—the bird emerging step by step from the reptile! He who once sung his sad vision of Nature "red in tooth and claw" might well have had a poem born in him last night, and sing a new song of one upward pathway at least, where, the claw laid aside at one stage and the fang at another, that form which crept lowest in the mud, and hissed and darted its venom amid earthly slime, was the very first to put forth wings and soar heavenward.

It is felt by all to be a distressing thing that we can not greet Darwin at the Royal Institution. Although his health is better now than it was a few years back, he is still unequal to participation in the scientific gatherings of London. But he is an ever-present power, and his great generalization has so taken its place along with the great principles associated with such men as Newton and Copernicus, that a young visitor to these institutions might regard Darwin as some ancient worthy and founder of science. His name cannot be mentioned in any London assembly without a round of applause following. On the occasion of his sixty-ninth birthday Mr. Darwin received many proofs of the esteem in which he is held not only in his own country, but on the Continent. As many as one hundred and fifty-four men of science in Germany united to send him their portraits—large photographs—mounted in a folio album, which is splendidly bound in velvet and silver. From Holland came a similar gift, with the portraits of two hundred and seventeen eminent Dutch *savans*. The German present bears the inscription: "*Dem Reformator der Naturgeshicte*, Charles Darwin." It is the almost unique experience of Darwin, who has been so bitterly denounced by pulpits, never to have had an enemy among his scientific cotemporaries in any country, a result perhaps of the law that it is only when self-satisfaction begins that the satisfaction of others departs. Darwin may almost be described like Moses, as the meekest of men.—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

BRADLAUGH'S CAREER.

BY M. D. CONWAY.

However, there is a little cloud on the horizon which may bring on a change in the situation. Mr. Bradlaugh, with characteristic incautiousness, seems resolved to fight against the law that battle from which Mr. Charles Watts shrank. I lately wrote of the trouble which had befallen the secularist ranks through the arrest of their bookseller and publisher, Mr. Charles Watts, on the charge of selling the medical work, *Fruits of Philosophy*, written in the last generation by the American, Dr. Knowles. Mr. Watts, against the vehement protest of Mr. Bradlaugh and other Malthusian reformers, determined that the book was not legally defensible; pleaded that it lately came into his hands along with the other publications of the secularists and freethinkers, and he sold it without sufficient scrutiny, but had now destroyed the plates. This plea and previous good character led to the Recorder sparing him imprisonment. Yet the result is uncomfortable. Mr. Watts, a poor man, is saddled with at least £200 costs, and he is under recognizance to come up for judgment whenever called upon by the Court. The evil of this is that, if the Court were to dislike any of Mr. Watts' other publications, however moral, or his theology, they need be at no pains to try him for such offence against their (it might be) mere creed, but would only have to sentence him for the old admitted offence. Mr. Bradlaugh is indignant at Mr. Watts' course, regarding it as a stigma upon the honor of the freethinkers who for a generation have been circulating the work in question, and as a surrender of the freedom of the press. He at once dismissed Watts from the position of sub-editor of the *National Reformer*, withdrew from his book-establishment all the publications over which he (Bradlaugh) had any control, and the result is a very serious quarrel which may result in an extensive split in the secular ranks. Mr. Watts has purchased from Mr. Holyoake the *Secular Review*, and last Sunday's number contained his introductory, and also a statement that £135 had been contributed to his relief. But the end is not yet. Mr. Bradlaugh, Mrs. Besant, and others, have formed a new "Freethought Publishing Company" in Stonecutter Street, and they have determined that freedom of the press has suffered a blow which can only be healed by their fighting the battle which Charles Watts declined. I am informed by Mrs. Besant that they will publish Dr. Knowles' *Fruits of Philosophy* at the close of March, *verbatim;* they will defend their right to discuss honestly the question of population, and to publish popular medical works or social works not issued for an immoral purpose; and will go to prison rather than concede that right. I understand that Dr. Drysdale and other eminent medical authorities are prepared to testify to the utility and *bona fide* character of the book, and that very eminent authorities will be cited to show that over-population is a vast evil in England. Mr. Bradlaugh, being an able lawyer, will plead the case himself, and will justify his publication on the ground that in Mr. Watts' case the book was not tried nor decided upon; and also, that other works now widely sold are involved. There is one book, entitled *Elements of Social Philosophy*, whose author still preserves his anonymity, which has a very wide circulation, having been translated into several European languages. This work, among others, will pretty certainly be indicted, unless Bradlaugh can win his case. But the stake is heavy. Failure, which is only too probable since Watts' surrender and Holyoake's sanction of the surrender, is likely to be followed by the imprisonment of both Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant for a term ranging between three months and two years. What effect this might have upon the now fair political prospects of Bradlaugh at Northampton, it is impossible to say. Malthusians will regard him as a martyr, but they are mostly cultivated persons residing in London. The anti-Bradlaughites will denounce him as a man imprisoned for selling obscene literature. Mr. Bradlaugh honestly regards himself as bearing up faithfully the old flag of freethought, and one cannot fail to admire the pluck with which he prepares, Curtius-like, to leap into the legal chasm which has suddenly yawned in the path of his party.

It has been a life of strange vicissitudes this radical has lived. He is now in his forty-fourth year only, but has been a prominent figure from boyhood. The son of a solicitor's clerk, poor and industrious, he still managed to get considerable schooling, until at twelve he became an errand-boy in the law office where his father was clerk. It was then he got most of his real education, reading law by snatches, and attending open-air chartist meetings in Ronner's Fields. But he only attended these on week-day evenings, for being a member of the Church of England he occupied his Sundays in teaching in Sunday-schools. When preparing for confirmation by the Bishop of London, he came to the conclusion that there was a difference between the Four Gospels and the Thirty-nine Articles; he wrote to his pastor about his doubts, and the clergyman (Rev. M. Packer) pronounced his letter atheistical, and suspended him from his place as Sunday-school teacher. Thenceforth the Sundays, too, were passed at Ronner's Fields, where he learned how to make speeches. To this day his voice and style suggest the open air. Bradlaugh became an unorthodox speaker at the age of sixteen, and was given three days by his employers (after consultation with his father) to change his opinions or leave his situation. On the third day he left home and situation, and never returned to either. He then went about giving deistical lectures, and speaking at all political gatherings, especially those held in sympathy with Kossuth and Mazzini. During this time he was sheltered in her home by Mrs. Sharples Carlile; studied hard, but became very poor; tried to become a coal merchant, but got poorer; at last, his pride stung by the offer of pecuniary aid by some freethinkers, he vanished, and enlisted as a soldier (aged seventeen) in the Seventh Dragoon Guards. With this regiment he was quartered three years in Ireland, and employed his reforming energies in trying to make his comrades teetotallers. An aunt's death left him a small sum with which he bought his discharge, and articled himself to a solicitor (a Mr. Rogers). Some workingmen consulted him one day about a hall they had been entrapped into building on a freehold property, the freeholder claiming the building; he settled it in personal chancery fashion, by joining a hundred stout men in carrying every brick away and dividing the material among the men. He became a natural leader. In 1855 he successfully defended the right of public meeting in Hyde Park, before a Royal Commission, against Sir Richard Mayne, Chief of Police. In 1858 he was chosen President of the National Secular Society, and began editing the *Investigator*, which failed. He tells many amusing stories of his poverty, such as being attacked in a speech for his easy money-

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making life when he had exactly four and one-half pence in his pocket, and no outlook promising a penny more. In 1859 Louis Napoleon induced the government to prevent his lecturing about him. He had innumerable controversies, now with a rabbi, then a Baptist, next a clergyman, and so on,—a score at least. In 1860 he started the *National Reformer* with Joseph Barker, who afterward became a Christian and a proslavery lecturer. In 1861 he went to Guernsey to defend one Bendall, charged with blasphemy. He was mobbed, but managed to get off a lecture while the building was damaged. He has been several times mobbed, but never hurt, though he was never known to flinch or stir before an attack. Some fourteen years ago the Young Men's Christian Association of Plymouth resolved to prosecute him. He began a lecture, but before one sentence was uttered was arrested and locked up. At the trial next day the testimony of his few friends was refused because they did not believe in hell, as was then required, but some non-conformists, indignant at the prosecution, came forward and attested his innocence of any blasphemy. He then declared he would deliver the lecture which had been stopped. The whole region being military ground, the authorities forbade his lecturing in the open air, and all halls were closed; but he found out a limit to the jurisdiction of the authorities, and told his friends where to assemble. When the hour came, Bradlaugh found the whole place swarming with officers waiting to arrest him so soon as he began lecturing. He passed through them to an unnoticed boat, glided a few feet out (nine feet beyond the borough line), and from this primitive Galilean pulpit gave his lecture to the large crowd on shore. The police who alone could have arrested him there were at Saltash, several miles away. The Mayor stood on the shore, with the riot act in his hand which he meant to read had the arrest been resisted, and both he, twenty-eight policemen, and many soldiers remained among the astonished audience. The proceedings instituted by the Young Men's Christian Association began a movement which long ago built a magnificent secularist hall in that region; and, indeed, many of Bradlaugh's most flourishing congregations have been planted by attempts to suppress him by violence.

I have written this sketch of Mr. Bradlaugh because I believe him to be an able, earnest, true, and even tender-hearted man, while at the same time I by no means agree with him either on religious or political subjects. While I like his passionate love of freedom and justice, he does not seem to me sufficiently to recognize the poetic and spiritual side of human nature, and his republicanism appears to me rather of the old conventional type,—rather too conservative. He is a significant feature in the England of to-day, and as such cannot be overlooked in any faithful record of these times,—not any more than the Rev. Mr. Tooth, his predecessor, perhaps, in prison-martyrdom, which, however, is now made too brief and easy to secure a very glorious crown. No doubt it is well and necessary that the wide-sundered poles of the religious world shall each be steadfast to its axis; but society is getting too philosophical to feel frightened at extremes which do not become disorderly excesses.—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

THE REVEREND ARTHUR TOOTH.

The part of the Christian martyr has often been strangely filled, but surely never so strangely as by this quiet, amiable, unaggressive priest. In his early life there was nothing to indicate that he would ever be known for resistance to anybody, still less that he would attain, as he now is certainly destined to do, an ambiguous immortality as the scapegoat of a principle. Born in Kent eight-and-thirty years ago, and first instructed at Tunbridge School, he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he remained quite unknown, predestined, as his contemporaries supposed, to become a prey to dumb forgetfulness. But he had a brother in Australia given over to meat-preserving and sugar-baking, and, on becoming a Bachelor of Arts, went a journey to see him, and came back to be ordained a deacon and made a curate in Lambeth. From Lambeth he went to Folkestone, and from Folkestone to Chiswick, until, nine years ago, his brother bought the advowson of St. James', Hatcham, and presented the Rev. Arthur for induction into the living. Once installed, the latter became at once known as one of those who affirm by the ritual and ceremonies they use the continuity of the Catholic succession in the Anglican Church. Being himself no mean artist, and having much taste in ecclesiastical decoration, he painted the chancel and lower walls of his church with his own hand, established a second altar, turned to the east, elevated the chalice, organized processions, and generally revived, as had been done elsewhere, the ceremonial and ornaments of the Church as it was before Luther had preached a split upon other grounds. He abolished pew-rents, and fees for baptism and for the churching of women, only retaining them for the marriage of men. His parishioners, as represented by the church-wardens, stood by him, but others saw in his proceedings a revival of Popish practices, whereupon much howling and adverse pressure, physical as well as moral, became habitual at Hatcham. At length Lord Penzance fulminated a judgment which Mr. Tooth disobeyed, and was thereupon sent to prison, where he remains a glory to his friends and a gigantic difficulty to his foes.

His birthday was on the Feast of St. Alban, the protomartyr of England; his church is dedicated to St. James the Great, the protomartyr of the Apostles; and to himself has been reserved the distinction of becoming the protomartyr of Ritual. He is an ascetic, devoted, earnest, honest man, incapable of seeing two sides to any question, a favorite with all who know him, and endowed less with a great power of will than with an enormous power of won't. He is a student and a scholar; he preaches fairly but mildly; and though he would never shake the State by his thunders, he will revive the High Church by his devotion to the inconveniences and glory of martyrdom.—*Vanity Fair* (*London*), *Feb.* 10, 1877.

WHITEFIELD AND MOODY AS REVIVALISTS.

It is safe to say that Mr. Moody's work in Great Britain and in America will make no such figure in history as does that of George Whitefield. The reasons for this fact are not far to seek, for they are obvious on reflection to any one who should institute a comparison between the men themselves and the social and religious circumstances of their respective times. There are scores of musty old pamphlets gathered in some of our libraries which tell the story of the excitement that raged, chiefly in Massachusetts and Connecticut, in connection with the visit here, in 1740 and 1741, of the famous but erratic English Episcopal divine who was the prime agent in what is called "The Great Awakening." Singularly enough, the historical impression which one would derive from perusing or glancing over some of those pamphlets would be that the main influence of excitement went rather to causing variance, estrangement, and bitterness between the ministers of the Congregational churches of those times, than to promoting any marked results upon the masses of the people. The great Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, on the side of the revivalist, and the able and vigorous Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, on the side of calm and temperate methods in religion, led off about equally-divided ranks of the ministry in an ardent advocacy of, and an equally-ardent opposition to, Mr. Whitefield. He himself, being then a young man of twenty-six years, exhibited a conceit and assurance which his opponents thought needed frequent and sharp censure. Dr. Franklin gives, in his autobiography, a pretty fair, general estimate of the man and of his work. Whitefield did not scruple to pronounce grave and aged ministers, who had long enjoyed the respect and confidence of their people, to be unconverted, as faithless in their ministrations, and unblessed in the results of their influence.

He even ventured to assail with censoriousness and contempt the administrators and the administration of Harvard College, which was then in the main a clerical institution. The reverend president of the college, Dr. Holyoke, with some of the fellows, professors, and tutors united in a published "testimony" against Whitefield and his conduct. They pronounced him "an enthusiast, a censorious, uncharitable person, and a deluder of the people," and a "slanderous man." Such of the ministers as opened their own pulpits to him caused angry contentions among their own people. Those who refused to countenance his peculiar measures drove off portions of their flock who were determined to hear him. So when he could not obtain a regular meeting-house he had recourse to a conventicle. There was no such general sympathy with him and his purposes as has been manifested towards Mr. Moody by the Orthodox of the varied denominations to the effect of providing a Tabernacle and a body of trained co-workers. Whitefield says he preached on our Common to an audience of thirty thousand people, which is probably an over-statement. He was also constantly calling for "contributions," as he was an importunate beggar. His chief appeals were on behalf of his "orphan-house" in Georgia. In the "testimony" borne against him by the college authorities it is charged that Whitefield did not make satisfactory returns of the amount and uses of these sums of money collected by him; that he lumped under the title of "sundries" the disposal of considerable amounts, even of a thousand pounds; and that while he was wandering about as "an itinerant nuisance" he had left his pet institution neglected, in the charge of one whom "we ourselves have reason to believe is little better than a *Quaker*." It is fair to say that as Whitefield became older he became wiser, and expressed regret for some of his censoriousness.

The old New England towns retain traditions of the effects wrought by Whitefield's preaching. The sum of the whole, however, seems to attest that any really good permanent results secured by him were small compared with the divisions, the rancor, and the unhealthful excesses of fanaticism which attended his course, dividing parishes, neighborhoods, and families, and exciting heats of zeal and morbid manifestations in large numbers of his converts, while he set in motion a crowd of strolling revivalists who did a great deal of mischief.

So unlike are the circumstances, the conditions, and the methods under which Mr. Moody pursues his present work, that they are all in his favor, or, at least, not at all opposed to his accomplishing the ends he aims at, if his preaching is so far consistent with truth and with a good influence as to deserve success. He has general and hearty coöperation among those who represent the religion of the community. Very little opposition has been made, and very few hostile criticisms have been uttered against him. There seems to be a general desire, even among those not in sympathy with his creed or measures, that he should have full and free opportunity to prove the value and power of his zealous ministry. Those who challenge or find fault with him are held to the not unreasonable obligation of proving that they can and do effect more for the religious and moral benefit of the community by their own doctrines and methods, which they prefer as more wise or true than his. Certainly some considerable results should be looked for from the assembling daily of fifteen or twenty thousand men and women, for three months, most of them really seeking to be benefited by the preacher and by the helping advisers and teachers whom he provides for them. Mr. Moody will be responsible for much waste of time and effort if he fails to accomplish some good.—*Boston Transcript.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

EUROPA AND ASIA.

Ἀσίαν
Εἰρώπας θεράπναν.

EURIPIDES.

Europa.

Asia, thou wert my handmaiden
Ever, from the days of old;
Kissed the dust for me thy forehead,
Though 'twas bound with gems and gold.

Vainly 'gainst my iron legions
Dashed thy desert horsemen frail,
Back recoiling from the onset,
Beaten, shattered, panic-pale.

But with mystic dreams and visions
Hast thou been avenged on me,
For long centuries abasing
To thy gods my brow and knee.

Asia.

With my poppy, yes, I lulled thee,
Made thy haughty spirit yield;
While my desert-dreamers swayed thee,
Laughed I at thy spear and shield.

B. W. BALL.

[For THE INDEX.]

TO AN EDITOR.

"Thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting."

I've read your paper for three years,
And do not know a better;
And, in the spirit that adheres
To truth, write you this letter.

I've not a single fault to find
With any one position
Concerning matter or the mind
To which you give your sanction.

And I believe in equal rights,
And for them love to battle,
And hope mankind may reach Truth's heights,
And wear her shining mantle.

I recognize your own high aim
To make the world well righted,
And think that yours will be the fame
Of having been far-sighted.

But I have many things at heart
Of which you make no mention;
They seem to me a mighty part
Of this complex creation.

For weeks and months I've looked in vain
To find the least expression
That might enforce, or help explain,
The Law of Gravitation.

And not a single word from you
(I'm not at all dogmatic)
As whether you hold false or true
The system Ptolemaic.

And not one clear or bold idea
Concerning that old puzzle,
"The bird and egg,—which pioneer?"
You surely wear no muzzle!

And there are other themes, and vast,
Which here I will not mention,
That fill *my* soul, and should hold fast
The whole wide world's attention.

And, as these things to me so dear
To you seem but as tapers,
I write you now—(don't think I'm queer)—
To send me no more papers!

"STOP MY PAPER."

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"MR. ABBOT'S NEW DEPARTURE."

Col. T. W. Higginson published in the Boston *Commonwealth* of March 31, with the above caption, an article which will be found on a preceding page. It contains an attack too serious to be ignored; and we must answer it at some length.

1. "The fact that his [our] lecture was the closing word of a special course arranged by the Free Religious Association gives a semi-official character to it."

The fact that Mr. Higginson can publicly make a statement like this, in utter contrariety of the Constitution of the Free Religious Association, shows how little he understands that Constitution and the whole spirit of the Free Religious movement. The Constitution, jealously protecting the members from responsibility for each other's utterances, expressly provides that "membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone." It is made impossible, by this express provision, for any individual officer or member to represent, either officially or "semi-officially," the views of the Association; he can only express his own private convictions, without involving a single fellow-member in the slightest responsibility for them. This is the most vital principle of the whole Constitution, for without it the Association could not hold together a single day. But Mr. Higginson has never fully understood or accepted it. He is the only officer of the Association who has ever undertaken to rebuke and repudiate, *in the Association's name*, the sentiments of another speaker on its platform; and his action on this occasion, though promptly disavowed by the President and Secretary, has been repeatedly made the ground of undeserved and unjust reproach against the Association itself. We refer to Rev. Dr. Bartol, who said to his congregation in his fortieth anniversary sermon, delivered in West Church on March 4, 1877, and just published in pamphlet form: "What I could not speak without rebuke and official scoring on a Free Religious platform, you patiently heard." That is an allusion to the remarks of Mr. Higginson at the Free Religious Convention in Providence, October 29, 1874; though to omit the further statement that this "official" violation of individual liberty was officially and publicly rebuked on the spot and privately apologized for by several members of the Association, and that the freedom of the platform was thereby fully vindicated, was to be a great deal less than fair or kind. When Mr. Higginson then undertook officially to reprove Dr. Bartol on behalf of the Association, and when he now professes to discern a "semi-official character" in our late lecture, he shows that he fails to comprehend, and in consequence very mischievously misrepresents, the most fundamental principle of the Free Religious Association and its Constitution. We have always taken even superfluous precautions to prevent our individual utterances from being considered as committing the Association to our own opinions; it is Mr. Higginson only who has assumed to administer official rebukes in the Association's name, and to ascribe a "semi-official character" to individual utterances on its platform.

So far, therefore, as we are concerned, we reply: (1) That the Constitution makes it impossible for any individual member of the Association, whether officer or private, to represent its views either officially or semi-officially; and (2) that we have always taken extraordinary pains, and did so particularly in this very lecture, to prevent the public from holding the Association responsible for our own individual position. We said in this lecture explicitly: "No individual member can do more than declare his own individual views, which commit nobody but himself; but the Constitution commits him, for it is his own voice, his own individual declaration, so long as he remains a member. With this point clearly understood, let me point out what the Constitution teaches —NO ONE ELSE, OF COURSE, BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR MY INTERPRETATION OF IT." If Mr. Higginson is unable to understand these familiar and very simple distinctions, he may be excused for attributing to our lecture a "semi-official character"; but if not, we do not know on what ground to rest the excuse.

3. "A wholly new departure."

This astonishing discovery that we have made a "wholly new departure" is an utter hallucination. The only difference in the positions taken in our two lectures of 1871 and 1877 is that the latter is a fuller and more emphatic presentation of the same essential thought. Neither in 1871 nor in 1877 have we sought to exclude anybody from the Free Religious Association or movement, as will appear below.

4. "He reads out of [the Free Religious] movement, almost in express words, Max Müller with his 'faculty of faith,' and William Gannett with his faith that asks no reason for itself.'"

Mr. Higginson's inaccuracy or carelessness in representing our position appears incidentally in this reference to Mr. Gannett. We merely quoted what Mr. Gannett said *about Jesus*, as having a "faith that asks no reason for itself"; we said nothing whatever about Mr. Gannett's own position. If we "read out" anybody at all, it was not Mr. Gannett, but Jesus himself; and Mr. Higginson is reprehensibly careless about facts in applying to the former statements of ours which had not the remotest application or reference to him.

But we deny most emphatically, and with a certain measure of indignation, Mr. Higginson's assertion that we have "read out of the Free Religious movement" a certain class of thinkers. What right has he to misrepresent our position so causelessly and so unjustly? He commits a moral offence by indulging his rashness of inference to an extent which amounts to positive detraction. It would be an utterly unpardonable piece of insolence and usurpation, were we to arrogate authority to "read out" anybody whatever; and it is not an innocent thing to charge such an act recklessly and falsely upon us. What are the facts? Simply that we have given one interpretation to the Constitution of the Free Religious Association, while Mr. Higginson gives another; and that we no more read him out than he reads us out! The Constitution speaks, of course, in the name of all the members of the Association, and can be repudiated by none; but differences of opinion among these members as to its meaning ought to be settled by calm discussion in the light of reason, not by heated and absurd accusations. Verily it is a new doctrine of Free Religion that every member is bound to accept Mr. Higginson's interpretation of the Constitution, on penalty of being charged with reading him or somebody else out of the movement! We argued in our lecture that the Constitution commits the whole Association to the scientific method, and we gave strong reasons for this interpretation of it; but we did not intimate that our construction of it was binding on anybody else. On the contrary, we took especial pains, as a foregoing quotation shows, to say that nobody else was responsible for our construction of it; and we no more dreamed of reading the Intuitionalists out of the Free Religious Association than we did of scalping them. Differences of opinion as to the meaning of the United States Constitution are no cause of outlawry or banishment; and any lawyer who, instead of attending to the case in hand, and meeting the legal arguments advanced, should wildly accuse the opposing counsel of a plot to drive him into exile, would be simply laughed out of court.

As a matter of fact the ground we have always taken, and still take, is that any person who wishes to join the Free Religious Association should be welcomed into it, without the least inspection of his religious opinions or ecclesiastical connections; that the right of every speaker on its platform to the fullest liberty of speech, so long as he is decorous and courteous, should be sacredly respected; that no member or speaker can possibly commit the Association or any of its members to any opinions he may express, or be committed by the Association to any opinions not expressed by the Constitution itself, which is also his own individual voice while he remains a member; and that no individual officer or officers can without intolerable usurpation undertake to speak for the Association, either in repudiating or indorsing the sentiments of other speakers or in uttering their own. If a Christian or a Jew, an atheist or an intuitionalist or any other person, finds the Constitution to his mind, it is nobody's business but his own how he interprets it; he is welcome as a member if he wishes to be one. At the same time, this does not in the least degree cut off discussion as to the true meaning of the Constitution, nor bind anybody to silence respecting it; each member is at perfect liberty to advocate as earnestly as he pleases his own views of its meaning, and nobody has any business to try to intimidate him by accusations, insinuations, or clamorous outcries of any sort. We should not, therefore, wish to "read out" a member who claimed that the Constitution pledged the Association to Catholicism, or Spiritualism, or Atheism, or Intuitionalism; we should only wish to discuss the point till it was settled to universal satisfaction. If the member should prove his interpretation correct, and persuade the Association to vote it into the Constitution, then we should quietly retire, thinking we had got into the wrong assembly. We submit that this is what Mr. Higginson should do; he should refer the question of interpretation to the Association in the form of an amendment to the Constitution, if he thinks the Constitution wrong, or our construction of it wrong, and abide by the result. But it is a very grave offence meanwhile to accuse us falsely of "reading out" anybody from the movement, merely because we think and say that the Constitution pledges the Association to the scientific method as the sole legitimate method of religious thinking. That is a species of attempted intimidation to which we shall not submit in silence.

5. "He sacrifices, at a blow, that noble comprehensiveness which has been the glory of the Free Religious Association, and which has won for it the reluctant respect of bigots and dogmatists."

We deny emphatically that we have sacrificed or wish to sacrifice the comprehensiveness of the Association. It is just as comprehensive to-day as ever it was; and that is—*as comprehensive as loyalty to spiritual freedom.* If Mr. Higginson thinks that "comprehensiveness" requires neutrality in the conflict between Liberty and Authority, then the Association never has been, and is not now, comprehensive; for it was born out of the love of liberty, and has been pledged to liberty ever since. It stands unequivocally to-day, just as it has always stood and just as we rejoice to see it stand, for "Freedom and Fellowship in Religion"; but the "freedom" is just as essential, just as indispensable, as the "fellowship," and the Association seeks no fellowship which is not based on freedom. That is the true comprehensiveness—the comprehensiveness of universal ideas, and the abundant sympathies which fealty to universal ideas begets. It is *not* "comprehensiveness" to be perpetually sending invitations to Rev. Joseph Cook and his like to speak on the Association's platform; and the contemptuous snubs with which these persons are in the habit of acknowledging the worse than wasted courtesy are by no means that "reluctant respect of bigots and dogmatists" which self-respecting men wish to invite. It may be a mistaken opinion, but nevertheless it is our own opinion, that "bigots and dogmatists" will respect us just in proportion as we cease to fawn upon them for notice, and in proportion as we exhibit inflexible determination, earnestness, courage, and consistency in defending the essential principles of our own liberal movement. Mr. Higginson's favorite policy of conciliating those who refuse to be conciliated promotes no "comprehensiveness" which does not involve humiliation, and renders impossible that "reluctant respect of bigots and dogmatists" which must be won by first respecting ourselves.

6. Mr. Higginson intimates that we find only in the *first Article* of the Constitution the "bold affirmation of the scientific method as the sole legitimate method of religious thought." What did we say? We said: "What, then, gives to this Association its distinguishing and unmistakable characteristic—its specific reason for being? Simply that little word 'scientific'—'the scientific study of man's religious nature and history'—*as explained and interpreted by Article II., which proclaims 'absolute freedom of thought and expression' as the 'natural right of every rational being.'*" Would any fair critic suppress one half of the premises from which we derived the "bold affirmation" of which he complains, and give only the other half? It is the first Article *as interpreted and explained by the second Article* that contains the "bold affirmation" in question. Those two Articles taken together, not separately, were the basis of our statement; and we wait still for the proof that it is in the least degree incorrect.

7. But Mr. Higginson complains that, in considering the first Article, we "set aside the first two objects" there specified, and then "omitted the guarded and significant word 'encourage.'" Why does he himself omit to state that we began by quoting the

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first Article *entire*, and "set aside" no part of it? He was addressing the readers of the Boston *Commonwealth*, who had had no opportunity of seeing our lecture in full; and he took advantage of their ignorance to insinuate that we had been guilty of garbling the text of the Constitution to prove our point! Mr. Higginson knows this to be impossible; and so do our readers.

8. "The significance of the word 'encourage' is this: As compared with the words 'promote' and 'increase,' it is a very guarded phrase."

We deny that the phrase is "guarded," or was meant to be such. There was no other than a merely literary reason for not repeating the word "promote" or "increase" before each of the three objects specified in the first Article; namely, natural appropriateness and a wish to vary the phrase for the sake of euphony. The timidity and wish to be "guarded" in this matter, which Mr. Higginson takes for granted without a shadow of reason, had no existence in the minds of those who framed the Constitution. As a proof of this, it is enough to state that the original circular, dated "Boston, Jan. 1, 1867," and signed by "O. B. Frothingham, John Weiss, Edward C. Towne, Francis E. Abbot, Wm. J. Potter,"—the circular which was issued to call the preliminary meeting of February 5, 1867, at the house of Dr. Bartol,—overwhelmingly corroborates our statement. This circular was the first public step in the formation of the Free Religious Association, and was signed by all those who afterwards framed its Constitution. It thus stated in their own words the purpose entertained by those who originally initiated the Association: "The desire is to make a fellowship, not a party; *to* PROMOTE *the scientific study of religious truth*, not to defend the legacy of theological tradition; to keep open the lines of *spiritual freedom*, not to close the lines of speculative belief." [The italics are ours.] Here is this very word "promote," which Mr. Higginson fancies so strong in comparison, used in connection with the other phrase, "scientific study." Instead of being intended to soften or "guard" this avowal of the scientific method, the word "encourage" was subsequently used for no reason that can be assigned save a purely literary one; and it possesses no sort of "importance" in "the argument."

9. "Among those who framed the Free Religious Constitution there were, fortunately, people of various temperaments and modes of thought. There were those who," etc., etc.

This is a perfectly wild and random assertion, made in utter ignorance of the facts. Mr. Higginson himself was not one of "those who framed the Free Religious Constitution," and knows nothing about the framing of it. It is evident that he has quite forgotten the article of Mr. Potter in THE INDEX of Jan. 1, 1870—the very first issue of this journal. Mr. Potter, giving an account of the origin of the Association, says: "At this conference of February 5th, a plan of organization, which had been carefully digested and prepared by Messrs. Abbot, Towne, and Potter, was presented and made the subject of deliberation." This plan was adopted by the Free Religious Association as its Constitution, May 30, 1867. Mr. Higginson's enumeration of the various and numerous classes of persons who "framed" this Constitution, as if he knew them all and was well-informed on the subject, is very funny in the light of the facts.

But, while the Constitution is (according to our individual interpretation, which is binding on nobody at all but ourself) pledged to that absolute freedom of thought which only the scientific method justifies or gives, and while those who framed it meant to pledge it to mental liberty in the most absolute sense, they did not mean to make it any less inclusive than Mr. Higginson desires. Neither have we for an instant been guilty of the "narrowness" which he has repeatedly tried during the past two or three years to fasten upon us. His efforts are not successful. He has failed, fails now, and will fail to the end, in the unworthy attempt to prove that we desire to "read out" somebody or other from the Free Religious movement. We hold that this movement includes all who, no matter where they are now, are *moving towards* a greater religious freedom and nobler religious life; and for all such we cherish a warm, hearty, and most sincere sympathy. It is those who hang back, and move in the opposite direction, and try to make others do the same,—those who put stumbling-blocks in the path of advance, and confuse the issues which ought to be cleared up, and carp and cavil and doggedly refuse to understand,—it is these who deserve no sympathy from liberty-loving souls. Instead of wishing to make the fellowship of Free Religion less comprehensive or broad than it is, we are striving with all our might (alas, how small it is!) to make it include the whole human race. But we hold that the way to do this is not to suppress the discussion of differences, but to discuss them till agreement is reached,—to encourage every man to seek the truth fearlessly and loyally, and to stand bravely by his own insights, and to listen respectfully, thoughtfully, and eagerly to the utterances of other men. We see no root of universal fellowship but in the universal love of truth; we hope for no human brotherhood which is built on any suppression of thought or any compromise which involves it; we believe only in that "comprehensiveness" which comprehends perfect fidelity to our whole human nature, intellectual as well as emotional, and builds up the union of all souls on the full and free development of each. That is why we believe in and advocate the scientific method in religion. The Free Religious Association has planted itself boldly and earnestly on this great principle, if we understand its Constitution aright; and we do not believe that the mental confusion or reactionary influence of any man will ever persuade it to abandon its present position in the van of human progress.

THE F. R. A. CONSTITUTION.

The editor of THE INDEX, in his recent very interesting lecture in the Boston Horticultural Hall course, printed in THE INDEX of March 22d, invites a consideration of the proper interpreting of the Constitution of the Free Religious Association. And such a consideration may be useful,—it being premised, as Mr. Abbot clearly says, that no one, whatever his relation to the Association, officially speaks for it.

For one, I have no doubt that Mr. Abbot is right, when he says that the central point of the Constitution of the Association is "the substitution of the scientific method for the method of authority in religion." Nor does it seem to me that there can be any difference of opinion on this statement among those who were chiefly interested in the formation of the Association, or have been most familiar with its history. Some persons, before assenting to it, might like to know definitely what the phrase "scientific method" is intended to mean. But when this phrase is defined as a method of arriving at truth through the observation and generalization of phenomena, and the phenomena are expressly defined as including "spiritual no less than physical phenomena," and the "method" is further paraphrased as "absolute loyalty to truth and perfect freedom of the human mind," I think there can be little hesitation among the Association's members at accepting thus far this interpretation of its Constitution. That it was the intent to found a religious organization on the method of absolute freedom of inquiry and thought as opposed to the old ecclesiastical methods of authority, and thereby to adopt the modern *method of science*, is further substantiated by the fact that, among the names proposed as appropriate for the new society, was "Religious Science Association." It was agreed, I think, by the committee who framed the Constitution, that this name expressed and emphasized the special point of distinction between the new organization and its predecessors in the field of religion, but it was rejected because, in emphasizing this point so exclusively, it might appear to exclude the practical and humanitarian interests of religion, to which it was intended the Association should also be devoted. Therefore the more general and colorless name was chosen, "Free Religious Association," and the threefold objects, in a general way signified by the three words in the name, were very distinctly defined in the Constitution. The word "scientific," in the statement of the third object, was expressly chosen to indicate that in all matters pertaining to religious belief and speculation, or to theology, the Association planted itself on the ground of science, and meant to make a square issue between that foundation and the old one of "revealed authority."

But while this, the main point in Mr. Abbot's interpretation of the Constitution, may be readily assented to by the members of the Association generally, I apprehend that there may be among them considerable difference of opinion with regard to the correctness of certain inferences which he draws from this main proposition; and particularly with regard to intuition and the intuitionist. There are those, for instance, who will say: "We accept the scientific method, but we cannot accept Mr. Abbot's inference that the scientific method necessarily opposes and excludes intuition or the intuitionist; we claim that the facts of intuition are among the phenomena with which the scientific method has to deal." And these persons seem to me to be right. The weak point, to my view, in Mr. Abbot's statement, as in previous statements of his on intuition, is that he does not draw any line, in his statements, between intuition philosophically considered (in which, if I understand his philosophy, he believes) and intuition as an applied method in religious speculation; and so he appears to be denying more than he actually does deny. Darwin and Spencer believe in intuition, but scientifically account for it. The only question is, Does the intuitionalist attempt to impose his intuition upon others as his "say-so," or is he willing to submit it to the test of scientific verification?

Practically, too, the intuitionist, or transcendentalist, is free and allies himself naturally with those who meet in the name of freethought rather than with those who meet on the ground of dogmatic authority. The poet, the seer, the prophet, speak from a pressure of inward thought and heed not the demands of creeds and churches. They speak in the name of individual liberty,—liberty to think, to feel, to speak for one's self. They may not be able to give any logical or scientific reason for that which they utter; if asked for a reason, they may only be able to say as Emerson once did, "I cannot give the *why*, but can only say—so I see." Nevertheless, other men, with more of the logical and investigating faculty, though not so much of the imaginative and poetic, might be able scientifically to account by facts of hereditary transmission and accumulation, or in some other way, for these gifts of intuitionists.

The "intuitionist," therefore, is not ruled off of the platform of Free Religion. Historically he has been one of the chief promoters of the movement which has now organized itself in that name. He has been one of the chief foes of the power of external religious authority in the past, and so long as he does not impose his insights as a necessary medicine through which others are to see, he still has a most important work in advancing religious liberty and truth; and a work which science will recognize.

W. J. P.

Communications.

NOTES OF THE "LECTURESHIP."

BY S. H. M.

BOSTON is having a run of "sensations." Joseph Cook is one. The one report which he revises is, as none of the others are, very carefully illuminated with "sensation," "profound sensation," "applause," "great applause," "loud and long continued applause." As you read, you catch the spirit and the breeze of the Lectureship. 'Tis by no means unpleasing. One can enjoy it, and also you can enjoy the thought that it is a thoroughly good thing Mr. Cook is doing, considering whence he hails, and for whom he is laboring.

INTELLECTUAL life will bear its own fruit, and no one need fear the power of any sect to force the harvest into granaries of its own. So much real vim as Mr. Cook is putting into the old creeds can do the world only good. But let the average Orthodox mind get the notion that it need no longer simply believe, but may enter on a thorough-going rational defence of all it believes, and there is no telling what transformations of faith will occur. Mr. Cook is doing just this: he is putting Orthodoxy up to think it has a right to reason and find a solid basis for its hitherto sacred mysteries in "the nature of things."

WELL, let us be thankful, nor crow in unbecoming liberal pride. With good-natured patience we will listen, nor deem it absolutely incredible that Orthodoxy can prove itself rational. We hardly believe it,—of course not; and yet, we *may* be in error. If we are,—thanks be to any strong hand bending the bow that can send home to our intelligence some arrow of conviction. Mr. Cook assays this task with courage enough, and he is in no lack of courageous, enthusiastic men and women to cheer him on. Cheer him, everybody, if he have "the truth of things" in his grasp!

BUT a most discouraging—disheartening, I had almost said—declaration of his lies at the threshold, as I read his lecture treating the "permanence of voluntary remoteness from God." I have noticed not infrequently that Mr. Cook, in order, as he says, to save time, withholds scientific elucidation, and begs his hearers to be content with "personal conviction." Now the following, though given in the name of much-worshipped science, must be regarded, I am sure, as none other than "personal conviction"; and of a sort, too, I feel to add, no truly sympathetic soul can desire to entertain. Judge, good reader, if I speak not the truth: "It is scientifically incontrovertible that the past cannot be changed; and, therefore, it is sure that, if regret for what ought not to have been is pain, there will be pain in the universe forever; and part of it will be

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God's own." There you have it,—God himself, by Adam's fall, doomed to an endless pang! Nor is that the worst of it. The eternities lie both sides of Adam. There was the Omniscient, knowing all before as well as after! Hence, regret and pain before, as after. Past, present, and future—the eternal Now of God—pain beginningless and endless! Truly, one may marvel why this portion of his creative work—our little planet—was not somehow left out in the cold, or omitted altogether!

IS THERE no confusion here,—"scientifically incontrovertible that the past cannot be changed?" Sure of this? Is it not more "scientific" to say the past depends entirely upon the eyes that see it,—that it will take on the form and the pattern we transfer to it? So far as our present or future peace is affected, we escape the past by *changing the meaning* of it to our minds. Dark enough it looked; there was regret and pain. But must regret and pain continue forever? Foolish to say he who sees all from the beginning, and is the Author of all, can fall into pain. This overruling, inruling Providence, —does it sorrow over its own perfect manifestations? And when our eyes open to the Providence that runs through all our lives, how will not all things be justified? "Ought not to have been." Yes, we say so; but it is because we forget through what tribulation and shortcoming we go up to behold forever the heavenly vision. Was there a time when we were as the tiger? Has our human evolution carried us beyond that period, so our choice is no longer the tiger's choice? Shall we feel eternal regret and pain if we remember we once were tigers? Andrew Johnson took positive delight in remembering he was alderman before he was President.

BUT WHY did not God take us up the marble staircase, and not over the red-hot iron one? In other words, why must we first be tigers? Because, as New Orthodoxy is beginning to explain, there are some things not possible with God. In "the nature of things" the tiger antedates the man. Growth is a law of finite manifestation not to be dispensed with. That which must "in the nature of things" *grow* cannot be *carried* over marble or other staircase. Man is first tiger, then more than tiger, because of the heavenly vision that comes to his eyes. As tiger, his satisfactions were of a lower order; contentment easy, with no remorse. As man, he is tiger *plus* immortal ambition to shed the tiger:—

> "The fiend that man harries
> Is love of the Best;
> Yawns the pit of the Dragon
> Lit from days of the Blest."

Escape out of his tiger-prison—is that not salvation?

"YOU ARE at war with the nature of things; which shall change,—you or it?" This is the pertinent inquiry of the Lectureship. Yet the drift of the Lectureship is to establish the Atonement. Is that in the nature of things? If so, then was also the Fall to render Atonement possible. But according to the Lectureship "the nature of things" proclaims, "He that is unholy, let him be unholy still." Character becomes fixed. When? At death. Any time before that it may be utterly unfixed in its unholiness, and be transformed into permanent "love of what God loves." This by miraculous conversion, and instantaneous. If before death, what is there in the "nature of things" to deny this beneficent chance to the soul after death? Is it not as safe to die "Iscariot" or "kidnapper," as so to live? Why up to his last breath may Iscariot break that permanence of character, and never in eternity? I fail to see the whence from which is drawn this picture of the "nature of things"; one thing one side the grave, another the other side.

THE LECTURESHIP in the interests of "clear thought" has reduced the famous old trinity of "three persons and one God" to "three subsistences." It teaches that "each subsistence, with the others, is God, and that neither, without the others, is God." "If Socrates had never existed, God would yet be God"; but "if Christ had never existed, God would not be God." Again, "Socrates, with the Father and Son, or with the Son and Holy Spirit, or with the Father and Holy Spirit, is not God"; but "Christ, with the other two subsistences, is God." Christ "displayed a degree of being that was deific"; but to hold that "Socrates and Isaiah and Plato are to be named in the same list with our Lord," is "unspeakably shocking, merely to the historic sense, to say nothing of the religious sense of man." Once I heard two little girls discussing the nature of God,—one born Catholic, the other Unitarian. "How big is God?" asked Unitarian Maggie. "I don't know," replied Catholic Mary. "Well, he's just as big as our house, and as your house, and everybody's house, just the same." Little Mary was not to be beaten so easily; so after a pause, she asked, "How many Gods is they?" "One," was the prompt response. "Oh, yes; but how many *persons*?" Maggie hesitated, but finally, with a touch of disgust in her tone, she gave the finishing stroke to the great battle: "They's *lots* of persons, for all I know." Had not Maggie set up a "Lectureship" in that far Western town? Little she knew of the "scientific method"; but intuitively she could crack a nut equally well with Polycarp or St. Clement.

"THIS LECTURESHIP" turns its attention to the effort, as it phrases it, to rule Massachusetts from the Tiber. The Romish convicts in Charlestown prison desire a chaplain of their own choice. Is that Romish or American? Massachusetts is not denominational, not sectarian; but she will insist on her right to keep the Protestant Bible in schools and prisons, and have Protestant chaplains. Strange delusion, which cannot see that all the Protestant sects make one sect as against the Romish; and that if Romish and Protestant could unite, still they would form one Christian sect as against Jew, antichristian, liberal, and infidel. American law professes to be unsectarian; to have no Church establishment. Let the tables turn; let Romish influence once predominate, and Protestant convicts be forced to take Catholic instruction. Would we not hear a howl from all Protestantism that religious liberty had disappeared in America? An impartial observer looking on this fight between Protestant and Catholic, sees this difference: the former professes absolute religious freedom, the latter does not. The former says,—I quote the "Lectureship,"—"America demands that all religious sects, Romanists included, shall pay their own bills. To demand that a sectarian chaplain or school-master be paid by the State is to act against the whole spirit of American law"; it says this, and forthwith demands Protestant chaplains, and will have no other. As to the Romanist he will propagate his religion whenever and wherever he can get a chance.

IT IS reported that Romish priests have been circulating on Deer Island books full of abuse of Protestantism, and saying some especially bad things of Martin Luther. The authorities have banished the scandalous publication from the island. I know nothing of it, save the few extracts read by Mr. Cook, but I feel sure the book can contain nothing more remote from the truth than has been disseminated now these hundred years by Protestant clergymen to "inflame uneducated readers" against the memory of the author of *Common Sense* and *The Age of Reason*. Protestant and Catholic will always estimate Luther differently, the latter seeing in his heresy full evidence of his depraved moral character. But while Mr. Cook complains of this, let him take care to set his newest Orthodoxy like flint against similar misconduct in dealing with the characters it proscribes as heretical. "Boldest violations of historical veracity" have long been afloat concerning the life of Thomas Paine. "The saddest sight Bismarck saw in France," says Mr. Cook, "was a set of school-books filled with lies." The lesson is plain. It is fair to expect much of Mr. Cook, for he has declared, "I will be thoroughing if I am orthodox."

IS IT EXPEDIENT?

MR. EDITOR:—

As the question of woman suffrage has occupied of late much of your space, and as I have never trespassed upon the time or patience of your readers, permit me to add a word or two to those of some of your correspondents who doubt the expediency of extending the franchise beyond its present limits. It has already been extended too far, as it seems to me, and it is simply a question whether it would be well for the nation at large to extend it as far as some desire. A few years ago no one believed more firmly in woman suffrage than the writer. But thought and observation have led me to doubt, like many others, whether more evil than good would not be the result. We all know that abstract principles of right cannot be applied in all conditions of society, especially in human governments. What is best in one stage of social evolution is not best in another. Circumstances seem to determine the right or wrong of forms of government and social institutions. Some of our political principles are generalizations, fitted for an ideal state of society, but not adapted either to the apprehension or practice of men and women in a semi-savage condition.

We say, for instance, that the majority should rule. This is our American principle. But suppose that majority in any part of the country should be Indians; then we make an exception to the principle without any hesitation. But why? Simply because it is expedient. Look at the dilemma in which the administration and the country are placed with this Southern question. It is not a question between Packard and Nichols, Chamberlain and Hampton, but simply of *race* supremacy. The majority in some of those Southern States are unquestionably of the inferior race, just out of a semi-barbarous condition, utterly unfitted to rule; and yet under the principle referred to, they have an undoubted *right* to rule. Just what might have been expected, therefore, has come to pass; constituted as human nature is, it could not have been otherwise. No white race in the world, saints or sinners, Northerners or Southerners, would willingly submit to it. In some way, therefore, constitutionally or unconstitutionally, the common principle which we have adopted, that the majority shall rule, *must* and *will* be modified in those Southern States. Bayonets may enforce that principle for awhile. But, as sure as fate, they will kill the political party which uses them; for the prejudice, or perversity, or blood of the Saxon race, or whatever you please to call it, will ultimately prevail.

Conditions of society can be easily imagined by every one in which the majority rule would be not only a blunder, but a curse. What, then, would lead us to modify this rule? Simply regard for expediency. We answer we have no infallible rule, or infallible application of principles, in politics any more than in religion or daily life. Dogmatism, here as elsewhere, is out of the question. Woman suffrage, therefore, it seems to us, is a subject which must be considered entirely from the stand-point of expediency. To assert that it is right, irrespective of consequences, is simply begging the question, as it would be to assert that it was right for minors or criminals or Indians to vote.

The expediency of woman suffrage we have been led seriously to doubt within the last few years, and mainly for the reasons indicated by some of your correspondents. With the ardor of her feelings and the depth and earnestness of her religious nature, woman is the slave of the Church. We say the slave—not the free, self-reliant, and independent helper, sitting in calm judgment both on creed and priest and sacrament,—simply devoted to the Church because "she has been more fully recognized in it than in any other great department of society." We wish we could take this view of the matter, as does "E. D. C." But we cannot. We know that the majority of *men* in our churches are poor, pliant tools enough in the hands of an ambitious and power-loving priesthood. But every one knows that women are a great deal more so. Only let this Christian Amendment question, then, be agitated throughout the country, as we think it will be, and let the women of our churches be convinced (as they can be) that scepticism in every shape is threatening the very safety of the Christian religion itself, and there is scarcely an Evangelical woman in the whole country who would not vote for that amendment. For one, therefore, I do not feel like advocating freedom in one direction to bring slavery in another, as I fear it would. We should be glad to be convinced that such fears are groundless. R. HASSALL.

KEOKUK, Iowa.

QUESTIONS.

1. Is the belief in a Savior, or Lord and Master, in harmony with the faith in an omniscient and omnipresent Creator and Ruler?

2. Are we not a part of God, and must not every action of ours be known to him?

3. Can God lose or damn a soul without losing or damning a part of himself?

4. Is it possible for a sincere believer in an omnipresent deity to accept another man as the only begotten son of God, and as his Savior one who said: "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

5. Can reason and common sense pronounce the transactions in the Tabernacle sanity?

6. Should we not condemn physicians, if they tried for the sake of gain to spread an epidemic, or if their ignorance was the cause of an increase of such diseases?

7. Must we not condemn or pity all who assist in spreading so-called religious doctrines which cause insanity?

I attend now two women, one in Lee, N. H., who is a sincere believer in the brimstone doctrine of Orthodoxy,—the other in Dover, N. H., who belongs to the Baptist persuasion. Both suffer intensely from the idea that their souls are lost forever. Will not our friends who speak about saving souls, and others who know (?) that there is no immortality, come here and help these poor women?

8. Is it not the only excuse we can offer for those noisy self-styled religious teachers to say that they are either insane on the subject, or not further developed than just to the level of the "missing link"?

9. Will not the intellectual people of New Athens and other places very soon coöperate, and make it impossible that Church and Tabernacle folly can exist?

10. Is it not necessary for liberals, whether they are atheists, materialists, theists, or what not, to avoid dogmatizing?

11. The questions, "Is there a God?" "Is there no God?" "Has man a soul?" have not been answered satisfactorily to all. Each human being has an answer for himself or herself; but is it not just as dogmatic as the Pope's bulls if men speak about the "unknowable," or assert that those questions "never" will be answered?

12. Can our individual "desires, longings, and aspirations" be realized as well by others as by ourselves, and can their "talk to the contrary" have as much weight with us as our own convictions?

13. There are now on the earth 1,350,200,000 souls; are there not just as many beliefs and theories?

14. Christians claim 417,912,700 souls; but have they not to allow a considerable deduction, if they count all those out who are called by them "infidels"?

15. There are over two hundred Christian sects. In each sect we find much similarity of speculation; but can we find two persons among them who believe perfectly alike, and is not the development of reason which caused the formation of those sects the first step of their transformation into reasoning beings?

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N. H., March 18, 1877.

CHINESE SUFFRAGE.

DEAR INDEX:—

The recent slaughter of Chinese laborers at Chico, California, suggests some pertinent inquiries, which even Mr. Wasson may ponder with profit. There are at present in California something over a hundred thousand *Chinese*, mostly adult males. Probably not more than a dozen of that number have availed themselves of the opportunity to become citizens by naturalization, either through ignorance of their rights, or an aversion to the *Christian* method of doing things. One cannot take up a California daily paper without seeing an account of some brutal outrage or murder perpetrated upon one or more of these harmless, helpless, industrious, and unoffending people. Will any sensible man affirm that these fiendish atrocities would be committed were the Chinese a voting, instead of a non-voting, class? Why are not the United States troops removed from those States where their presence is merely a political necessity, to California, where not only twenty stipulations, but the voices of humanity, would seem to demand their presence?

Why did we see incorporated in the recent platforms of the respective political parties an anti-Chinese plank? Does any one suppose that Blaine

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and Sargent would keep silence in regard to the daily and almost hourly *Christian* brutalities that are practised upon the "heathen Chinee," if the latter were a voter or likely to become such? There is no use in trying to blink the fact that the persecutions to which this unfortunate people are, and have been, subjected are mainly attributable to their ineligibility, whether voluntary or otherwise, to become voters. The detestable wretches, known as "hoodlums," who do the shooting, and cutting, and beating, and stoning of these poor creatures, are voters, and therefore a desirable element in politics; hence, we see the party press and the politicians of California, though not directly advocating brutal treatment of the Chinese, yet indirectly giving encouragement to those who do, by pandering to their depraved sentiments, and fanning the flames of prejudice against a race whose great crime is that they are willing to work, and for the best wages they can obtain. These "hoodlums" are a class of loafers, thieves, and ruffians, whom no rate of wages would tempt to perform an honest day's work; and yet they are the class whose hue and cry against Chinese cheap labor has attracted the "earnest attention" of the politicians of both parties, and we see them vieing with each other in subserviency to the senseless clamor of this dangerous class.

In the year 1867, the writer of this note spent a harvest season with an old friend in Contra Costa County, Cal., who found it difficult to procure hands, other than Chinamen, to garner his crops. Notices had been posted that any farmer employing Chinamen might expect to have his grain fields set on fire. In this exigency, my friend started for San Francisco to procure white laborers at the different labor exchanges. He met hundreds of men *pretending* to seek employment; but, after two days' effort, he found it impossible to induce one of the number to go out of the city for a job, and was finally compelled to go down to the wharves, and hire sailors who could speak scarcely a word of English, and who knew nothing of farming, to go with him into the country, and assist in gathering his crops.

The history of the atrocities which have been perpetrated by Christian America against Heathen China is and will remain unwritten, except in the general record of "man's inhumanity to man." If those politicians who are even zealous in aid of the *voting philanthropics*, will allow President Hayes for a moment to withdraw his attention from the fancied wrongs of the enfranchised negro to the real sufferings of the unenfranchised Mongolian whose personal safety he is bound by treaty with man as well as by obligations to God to secure, they will be doing an acceptable service to the cause of humanity. A residence of nearly twenty years in California, under favorable conditions for studying the Chinese puzzle, gives me the right, I think, to speak a friendly word for this helpless and abominably outraged race. D. C.

THE "FRIEND'S" PHILOSOPHY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Some months since, my friend Lucretia Mott sent me a number of THE INDEX containing thy address entitled "Jesus and Socrates." Since then I have read M. Schlesinger's book and also O. B. Frothingham's late work upon the life and mission of "the Christ." And in each of your productions you have strangely overlooked the *pivotal* thought of Jesus as is clearly denoted by the New Testament literature, which for more than two centuries has been illustrated in the history and doctrine of the Society of Friends. Bancroft caught the key-note when he said (vol. ii., p. 337): "The Quaker has but one word—'THE INNER LIGHT, the voice of God in the soul.'" This, he says, "is kindred (correlate) with the spirit of God," etc., etc. The doctrine of Jesus was, "*The kingdom of God is within you.*" Or, as Paul expresses the same thought, "Christ within the hope (promise) of glory (light)." Now I find that such writers as Frothingham and Furness don't even quote the "Lord's Prayer" correctly,—they render it "*on* earth" instead of "*in* earth"; that is, *in* man, as was evidently meant by Jesus, who spoke after the manner of the age in which he lived; as it is written, "*Without a parable he spake not.*" And in respect to the true Messianic idea concerning which so much has been written, it can only be found as we find the key to the thought.

One of our ancient worthies, who lived during the time of the schism of George Keith, said in the meeting that "he knew no man Christ Jesus in heaven without him, but by the grace of God within him." Now this is the true "*scientific method*," concerning which thou spoke in the last number of THE INDEX. And I will quote herein, not a despised Quaker, but a free religionist who has never been accused of believing too much. John Stuart Mill says (*Theism*, p. 202): "Feeling and thought are much more real than anything else; they are the only things which we know directly to be real." Now biogenesis (no life without antecedent life) has become one of the axioms of science, and in order to estimate the thought of Jesus (true Christianity) let us turn to the Messianic *ideal* of Zechariah: "Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion; for lo, I come and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Eternal. Be silent, O all flesh, before Him; for He is raised out of His holy habitation."

Friend Frothingham, in the work to which I have alluded, says that "the person of Jesus, though it may have been immense, is indistinct. That a great character was therein may be conceded; but precisely wherein the character was great is left to conjecture." Now I feel to invite "O. B. F." and his fellow free-religionists to the true "scientific method" of the "Friend" (philosopher). Or, in other words, I would recommend the "Pythagorean silence" "of all flesh" as a mode of philosophy (worship),—meeting thus together in order that the great problem of the age may find its solution. In a word, that we may find the truth (God), for herein is not only the science of reasoning, but REASON itself, Revelation and Reason being correlate. When we find the true Ego, we find God. And we are "lost" (not saved) till we find the I AM principle of the soul. This is the Rock upon which Jesus founded his Church, *i. e.*, his individualism. This, as Bancroft says, merits "*dominion* as the guide to virtue." And now, if thee and thy friends will allow just a little preaching from a "Friend," permit me to say that I have watched your movement with much interest, and I most sincerely hope that it will not degenerate into the ranterism of negation, but that it may arise into the force, the persistent energy, of the Affirmation of REASON itself, and not sink into the philosophy of despair (*unreason*). I call you to no narrow dogmas (Orthodoxy), but to the kingdom (*dominion*) of God within you. And it is eminently "expedient" herein that all authority shall pass away, because that did interfere, as Socrates and Jesus both taught, with "the scientific method of religion."

DAVID NEWPORT.

ABINGTON, March 27, 1877.

"CONCERNING IMMORTALITY."

DEAR INDEX:—

That was a clear, well-reasoned statement of Mr. Stoddard's on this subject, published last week. But it made me feel small and mean. My ideal shrank to very meagre proportions. I rose from its perusal feeling ugly and as if I could maliciously pinch a baby and make it cry. If the conclusions of that article are true, my machinery has been running at a loss all this time, and it would have been money in my pocket if I had been untimely nipped when I was a very little bud. I thought I should have something left over at the final passing in of checks; but now, it seems, I am destined to a hopeless "bust-up," with no assets. Mr. Editor, I am a Bull in philosophy, and cherish high hopes,—not a Bear rushing around and depressing the Ideal Market. I wouldn't go short on human souls for all the profits that bonds on time and consols bought and sold have ever made.

I cannot but think there is more in the human soul than is dreamed of in Mr. Stoddard's philosophy. It hath not entered into his imagination to conceive the subtle, persistent core of something that cannot die with death.

There is present in this article, as always on this question, the one inexpugnable difficulty,—the author writes about a matter relating wholly to the future; and so, of course, argue, reason, and deduce as he may, he cannot know, nor prove to others, what is or is not going to be. It is very easy to claim "*no proof*" of what is or is not to take place. The great Architect of the present Scheme of Things has let down a deep, dark curtain between all living beings and their hereafter, and seems to have sworn by the Eternal that he won't tell what is going on behind it. The whole plan and idea of the future has been arranged on purpose so that no soul can peep one second beyond his one instantial *now*. Of course there is no *proof* of anything beyond. The last transit of Venus could not have been proved to the first Chimpanzee. Franklin's kite could not have been proved to Jesus Christ himself. Plenty of happenings and conclusions cannot be proved in mid career of any evolution; but when the career is complete, when the charm's wound up, then many things appear in clear light and can be proved. There is even no *proof* of much that is so extremely probable in cotemporary time that no intelligent mind can doubt concerning it; for instance, that life, intelligence, and beings, corresponding to the human race on earth, exist in other worlds than ours. The future may hold in it means of verifying that probability; but at present it is not proved.

I should like to see what Mr. Stephen Pearl ANDREWS can say to a statement like this, especially on the point—"There is absolutely no proof of the existence of mind distinct from body." There ought to be resources in an Ology that rightly calls itself universal, either to confirm or refute conclusions like these of Mr. Stoddard's All that his article really amounts to is a verdict of *not proven*; so the soul is turned out of court, not exactly guilty of existence after death, or not proved to exist in a continued individualized way. I hope Mr. Andrews can reopen the case, make good some affirmative propositions, and, if not reverse the decision, at least throw some light on the errors of the court below. I have been greatly interested in his keen and far-reaching analysis of the human soul itself. When we can know what the soul *is*, that alone will go far towards solving the question of immortality.

THERON C. LELAND.

NEW YORK, March 22, 1877.

"THE SOUL."

No. 273 PEARL ST., N. Y., March 19, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

The very able argument which appeared in THE INDEX of March 8, under the title of "The Soul" seems to me to need a reply. The plan of argument pursued is to prove the nonentity of the soul as a means of disproving the immortality of man. The writer justly admits that there are great differences of opinion with regard to the meaning of the word "soul," and yet disposes of the great question of immortality by arguing that this "intellectual phenomenon," having no independent existence, cannot be immortal. The question which interests everybody is not the nature of the soul, but the fate of man; and although I would take great pleasure in discussing the nature of the soul as a psychological exercise, when an argument concludes by denying immortality I think I am justified in making that great question the subject and centre of the reply.

For the sake of argument, therefore, let us define the soul in such a way that its entity will depend upon its immortality, which will remove the necessity of discussing its nature, as nothing is assumed by reason of that nature.

Let us call the soul that part of man, *if any*, which survives the body. The question then presents itself: is *man* immortal?

I do not presume to offer a complete solution of this problem. The facts of our nature will have to be better understood than they are at present to enable us to form accurate conclusions concerning our destiny. But I am convinced that there are unmistakable evidences of immortality in the nature of man; and I submit that the fact that we are as yet unable to offer a full or even partial solution of the *whole* question by no means proves that such a fate is either impossible or improbable. My purpose, therefore, is simply to offer a picture, however imperfect, of one of the evidences of immortality within us. It is evident that the destiny of a being depends upon its nature; if we understood our nature, we could understand our destiny; but as we can do neither one nor the other yet, let us draw a comparison between them, so as to ascertain if what we *do* know of our destiny is an adequate sequence of that which we know of our nature. We find in our nature, on the one hand, the "instinctive or natural desires"; on the other, the faculties to satisfy them. An exception to this rule, it is clear, would be a contradiction of Nature. As we develop from childhood, our desires seem to elevate themselves; the sympathetic and benevolent passions come to life, and still we find the ready faculties, which need but the action of the will to turn them to their destined use. At last the flower of intellect explains and crowns the plant of life; it unfolds itself and drinks in the truth of pure knowledge with which those who have gone before us have filled our atmosphere. To dismiss the simile, we have the man of science. His past is a life of prodigious effort, of consecration to truth. His chief desire is to penetrate the darkness which hems him in; he craves more light. His mind has attained a brilliancy which enables it to reflect a faint gleam of infinite truth; and he dies. Where is the faculty to satisfy this desire? Is it the mind? It has been taxed to its uttermost, and has done nobly; and yet has his desire been satisfied? Has a reasonable approach been made to the satisfaction of his desire? Ask the pioneers of human knowledge; they will tell you—"We do not know even what we are." Has Nature then given us a desire so lofty that few ever do her the justice to develop it fully, only to be wasted and never fulfilled? Is this natural prayer born within us to be so absolutely unanswered?

If we would raise our minds to the conception of a "cause and its eternity," we should try and appreciate the silent evidences of Nature which lead us toward such convictions. R. S. P.

MRS. PARRY.

CLARINDA, Iowa, March 25, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

While we are, to a great extent, out in the regions of darkness and a good way removed from some of the main sources of light, there is occasionally a ray thrown out that lights up even this far-away region. Such a one we have enjoyed recently in a course of six lectures by Mrs. Mattie Hulet Parry, one of the freest thinkers and bravest women that has ever visited this section and that are now in the lecturing field. Her course of lectures closed on Tuesday of last week. The Court House, after the first lecture, was on every evening filled to overflowing with an appreciative audience and increase of interest in the subjects discussed to the close. It was, in fact, like hungry men and women sitting down to a well-filled table, and refusing to arise till they were satisfied or the supplies withdrawn. It was the first effort made here to exhibit the claims of true religion as opposed to doctrinal theology, and the effect produced has been remarkable. Doctrinal restrictions and limitations have received a most severe blow, and the mind has been invited to take a view of the great feast which God in his goodness and wisdom has spread out before man in the great world of Nature. And the invitation did not stop at the simple facts, but the mind of every hearer was directed to that undercurrent or stream of causation which is the power of God in the world.

The creed-worshippers united, as they usually do, in circulating damaging reports, prompted by ill-will and founded on guesses, and nothing more, to defeat a hearing. But, as in nearly all cases of this kind, evil was overruled for good, as the only effect of the opposition was to increase the number of hearers each successive night.

Liberal societies cannot do better than to engage the services of Mrs. Parry. You will find in her all the pluck, spirit, and talents that are needed.

Her address is Beloit, Wisconsin. J. L. B.

SCENE IN THE CARS: A candy boy passing through a car meets a cross old gentleman, and says: "Pop corn! pop corn!" "Hain't got any teeth," angrily replies the man. "Gum drops! gum drops!" calls the boy.

"WHAT DO THEY always put D. C. after Washington for?" asked Mrs. Quilp of Mr. Q. "Why, my dear, don't you know Washington was the Daddy of his Country?" said Quilp, with a snicker.—*Boston Post.*

"LOOK HERE, Pete," said a knowing darky, "don't stand dar on de railroad." "Why, Joe?" "Kase, if de cars see dat mouf ob yourn, dey tink it am de depo', an' run rite in."

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

WRITES a New York correspondent: "An acquaintance lately told me of his visiting the English Mission, when he was in Zanzibar. While there, he noticed a missionary reclining on a couch, and loudly calling for a servant to pick up and hand to him a book which had fallen on the floor."

EUROPE'S standing armies cost her about $500,000,000 annually. M. de Girardin says that the danger of universal insolvency will never be removed, until rulers shall cease to prosecute their search for an armament which no projectile can pierce and a projectile which no armament can withstand.

REV. O. L. ASHENFELTER, of Carlisle, Pa., who has contributed in times past several noble contributions to THE INDEX, has been attacked for heresy by the Philadelphia *Reformed Messenger*; but a committee appointed by the Consistory of the Reformed Church of Carlisle fully exonerate him from this fearful charge. This seems to indicate that the Consistory itself is slightly heretical, and that Mr. Ashenfelter's labors have been crowned with success.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition of the National Liberal League have been received as follows since our last issue: from Mr. E. R. Wicks, Meriden, Ill., 104 names; from Mr. Joseph York, Meadville, Pa., 87; from Mr. J. N. Steimle, Gardner, Ill., 103. In last week's paper, the number of signatures sent by Prof. Frothingham, of Ann Arbor, was misprinted 128,—it should have been 63. The total given was correct, however. Total number of signatures thus far received—3,612.

A WRITER in the Boston *Transcript* of April 5 thus exposes one of His Lectureship's gross misstatements of fact: "Rev. Joseph Cook asserted in his last Monday's lecture that Theodore Parker's works never reached a second edition. I thought at the time that this might have been an accidental error of speech, but the *Advertiser's* report this morning repeats the error. I supposed that in Mr. Cook's revised reports he would be careful to verify his statements. Now I hold in my hand Theodore Parker's *Discourse of Religion*, printed in 1855, and the preface calls it the fifth edition. This is the only purely theological work which Parker wrote, and the one he would rather be known and measured by. Here our friend will discover that in ten years or less five editions of this theological work have been called for—an honor, I venture to assert, that was never paid to any other theological author. Again, since our lecturer began his course of lectures, another edition of this work has been called for, and I found on inquiry at my booksellers' that their supply was entirely exhausted, and they were expecting some more this week. This good demand comes of the gratuitous advertisement this evangelical lecturer is giving Theodore Parker and his works.—C."

IN HIS LAST Friday evening talk, Henry Ward Beecher is reported as saying: "Dr. Bartol in Boston is an amusing Unitarian preacher; he criticised some remarks I made in my course of lectures to the Yale theological students, in which I advised those who did not feel as they wished, to put themselves as nearly in that state as they could, and act as if they really felt, for then the feeling would come. He said that this was hypocrisy. I don't suppose that anything I say here will come under his notice, but I wish it could, for I reaffirm what I said then: if you put yourself in the channels of conduct which have been the result of a state of mind, that state of mind will come again." Mr. Beecher may find "amusement" in such criticisms, but it is only in virtue of a melancholy degree of moral callousness. His advice to young preachers is to put on the semblance of deep feeling in the pulpit, even if they do not have it, in order to create the feeling itself in their own minds. But how about the audience? Whenever a minister seems to be profoundly earnest and solemn in his exhortations and appeals, Mr. Beecher's advice obliges the hearers to ask themselves: "Is the man really in earnest, or is he trying to pump up belief in his own mind by *pretending* to believe and feel what he says?" Dr. Bartol was right; such advice is the inculcation of hypocrisy as a clerical duty. Alas for the Christian ministry if it has come to this!

THE LONDON *Examiner* of March 10 has this very interesting paragraph on the Sunday question: "The *Revue Historique* publishes a minute, by the Emperor Napoleon I., concerning the observance of Sunday. It is so curiously characteristic of the man, and also has so direct a bearing on the Sabbatarian question, as to be worth reproducing: 'It is contrary to the divine law,' writes the Emperor, 'to prevent a man, who has wants on Sundays as much as on other days of the week, from working on Sunday to gain his bread. Government could not impose such a law unless it gave bread gratis to those who have none. God has imposed on men an obligation to labor, since without labor he has not allowed them to gather any of the fruits of the earth. He has willed that they should work every day, since he has given them wants which every day make themselves felt afresh. We must distinguish, in what the clergy prescribe, between laws which are truly religious laws, and obligations which have been imagined only with the view of extending the authority of ministers of religion. The observance of fasting on Friday and of resting on Sunday are only secondary and insignificant rules. What essentially concerns the commandments of the Church is, not to injure social order, not to do evil to one's neighbor, not to abuse liberty. . . . I am the authority, and I grant to my people, once for all, permission not to interrupt their work. The more they work the less vice there will be. . . . If I had to meddle with these matters, I would be rather disposed to order that, on Sundays, except during the hours of divine service, the shops should be open and the workmen at their work. When one casts a glance over the various classes which compose society, one feels that Sunday's rest is harmful rather than useful; one sees in how many arts and how many trades this interruption of labor produces troublesome results. Society does not make up a contemplative order. Some legislators have wished to make it a convent of monks, and apply to it rules which only suit a cloister. Since men eat every day, they ought to be allowed to work every day.'"

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

Free Religion versus Transcendentalism.

DEAR FRIEND ABBOT:—

The address given by yourself in the Horticultural Hall Course of Lectures, reported in THE INDEX of March 22, I have read with deep interest and profit. The themes it treats are of profoundest, most vital import. Too much pains cannot be taken to apprehend them justly, and to state the well-matured conclusion of thought upon them clearly. They are very fundamental.

You do not lay too much emphasis, in my opinion, upon the importance of utmost freedom and thoroughness of inquiry in regard to all that may be put forward in the name of religious faith or philosophy. Here is the one vital and indispensable condition of all healthful life and growth, either in religion or any thing else.

1. But I write to call attention to one or two points upon which you are, as I think, under misapprehension. Transcendentalism you regard as one of the old forms of dogmatism, to be dismissed by Free Religion, and relegated to essentially the same domain as Romanism, Lutheran Protestantism, etc. This in consequence of the fact that Transcendentalism affirms the authority of Intuition,—the truths it reads, or supposes itself to read, in the inner consciousness of the soul. This you deem to be a piece of dogmatism, and involving an invasion and denial of the rights of intellectual liberty.

Now I admit that in the name of Transcendentalism there may have been limitary conceptions and dogmatic declarations; that some of those who have spoken as its representatives may have laid themselves open to the charge you bring against the doctrine itself. I have deemed that Theodore Parker, notwithstanding his great care to avoid all causes of aberration, did sometimes imagine and dogmatize, reading, when dealing with the great questions of God, of Immortality, etc., other and more in the consciousness than was given in the inner content. And the same thing, I remember, seemed to me to befall Mr. Martineau, a year or two since, in his very ingenious and able replies to Tyndall.

It is difficult, very difficult, to keep the mind free here in the realm of pure thought from all limitary and dogmatic determination,—the nature of the human spirit is such, so related indissolubly to the world of the seen, all the conceptions being cast instinctively and of necessity in the mould of form, very difficult to take the idea of God, without investing it instantly in a somewhat determinate, as personality, etc. Hence the mixture we see of objective and subjective, of the creations of imagination or fancy with the realities of pure thought, that we find more or less in the representations of Transcendentalists. Indeed this is the infirmity the world over, and it gives rise to whatever is limitary, dogmatic, false in religious philosophy, and in art, letters, etc., as well. "As it has proved one of the most difficult problems of the practical astronomer to obtain an achromatic telescope, so an achromatic eye, one of the most needed, is also one of the rarest instruments of criticism." Mr. Parker recognized this ever-besetting danger, I judge, for he says, as I recall in his letter to his congregation, speaking of this self-same theme, the interpretation of the facts of consciousness: "I know now better than it was possible then . . . how often the inquirer mistakes his own subjective imagination for a fact of the universe. It is for others to decide whether I have sometimes mistaken a little grain of brilliant dust in my telescope for a fixed star in Heaven."

2. But, whatever the mistakes or shortcomings of some of its representatives and expositors (not all have been thus guilty), Transcendentalism itself should not be condemned unless it be itself essentially false and vicious as a doctrine, a method. This last, I suppose, from the tenor of your address, you believe. What is Transcendentalism in its essential position? It is, as I understand it, that the spiritual, the realm of substance, the invisible, the idea of the infinite, is revealed immediately in the soul, or is present primarily there in the thought; that it cannot be imparted or communicated from without, since it transcends all the outer; that it is its own authentication, and that the final appeal must always be laid to that standard within. Now if this be not true, I see not how anything in the world of religion, or indeed of philosophy, can be established.

3. "Science," you say, "knows nothing of finalities or authorities that may not be doubted." But how can she become science at all, except by arriving at something which as a foundation is final, some absolute upon which may be planted as upon firm ground the conviction? The protest of Free Religion, you declare, "affirmed the great fact of religion." How should it be entitled to affirm anything except by authority of those great fundamental truths that dwell in the soul, that shine by their own light with a resplendent lustre greater than "aught ever seen upon sea or land"? If these be denied in their sovereign, authoritative power, denied in the name of Free Religion, then I cannot for the life of me see how Free Religion does not by that very act cut off the bough upon which itself reposes, and consign itself to annihilation.

4. If the idea of God—and by that I mean the idea of a somewhat supersensuous, ethereal, eternal, however you may name or attempt to describe it—is "not at all a fact given in consciousness," then *how shall it be imparted or put into the consciousness?* How shall spiritual phenomena have verification by any other standard than that within the soul, within and not without, since the world with which we have to deal here transcends all that belongs to the without?

5. I see you intimate that the realm of experience may and will be found to cover a wider domain than has been accorded to it generally by scientific men, and I think you may add metaphysical philosophers also; at least Kant, so far as I remember, is very specific in his employment of the term in the sense you mention. It will be seen to mean not simply the experiences of or through the senses, but will cover the fact of "the immediate contact of the intellect with the outer universe as well." If in the term "outer universe" you include, as I suppose you do, whatever belongs to the realm of the spiritual, the world of substance, the everlasting, then I submit we are brought back to the same grounds as that essentially of Transcendentalism, the inner beholding the intuitional consciousness. The old witness has come back again; he has been withdrawn from the court for a little, changed his coat and returned, with a new *alias;* but it is the self-same man.

6. I do not think you have much the advantage, in the final appeal, of the man who in the last resort falls back upon the strength of his private Intuition. He also can retort upon you, "*How* do you know?" And what at last can you say to him farther than that, in your own deepest and most closely interrogated consciousness, you feel that you do see, you do know? Ever ultimately there must be a reason "that cannot be reasoned." The charge "you do not know—you dream," is one in all ages easy to make; but it establishes nothing, and is besides a sword that cuts both ways. The danger in thought ever, I suppose, is in confounding a fancy with truth, taking appearance for or as the measure of reality. But the ultimate affirmation, if anywhere, must be within, and the correction of all error is to be applied in this world within.

I know well that science, physical science, has an important office to perform in its relations to the problems of religious culture, and I am glad to see that such strong emphasis is being laid upon it at the present time. Great value there is withal in history, in the conclusions, the thoughts, and judgments of others. Here we have safeguard, a check and corrective in a measure to the individual mind, but they are secondary and subordinate, aids, not source; auxiliary, not primal.

7. Of two things, incontestably, I think, one: either the validity of the truths resident and luminous in the consciousness must be maintained and held as good against all beside,—and this will carry us to the main postulate of Transcendentalism, the intuitional vision, the authority of the ideal; or, these denied, we hew away from under our feet all ground upon which it is possible to base an affirmation in religious thought, and this brings to the destruction of all religion, free, as well as every other.

Judging from what you say of the breadth of signification you deem fairly covered in the word "experience," I sometimes incline to think that the difference that seems to lie between us may be more in name than in substance, and that by careful comparison and explanation it might much diminish, if not fade away. But whether this be so or not, surely a free and thorough examination of the ground will not fail to bring the facts in the case to a clearer light, and set the truth itself in more distinct outline, and under easier, juster apprehension.

More deeply, I believe, can no one sympathize with you in the brave protest you are uttering for religious freedom than do I. There is precious and also costly testimony to be borne by us all in this behalf.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

SYRACUSE, N.Y., April 5, 1877.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM MR. GANNETT.

DEAR ABBOT:—

Your criticism of my Moody-sermon treated me most kindly, and my argument as kindly as you could. You asked me to tell you how what you said impressed me; and I should have done so before now, had I not been on the constant move till I reached St. Paul three or four days ago.

You think I misconceive the process of "evolution" in religious thought (1) in that I treat this process as the developmental changes in a single organism, ignoring the facts of a succession of forms, a struggle for existence, a survival of the fittest; and (2) in that the change which I describe from concrete to abstract conceptions in the popular religion is not a process of "evolution" at all, but of its precise opposition, "dissolution." You think also (3) that Mr. Moody's essential meanings and ours won't *translate* into each other, as I claimed,—the difference being substantial, not merely formal.

Let me quote one or two sentences from you with which I heartily agree. "'Breadth in religious culture,'—does it mean a philosophy less broad than the facts?" Never. "We plead for a philosophy of religion that shall take in the whole fact of evolution, not merely a part of it,—that shall distinguish things that differ." Amen! But to indicate what the "whole fact" of evolution is, I should add—"that shall distinguish things that differ *and recognize similarities where things agree.*" For, as I understand evolution, it names the process of the One becoming Many, and two facts are constant in the process; (1) a fact of continuous identity, (2) a fact of continual change,—a certain unity at essence and in substance, with ceaselessly progressive variation in the form. I have supposed that no emphasis which ignored either one of these facts took in "the whole" evolution; and, further, that the union of these simultaneous facts was no more characteristic of the evolution occurring in a single organism than of that occurring in a succession of specific forms. Throughout the differentiated series the identity still runs. The appearance of a "new type," so-called, indicates no disconnection, but simply a sufficient increment of variation to win a new name. On the other hand, within the developmental changes of the single organism, I have supposed that the evolutionist

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recognized very plainly the "succession of forms, the struggle for existence, and survival of the fittest," in the way in which parts were progressively built up at the expense of other parts. I did not know there were two kinds of "evolution," one for the single organism, another for the series. Are there? If not, is not the first point of your criticism, on which much of the rest depends, quite beside the mark?

Further: you know our Free Religious motto is "Freedom and Fellowship in Religion." One of the two facts of evolution—that of the continuous identity in thought—has seemed to me the *scientific basis for the latter half of that motto*, the "Fellowship in Religion." Our fellowship with those from whom we differ in faith is something more than what you speak of as a hand of friendship and admiration stretched across profound chasms of variance: it exists not merely in spite of the formal variance, which is very real, but in virtue of the underlying agreement, equally real. Doctrines do translate into each other to me. I see analogues. I believe in comparative anatomy applied to religious faiths. And it is on the ground of underlying unities that I own and claim kinship with alien thinkers, however little the good cousins who know nothing about comparative anatomy will allow the claim. In this am I in error, or are they? Is this philosophy of religion less broad than the facts, or does it only become as broad as the facts by making such recognitions?

Now in my sermon I was not writing on evolution in religion save as it concerned my subject, which was—the continuity of thought as the basis of religious fellowship. I dwelt on that fact of evolution which is the basis of such fellowship. It is the side of evolution habitually ignored by most of the Orthodox as against the Radicals, and by many of the Radicals as against the Orthodox; both find it easier than winking to see the other side. Therefore I wrote, thinking that we at least who claim to be rationalists ought to have a philosophy of religion as broad as the facts, and stand by our philosophy, instead of joining the party who, unable to trace similarities as well as difference, deem the difference from themselves the measure of absurdity. Because Mr. Moody is unreasonable and cannot help it, are you and I to be unreasonable who can?

But to dwell on that side of the matter which belonged to the subject then in hand when I wrote is not to ignore the other side in one's thought or utterance. That other side—the difference between faiths, the struggle and survival of the fittest,—would come out fully, were the subject treated any one of the many subjects turning on Freedom in Religion; for in this other side, the second of the two great facts of evolution, we have, I think, the scientific basis for the other part of our motto,—"Freedom in Religion." On purpose to prevent the thought that I ignored that side, I threw in a few sentences about *other duties* existing than the one I was engaged in urging. You will find the sentences in the middle of the fifth column of the sermon. But in all that was said about "forms" or "symbols" you would see the same recognition implied, if you and I proportioned "substance" and "form" of doctrines in the same way. Part of the difference between us must be only apparent, you probably classing as "substance" what I should class under "form," and expect as such to suffer change. I cannot think that you as evolutionist wholly deny the fact of a continuous identity. Still, there is practically much difference between us, as you know. In matters of religion my order of emphasis is—Life before Thought; and, in thought, the Unities before the Differences, as having an actual scientific value greater than the differences; the latter to be treated with absolute honesty, which implies perfectly plain-speaking on the one side and non-exaggeration on the other side. I half-suspect you would as frankly rank the Differences before the Unities as scientifically the more important. At least, your constant emphasis indicates as much, and I do not think of you as one of the reformers who would consciously do intellectual wrong that intellectual good might come.

What I have said covers in great measure the ground of your third criticism,—your denial that Mr. Moody's doctrinal symbols can be translated into ours. To analyze your objection here would be but to restate details of my vision as against details of yours. I see, and said I saw, what you see,—Mr. Moody's insistence on much besides the moral contents of his doctrine; but as I listen to him (or listened rather; four times I heard him, besides reading sermons) his conscious, and still more notably his unconscious, *emphasis* seems to lie upon its moral contents; that makes his "substance," the rest is his "form," his "symbol" for it. And I claim power, and, having power, feel bound to read down to the substance; and, reading, find myself largely at one with him there. That Mr. Moody himself confounds his form and substance and probably would not assent to the theory of translation, was also said; but one of of my differences from him (from you, too?) is that I should not look on him as good authority in regard to the analogies of faith.

The remaining point of your criticism, the second, is that the broadening of the popular Christian doctrines, from concrete to abstract conceptions, is a process of dissolution,—not, as I called it, of evolution. You certainly seem right according to the accepted formula of evolution; and I am puzzled. But I do not see that the error, if it be one, affects my main position in the sermon, which is, you know, that an underlying continuity exists in religious ideas which is the basis of religious fellowship. That continuity with its consequence remains fact, does it not, whether the tendency of change is called "decay" or "growth"? Again it is but to restate my vision as against yours to say, for instance, that the Unity which science reveals in Nature, the Power that makes for righteousness and benefaction, looks to me like an expansion of the Christian's idea of "God"; that the immanence of this One in each and every individual seems to me expansion of the Christian doctrine of Incarnation; and so of other dogmas, even those more especially Mr. Moody's.

But I wish on this point you would some time enlarge. This I see, that the religious conceptions of any given day are but the aspect which the scientific conceptions of that day assume when man's imagination tries to unify them and adjust them, past the finite, to the scale of the infinite and ultimate and absolute. And this I also see, that in regard to "evolution" the conceptions of science and those of religion reverse each other's law of growth. Of old all science tended to become at once religious in its form, and these religious forms were concrete and complex just because the science proper was so slight and formless. Now all religious conceptions tend to take the scientific form, and are simple and formless just because the science has become the opposite. Is this the fact, then, that, strictly speaking, in ages of advance *science* alone undergoes "*evolution*," passing as it does from the vague to the heterogeneous and determinate in its "laws" of the outer and the inner universe; while in *religion* the simultaneous process of thought is "*dissolution*"? And this in general,—not merely, as you suggest, "dissolution" with reference to Christianity? With science what it is today, the rising religion, "the *faith* of science," must needs contain few symbols, and those few simple, vast, transcending formula. But I see not why they are not continuous with the symbols of the popular religion.

Perhaps this is not thought clearly out, and you can give me light. Print it or not, as you choose. If not, please send it back to me. If you print it, after your 1. 2. 3. of rejoinder, we will let our differences drop again for the present. Meanwhile, across our chasm, here is my hand—for our agreement's sake! Yours truly,

W. C. GANNETT.

ST. PAUL, Minn., March 28, 1877.

[And here is our hand in all heartiness and sincerity—*both* "for the agreement's sake" and for the sake of that honest "difference" which even our friend feels it (and justly too) a part of duty not to forget! The agreement is just as necessary as the difference, and the difference just as necessary as the agreement; each is absolutely indispensable in the eyes of science. If we radicals could indeed "translate" the *whole* of Moody's religion into our own,—if it were not impossible to make the translation without sacrificing totally certain profound differences of the two which Moody himself protests are fundamental (and we must "agree" *with him* here!),—there would have been no discussion between Mr. Gannett and us; in which case we should have lost the fresh and beautiful proof he has given that the frank discussion of differences need involve no injustice, no unkindness, no perversity, no misconstruction of motives. For this we thank him gratefully, and drop the subject, with a hope that our readers will have more from his pen by-and-by.—ED.]

"UNBELIEF AS A SIN."

The *Congregationalist* undertakes to defend Mr. Moody's statement that unbelief is the worst of sins; and in order to clear the way for a convincing argument, it begins by denying that Jesus used the word "believe" in a merely intellectual sense, "though we admit that, in past ages, not a few of his professed disciples have understood him to that effect, and have dealt out a liberal damnation to all who, for any reason, failed to hold a Christian creed." Christ had reference to "the real moral element of the problem." "The belief of men, on all but mathematical subjects, is largely governed by their selfish interests and plans." "Christ, then, simply says to every man to whom the gospel is presented in its true doctrine and clear evidence that if he allows himself to be blinded to it by his self-will, prejudice, passion, pride, or love of sinful ways, he thereby manifests a spirit of disloyalty to truth, and of disobedience to God, and cannot have part in the kingdom of God. Surely this is just." "Another phase of unbelief is where the will does not so much mislead the reason as resist it; that is, where the man, while admitting 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' refuses to allow it to control his heart and life, and thus treats it as if he did not intellectually believe it. This is the sin known as unbelief in the New Testament."

This is quite plausible. Self-will, prejudice, passion, love of sinful ways, and a spirit of disloyalty to truth are certainly to be condemned, and the *Register* is always ready to denounce them as heartily as the *Congregationalist*. d A man who resists what he knows and admits to be the truth need not expect to be defended by us. We hardly think he can find a champion in THE INDEX or even the *Investigator*. Let him be blamed severely, for he richly deserves it. Let him be warned solemnly, for he deeply needs admonitions and entreaties. If this is all that is meant by calling unbelief criminal, "unbelievers" will join as loudly in the chorus of disapproval as any of the faithful.

And yet we hesitate a little before accepting the *Congregationalist's* triumphant conclusion: "Thus Mr. Moody only imitates the Savior himself, and all faithful preachers of the gospel, when he warns men of the wrath of God against the unbelief which rejects Christ and his salvation." Does the *Congregationalist* really mean that Mr. Moody has no condemnation for fair-minded and honest men who reject his leading doctrines, not on account of any disloyalty to truth or love of sinful ways, but because, after candid and dispassionate examination, they believe those doctrines to be false? Is it taught at the Tabernacle that there is no sin or peril in denying the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, the Vicarious Atonement, Total Depravity, and Eternal Punishment, unless the denier is blinded by self-will, or denies what he knows to be true? Does Mr. Moody wish it to be distinctly understood that it is unjust and unchristian to "sentence men to damnation for holding opinions which simply conform to the evidence before their minds"? This is just what the *Congregationalist* seems to affirm. If its assurance is warranted, and an authorized statement can be obtained from the great revivalist endorsing the argument of our neighbor, "much needless mystification" will indeed be avoided. It is to be regretted, however, that, "working our way through the fog of misapplied words and cloudy ideas" has been deferred so long. Whatever Mr. Moody may be about to preach, we have seen nothing in his published discourses which resembles the *Congregationalist's* theory that only immoral "unbelief" is to be justly condemned.

We confess that we should place more reliance upon the *Congregationalist's* main statement, if we were not troubled by some of its introductory remarks. What does it mean by its admission that "in past ages" not a few professed disciples of Jesus have dealt out a liberal damnation to all who, for any reason, failed to hold what the anathematizers held to be the Christian faith? Why does it say "in past ages"? Would it have its readers think that it believes that nobody entertains such absurd views at present? Does it doubt that Roman Catholics may be found in this year of our Lord who teach that, for their damnable heresies, the editors of the *Congregationalist* and Messrs. Moody and Sankey will certainly go to perdition? By taking great pains, and recalling all the narrowest-minded ministers and deacons of its acquaintance, can it not find a few who do not expect to meet in heaven all candid and conscientious heretics, whether Unitarians, Universalists, Romanists, or Heathen?

It was not in the Dark Ages, but within twenty years, that a prominent Boston "Evangelical" house reprinted a book edited and endorsed by Mr. Spurgeon, which contained, in capital letters, on its last page: "HE THAT BELIEVETH SHALL BE SAVED, LET HIS SINS BE EVER SO MANY; HE THAT BELIEVETH NOT SHALL BE DAMNED, LET HIS SINS BE EVER SO FEW." It was not before the invention of the printing-press, but recently, in a liberal "Orthodox" religious journal, here in the United States, that these words of a famous American preacher were published: "This is our danger: not that we shall be sinful, not that we shall be imperfect, not that we shall be vain, not that we shall be foolish, not that we shall be corrupt in our imaginations, but that we shall not believe in Christ. *Our salvation is not half so much imperilled by wickedness as by unbelief.*"—*Christian Register, March 24.*

A CATALONIAN EXORCIST.

I will briefly describe what has just happened in this wealthy city. About the 14th or 15th of October it was privately announced, chiefly to the faithful women of the congregation which regularly throngs the Church of the Holy Spirit, in the street of San Francisco, that a young woman of seventeen or eighteen years of age, of the lower class, having long been afflicted with "a hatred of holy things"—the poor girl probably was subject to epileptic fits, and cried out and became convulsed when she heard the notes of the organ in church,—the senior priest of the church above mentioned would cure her of her disease, or, to use that gentleman's own language, "Avaunt, physicians and mountebanks; see how the church will cure this poor girl, who is at present possessed with four hundred devils."

Those who are acquainted with Barcelona know well the Calle San Francisco, one of the well-to-do streets of the city, and its church, Espiritu Santo, not a poor man's, but a fashionable church. For eight days, the last day being the 17th instant, a little stream of persons of all ranks and of either sex might have been seen at the unusual hour (for church-going) of 12 A.M., threading its way towards the church. The principal door was kept closely shut, but the faithful or credulous, the open scoffer, and the lover of signs and wonders found admittance by a side-door to the exhibition which I am about to describe. The church was dark, but a sickly light was shed by wax lights on the sable forms of some eighty or one hundred persons who clustered round the *presbiterio*, or sanctuary, in front of the altar. Within the little enclosure, or sanctuary, separated from the crowd by a light railing, lay on a common bench, with a little pillow for her head to recline upon, a poorly-clad girl, probably of the peasant or artisan class; her brother or husband stood at her feet to restrain her (at times) frantic kicking by holding her legs. The door of the vestry opened; the exhibitor—I mean the priest—came in. The poor girl, not without just reason, "had an aversion to holy things," or, at least, the four hundred devils within her distorted body had such an aversion; and in the confusion of the moment, thinking that the father was a "holy thing," she doubled up her legs, screamed out with twitching nostrils, her breast heaving, her whole body writhing, and threw herself nearly off the bench. The male attendant seized her legs, the women supported her head and swept out her dishevelled hair. The priest advanced and, mingling familiarly with the shuddering and horror-struck crowd, said, pointing at the suffering child, now sobbing and twitching on the bench, "Promise

me, my children, that you will be prudent (*prudentes*), and of a truth, sons and daughters mine, you shall see marvels." The promise was given. The exhibitor went to procure stole and short supplice (*estola y roquete*), and returned in a moment, taking his stand at the side of the "possessed with the devils," with his face toward the group of students. The order of the day's proceedings was (1) a lecture to the bystanders, and (2) the operation of exorcising the devils. The priest commenced his running commentary on, or explanation of, the strange phenomenon lying panting, foaming at the mouth, to the gaze of the stupid and shuddering crowd of her fellowmen and women. The priest began by lamenting with tears that "it is, unhappily, the fashion of people in this day and age to seek the aid of doctors, sleep-walkers or spiritualists, and quacks of all description"—the words he used were *medicos, sommambulos, y curanderos*—"when they have hard at hand the aid of religion, and an aid and remedy secure and all-sufficient." He continued his address by saying that the means of which he should make use in the present case were not the strongest in his power, for to use the strongest was not now allowed. He then said: "This *joven*—i.e., young girl—enjoys a most perfect tranquillity and calmness so long as she does not catch a sight of holy things, such as the holy water, the priest's dress, the altar, the church, or hear the sound of a bell, the roll of an organ's notes resounding through the aisle. You know," continued the priest, "that so great is this girl's aversion to holy things, myself included, that she goes into convulsions, kicks, screams, and distorts her body the moment she arrives at the corner of this street, and her convulsive struggles reach their climax when she enters the sacred house of the Most High." He ended with the following words: "This girl has often had the same infirmity in bygone years, and the devils have been constantly expelled; but, owing to the laxity of religion in these latter days, they return again to possess her body." Act the first finished. Act the second, the exorcism, commenced. Turning to the prostrate, shuddering, most unhappy object of his attack, the priest commenced: "In the name of God, of the saints, of the Blessed Host, of every holy sacrament of our Church, I adjure thee, Rusbel, come out of her." [N. B.—"Rusbel" is the name of a devil, the devil having two hundred and fifty-seven names in Catalonia.] Thus adjured, the girl threw herself in an agony of convulsion, till her distorted face, foam-bespattered lips, and writhing limbs grew well-nigh stiff, at full length upon the floor, and, in language semi-obscene, semi-violent, screamed out, "I don't choose to come out, you thieves, scamps, robbers." "Fulfil your promise, Rusbel," said the priest. "You said yesterday you would cast one hundred more of your cursed spirits out of this most hapless girl's body. Can't you speak?" "Yes, I can," came from the poor girl's foaming lips, "I can." "Yes," said the *cura*, "you are a devil of honor; you are a man of your word." Out of the crowd stepped a plainly-attired Spanish gentleman, and said, "But, father, how can you pray to and praise the devil? I have read somewhere he is a liar and the father of lies. Does he keep his word?" "Yes," said the priest, "he is *muy formal*"—i. e., a man of his word. "Fulfil your promise, Rusbel." "Never," shouted the devil, or the girl, now lashed into an agony of frenzy. "You shall," said the holy father; and the suffering girl, like a bruised and wounded snake, her dress all disarranged, her bosom heaving, wormed and twisted into the arms of the silly woman who knelt and cried by her bench of torture. At last from the quivering lips of the girl came the words, "I will"; but the devil added, with traditional perversity, "I will cast the one hundred out, but by the mouth of the girl." The priest objected. The exit, he said, of one hundred devils out of the small Spanish mouth of the woman would "leave her suffocated." Then the maddened girl said she must undress herself for the devils to escape. This petition the holy father refused. "Then I will come out through the right foot, but first"—the girl had on a hempen sandal, she was obviously of the poorest class—"you must take off her sandal." The sandal was untied; the foot gave a convulsive plunge; the devil and his myrmidons (so the *cura* said, looking around triumphantly) had gone to their own place. And, assured of this, the wretched dupe of a girl lay quite still. The exhibition was announced for eleven A. M. on the succeeding day, and it commenced again. Up came a band of blue-bloused artisans and claimed admittance to the church. The priest stoutly refused entrance to any but women. The men beat the church door; the police came; a scrimmage arose, and the priest retreated in haste; the sick girl was dragged to her lowly home; two mechanics now lie in Barcelona jail for their share in a called-for if illegal demonstration; the street was cleared by the police, and the affair was over. Next day, the civil authorities of the town, men of high feeling and great enlightenment, shocked at what they had heard and read (for the whole affair is now in print, and can be bought in Barcelona for a half-penny), stopped, by civil decree, the whole affair. In conclusion, a few remarks are due in justice to the authorities: first of all the bishop, a man of enlightenment and erudition, was not cognizant, I believe, of this freak on the part of the clergy of the church in question. Secondly, the moment it came to the ears of the civil authorities, the sharpest and promptest means were taken to prevent a repetition of a scandal which had shamed and sickened the whole city of Barcelona.

The whole of the details I have given were taken down by me from the mouth of an honorable and most truthful Spanish gentleman, who was witness to the whole thing, and are strictly worthy of credit to the remotest detail. I have purposely suppressed much that was painful and indecent.—*London Times.*

DR. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

No two sets of ideas could be more dissimilar than those respectively suggested by the man John Henry Newman and the place Birmingham. And yet in Birmingham is Dr. Newman's home. There the late Cardinal Wiseman placed him in 1848, and there he still remains. An ugly red-brick building, shaped in the most modern of modern styles, in a suburb full of other ugly red-brick buildings, with a narrow strip of ground before it planted with dingy shrubs, standing back a little from the street as if overshadowed by the grandeur of the neighboring bank and inn,—such is the place where Dr. Newman's dwelling is fixed. For this he has exchanged those "spires of Oxford, domes and towers, gardens and groves," once, and indeed still, so dear to him, which he has never seen again, except, as a passing traveller from the railway, since he left them, at the bidding of conscience, nearly thirty-one years ago.

For many years after Dr. Newman came to live in Birmingham he was almost forgotten by the world, once much occupied with him and his doings. At first, after his secession to Rome, "the religious newspapers"—to use certain words of Mr. Carlyle—"were very lively, and promptly seizing their cue, prosecuted it to all lengths and breadths in their sad way." The deliberate submission to the Papal yoke of one of the foremost Englishmen of the day, the most conspicuous figure in the greatest national seat of learning, was an exercise of the right of private judgment not dreamed of in the philosophy of the chief champions of that great principle; and for some time "the traitor Newman" was solemnly paraded "in inquisitorial *sanbenito*" before an enlightened public. Dr. Newman has himself sketched for us in his inimitable way, the fate which overtook "Papal perverts," as they were called at that period, the incredible motives which were imputed to them, the bold misstatements, the rash prophecies, which were confidently hazarded regarding them. And then, he adds, "When every resource has failed, and in spite of all that can be said and surmised and expressed and hoped about the persons in question, Catholics they are and Catholics they remain, the prejudiced man has a last resource. He forgets that he ever heard of them; he has no duties to their names; they die to him." The picture is drawn from the life, and represents accurately what happened in Dr. Newman's own case. After asserting that he was mad, that he had quarrelled with the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome and had been suspended, nay, that he had given up revealed religion altogether, the world ceased to trouble itself further about him, and, pronouncing through the mouth of Lord John Russell that his "conversion" was an "inexplicable event," went its way, and left him at rest with the little band of friends who had followed him into his new home. And with the exception of the few years he spent in Dublin, essaying, at the bidding of authority, a great task under impossible conditions, there he has since remained,—in port, as he has told us, after a rough sea; willingly taking, as he elsewhere says, that humble place of service which his superiors chose for him, the desire of his heart and his duty going together; determined not to have the praise or the popularity which the world can give, but, according to St. Philip Neri's precept, to love to be unknown.

This aspiration, however, was not to be gratified. Thirteen years ago a popular writer, among whose many merits accuracy of thought or statement cannot be reckoned, thought fit to accuse Dr. Newman by name of teaching that truth for its own sake was not, and, on the whole, ought not to be, a virtue with the Roman clergy. This accusation, going so far beyond the popular prejudice entertained against him, appeared to Dr. Newman to call solemnly for an answer. An answer was given in the *Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ*, where, at the cost of no small suffering to a nature eminently sensitive and shrinking from publicity, the veil was lifted from forty-five years of his inner life in a narrative whose simple candor carried conviction even to theological opponents. Few books have so triumphantly accomplished their purpose as that remarkable work. It is not too much to say that a revolution in the popular estimate of the author was caused by it. Since its publication he has, in one way or another, been brought frequently before his countrymen; and widely as the vast majority of them differ from his religious opinions, there is probably no living man in whose unswerving rectitude they more entirely believe, or for whom they entertain a deeper reverence and respect.

Certainly that reverence and respect would not be diminished in the case of any one by a familiar knowledge of Dr. Newman's daily life. His warmest and most devoted friends are those with whom he lives, his dearest brothers, as he calls them in the *Apologia*, the priests of the Birmingham Oratory; and it is curious and significant how each of them in his way reflects something of the tone and character of their illustrious superior,—"the Father," as they commonly term him. Throughout the house well-nigh everything speaks of him. In the "parlor" into which the visitor is shown hangs a print of Oxford, with the touching inscription underneath, "*Illi hominis putasne vivent ossa ista? Et dixi, Domine Deus, tu nosti.*" The library is half furnished with his books; many of them once stood in his rooms at Oriel. In the church we have realized in some sort a type of architecture which he has himself described; not the scientific and masterly conception of a great whole with many parts, but something plain and inartificial, "an addition of chapel to chapel, and a wayward growth of cloister according to the occasion, with half-concealed shrines and unexpected recesses, with paintings upon the walls, as if by a second thought, with an absence of display and a wild irregular beauty." Then there is the Oratory School, his own creation, in which, under his fostering care, the youths of some of the greatest Catholic families are trained in traditions of scholarship and conduct transplanted from the old national seats of education, but modified or transformed by his judgment, and impressed, if we may so speak, with his personality. And if we are privileged to penetrate to the room whence all this influence radiates, and where, fenced in by double windows from the noise and biting winds of the outer world, "the Father" lives—his bed in one corner of it, behind a little screen,—we shall find him, as of old, busy among his books and papers, constant to "his work and to his labor until the evening," whose shades are now gathering around him. Who can guess at the literary treasures that chamber contains? It is significant of the simplicity of this great nature that when the "Dream of Gerontius"—the most vivid sketch of things beyond the veil that has been given to the world since Dante—was drawn from him by the death of a dear friend, it was so lightly valued by him that its rescue from the waste-paper basket to which he was about to consign it was due to an accident.

As Dr. Newman's days grow fewer, they grow longer. He has ever been an early riser, and now from five in the morning until an unknown hour at night he is busily engaged in redeeming the time. His first two hours are given to devotion. Shortly after seven he says his mass—usually for some years past in the chapel of the Bona Mors,—in which the souls of the founders and Catholic benefactors of his old colleges at Oxford are always remembered. At about eight o'clock he appears in the refectory, where he breakfasts in silence, after the custom of religious houses, attacking meanwhile the pile of correspondence which awaits him on the table. Then his own room receives him, and until half-past two or three in the afternoon correspondence, study, and the duties involved in the government of the house and school engross him. An hour or two in the afternoon is given to exercise, for he is still a great pedestrian; the community dinner is at six o'clock, and on days when his turn comes round "the Father" girds on the apron of service, and waits upon his brethren, not himself sitting down until they are served. All eat in silence, only broken by the voice of the lector, who from the pulpit in the corner reads first a chapter from the Vulgate, then a chapter of the life of a saint, and lastly, a portion from some modern work of general interest. When dinner is over, questions in some department of theological science are proposed by him whose turn it is. Each in succession gives his opinion, ending with the usual formula, "But I speak under correction." Then the proposer sums up, and the fathers adjourn to a neighboring parlor, where coffee is served and the pent-up flood of conversation bursts forth,—the play of wit and fancy, the wealth of anecdote and reminiscence, the tender glances at the past, the keen remarks on the public events of the day, the shrewd practical observations on their own domestic and personal concerns. In all which the Superior fully bears his part, as much at home here as among his graver pursuits, his clear, musical voice interposing frequently to add the contribution of his *mitis sapientia* to the genial hour, which recalls to one the description given of the first Oratory over which St. Philip Neri himself presided, "the school of Christian mirth." Perhaps the two things which most strike the visitor among these ecclesiastics are their thoroughly English tone, and the liberality, in the highest sense, of their views. Dr. Newman once remarked, "When I became a Catholic, I did not cease to be an Englishman"; and it may be truly said of him, as Ampère said of Ozanam, that "he has a largeness of conception which teaches him to recognize sympathies outside the camp in which he is fighting"; or in the words of another regarding that great man, "He is passionately enamored of the legitimate conquests of the modern mind; he loves liberty, and he has served it; he is intolerant of intolerance and just towards error."

So passes Dr. Newman's life in his Birmingham home, its tranquil course broken at rare intervals by visits to old and cherished friends, chiefly of his Oxford days, or by retirement to a tiny country house of the Oratorians, a few miles distant, at Rednal, round which is the little church-yard where they are buried. It is a pretty little spot, well away from the smoke and din of Birmingham; and here Dr. Newman will sometimes spend days in absolute seclusion, whether seeking rest from prolonged labor or unbroken time for more assiduous toil. It was here that the most closely reasoned of his works, the *Grammar of Assent*, was composed; but the books with which the walls are lined bear evidence that lighter literature is not disregarded. Miss Austen, Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, Sir Walter Scott, Mrs. Gaskell, are favorite authors with the great theologian. Of modern English poets, Wordsworth, Southey, and Crabbe are highly valued by him, and are constantly read. Music, again, has ever been a solace to him, and has been lovingly cultivated. Most educated men know the passage in the Oxford *University Sermons* in which "the mysterious stirrings of heart, and keen emotions and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions we know not whence," produced in us by the great masters of musical sound, are described in words of majestic eloquence which it would be hard to parallel. As might have been expected, the man who could write thus of music is himself no mean musician. A story is told—we know not with what truth—that on one occasion a Protestant Boanerges visiting Birmingham sent a pompous invitation to the great convert to dispute publicly with him in the town hall, to which Dr. Newman replied that he had small skill in controversy, and must decline to enter the lists with so redoubtable a champion; but that his friends

credited him with some power of playing the violin, and that he would be happy to meet his challenger at a trial of strength on that instrument.

Our sketch of Dr. Newman at home ought not to conclude without some mention of his gala-day,—St. Philip Neri's feast. Nothing is more striking about him than the sense of personal attachment which he bears to the Saint whose habit he wears and under whose shadow he lives. At first this devotion to a man whom he has never known; who has been dead, indeed, these three hundred years; who has left no image of himself in books, for he wrote none; whose life was spent in Rome, in a private station, and in the discharge of the ordinary duties of the sacerdotal calling,—seems to the Protestant visitor fantastic and sentimental. But a little observation soon shows that it is one of the soberest realities of Dr. Newman's life. St. Philip is no stranger to him. The "old man of sweet aspect," "whose bright and beautiful character won him before he was a Catholic," is ever before a mind which dwells more among the unseen than the visible. And when St. Philip's day comes round there is joy in Dr. Newman's home. A grand function in the church, at which the Saint's great disciple reads, not without pauses from strong emotion, Bacci's touching narrative of his patron's last days on earth; a Latin play in the school, in which the youthful actors have been personally trained by their great head; a modest and bright banquet in the refectory, in which "the Father" gathers around him the friends who have come, some of them from afar, to offer to him their annual greeting,—these are the leading incidents of a day deeply enshrined in the memories of many:—

> "All these have been, and thee mine eyes
> Have look'd on; if they look'd in vain,
> My shame is greater who remains,
> Nor let thy wisdom make me wise."

—*London World, Jan.* 17, 1877.

A SPECIMEN OF JOSEPH COOK.

HIS LECTURESHIP TAKES A WALK AT EASTER—ENCOUNTERS A SOLAR LOOK, LOAFERISH LIBERALISM, AND OTHER ANIMALS—INFLATES HIS BALLOON FROM HIS PRIVATE RESOURCES—JUMPS INTO THE BASKET—CUTS THE ROPE—THROWS OVERBOARD ALL HIS BALLAST OF FACT—AND IS LOST IN THE EMPYREAN.

If you please, the times are serious, and light sneers will do no good now, and ought not to be noticed by me except in pity. It was my fortune, professionally, to walk down to a church near the Tabernacle, yesterday morning, to give an Easter discourse. As I passed up the street, I met a deluge, not of rain, such as has diminished the audiences in the Tabernacle occasionally—the month of March is a great enemy to large assemblies,—but a crowd of people emerging from I did not at first think where, until I remembered that the Tabernacle service had just closed. They covered acres and came on in thousands, like the crowds of a gala-day. I noticed their faces, for the best test of what has been done in a religious address in any assembly is to study the countenances of the audience as it disperses. If you see a softened, an ennobled, a "solar look," to use one of the phrases of Bronson Alcott [turning to Mr. Alcott who sat at the speaker's right], one may be sure that religious truth has done good. I saw the solar look yesterday on the street in hundreds and thousands of faces; I saw it sometimes in the gaze of shop-girls, perhaps.

Yes, but high culture in Boston does not care much for shop-girls. Well, it is time it should. There is a low-bred, loaferish liberalism uttering itself occasionally in sneers because the poor have the gospel preached to them. That sneer has been heard ever since the days of Celsus and the games in the old Coliseum, and it has a peculiarly reptilian ring. There are many kinds of liberalism. Christian liberalism I honor; literary and æsthetic liberalism is to be spoken of with respect, in most cases; but below what I have called a limp and lavender and unscientific liberalism, there is a low-bred and loaferish liberalism. This, in Boston, has impudence, but no scholarship; rattles, but no fangs. In the great multitude the solar look is the best prophecy that can be had for the American future. It is a radiance that is like the rising of the sun to any man who is anxious about what is to come in America.

After noticing that look and thanking God for it, I walked on, and happened to pass a lonely Boston corner where the Paine Hall and the Parker Memorial Hall stand near each other: *par nobile fratrum*. On a bull-etin on the Paine Hall, the street in front of which looked deserted, I read: "Children's Progressive Lyceum Entertainment this evening." "The Origin and Amusements of the Orthodox Hell." "Twenty-ninth Anniversary of Modern Spiritualism, APRIL 1." Passing by the Parker Memorial Hall, where no doubt words of good sense have been uttered occasionally, I found in the window this statement: "To-night, a lecture on the 'Arctic Regions,' with a stereopticon and seventy views."

Gentlemen, all over the world the equivalent of the scene I saw on that Easter morn may be looked upon almost everywhere within the whole domain of Christendom. Infidelity in Germany is no stronger than it is in Boston. Out of the thirty universities of that most learned land of the globe, only one is called rationalistic to-day.

When the sun stands above Bunker Hill at noon it has just set on the Parthenon and is rising on the volcanoes of the Sandwich Isles. As Easter Day passed about the globe, the contrasted scenes which the sun saw here—a multitude fed with God's Word and a few erratics striving to solace themselves without God,—were not unlike the scenes which the resplendent orb looked down upon in the whole range of civilization. In two hundred languages of the world the Scriptures were read yesterday; in two hundred languages of the world hymns were lifted to the Triune Name yesterday; in two hundred languages of the world the Gospel was preached to the poor yesterday.

What is our impecunious scepticism doing here? Has it ever printed a book that has gone into a second edition? Theodore Parker's works never went into a second edition. I do not know of a single infidel book over a hundred years old that has not been put on the upper neglected shelf by scholars. Boston must compare her achievements with those of cities outside of America and take her chances under the buffetings of time. Where is there in Boston anything in the shape of scepticism that will bear the microscope? For one, I solemnly aver that I do not know where, and I have nothing else to do but search. Theodore Parker is the best sceptic you ever had; but to me he is honey-combed through and through with disloyalty to the very nature of things,—his supreme authority. It was asserted, not long ago, in an obscure sceptical newspaper here, that Parker's works ought to be forced into a second edition by his friends. It was admitted there was no demand for a second edition, but it was thought that if now there was an effort made strategetically, one be put upon the market. You have no better books than these, and there has been no marked demand in Boston for these, and the attentive portion of the world knows the facts. Why am I proclaiming this? Because, outside of Boston, it is often carelessly supposed that the facts are the reverse, and that this city is represented only by a few people, who, deficient in religious activity, and forgetting the law of the survival of the fittest, are distinguished far more by audacity than by scholarship, and are members of a long line in history, of which Gallio stood at the head.—*Boston Weekly Advertiser, April* 5.

POLITICS IN THE SCHOOL.

There are complaints that the public school course is overloaded with studies which, useful enough elsewhere, are hardly of practical value therein. We have no sympathy for the blatant enthusiasm manifested over mere rote knowledge of natural sciences and the arts in our schools. The course is a short one; it gives the only education received by thousands, and it is not wise to impede it with branches not absolutely necessary to practical life. The "system" has countless faults, and in bettering it, it may be that educators should sometimes study subtraction instead of addition. As for natural sciences and industrial arts, the places in which to study those are special technical schools, thoroughly fitted, splendidly manned by working teachers, and, above all, free. Too many of these we cannot have so long as they are efficient. There is one addition, however, which might be made without detriment to the school course,—the study in various forms of political science. There is a great deal of sentimental nonsense talked concerning the typical, large-minded, and patriotic American youth; the truth is, that there lives no such being. American boys read newspapers, but not the politics in them, which may be judicious. They are attracted by the drums and fife of political meetings, but to them it is all delightful noise and no ideas. In country villages they lounge sometimes with their elders in "the store," but the wisdom they acquire thus is chiefly remarkable for poverty and shallowness. They are ignorant of the formation of their government, the most effective motors in its history, the provisions and action of the Constitution. They have no training whatever for their political duties, duties certainly not the least important of their lives. The average teacher takes no interest in practical politics, and from one year's end to another never opens his or her lips on the subject. We do not advise plunging the pupil into dry essay and diffuse dissertation, but surely time can be found for a little study which shall be thorough, and a reasonable amount of apt, simple, and interesting explanation. There is no lack of texts, and a teacher who has brains and energy will see that the study is not perfunctory. Future Congresses would not be the worse for such instruction.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

MR. RICHARD A. PROCTOR has been giving in the *English Mechanic* some interesting notes on his American journeyings. He says that a generous estimate of the value of a lecturer's time and labor and of the extent of his probable travelling expenses seems always to be made. He adds: "It is rather remarkable that in America, where, as already mentioned, lectures are often arranged by persons not literary or scientific at all in their tastes, and regarding the whole matter as one of dollars and cents, one so seldom hears of any difficulty or even delay about pecuniary matters. I have given two hundred and forty-four lectures in all in America, and there is but one of those (a lecture given at the Public Library Hall of Des Moines, Iowa) for which payment was not well and duly made." Mr. Proctor does not entirely approve of the American custom of giving "receptions" to "eminent guests." He says that though the kindness of the motive is manifest, he never yet knew an Englishman who was not made supremely uncomfortable by them. He adds: "I am told that the proper thing at a reception is not (as Englishmen would be apt to do) to simply bow to each person introduced, and shake hands (after once learning that pleasant American custom), but to look as though you long had known 'from afar' Mr. Titus Ulysses Beaker, were burning to hear his views about negro suffrage, aerial navigation, or the waistcoat button of the future, and were only prevented from hearkening to him for hours by the outstretched hand of Mr. Washington Lee Scrubbins, which must be grasped with enthusiasm, the Beaker side of your face wearing a look of heart-felt anguish, while the Scrubbins side is lit up with the glow of fervent delight. But, after all, every nation has its own form of humbug, and I am not sure that the quiet student of science suffers more during a reception in one country than he does in another, when formally introduced to an audience (as in former years might happen even in England), with 'Ah—the—ah—hope and—ah—trust—ah—that—ah—the lecturer will prove—ah—the—ah—forerunner—the precursor of—ah—those other lecturers—those—yes—those other—ah—lecturers—ah—who are to follow—to—ah—to—in fact—to succeed him—in—ah—in this course of lectures,' and compelled by custom to be similarly impressive in returning thanks."

IN THE Greeley days the cry was, "Go West—Go West." The following story, told by the Rev. Robert Collyer at a Bristow meeting, gives advice to the reformers which has the true ring. A great many years ago, on one of our Southwestern rivers, there was an old skipper who had a steamboat which was sailing in shoaly water, and got stuck in the mud. She swung around in the water and there was no chance to get her afloat, do what they would. He was a terribly profane old fellow, and everybody knew it through the country. Suddenly an idea struck him. He said to one of his deck-hands: "You go up to the town and tell them I have got religion, and I want them to come and hold a prayer-meeting on board." The deck-hands went to the town and spread the news around, and every one, being interested in the old skipper's conversion, went down to hold the prayer-meeting. The old man was standing ready to receive them, and, as they came down, he said to every man, "Go aft," and they all went aft until the great load was at that end. They all went aft until there was a great weight and the end which was in the mud got loose, and the ship floated off. As soon as the ship got afloat, the skipper said: "The meeting is over. Jump ashore!" [Loud laughter.] In our Republican party—I mean those leaders—there are men who get religion every time there is going to be an election. [Cheers.] They say, "Gentlemen, go aft; go aft." And we go aft. We are a good-natured crowd in this country. The best-natured fellows anywhere on this planet is a crowd of Americans, such as I see before me to-night. We are good fellows, and we go aft, and the old ship floats again, and then we jump ashore. Now I don't mean to go into that prayer-meeting any more. [Cheers and laughter.] I don't mean to have anything more to do with that old skipper. I mean to find, if I can, some man who doesn't get religion once in every four years.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

AN APRIL PROPHECY.

Rainbow-colors in the air,
Over mist-clouds coming, going,
Rainbow-colors o'er the river,
Veiling waters swiftly flowing—

These I saw, one gray spring-day,
Thinking: "Nature always sings me
Some new song in joyous April,
Something new she always brings me.

"Flower I ne'er before have seen,
Song of bird unknown, above me,
Thoughts that come so swift, unbidden,
They to sudden rapture move me.

"Now she bids me wondering see
Rainbow-bloom o'er cloud and river,
Ere unfolding leaf or blossom
On Earth's chilly breast doth quiver.

"She is mingling colors here
For her pansies and petunias:
Rainbow-bloom o'er cloud and river
April's prophecy of June is."

O'er the sombre, unsunned tide
Of my thoughts in silence flowing,
Brightening clouded realms of fancy,
Hope's own iris hovered glowing.

Nameless hope of nobler good
Than the baffling years had given,
Thrilled through all my quickening pulses,
'Neath the changeful April heaven.

Rainbow-colors in the air,
Over mist-clouds coming, going,
Rainbow-colors o'er the river,
Veiling waters swiftly flowing. M. R. W.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 14.

Carl Post, $3.20; B. F. Horton, $3.20; Gilbert Cope, $3.20; D. Ferguson, $3.20; F. A. Angel, 10 cents; E. M. Sellon, 20 cents; J. W. Winkley, $3.50; D. P. Wilcox, $2.40; Arch McArthur, $6.40; Rev. E. W. Mundy, $3.20; Mrs. Helen E. Perkins, $30; Hon. Geo. Hoadley, $25; C. Grove, $4.53; Chas. Haskell, $3; Dr. C. W. Estabrook, $6.35; Milan Bentley, $6; Jno. F. Barrett, $43.20; D. W. McLane, $5; T. B. Skinner, 25 cents; John Adams, $3.20; G. M. Wood, $1.60; W. A. Leonard, $3.82; Mrs. Lucy H. Balch, $3.20; A. G. Moody, $3.20; Dan'l Johnson, $3.20; Chas. Hazeltine, $1.60; W. H. Tillinghast, $3.20; B. T. Yerrinton, $3.25; W. C. Gannett, 10 cents; C. H. Stockwell, $6.40; Geo. P. Reynolds, $5.10; Mrs. C. M. Lawler, $3.20; C. B. Holloway, $3.20; New England News Co., $4.36; L. F. Robinson, $1.60; Daniel Fitzhugh, $3.25; Miss E. M. Wyckoff, 80 cents; W. E. Darling, $3.20; I. S. Russell, $1; Mrs. E. Crosby, $70; Dr. J. W. Currier, $6.40; C. A. Blood, 25 cents.

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

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The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 19, 1877.

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"FREE RELIGION VERSUS TRANSCENDENTALISM."

When, at the invitation of the sub-committee of the Free Religious Association, we discarded the subject originally chosen for our annual Horticultural Hall lecture (namely, "Morality and Religion"), and acceded to the suggestion that "The Scientific Method in Religion" should be substituted for it in order to carry out the idea of a special series of four lectures, we did not for an instant imagine that we had been invited to express, either officially or semi-officially, the views of the Association. On the contrary, we knew that this was rendered impossible by the Constitution of the Association itself; and we perfectly understood that this particular subject had been assigned to us simply because we were known to have a special interest in it. That the Association included among its members many who embraced the method and philosophy of Transcendentalism, was a fact equally well understood; and it would be to us a source of profound and inconsolable regret, if they imagined that, because we frankly criticised this method and philosophy, we therefore desired them to retire from the Association's fellowship. Nothing could have been farther from our wish than a result so melancholy and disappointing. Our object was merely to point out that the "absolute freedom of thought and expression," to which we are all alike and with equal heartiness pledged by our common Constitution, involves the universal and intelligent adoption of that scientific method which alone, as we conceive it, bestows or permits such freedom,—to initiate a candid and wide-spread discussion of this fundamental point, to the end that the cause of truth might be promoted and the power of the Association for good proportionally enhanced. Our desire and purpose were to point out what noble and magnificent principles were laid down in the Constitution, and to secure a fuller comprehension of them in their largest relations among the members of the Association; and we did not dream that anybody would take the trouble to twist this manifest intent into a wish to drive him away. Whether we are or are not correct in supposing that an unsuspected dogmatism lurks in the Transcendental method, and in supposing that the genuine interests of religious truth require the sacrifice of this dogmatic residuum and a general advance of liberalism to the unrestricted liberty of science and the scientific method, we are confident that every unprejudiced Transcendentalist in the Association will take for granted the kindness and unfeigned fraternity of our motives, waste no time in irrelevant discussion of them, and concentrate his attention and thought on the real question at issue: namely, Does the method of Transcendentalism really conflict with the method of Science, or really refuse the intellectual freedom which the latter requires? That is a question of paramount importance; and it is the only question which will occupy the minds of those who are aware of the existing state of religious thought.

It is with the greatest pleasure, therefore, that we publish this week the powerful defence of Transcendentalism by Mr. Charles D. B. Mills. This gentleman, one of the best of thinkers and the best of men, commands the esteem of a wide circle of liberals by his writings and lectures, and is everywhere more highly esteemed in proportion as he is better known. The paper with which he favors us this week is worthy of great admiration by its ability and by the beautiful tone and spirit which pervade it. Mr. Mills writes without a particle of resentment for the criticisms to which he replies; it does not seem to have occurred to him that we were guilty of a nefarious plot to "read him out of the Free Religious movement"; his whole attention is absorbed in the consideration of the main question. There is something delightful in this absence of all pettiness of mind, and we receive his counter-criticisms with sincere gratitude for his frank, searching, and yet most courteous examination of the thoughts we advanced. He furnishes another noble demonstration that a trenchant discussion of differences in the pure love of truth cements, and does not weaken, the ties of "fellowship in the spirit."

For the sake of convenient reference, we have numbered the paragraphs of Mr. Mills' article, and shall touch upon them in their order.

1. Mr. Mills writes: "Transcendentalism you regard as one of the old forms of dogmatism, to be dismissed by Free Religion and relegated to essentially the same domain as Romanism, Lutheran Protestantism, etc. This in consequence of the fact that Transcendentalism affirms the authority of Intuition,—the truths it reads, or supposes itself to read, in the inner consciousness of the soul."

Perhaps we ought to have explained more at length in our lecture why it is that we consider Transcendentalism as retaining in its method a certain real but hitherto unrecognized dogmatism. Our excuse for not doing so must be the evident necessity of omitting much, when we were obliged to overrun our limit of time as it was. But the essence of the dogmatism which we find in Transcendentalism lies in its refusal to allow the *scientific intellect*, or what it calls the "understanding," to submit the alleged deliverances of Intuition, or what it calls the "higher reason," to the ordinary tests of science. Nothing is more noticeable in the writings of most Transcendentalists than a politely expressed or implied contempt for the "understanding," as a means of attaining the highest religious truth,—an assertion of the exclusive jurisdiction, in such matters, of the intuitional or "higher reason." It is held by them that "logic" has no proper place or claim in the discussion,—that argument, inference, hypothesis, conclusion, positive or negative demonstration, etc., belong only to a lower range of problems, and must be confined strictly to that lower range. Scientific verification is unanimously banished as inapplicable to "Transcendental truths," and applicable only in the region of subordinate inquiries. Here is the real point of collision between the two methods of Transcendentalism and of Science.

With his usual admirable precision, Mr. Potter stated the issue in last week's INDEX as follows: "The only question is, Does the Intuitionist attempt to impose his intuition upon others as his 'say-so,' or is he willing to submit it to the test of scientific verification?" If the Intuitionist is indeed willing to submit his "intuition" to the "test of scientific verification," he is not an Intuitionist or a Transcendentalist in the sense in which alone we have used the words; but if he is not willing to submit it to this test, then he makes the refusal of complete intellectual liberty which necessitates the protest of Free Religion against Transcendentalism. We do not indeed see how any thorough Transcendentalist can ever accept the "test of scientific verification" without explicitly surrendering and denying the final authority of private "intuition"; he would thereby accept, as the final appeal, the test of logic, the test of the scientific intellect or "understanding," and subordinate to this test the "higher reason" whose final authority he has always hitherto affirmed. The peculiar position of Transcendentalism has always been that the special truths of God, Immortality, and Duty are absolutely certain *independently of all scientific verification*,—that the scientific intellect or "understanding" is utterly incompetent either to verify or disprove them,—and that the simple asseveration or affirmation of the "higher reason" is itself, regardless of all scientific verification, the sole and sufficient ground of their absolute certainty. This attitude is a practical imposition of the Transcendentalist's "intuition" on all other thinkers, not on penalty of being burned at the stake, of course, yet nevertheless on penalty of being set down as spiritually "crippled" or "one-legged." We see in this attitude a refusal to concede the equal mental rights of non-Transcendentalists, a denial of spiritual equality to those who disclaim the possession of intuitional certitude touching God, Immortality, and Duty, and therefore a restriction of spiritual liberty against which Free Religion must protest. The freedom of Science is the freedom of the scientific intellect to question and test all things whatsoever; but Transcendentalism denies the right of the scientific intellect to question or test the deliverances of its "intuition." Have we not here a dogmatic limitation of the liberty of thought which must be done away with?

2. "What is Transcendentalism," asks Mr. Mills, "in its essential position? It is, as I understand it, that the spiritual, the realm of substance, the invisible, the idea of the infinite, is revealed immediately in the soul, or is present primarily there in the thought; that it cannot be imparted or communicated from without, since it transcends all the outer; that it is its own authentication, and that the final appeal must always be laid to that standard within."

Undoubtedly Mr. Mills here describes with perfect accuracy the chief characteristic of Transcendentalism, which teaches that the intuition of Infinite Spirit is a purely subjective and self-authenticated revelation of God in the soul,—not a truth learned by experience or derived in any way from the outer universe, but an inward self-revelation of God to man in the depths of his own spiritual consciousness. That profoundly religious natures pass through internal experiences which they interpret to themselves in this manner, is a simple matter of record; but the question remains whether the educated intelligence of the race will set the seal of its approval on such a philosophy. We think it cannot. Is it not evident that Transcendentalism itself, in this very procedure, *takes for granted the objective existence of Infinite Spirit?* For the question must be asked—it *is* asked: "How can Infinite Spirit be contained in a finite consciousness?" If it is not so contained, yet is in truth intuitionally known, then it is an objective and encompassing reality, the knowledge of whose existence is "imparted or communicated *from without*"; but if it is so contained, it cannot be infinite at all. If it is infinite, it must necessarily be objective to a finite consciousness, which cannot contain the infinite; but if it is indeed merely subjective to a finite consciousness, then it cannot be infinite at all. According to our best reasoning, Transcendentalism thus loses its Infinite Spirit altogether in the attempt to make it a subjective fact alone; it can only vindicate the existence of Infinite Spirit by conceding it to be an objective fact, *and treating it accordingly*. In other words, Transcendentalism is sowing the seeds of inevitable atheism by its rejection of the scientific method; it can only vindicate theism by adopting this method frankly and fearlessly.

There is no utility, therefore, because no truth, in the attempt to make the knowledge of God an *à priori* datum of consciousness, a part of the original outfit of the soul, an element of its very constitution. Granting this claim, it defeats its own object; for such a knowledge would be hopelessly subjective, could never make the transition to the objective, and would resolve God into a mere thought or dream, devoid of all reality external to the mind of the dreamer. If the existence of God is worthy to be called a fact, as distinguished from a mere dream or hallucination, it must be an *objective truth of the universe*, not a *subjective truth of the soul*. As such, it is a truth which must be tested and verified, like all other objective truths, by the scientific method; it must be found to have its indestructible basis in human experience,—in the contact of the inner with the outer. The method of Transcendentalism, relying on intuition as an interior phenomenon of the consciousness which has no relation to "the outer," is hopelessly subjective; it can make no headway whatever against the scientific materialism of to-day, but drifts helplessly to atheism. The method of science, however, is thoroughly objective, treating even subjective phenomena in an objective manner, and will, in our own opinion, lead the crude materialism of hyperphysical speculation up to the sober, broad, inclusive philosophy of scientific theism. The scientific method in religion will turn men from burrowing in the darkness and obscurity of their own interior consciousness, and set them to studying the deep and vast relations, the luminous unities, of the universe as a whole. Science declares that no specific knowledge originates absolutely in the consciousness of man, but that all knowledge is the product of the constant action and reaction between the environment and the soul. Transcendentalism, with its purely subjective method of intuition, is powerless to defend even its own most dearly prized ideas; Science, with a method which combines subjectivity and objectivity in constant relations, gives the only hope we see of saving them from extinction.

3. But Mr. Mills holds that Science herself can only become such by arriving at "something which as a foundation is final, some absolute upon which may be planted as upon firm ground the conviction." He says: "The protest of Free Religion, you declare, 'affirmed the great fact of religion.' How should it be entitled to affirm anything except by authority of those great fundamental truths that dwell in the soul," etc.

In reply to this we should say that Free Religion

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affirms religion simply as a great *verifiable fact of experience*, not as an abstract or "absolute" truth at all. Religion, as an historical and still existent phenomenon, rests for its authentication on precisely the same basis as any other fact which science deals with; namely, on observation. It is an objective fact which forces itself upon the observer's mind in the history of every nation, as a fountain of innumerable institutions, laws, customs, of language, literature, arts, religions,—in the lives of countless dead and living individuals, as a fountain of character, words, actions, careers. Science studies all such things objectively, and seeks their cause; it accepts religion as a fact on the testimony of the observing faculties, not on the warrant of Transcendental assumptions or subjective theories of any kind; it compares the results of this examination with the results of investigations into the physical constitution of things, and cannot in the end avoid conforming its general philosophy of Nature as a whole to the totality of the facts. There is no need of assuming any "fundamental truths of the soul" which have a purely subjective or *à priori* origin; Science accepts thought and the laws of thought as ultimate verifiable facts, and studies them objectively in their actual manifestations. The outcome of her processes, beginning with the investigation of all known and verified facts in their mutual relationship, and proceeding to an ultimate theory of things which shall harmonize them all in a vast, comprehensive philosophy of the universe as a whole, will be to establish a new unity of belief on the ground of discovered truth, instead of perpetuating the present discord of opinions on the ground of irreconcilable and arbitrary assumptions.

4. The "idea of God," as the religious history of the race conclusively proves, has been very slowly built up by a process of constant change and modification; it is the result of thought, more or less directed by knowledge of the universe; it has grown up within the consciousness under the constant modifying influence of the environment, and is essentially an attempt of the intellect to conceive self and the environment in an all-embracing unity. If the "idea of God" were indeed the *revelation in consciousness of* an unchangeable fact of the universe, given outright as a revealed whole, it ought to be identical in all consciousnesses; whereas it differs in different minds precisely in the ratio of their culture and development. It is really a product of thought, not an original *datum* of consciousness; and it can only be verified at last by being shown to be the only rational explanation of the *infinite unity in infinite diversity* which is the highest possible generalization of science. Consciousness can testify only to its own subjective modifications, in connection with their causes; it cannot be constituted into a "standard" for anything else. If it be held that God belongs only to the "world within," and not equally to the "world without," we see not how to regard him otherwise than as a subjective dream baseless in reality. Again science seems to us to be the only possible rescuer of the idea of God from the fatal unreality into which Transcendentalism plunges it.

5. In the term "outer universe," it is true, as Mr. Mills supposes, that we include the "realm of the spiritual"—that is, so far as the spiritual is not *self*. He himself is to us part of the outer universe; we know nothing of his spiritual consciousness except as it is made known to us by its manifestations through *media* external to our own selfhood. But he is known to us objectively, not subjectively; we do not claim him as "a fact given in our own consciousness." Hence we are puzzled to understand how our recognition of the spiritual as part of the outer universe involves us in any admission of the Transcendental intuition. Our "intuition" of Mr. Mills is subject to the test of scientific verification—and very possibly to considerable correction! But the Transcendental intuition, if we understand it, is not subject to such verification. How does the "old witness come back"? We are in the dark here.

6. The point of "advantage in the final appeal" which the advocate of the scientific method has over the advocate of the Transcendental method lies in the substitution of *objective scientific verification* for *subjective interrogation of consciousness*. When questioned how he knows, he appeals to this test of facts. The Transcendentalist says, with Mr. Mills, that "the correction of all error is to be applied in this world within"; but the scientific investigator makes the correction of error in the world without. Of course, the processes of reasoning on ascertained facts are mental, and so far "within"; but the results of reasoning must again be verified objectively, and the appeal thus again lies to the world without. Is there no "advantage" in this possibility of making Nature herself bear testimony in the case?

7. That certain truths, such as "the authority of the ideal," are only known in and through the spiritual consciousness of man, we are the very last to deny; we bow reverently before the sanctity of the moral ideal, and will join Mr. Mills in making its authority good against all comers. But this is a very different thing from affirming the finality of the Transcendental intuition in solving the problems of God and Immortality. "Does God exist?" "Does man live after death?" These are questions not answerable to the world's satisfaction by any appeal to the Transcendental intuition. They are great questions of fact, not to be disposed of by any man's unsubstantiated assertion, or by any philosophy of religion which denies the necessity of scientific verification. In what sense we believe in "intuition," any one may easily discover by referring to our lecture on "Darwin's Theory of Conscience; its Relation to Scientific Ethics," published in THE INDEX of March 12, 1874. But this sense of the word has no analogy to the Transcendental use of it, as a final appeal in religious problems. All such problems, we believe, will remain unsettled until Science settles them by her own well-established method; and while, by employing this method to the best of our ability, we have attained provisional solutions of some of them to our own satisfaction, we hold them subject to correction or even reversal by the progress of science.

In conclusion, we cannot resist the temptation to thank Mr. Mills once more for his noble letter, which we admire none the less because we do not entirely agree with its positions. It is a model of fair, generous, high-minded, thoughtful criticism, and will command the delighted attention of all who are competent to appreciate its rare merits. We trust that Mr. Mills will not hesitate to maintain further his own side of this great argument, and to expose any errors into which we may have inadvertently fallen in our comments on what he has already written.

CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE.

The standard objection to rationalism from the Orthodox side is that it is merely destructive; that it pulls down but never builds. We have till lately regarded this criticism as one of the thoughtless matter-of-course cavils that are repeated and passed along without reflection or consideration. Its falsity as a statement, and its absurdity as a criticism were irreconcilable with the supposition of intelligence in the speakers and writers that ventilated the sentiment. But its incessant repetition in the face of correction, and by writers of unquestioned honesty and soberness—like the literary reviewers of the New York *Herald*, for instance, one of whom is understood to be the Rev. George Hepworth,—compels us to think that we have been unjust to the adversaries of rationalism, in failing to give them credit for the idea that burned in their minds. The stupidity, we begin to suspect, is ours, not theirs. We were misled by the vulgar prejudice in favor of building on unoccupied ground,—a prejudice so universal and so respectable that its baselessness was concealed from view. Seeing that it was, always has been, and still is the custom with architects who propose erecting structures on given sites, to remove the structures already there, and to lay new foundations, with stronger masonry perhaps, it had not occurred to us that any other method was practicable. We were staggered, too, by the apparent awkwardness of a style of building that superimposed one edifice on the top of another. Whatever facilities might be furnished by ladders and elevators, the practical difficulties to be overcome in making such altitudinous structures convenient seemed very formidable to unprofessional eyes; and whatever privileges of light and air the upper residents might enjoy, must, we surmised, be quite counterbalanced by the fatigues of the ascent, and by the uneasy apprehension that the underpinning might give way. Of course this style of building could not be carried out indefinitely, though in the case of castles in the air, as theological structures are, from the nature of things, the limitations need not be strict.

"On wings of faith our souls can fly."

A closer meditation on this problem satisfies us that our ingenious surmises may be dispensed with. The Christian critics of rationalism are serious. They but recommend the adoption of the architectural principles on which Christendom has worked for fifteen hundred years and more. We remember that Christendom has been very careful *not* to remove the buildings that covered the spots it wished to occupy. *It has never pulled down or pulled up.* So sacred has been its respect for preëxisting edifices, that it has allowed them to stand in disregard of the Apostle's injunction implied in the words: "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid,—namely, Christ Jesus." Disregarding this earnest, emphatic, solemn warning, the Christian edifiers have taken such foundations as existed, and proceeded to erect their cathedrals, shrines, religious houses, altars, rites, systems of worship and dogma without giving themselves the trouble to move a stone. No matter who the original builder may have been—Buddha, Zoroaster, Moses, Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Hegel,—so long as the excavations were deep enough, and the masonry tolerably good, the superstructure ascended. The churches rose on the basis of fanes of unknown antiquity. The altars rest on piles of rock that were begun by pagan hands before Moses was heard of. Priests of Baal and Astarte have their share in the decorations and symbols. Even the vestments and utensils were fashioned after venerable patterns which refer back to designers that were forgotten when the Israelites came out of Egypt.

Nay, we must not wrong Christendom by suggesting that it has builded new structures on the foundations of the old. It is not enough to say that nothing has been *pulled down*; the policy has been, when a visible edifice remained, to adopt it, with a few slight alterations; and when no visible structure remained, it was as nearly as possible reproduced. It was *called by another name*, but its form was unchanged. Thus Christianity practised an economy which it would fain see imitated by others. It is grieved at the extravagance of the radicals who are so reckless of good material. It would rejoice to have them remain as *it* did, in the venerable homestead, add a story perhaps, or an L, if they found it necessary,—but better still, crowd in with the rest, retain the family name, and make no account of nominal distinctions which centuries of custom have enabled it so quietly to pass by. The advice is generous, even magnanimous in spirit, but it is doubtful if the radicals will accept it. There is, in their opinion, a limit to the serviceableness of foundations. After a few thousand of years, mortar will crumble, and even stone disintegrate. There is rot and mildew and foul odor. Besides, there is a convenience in distinctions. The confusion of names leads to confusion of ideas and things. The perpetual transformation of buildings, from basilicas to cathedrals, from cathedrals to meeting-houses, from meeting-houses to theatres, is not favorable to accurate recollection or clear associations. The rites and dogmas lose, after a time, all intelligible meaning, and stand for whatever fancy suggests,—be it one notion or or another, or no notion of any kind. The period arrives at length when it becomes expedient to clear the ground, and make a new beginning.

Therefore, with all respect for the Christian principle, and with due gratitude for the counsel—somewhat ferociously given,—to follow in the old paths, the radical must adhere to his judgment in favor of pulling down before he builds, that he may not be under the necessity of pulling down afterwards.

O. B. F.

DR. BARTOL'S LETTER.

The following letter from Rev. Dr. Bartol, referring to the Providence Convention of October, 1874, will receive the close attention of all our readers who are interested in the Free Religious Association:—

BOSTON, April 12, 1877.

MR. EDITOR:—

You are quite correct in saying that *free speech* was vindicated by several voices; as I have been told, after I withdrew, by those of yourself, Mr. Potter, and Mr. Frothingham with much noble and generous emphasis, on the occasion to which, in your last issue, you refer. I have long since, in my own desk, in commenting on the subject, gladly declared this fact with explicit correctness as great as your own. But, as you feel aggrieved, I am sorry I did not explain the matter more largely also in my *Anniversary Discourse*. I could, however, scarce more than allude to many things in my crowded space, and I meant to do the same justice to this subject as to any other, having no reason or disposition to misstate the unquestionable fact of official rebuke to me on the platform. If I did not mention the replies, which came of course, as all might understand they would, I understated greatly the severity of that rebuke. Nor was I informed that the answers aforesaid were in terms as *official* as the assault; only so far as this,—that they questioned and denied the assailant's right to speak for the Association himself. Certainly no communication to me on the subject was more than a purely private and friendly, although warm, expression of regret. The historic truth remains, that free discussion has been brought less

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into doubt, for example, in the *West Church* and the *Essex Conference* than in the *Free Religious Association*. You honestly and reverently and grandly have maintained its principle in THE INDEX. Yet has that brave sheet any advantage, in the temper of its blade, over the steel of the *Christian Register* or of the New York *Inquirer*? But your truthfulness I honor nevertheless. As I had left the meeting in Providence for an appointment of duty in Boston, my friend, Rowland Connor, who remained, will verify for me, if necessary, my account of what was said in the former place. C. A. BARTOL.

Since Dr. Bartol in his present letter does not withdraw his charge against the Free Religious Association *as such*, it is necessary, for the sake of simple justice, to remind our readers more particularly of the facts.

A five-column report of the Providence Convention, written by Mr. S. H. Morse (editor of the now discontinued *Radical*, which is so gratefully remembered by all who knew it and its merits), was published in THE INDEX of November 5, 1874. After a condensed report of Dr. Bartol's essay and Col. Higginson's rebuke of it, Mr. Morse wrote:—

"At the conclusion of Col. Higginson's remarks, the President stated that it was generally understood that no one speaking on the Free Religious platform spoke otherwise than for himself.

"Mr. Potter made the further statement that Col. Higginson, in the excitement of the occasion, had overstepped the line of his privilege. The Association had invited Dr. Bartol to speak, and it expected him to express his own views upon the subject he had chosen, and to stand for them. The Association did neither indorse nor repudiate them, and neither Col. Higginson nor any other member of the Association could undertake, in behalf of the Association, to indorse or repudiate them. He might speak for himself, but not as one having authority. This announcement was received with hearty and long-continued applause, and the rebuke was generally felt to be well merited."

In the next issue of THE INDEX (November 12, 1874), Mr. Morse, in consequence of a note from Col. Higginson, published a note of his own in further explanation of these proceedings. The first part of it, which alone need be quoted in this connection, was as follows:—

"My attention is called to the 'one-sidedness' of a portion of my report of the Free Religious Association Convention at Providence. I am told that I therein did injustice to one party by making it appear that the only demonstration given by the audience was of sympathy with Mr. Potter in his criticism of Col. Higginson, ignoring completely the strong applause which often greeted the remarks of Col. Higginson. It did not occur to me that I was wrongly reporting the matter. The unmentioned applause, which at times was generous, came in, not at the point where Col. Higginson so emphatically repudiated Dr. Bartol *in behalf of the Association*, but when he expressed strongly his disapprobation of Dr. Bartol's seeming haste in judging Mr. Beecher, when the latter was so soon to have his character appraised by a legal tribunal. In omitting to mention this, I simply put it aside as I did many things said by Col. Higginson and others which received applause. Comparatively, it was of little consequence. But the fact that an officer of the Free Religious Association should assume to speak in its behalf, and so speaking to repudiate the opinions of Dr. Bartol, or of any one else, was so shocking to my sense of propriety, considering all the professions of that Association, that I deemed it proper to note that point in particular. And it seemed to me that Col. Higginson stood there, certainly after Mr. Potter's remarks, in *a minority of one*. My report, hastily prepared, was undoubtedly faulty, and needed just this statement to explain it.

"Though not a member of the Free Religious Association, I was particularly pleased, let me say, that it should in this instance disprove some of my early predictions," *etc., etc.*

Considering that, as the facts above recounted clearly show, Col. Higginson's assumption of official authority to rebuke Dr. Bartol in behalf of the Association was promptly denied on the spot by the Association itself, as represented by the President and Secretary, and that in consequence his would-be official rebuke was at once reduced to the mere utterance of an individual who represented himself alone,—considering also that, in making this assumption, he stood, as Mr. Morse explicitly declares, "in a minority of one,"—the following paragraph, published among our editorial "Glimpses" in THE INDEX of January 18, 1876, will be readily understood:—

"The Boston *Globe* says that on the Sunday after Christmas Dr. Bartol 'gave an instance of his personal experience with the Free Religionists, showing that sometimes they are intolerant of freedom of thought, their conduct herein comparing unfavorably with the courtesy and candor of the Unitarian Conference of Essex, the members of which listened to the same sentiments without objection.' We are constrained to believe that the reporter is responsible for a gross and grave misrepresentation of Dr. Bartol's language; it is incredible to us that he should ever have said anything so unjust and untrue as that."

We waited in vain for a note from Dr. Bartol, disclaiming this charge against "the Free Religionists," and confining it to the only one of their number against whom he could justly bring it. But, meeting him on the street two or three weeks later, and inquiring in a friendly way whether he had not been grossly misreported, we certainly understood him to affirm this emphatically; and therefore, inferring that so groundless an imputation against the innocent would never be made again, we dropped the subject.

Our surprise, therefore, may be imagined, when Dr. Bartol substantially reiterated this very imputation in the discourse he so recently preached at West Church on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of his settlement, March 4, 1877. As reported *verbatim* in the Boston *Journal* of March 5, he said:—

"My mouth has never been shut here. What I could not speak unrebuked on a Free Religious platform, you patiently heard."

But this causeless arraignment of "the Free Religious platform" was further intensified as follows in the pamphlet edition of the Discourse, presumably corrected by Dr. Bartol himself on mature deliberation:—

"What I could not speak without rebuke and official scoring on a Free Religious platform, you patiently heard."

These have been the facts of the case. We must now make a few brief comments on the above letter.

1. At the Providence Convention, we said nothing personally about Col. Higginson's remarks. Mr. Potter's short speech was so manly, full, and explicit, and so completely covered the ground, that we were very glad not to feel called upon to say anything in public at the time.

2. Just as often as Dr. Bartol feels obliged to refer at all to the rebuke administered to him at Providence, just so often ought he to represent it explicitly as the act of an individual alone, and to exonerate the Free Religious Association and its "platform" from all responsibility for it. If he has not time to tell the whole truth, ought he to have time to tell the half-truth which is virtually *slander by suppression*?

3. The "unquestionable fact" is that this "official rebuke" was absolutely deprived of all "official" character by the prompt disclaimer of the President and Secretary, and their declaration at the time that no officer of the Association possesses the slightest authority under its Constitution to administer any "official rebuke" whatever.

4. Full information that the vindication of his right to speak on that platform unrebuked was exactly as "official" as was the rebuke itself, if not communicated to him by letter, was communicated in the public report of the Convention in THE INDEX. Unless our memory is utterly at fault, Mr. Potter wrote immediately on the subject to Dr. Bartol, to the special gratification of the latter.

5. No subsequent communication on the subject could possibly have been other than "private," since to have represented it as "official" would have been to commit the same violation of the Constitution of the Association as that committed by Col. Higginson himself. The only possible "official" vindication of Dr. Bartol's rights on that platform was made publicly on the spot, and it consisted simply in the statement by the principal officers of the Association that *nobody* is authorized to administer rebukes in its behalf or in its name,—*i.e.*, that Col. Higginson's "official rebuke" was null and void. If Dr. Bartol was unable to remain and witness this vindication, that was his own misfortune; but his voluntary retirement certainly does not entitle him to treat it as if it had not been made.

6. The "historic truth remains" that never and nowhere were the rights of "free discussion" more splendidly vindicated, or more conspicuously freed from just and honorable "doubts," than on the Association's platform by its own officers on this otherwise unfortunate occasion. In "West Church," free discussion may indeed never have been brought into doubt, since there is no "discussion" there at all, free or otherwise; the pastor alone has the floor, and anybody who should undertake to "discuss" his discourses there would probably be ejected summarily from the building as a disturber of public worship.

7. We have made no comparison of THE INDEX with any other journal, and none is necessary. The question is not about THE INDEX at all.

It is with extreme regret that we find ourself unable as yet to thank Dr. Bartol for a frank and explicit retraction of his unjust charge against the Free Religious Association, brought simply on account of the unauthorized and irresponsible act of an individual member. The reputation and moral influence of the Association, as a body honest in its professions and faithful to its own principles, are altogether too precious not to be defended; and that is the reason why we have felt it a duty, however painful, to defend them. Personally we have no feelings towards Dr. Bartol which are not the kindest and most friendly; he has never injured us in any way, but always treated us with perfect kindness, and we feel "aggrieved" in this matter in no other sense than that we consider him to have wronged both the Association and himself by his persistent accusations. These must be—it is impossible to doubt it—the effect of a serious misapprehension of the facts; and, now that the facts are set forth plainly, we believe that his own honorable instincts will prompt him to make the fullest reparation for unintended injustice. He himself will be the last man on earth to resent or blame our blunt truth-telling, when he remembers those manly words of his own in his fortieth anniversary Discourse:—

"I received from New York, in return for public words, vague, vindictive, anonymous insinuations, to which I made no answer at the time. My only reply now is to adjure any man, woman, or child, in the body or out, whom I ever in any way have wronged or hurt, by their voice or letter, by telegraph or telephone, through any medium from earth, or heaven, or hell, to speak."

Accepting this brave challenge, we say that we have never known Cyrus A. Bartol, if he hesitates now to undo fully, by an unequivocal retraction of his charge, the wrong he has done to the Free Religious Association.

Communications.

SOME ANSWERS TO MR. WASSON.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y., March 30, 1877.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I have read with the deepest interest a letter from Mr. D. A. Wasson in THE INDEX of March 29, and your reply thereto.

As an humble member of the vast obscure majority, the plebeian shoals presumably chained to the car of ignorance by the always-begun, never-ended task of earning their own living, and in addition supporting the non-productive classes in comparative luxury, I would like to attempt to answer two questions which Mr. Wasson puts. He inquires, in effect, whether there is any evidence that the educated desire to injure the ignorant, and whether the true interests of the ignorant (the many) are ever known to have been counteracted by the educated (the few). To these queries, which in substance are one, I am compelled to oppose a qualified but decided affirmative. The notion that intelligence gives the right to rule, or that the educated few understand better the needs, interests, and policy of the unilluminated many than the latter do themselves, is not to be entertained without due counterpoise. The evident aversion which Mr. Wasson, in common with all true men, feels for anything like oppression should lead him and all true men to be very wary in justifying class rule, even the most undeniable aristocracy or rule by the best. The world does not yet seem to be ruled by its supreme intelligences or angelic virtues. Between the two extremes—the few best minds of the country, and on the other hand the many men and women yet rooted in sub-developed simplicity—lies the middle zone of practical political power, the sphere of mediocrity, of mind trained to efficient activity but by no means divested by ethical sublimation of its original selfish animal instincts. The first impulse of the neophyte admitted to the shrine of science or thought is to avail himself of the secrets he learns there to subdue his less favored brethren to his personal use or abuse; but no one can be said to have received the Holy Ghost of culture till his thought has become, not how to use his personal superiority against the many, but for them. To this stage it is evident the ruling classes of this country—who are educated persons compared with the bulk of manual laborers—have not yet arrived. Knowledge is power; and the presumption of the wiser to lead the more foolish (even if devoid of conscious malevolence or predatory intent) is always possible to result merely in a more refined and hypocritical working of the wild beast ethics of Right measured solely by Might.

Culture carried to its legitimate goal ends in some sort where it began; there are in every civilized community a few minds who have "swung around the circle" and arrived at the humanitarianism which is latent in the formless *bonhommie* of the masses. I feel quite certain that Mr. Wasson (for example) does not regard the ignorant toiling millions as a mine of natural resources from which his superior intellectual armament may exploit a righteous advantage. But the large majority of educated or semi-educated people, professional men, priests, politicians, soldiers, and traders, *do* in practice make tolerably full use of all the preponderance which their (often not very towering) learning, skill, or drilled craftiness give them over the shapeless, unlicked multitude. The *people*, those whose lot is labor and a pinched subsistence, are vaguely yet profoundly aware of this fact; their instincts rightly lead them to distrust the soft-handed man: nevertheless, 'tis a most credulous monster, perpetually swallowing, to its harm, some promising hoax; 'tis an irascible monster, and a little rubbing of its ears sets it beside itself and makes its members fight each other to the profit and delectation of those who lose them on; 'tis a suffering monster, and gladly lends

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an ear to many a tale of Utopia. And after all, 'tis not such a monster at all as those who view it from afar do conceit; its genial depths hold the heart-warmth and the new blood, lacking which a world of pundits, martinets, literary and artistic upholsterers, political and commercial pirates, would speedily lapse to blessed extinction. To drop metaphor, the people are some of them adult, and know, or feel, their own interests. There are a number of points upon which they are irreconcilably antagonistic to the ruling *quasi*-educated class. The people desire freedom, the right to enjoy undisturbed the fruits of their labor,—no more, no less; the ruling classes assume (alas, with too much reason!) their incompetency for self-government, and saddle them with a killing burden of governmental and other machinery, beneficent mainly to the engineers thereof. The wage-serf is none too fully emancipated even with the right of suffrage; the ballot is yet too much a farce masking a tragedy; call it yet little more than a symbolism, the mere brandishing of the wand that is slowly to awaken the drowsy genie of manhood and intelligence. To be precise, the people, the real people, the nameless myriad toilers who have no speech but that inarticulate, easy-misinterpreted voice, the ballot (and the larger share of them not even that), are in square opposition to the general opinion of the governing, non-productive classes, who, in effect, repudiate and deride Mr. Wasson as decidedly as they do the struggling renter or forty-acre man in Texas or Nebraska, the factory-hand of the Northeast, the toil-coarsened, bony farm-laborer of anywhere),—the ignorant people, I say, are at war with the classes educated up just to the height of rule and plunder, on the following and other points:—

Shall we, the creators of life and the means of its support, forever carry so heavy a burden of over-government as is indicated by the fact that every dollar of currency in the country is required to pay the annual taxes of all sorts? Shall the government which exists mainly for the protection and furtherance of property interests be maintained, not by property (direct taxation), but by labor and want (indirect taxation)? Shall the most valuable property (churches, government-bonds, and money for instance) be exempt from taxation? Shall the State longer demoralize commerce and generate a breed of people-hating, people-despising harpies, by continuing a system which robs even the humblest household in the land to enrich manufacturing and freighting money-kings? Such is the net result of the so-called Protective Tariff. Shall the labor, the life-blood of the unborn peasant—for to this has it come, that the American laborer deserves this name,—be mortgaged in advance by that devil's *chef d'œuvre*, a national debt? Shall or should the government connive at the wholesale theft of the only public property of any value,—the public lands? Shall the public finances, the governmental control of the currency, be manipulated in the interest of the labor-buyers and be made in effect a sieve with which to strain out of the life of the man with the two hands everything but a bare subsistence? Shall competitive trade, that system which erects a wall between the producer and the consumer, and slaughters both through their mutual need of communication, last forever?

Now I assert that the ignorant, the men and women who have little time or nerve-force left from daily drudgery for books or thought, differ very radically, and must and ought to eternally differ, from the non-laboring, unproductive people (whose striving is much less toward the creation of value than toward the acquisition of value ready-made) concerning the intrinsicalities adumbrated in these queries. If the many could pull together, if they could rise above local, sectarian, and race jealousies and divisions, we should see a social and governmental reorganization which would be mostly abolition. But the people are dumb; when they find their voice, they will also find their united will and the day of skilled plunderers will be past. The largest part of the busy-ness gone through with by professional, trading, and government people is something that the people do not want done at all, and the rest they want done a great deal more cheaply.

It is said that supply and demand regulate all this. Very true; I am only trying to show the direction that the popular demands are taking, and the fact that they find their chief resistance from a comparatively better educated class, who do not work with their hands, and who do not know or realize how much hard work it takes to actually create a dollar of value. The question of money, or the mere material support of life, is one which the possessor of a competency or fortune thinks little about; but to the people this is the question never satisfactorily answered. On the whole, we must put up for some time with a marked difference of opinion between the ignorant people and their pseudo-educated task-masters. Between the theory that the existing socialism is all right, and the equally reasonable theory that it is all wrong, there is room for many shades of opinion, and the room is all filled. The people incline to the latter view, for they see that in practice it is *not* those who undergo the larger share of the toil and hardship necessary to keep the world a-going who enjoy the larger share of the comforts, leisure, and luxury that labor purchases. If there were to be any righteous and reasonable suffrage qualification, it would be *capacity and willingness to perform useful labor to at least that amount necessary to self-support*. But I would see no tests; he or she who is fit to live is fit to vote. Let all vote who wish to, irrespective of age, sex, or color; perhaps the ballot-box is something of a humbug as yet, but it will not always be so; or it will be supplanted by something better effecting the desired end. Woe unto those who would drive back from the banquet of life the humblest human being! G. E. TUFTS.

"A POLITICAL EXPLANATION."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—You have stated your hope that the communication of "A.," in THE INDEX of March 15, under the above title, may not be the beginning of a controversy. Yet, while I consider your wish very commendable, I am not willing to accept that statement of the case as a reasonable position for the defeated party to take, and ask the privilege of making this brief reply. As your columns have often been used by the supporters of Mr. Tilden, and rarely, if ever, by the other party, while probably about three-fourths of your readers are Republicans, my request may not be unreasonable. Let both sides be heard.

As the Louisiana Returning Board was the only body established for the purpose and claiming to be the lawful Board, and as the actual members thereof were admitted to have been duly chosen, the seven propositions stated by "A." are wholly irrelevant to any question that could properly arise before the Electoral Commission.

The choice of electors is by the Constitution placed within the exclusive jurisdiction of the State, except as to the one limitation hereinafter mentioned, and cannot be controlled by the national government. The nation has never undertaken to enforce the laws of the States, and has no power to do so. The Electoral Commission representing the national government could not exercise powers not given to that government or any department thereof. It could not therefore investigate anything belonging to the jurisdiction of the State, even if the matter—as that of the original returns in this case—could practically be searched into by one tribunal. That such investigation was clearly beyond the authority of the Commission in law, and clearly beyond the limit of its time and attention in fact, are to my mind rather "cogent reasons" why it was not undertaken.

The tribunal received evidence touching the eligibility of an elector in Florida because the alleged objection arose under the national Constitution, and it would have done the same in any other case.

The Commission went to the Returning Board in all cases, and rejected the Governor's certificate only when it was in conflict with the return, but did not go behind the Returning Board unless the question was of a national character as above stated.

I think it is quite apparent to any one who has examined the practice of the Commission, that it followed a few certain principles of law throughout, and these covered all the questions submitted to it; and that it did not make "a special rule for each case."

If the Tilden party are dissatisfied with the work of the Commission, they should not complain, for it was their own child and was intended to do their party work. A man who chooses his own tribunal ought not afterwards to impeach the judgment.

If the Democratic officials of Oregon made a mistake in not fraudulently manipulating the original returns, as "A." suggests, he may lay the soothing unction to his soul that the Democratic party has not often been guilty of such mistakes, and that in this case their candidate and his friends did all they could to retrieve it.

Your correspondent says he does not write to open a controversy; if so, why does he stir the subject, and yet give us nothing new, unless it be further to illustrate the *consistency* of leaving the Republican party on account of its corruptions and going over to the party of Pierce and Buchanan and the majority in the last Congress? B.

MR. GANNETT ON MR. MOODY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—I was much impressed with what Mr. Gannett says of Mr. Moody, and was led by it to reconsider my own previously unfavorable views. But the result is to confirm my original opinion. I speak diffidently, never having had an opportunity to hear Mr. Moody; but I think we are justified in regarding him as a part of a system, and the system, I am convinced, is bad.

The question is not as to Mr. Moody's earnestness and sincerity; these we recognize and sympathize with in our opponent. Neither is it to question whether his preaching does good; of course it does good in this case and in that case. Of those who need moral stimulus, no doubt Mr. Moody reaches his share,—although I question very much whether the amount of permanent good done by him is anything commensurate with the force expended, anything to be compared, for instance, with that accomplished by the steady, devoted labor of a parish minister. We have a full right to thank Mr. Moody for the good that he does, and at the same time to believe that he has chosen the wrong method of employing his great powers, and even to arrive at the conclusion that the good is more than balanced by the mischief done by him.

Whatever originality and independence there may be in Mr. Moody's methods, he is nevertheless identified with the revival system, a system which I think demoralizing, both intellectually and morally; and I have never seen any evidence that he departs from it in any material point. Mr. Gannett speaks of appeals to conscience as the most striking feature of his address. Very well,—so far as it goes; but what do these appeals to conscience mean? A sensitive but unrighteous conscience is a frequent source of mischief; what does Mr. Moody do to *educate* the conscience? His interpretations of Scripture are intellectually belittling; his rule of conduct is to follow blindly the precepts that his ignorant exegesis has derived from this infallible authority. "Believe what I tell you, and you will be saved; reject it and you will go to hell"; this seems to be the substance of his exhortation. I do not believe any large and permanent good can come from even the most earnest and eloquent persuasions to virtue, when the standard of virtue is fixed so low as this.

Neither do I believe that any genuine quickening of spiritual life any more than of intellect and morality can result from the spasmodic method of the revivalists. It is essentially materialistic,—materialistic religion is something that is "got"; it consists primarily in dogmas and forms; it is worked up by the most cunningly-devised system of machinery; its fruits are shown in counting the number of church-members. After the Moody and Sankey movement had swept over England, the people of that thrifty nation began to reckon up the results, and found a great expenditure of money and labor with very little to show for it in the way of righteousness. I believe that in a few years the main result of this great revival will be found to be a lower stage of ignorance as to the real meaning of Scripture, greater mechanism in piety, and a more artificial standard of conduct. W. F. ALLEN.

THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS REPORT.

YANKTON, D. T., April 1, 1877.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I received the *Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals*, and have read it with great satisfaction. It is truly a "feast of fat things." I was not a little mortified, however, to see upon its perusal how I had overlooked the great work THE INDEX is doing as an organizer of the scattered forces of liberalism. I humbly beg pardon for having once thought that I could better support the cause through another medium. Please do not stop my paper as I suggested a month ago, for, though your thought may not be as radical as my own, it is evidently far more effective for good. Whatever has been accomplished thus far in the way of organization and effective work is mainly due to THE INDEX; and here I would like to say a word or two through its columns to its readers of like precious faith with myself (namely, *Freedom* and *Fellowship*).

We are in the habit quite generally of keeping a file of THE INDEX, and of regarding the papers as too precious to lend except to those who will return them uninjured.

Now I would respectfully suggest that, instead of hoarding them and thus defrauding our fellow-men of knowledge which so vitally concerns both us and them, we scatter them broadcast; not with our eyes shut, of course, but with judgment and discrimination.

I am satisfied that, if we do this a single year, THE INDEX would double its list of subscribers, and hence proportionally its influence. And do we not owe as much as this to humanity? If we *must* keep a file of them, then take two copies, one to keep and one to bestow upon the hungry; taking care, however, to bestow only just sufficient to sharpen the appetite. I have four complete volumes, and am certain that I prize them very highly; but I am also satisfied that such selfishness is a poor way to increase its circulation or assist the cause we love. For myself, I shall take a new departure, and I do most urgently hope that the brethren will consider this matter, and, after having enjoyed the good things THE INDEX contains, be generous and wise enough to dispense its bounties upon others. If there is a better way, will some kind brother please indicate what it is?

Enclosed find post-office order for balance of year's subscription and postage.

I remain most respectfully and truly, yours,
D. P. WILLCOX.

BLOOD ATONEMENT.

"It is curious that in almost every savage country the people shed the blood of their fellow-creatures as an offering to their idols; believing that it will cause their sins to be forgiven. Now it seems strange that in nearly all nations this should be the case, and perhaps you may like to know the reason. God once revealed to the whole world that the death of one man—Jesus Christ our Lord—was to be the only way by which our sins could be pardoned; and though many nations have forgotten exactly how it was to be, yet there is still a sort of remembrance among them that without shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins; so that, as they do not know of the death of our Savior, they still continue to kill men on their altars, and even to sacrifice their own little children, in hopes of obtaining pardon and eternal happiness."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Now we *know* how it is ourselves! Is not the above gem worthy of a place in your "Sanctuary of Superstition"? It is copied literally from a Sunday-school book entitled *The Lives of the Cæsars* (page 34), published by the Sunday School Union, New York, and reprinted from the second London edition. The author is Mrs. Sinclair. The book was recommended to me as an *historical* work (!) by the wife of a Methodist minister. When the sanguinary side of the Moody and Sankey religion is presented to my gaze, it is with difficulty that I can rid my mind of the impression that the original Jehovah was the ample shade of a deceased Butcher. Is it not a disheartening fact that such absurd rubbish is taught weekly to many thousands of children, for literal truth? EX-REFORMER.

EVERY GREAT and important revolution involves a period of anarchy; this is what the conservative dreads. Few have the courage to look across it to the era of better things that is to follow.—*Prof. W. D. Whitney.*

THE LATE Rev. Daniel Isaac was a great smoker. "Ha! there you are," cried a lady, who surprised him one day with a pipe in his mouth, "at your idol again?" "Yes, ma'am," replied he, coolly, "burning it."

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE LABOR QUESTION—

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE NEW tax-law of Maine exempts from taxation church property to the amount of $5,000 only.

THE EXCISE RETURNS show that, during the year 1876, liquor, wine, and beer were drunk in Great Britain to the value of £147,288,759, or £4 9s. for each man, woman, and child. This is a terrible showing.

THE CHRISTIAN AMENDMENT party have just held a convention at Chicago, on the tenth and eleventh of April. The *Inter-Ocean* gives a long list of prominent ministers and others who fill high educational and ecclesiastical positions, who were present at the meetings.

THE *Christian Register* reminds one of the saying that it is not safe to fool with the business end of a wasp. It remarks: "Rev. Joseph Cook says: 'I am not aware that the newspaper press of Boston run this platform.' We have not heard that the expenses of the Monday lectureship have been entirely paid by anybody."

THE POPE, in his Allocution to the Cardinals assembled in secret Consistory on February 12, reasserted his temporal sovereignty. On Easter Sunday Cardinal Manning defended the Pope's position, and pointed out that the "Eastern Question" and the "Roman Question" are not yet settled. He looked on the approaching strife as likely to result in the reinstatement of the Papacy in its ancient temporal authority; and no man can say what results the great war now threatening Europe may finally bring.

HON. GEORGE F. TALBOT, of Portland, Maine, who succeeded Hon. Binford Wilson as Solicitor of the Treasury at Washington, and who is one of the most upright and accomplished gentlemen in the country, has been "rotated" out of office to make way for Mr. G. Wiley Wells, a Mississippi "carpet-bagger" of very questionable reputation. This change makes the talk of "civil service reform" sound very hollow. Mr. Talbot published a very able essay on "Inspiration" in THE INDEX of July 6, 1876, and had several times before favored these columns with contributions. His dismissal from office is a great discredit to the Administration.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition have been received as follows since last week: from Mr. F. A. Angell, Passaic, N. J., with the aid of Messrs. G. B. Waterhouse, C. A. Stelling, W. Fels, and others, 201 names; from Mr. Julius Weissenborn, Sauk City, Wis., 33; from Rev. O. K. Crosby, Syracuse, N. Y., 121. In addition to these, Mr. B. F. Underwood sends 340 signatures, collected after lectures delivered by him in various places at the West: at La Rue, O., 25—at Hanna, Ind., 41—at Bourbon, Ind., 40—at Mt. Moriah, Mo., 35—at Bethany, Mo., 29—at Toledo, Iowa, 28—at Florence, Iowa, 22—at West Liberty, Iowa, 120. Total number thus far received—4,307.

A WISCONSIN gentleman writes: "I have in circulation a couple of petitions which I hope to hear from soon, and will forward to you as soon as received. I hear on the authority of Robert Ingersoll that the Christian Amendment has 4,000,000 names engrossed on its petition. Is it so?" We do not know, but think it by no means unlikely. The Christian Amendment party are and have been very industrious in this matter for a long time, and are very skilful in working out of sight. Col. Ingersoll would scarcely have made such a statement at a venture, surprising as it is. On the side of ecclesiastical ambition are energy, persistence, respectability, organization, and almost every element of practical success; on the side of liberty are listlessness, indifference, disunion, contempt of history, blindness to existing facts and tendencies, and almost every other element of failure. It looks very much as if the liberals would continue to smile serenely at all danger until the secularity of the Constitution is suddenly lost; and then they will have abundant cause to regret their own supineness.

THE CATHOLIC warfare on the public school system of the United States is not going to cease. The Pope's Encyclical against this system (see THE INDEX of Feb. 22) is obediently followed up by the subordinate authorities of the Church. The Boston *Journal* of April 20 says: "The 'Society for the Propagation of the Faith' has recently issued an address on the public schools of the United States and the relations of the Church of Rome to them. Among many other important declarations, the address alleges that 'most serious loss threatens the Catholic youth of the United States from the so-called public schools.' This subject, the address continues, was considered by the 'Supreme Congregation of the Universal Inquisition,' about two years ago, on the presentation of the testimony of the Bishops. The chief objections to the public school system, made by the above named association, are the exclusion of religious teaching from the schools, the indiscriminate employment of teachers of every sect, and the attendance of both sexes in the same class rooms. The evils of the public school are further enforced, and wealthy Catholics and members of legislative bodies are specially urged to use their money and influence to establish Catholic schools. The address, after warning the Catholics of America of the pernicious character of the public schools, and generally setting forth the reasons why such schools should be avoided and discountenanced, remarks that there may be cases when Catholics in good conscience can send their children to the public schools; but the matter of determining such a case is not to be exercised by the parent without consulting the clergy. It is further intimated that the public schools may be used with caution when there is no Catholic school at hand or such school is not adapted to the condition of those requiring instruction. No comment on this latest assault upon the public school system of the country is needed. It only goes to show that the enemies of popular education are active and in earnest. The system may never be put in jeopardy, but if it is, the hostility of the Catholic clergy and so much of the laity as they can control may be counted on. If the clergy can array the entire Catholic Church, they can place one-seventh of the entire population of the country against popular instruction."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

Faith and Freedom.

A SERMON AT THE INSTALLATION OF REV. IVORY F. WATERHOUSE OVER THE UNITARIAN SOCIETY OF BELMONT, MASSACHUSETTS.

BY FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

Am I not an Apostle? Am I not free?
I. CORINTHIANS, IX., 1.

Paul was the scholar among the first Christians. When he was converted, he must have tried hard to understand his new position, and his opinion about it must command some respect. Now, beyond all else, there were two things of which, in that new position, he felt sure. One was that he was an Apostle, a true follower of Christ and representative of his Gospel. The other was that he was free,—intellectually and spiritually free. He said much of both these things. He dwelt in his letters on the conviction which filled him that he really understood the purpose of Jesus, and was called to carry it on and out to the Gentile world, so that he opposed with vigor those who thought they knew better than he because they had seen the Lord. He had just as much to say about the great new freedom he had found, and which made him live and speak like a new man. And these two things, his apostleship and his freedom, were to him one. His Christian faith was of itself just that freedom without which, as a thoughtful and sincere man, he could not live; and his freedom was got in and through his apostleship. It was the liberty with which Christ had set him free. It was, as John had said, the Son who had made him free, so that he was free indeed. You can hardly read any letter of Paul's without seeing how strong was this double conviction which found perfect harmony between Christian faith and complete liberty, and which made him say, in the same breath and as though it were the same thing: "Am I not an Apostle?" and—"Am I not free?"

But was he right? Was he, after all, scholar enough to understand himself? Many a time in the history of Christendom these two ideas, of apostleship and of freedom, which were to Paul but one, have seemed to stand opposed to one another, and the pendulum of opinion has swung from the one to the other, struck by each in turn. With Paul, we may say, the two blows struck at the same instant, and the pendulum stands still, hot with the shock of great ideas, but peaceful and steady. But soon it begins to swing, and each blow carries it farther in each direction. Antagonisms grow more marked, and representatives of the two ideas more violent. "Am I not an Apostle?" says Cyprian, and jogs the pendulum toward the Catholic, the ecclesiastical idea. "Am I not free?" returns Tertullian, and proclaims the laity the true Church. "Am I not an Apostle?" says Augustine, and swings the thought of Christians still farther towards severe and exclusive faith. "Am I not free?" returns Luther, and grapples with questions long left as too holy to be touched.

And so it comes to pass, not as a new thing, but only as the swinging of the pendulum farther each way, until it gets fairly caught, first at one extreme and then at the other,—so it comes to pass that in our day these two ideas which seemed to Paul so harmonious and in whose harmony he found his peace and joy, are presented to us, on both sides, as real and irreconcilable opposites. "Am I not an Apostle?" cry the priest of Rome and his Anglican brother, and offer the world refuge from its thought in a Church; and the same cry and the same claim is set up by a rigid Orthodoxy, offering the same refuge from thought in a Book. The defenders of an infallible Church and the defenders of an infallible Book stand shoulder to shoulder at least in this,—that freedom of thought and investigation is the common enemy of both. That is very far for thought to swing from the poise and peace of Paul, and of course it must swing back and seem caught on the other side as well. "Am I not free?" is therefore the watchword of those who in revolt from the bondage of form or of opinion have swung clear of Christianity or of religion altogether. I mean not only the few thoughtful and honest men who make a clean issue between Christianity and "Free Religion," such as would have rather surprised Paul, but also—and still more—the large number of young and growing minds who find it hard to reconcile the liberty of thought which is the first condition of their mental development with such faith or conviction as any form of religion seems to demand. "Am I not free? And is not the committing of oneself to any kind of religious faith a sort of yielding of that freedom?" Such, I believe, is the attitude of many whose very boldness and sincerity make their thought most valuable, and whose difficulty is not theoretical and prospective, but practical and immediate.

Now when the pendulum of opinion is swinging thus wildly to and fro, the question recurs with increased importance: "Was Paul right?" Can there be that equilibrium of the two forces, Christian faith and mental freedom, which he believed he found? This is certainly a very important question; and it is, we should notice, a question concerning two things, looking, as it were, two ways, and needing for a true answer the clear understanding of both the elements involved.

Now, in what has been said about it of late, great attention has been paid to defining the one element, of Christian faith, and it has been assumed that the other element of spiritual freedom was a clear and well-understood idea; but I believe that something further may be done toward answering the full question by turning this method round,—by giving some attention to the idea of freedom and assuming the nature of Christian faith. Christian faith appears to me not so difficult a thing to define. It is, what it always has been, the conviction that the straightest way to God lies through the spirit and influence of the life of Jesus Christ. But what is it to be free,—spiritually, mentally free? Is that beyond the need of definition? Here is an idea which, more than any other inward force except religious zeal, has moulded history, and has won the Marathons and the Gettysburgs both of the outward and the inward world; and yet about this idea hangs a vagueness of meaning, a mistiness of superstitious devotion, unsurpassed even by the atmosphere of theological thought. Look at Germany. Nowhere will you hear more talk about freedom, or more boasts about liberty of conscience, of thought, of the press, which the nation has inherited and increased. But ask a Roman Catholic about it, or look at the system from an American stand-point, and I think you will believe that a more absolute military despotism Rome herself never saw. Or look at home. With all our talk about political freedom, do we agree what we mean? Many persons are sure that we have by no means reached it; many are equally sure that we have overreached it. Very few define to themselves what the unknown God is which they so devoutly worship. I ask you, therefore, to look this idea of freedom in the face. It must be much the same thing in religion as in politics, so that the two spheres of conduct may be mutual helps in the search for truth.

In the first place, then, it appears to me plain that freedom, whether in State or in religion, is no end in itself, but the means, tool, weapon, with which to do something. This does not lessen the eternal worth of freedom, but it does very much affect any blind zeal for it. It is with it as with money. Money is the indispensable means of getting the best of food, shelter, and luxuries. Without it we lose many real enjoyments. It is worth giving an immense deal of time to getting, and for the pulpit to ask indifference about it is not only useless but wrong. But it is worth getting, we all see, as a means, for what it will do; and when any one does not see this, and gets to value money for its own sake, then the whole worth and virtue of it vanishes, and the work of a life-time only makes a miser. Freedom, in a precisely parallel way, is the indispensable means of getting the best thought and life. Without it, bound to think in any prescribed way by unnatural authority, one is but a pauper in his results; with it, he has the first condition of success. None the less it is to use; it is not for itself. There is no blessing in being free any more than in being rich, unless something comes of it. And it follows from this that in the pursuit of freedom one should take pains to know just what the freedom is that he wants, and that he can thus use; so that he shall not in the end find himself with some paper currency or watered stock, nominally money indeed, but by no means serving the same purpose as the hard gold of a true freedom. All that is called money is by no means real money; all that is called freedom is by no means a profitable freedom.

There are, therefore, in the second place, some limits to put on the general idea. We do not mean, for instance, when we speak of freedom—we cannot mean,—*absolute* freedom, liberty to think without any influence or check from without. This is impossible for two reasons: first, because of the enormous extent to which the tendencies of every mind are determined by its inheritances; and, secondly, because of the equally inevitable power of association and environment. With every year social science is verifying the awful law of heredity, in mind as well as body; with every year civilization increases the interdependence of all thought and life; and therefore, with every year it grows plainer that no one can be, in this sense, absolutely free; that all thought grows from past influences, and is crossed by present ones; that no man liveth to himself or dieth to himself. To get beyond these influences of inspiration and of warning would be like getting outside the atmosphere. One would not have to breathe any air from without, but one would find it hard to live. It is as if a bird should find fault with the friction of the air about him, and should feel hampered till the air were exhausted. Then he would lie free indeed under the air-pump, without a thing to check his flight, but with just that lacking which gave resistance to his wings.

Again, if we do not mean this absolute freedom as the true idea either in Church or State, neither do we mean the freedom to do or think *as we please*. For instance, we should not call that State most free where any one might do his worst. If we did, our ideal would be realized among lawless savages or in a cave of wild beasts, and would fade in proportion as civilization grew. Nor should we call that the ideal free State where one was at liberty to think or do nothing, or even little. The very power to be idle oneself implies that some one else, priest or king, shall think or act for you, and there is your freedom yielded on the spot.

What, then, is the freedom we want, alike in a government and in a religion? It is not an unattainable, absolute freedom; it is not freedom to do one's worst, or to do nothing or little. It is, then, so far as I can see, simply the freedom to do one's best. A State is free to you, when it offers no obstacle to the *best* of your life and thought. In so far as it discourages that, it binds and hampers your freedom; in so far as it encourages that, it increases your freedom. When you disregard the relation of your rights to the rights of others and try to be absolutely free—when you want to do your worst, or when you want to do nothing,—the State has a right to interfere, to check, to punish; and it is none the less a free State thereby. But when you are thinking or doing your best, that State is free to you whose principles and influences welcome and encourage you;

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and that State is most free which most encourages and develops your best. Just in the same way, a form of religion is free to any person when the influence it brings to him meets, recognizes, welcomes the *best* of him, and draws that best of him out and up. When a form of religion checks full aspiration, hampers the search for truth, presents an ideal lower than the individual can reach without it, then it is no freedom, but rather bondage, and should either be reformed or rejected. But if, when most sincere, most pure in heart, most soaring in aspiration and self-abnegation, most true to truth, one finds an influence from without that stands still higher, and, instead of hampering, helps, and, instead of checking, guides and inspires, then he will welcome that influence as making him more a man, making his *best* better than before, increasing his true freedom. The freedom to do one's best—or, still more abstractly, such a relation of the inward life to outward influences that the outward influences shall be as good as or better than the inward life,—such appears to me to approach the definition of a true and profitable spiritual liberty.

Now I said, when we were watching the pendulum of thought swinging to such different extremes, that to define what a true freedom was would be to test both these extremes. Let us therefore apply the test which by so dull and dry a process we have found. We turn, on the one hand, to the faith in an infallible Church and to the kindred faith in an infallible Book, and we ask: "When one takes a position deliberately opposed to scientific investigation and private right of judgment, as the Church of Rome emphatically does, or when one takes a position where that investigation must submit to or tally with a higher authority, and that right of judgment must be limited, as the creed of a rigid Evangelicalism demands,—can he think and do his best?" In so far as he can, in so far as these positions meet and help one's best judgment, as in many instances they do,—in so far as we see blessed elements like Sisters of Charity in the Church of Rome, or devoted Protestant missionaries,—freedom has nothing to urge against such faith. Such lives as these have found an undreamt-of and holy liberty. But until we can see how a man can think his best when he is told what to think, or bound to think one way,—until we can satisfy our highest impulses in such an attitude,—we must be Protestants in the name of freedom against this extreme.

On the other hand, we turn to the opposite point to which our pendulum had swung, and apply the test of freedom there. First, there is the problem of a "Free Religion," as contrasted with Christianity,—the question whether one can be free, and yet the disciple of some one else; and this, from the present point of view, is no matter of theory but simply a question of fact. Does the influence of Christianity, which is the influence of the life and teachings of Jesus taken up into the life of the world,—does this check your noblest impulses, contradict your highest aspirations, fall short of your own ideal, hamper your best self? Then it is no free religion to you. Either reform it or leave it, as you value your conscience and your reason. Or does it, again, as a matter of fact, bring an outward influence to bear on your inward life better than that life could get without it, so that the best of you is met, helped, and developed beyond all hope before, catching fire from the glowing spirit of a divine life? Then it is the fullest, most perfect freedom to you, and the living in its atmosphere enlarges your sense of liberty as mountain air expands your lungs. It may well be that God, in his own time, may send among men a life nearer his own, an influence more above our own, than the life and the influence of Jesus; but it is very plain to me that he has not done so yet. Knowing well how largely every life is shaped by some such personal influence, the best I can find is the one I freely choose, and under that I, therefore, find myself most free.

Last of all, we turn with the definition we have reached to the many minds who, in the interest of freedom, shun conviction altogether. The many minds, I say,—so many, so fresh, and so sincere, that the problem of a "Free Religion" dwindles before this problem of a freedom which drops religion altogether. His must have been a narrow experience, and a stunted mental growth, who does not know how this state of mind comes about, or what this revolt from inherited opinions, this scorn of superstition, this passion for truth, and this willingness to wait for it—and, if need be, to wait forever—is. When the field of the visible and the methods of science are first spread before a student's eyes, who does not cry: "This is enough!" And when the spirit of free inquiry is shown to be the first condition of success, who will not thrust away every conviction, and at the risk of martyrdom dare to be free? Lower motives indeed may conspire with this determination. There are such things as pride in unbelief, pleasure in being different from the crowd, indifference to spiritual truth, and luxury in martyrdom. These act with varying force in various people; but, above them all, every honest student must have felt a just and worthy ambition which seems to make him fling all conviction away, so that the truth may find a blank page for its grand autograph.

But is one indeed then free,—free to do his best? Slowly, perhaps, through a period of doubt and discontent—it may be even of anguish,—we come to learn that such freedom is but fruitless, and such poise of mind but unstable equilibrium. Slowly, perhaps, by the examples of history, by the growth of our own experience, we become aware that the best work is done, the enduring structures built, only when beneath the method of science there is a foundation of genuine and spiritual faith. No man, I think we can say, ever thought or did the best that was in him except he had great faith. The nature and power of what he studies becomes revealed as the faith in it grows; the nature and power of himself as he has faith in himself, of Nature as he has faith in Nature, of the moral and spiritual life as he has faith in it. And so I say that, so long as all things of heaven and earth are flickering uncertainties, one is not free,—that the best of him is hampered and stunted and held down. You will think and do your best in the study of Nature only when by some inspiration or influence some things about it become to you safe, sure land from which you launch out and explore, and to which you return with confidence; and you will think and do your best in the moral and spiritual life only when by some inspiration or influence some things about that become eternal foundation for your experiments of building. It is in the interest of freedom that I present the power of faith, just as in the name of an enduring faith I should present the necessity of freedom. A very easy thing it is to see the need of one of these inward forces,—to go whooping about the land in the praise of liberty or to surrender all energy and reason in the name of faith. But it is not one of these alone that the world needs. I ask you to believe that the law of true and steady progress, in the world without and in the world within, is never through the yielding to one force but through the reconciling of seeming opposites and their harmony in a higher unity. Every strong nation keeps its equilibrium, not through the power of one party, but through the balanced action of two; every atom of matter in the universe is held in its place through the pull and push of two opposing forces; every calmly moving planet finds its peace through the reconciliation of powers either of which alone would work its ruin; and so to harmonize the centrifugal force of freedom and the centripetal force of faith that they shall both work and work in poise and peace,—that makes the kindred problem of the spiritual life. Such peace and reconciliation between conflicting forces may be, in theory, a dreary work to bring about, as my words to-day abundantly have proved. But practically it is not so hard,—and that is a comforting thought with which to end. The opposite workings of friction and of force seem in theory severely antagonistic; but practically, every bird that flies finds in this conflict the condition of his steady flight. And when Paul, the scholar, the metaphysician, once fully turned from his theorizing and threw himself into the midst of life, the problem of harmony within him solved itself beyond his hope. Faith and freedom, seemingly hostile, clasped hands for him and kissed each other, and it was one and the same thing whether he cried: "Am I not an Apostle?" or—"Am I not free?"

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN RELIGION.

There is something fascinating in the idea of applying the exact methods of science to religion, in the hope of making discoveries which shall match some of the great achievements of modern research in other departments of thought. The enthusiasm with which the audience gathered by the "Boston Lectureship" greets any affirmation of doctrine when it is made in the name of "science" shows that there is a wide-spread persuasion that science is to have something to say concerning religion to which it will be worth while to listen.

The recent lecture at Horticultural Hall in Boston, bearing the title which we put at the head of this article, shows Mr. Abbot to be the most extreme and uncompromising advocate of the new method. But before we commit ourselves unreservedly to this stream of tendency, we desire to ask a few questions and state a few impressions.

What is the scientific method? Mr. Abbot replies, "It is simply ordinary thinking corrected by the canons of a more cautious and exact procedure." Its chief characteristics are: 1st. It "begins with experience alone, with realities, with facts." 2d. It "proceeds by comparison, inference, and hypothesis; by analysis and synthesis; by induction, and deduction; by classification and generalization; by observation and experiment,—in short, by all the mental processes exemplified in any text-book on the subject." 3d. It will "generate a calm and lofty spiritual state unspeakably nobler than the 'faith' which Christianity enjoins."

The first and second of these propositions seem to us to be well established, and from the use of such methods we expect none but the best results. But in the third and what follows, we see nothing but the wildest disregard of the scientific method. For after discarding "faith," instead of accepting it as a fact to be accounted for, and after asserting that "the *knowledge* of God is not a present possession, but simply the grandest aspiration of the human reason, the deepest, holiest, and most passionate longing of the human heart," we submit that unless the aspiration and the longing have a meaning and a message to man, such a thinker has no logical right to profess any belief in God, Duty, and Immortality. And yet there is no one who is more earnest and devout in his expressions of "faith" than is Mr. Abbot.

If we have no knowledge of God, we do not know and cannot imagine what science will reveal concerning him. In that case it is useless to attempt to predict what will be known, unless one has some secret sources of knowledge shut out from the rest of the scientific world. In such a case it is folly to heed the irresistible aspiration of the soul when it attempts to forestall the scientific method.

One may properly hope great things from the scientific method if he believes that the fundamental facts of religion have already been discovered "in ordinary thinking" and living, and that these facts are to be cleared, interpreted, illustrated, and made more glorious by being manifested. But if he begin by saying that all the "faith" of the past was only a "wonderful GUESS," he has no right to hope, predict, or affirm anything concerning the probable results of a course of investigation upon which has now entered perhaps one man in a million of all the human race.

It seems to us that the root of such inconsistency is the result of confounding the distinction between the *form* of knowledge and the *substance* of it. Without further criticism of the lecture in question, let us briefly set forth our own conception of the scientific method as applied to religion.

The total experience of the human race has been such as to leave two results. First, a tendency to believe in God, in Duty, and in Immortality. This tendency seems to have the force of an innate predisposition. So strong is the impulse to faith in these doctrines of religion, that under the most diverse creeds and in widely different circumstances there arises the conviction that the soul *knows* something, and that it recognizes spiritual facts. Secondly, an external tradition has preserved countless expressions of beliefs which have been at various times announced as discoveries. Now, following the analogy of Nature, we affirm that it is the most natural and scientific method to take it for granted that these instincts, aspirations, affirmations, and traditions mean something, and that they contain at least the crude elements of exact knowledge,—the *substance* of knowledge. That being given, science may properly work out the *form* of it, explain its relations and laws, and exhibit the proofs.

This is the ordinary method of science. We venture to say that in regard to the fundamental forces of the physical universe modern science has not made a single discovery. Light, heat, electricity, gravitation, chemical force, all the principal forces and all the important phenomena, had been observed long before modern science set itself to the important task of sifting, classifying, and correcting the various elements of the popular experience.

Aristotle could have learned nothing from Agassiz which would have added any certainty to his belief in the fundamental facts of natural science; but Agassiz could have suggested to Aristotle many new interpretations and classifications which would have delighted him exceedingly. Agassiz and Darwin would never dream of saying that all that the ancient philosophers believed was a magnificent *guess*.

By analogy we affirm that if there is no element of knowledge in the religion which has come down to us from the past, there never will be. Science cannot now discover what no man ever knew. It can tell us much about a great many things which have been imperfectly known. Man has not lived so many generations without learning something about every important factor of his life. At least that is the suggestion of physical science.

Now let us reverse the statement. If God, duty, and the immortal life be facts, they must have been potent forces in the constitution of the universe and in the organization of man. They must have tended constantly to force themselves upon his attention and secure his belief. If science should ever verify them it would be most natural and scientific to say that they had always in some form and to some degree had recognition, and that the confident assertions of knowledge were proofs that knowledge existed. There would be no other way to account for the assertions.

Another fact is significant. There has been no modern declaration of knowledge concerning religion which has been stated or could be stated in other terms than those which have before been used with similar meaning. New combinations are made, new classifications are published, new inferences are drawn, new reasons are adduced, new proofs are offered; but always the main affirmation, stripped of modern interpretation, is some old statement of faith.

We look for help, then, in a direction parallel to that taken by the physical sciences. We expect to have glorious light thrown upon the ancient beliefs, which will bring them out in their simplicity and their grandeur. We expect to see great masses of rubbish swept away, the useless winnowed out, and the primitive faiths of mankind brought into harmony with all natural law. To us it is no small comfort to hold that the new method will not rob us of all we had, but will take us to the point where we can see the secret of all the facts which we had dimly perceived and imperfectly known.—*Christian Register, April* 14.

CLERICAL CRUSADES.

A form of Moody and Sankey excitement is just now being popularized by a certain party in the Church under the name of "Missions." A number of days, known as an octave, are set apart for the work, the sanction of the bishop of the diocese is obtained, certain outside clergymen, styled "missioners," are engaged, and then handbills and placards are freely circulated to set the undertaking afloat. It might naturally be supposed that these missions would be instituted in notoriously godless towns, or in densely-populated districts lacking proper church accommodation and spiritual advisers. This, however, is not generally the case, and the scene of the clerical carnival is as often as not a spot replete with sacred edifices of every description, and where parsons constitute about one-tenth of the inhabitants. For, in truth, the promoters of these religious *saturnalia* are wise in their generation, and their object is not so much to conquer as to confirm their ascendancy over an already subject people; to crush out any symptoms of revolt, and to excite the fanaticism of the weaker members of their flocks. From time immemorial there has been a constant battle between sacerdotalism and freedom of opinion, and as yet in all countries liberty of conscience has gained the day. In England the refusal of the majority to be ruled by a priestly minority has been even more marked

than elsewhere, and it remains to be seen whether the encroachments of certain parties will, even in these degenerate days, be submitted to with tameness by the mass of people, who never show their teeth—till roused.

Let us suppose that a "mission" has been instituted at the rising town of Chapelborough, which, as every one knows, is renowned throughout the length and breadth of the land for its innate piety, for the austerity of its vicars, for the elegance of its curates, and for its free-handed generosity in erecting tabernacles of all sizes and sects. For some days before the opening ceremony the eyes of the inhabitants are greeted with more or less tasteful inscriptions on dead walls and hoardings, such as "Come to the Mission," "The Mission every Night," "Special Services for Women Only," and other notices in the big type, theatrical, attractive style. But this is not all. The local postmen find their labors doubled by the enormous amount of circulars which they are compelled to distribute. These documents are of various sizes and purport. Some are mere time-tables or programmes of the coming entertainments; others contain exhortations to be present from the clergy; and others again are anonymously signed "A Friend," "A Worker in the Mission," or "A Lay Helper," and are couched in more forcible terms, with an invariable postscript, "Bring a friend." Nor is the voice of the preacher silent in inviting both saved and sinners to the spiritual feast, while it is pretty clearly intimated that any one rash enough to indulge in mundane amusements during the sacred season will be considered a heretic, and liable to excommunication by the faithful. At last the day arrives, and with it the bishop, who has been prevailed upon to deliver an address, and to inaugurate the proceedings. This the worthy man does with many commonplace remarks, an admonition to the clergy against over-excitement, and a copious lunch at the vicarage or rectory. The only incident worthy of remark during the prelate's visit is that sundry illegal practices and forbidden articles of wearing apparel are temporarily disconnected from the service of the parish church. His departure is the signal for the breaking of the storm of sacerdotal zeal. The town hall, usually devoted to conjurors or dancing, is plastered with new and more gorgeous placards, announcing daily services and addresses; the bells of the churches seem to be ceaselessly ringing from morning till night, and the booksellers do a roaring trade in mission hymn-books, while all other trade is at a stand-still. Occasionally the missioners, uncanny individuals in cassocks, and at some distance liable to be mistaken for aged members of the weaker sex, may be seen flitting about as the hours of refreshment approach, and a general air of mourning pervades the highways and byways of Chapelborough.

In domestic circles there is great weeping and gnashing of teeth, for the ladies make much lamentation over their own offences, and those of mothers and fathers, husbands and brothers at the unconstitutional hours set apart for luncheon and dinner. The servants, too, under plea of anxiety for their salvation, become thorough republicans, and neglect or abandon their duties at most unlooked-for times; the butler is seized with a fanatical thirst for Biblical knowledge, the footman practises psalmody on an accordion, and the maids spend their time in reading tracts of peculiarly searching nature, or in joining expeditions of their fellows to the various public gatherings. But the ardor of the male extends neither higher nor lower. The workingmen are thoroughly indifferent to the whole movement, while the upper class males, as a rule, stand also aloof, curiously watching the demeanor of their female friends and relations, who are not slow to profit by the opportunity for grace afforded them. Much Christian charity is displayed at the services. Prayers are offered for "a girl who is a source of anxiety to her uncle," "a young man who has grievously offended his grandfather," "an old worker of wickedness," "a boy who has a conviction of his moral guilt," "an aged sister with a recollection of youthful depravity," "a publican and a sinner," and other afflicted people. Hymns of an exciting nature are continuously sung, and speeches, rather than sermons, of the most harrowing nature are delivered.

The exceeding self-denial of the clergy is pointed out, and the exceeding sinfulness of the audience condemned, with an accompaniment of much rhetorical thunder and lightning, of many minute descriptions of death and hell, and of sundry direct appeals to the confidence of the laity. Slips of paper are distributed, during the invariable collection, inviting the guilty to commit their misdeeds to writing and the friendly care of the mission priest. Naturally at the conclusion there are numerous applicants, mostly women, desirous of unburdening themselves to the messengers of peace, and if there are not, personal intimidation is often used to bring about the desired object. For this purpose a consulting-room for the ghostly physicians is provided in an adjacent school-room, and here the fair patients confess their iniquities, and are inducted into the right path by the fervent and untiring missioners, often till a late hour into the night.

There are also services set apart for "mothers," for "young women," for "maid-servants," for "young men," and for "children"; but it is a curious fact that the special conferences for women are in a majority of five to one, thus entirely disposing of the popular belief that men are the more prone to the wickedness of the world, the flesh, and the devil. No stranger visiting Chapelborough during the mission week could fail to be struck by the devotion of its inhabitants, or by the apparent want of hospitality displayed by those who are anticipating Lent by mourning in sackcloth and ashes. For eight days these religious devotees are more devout than ever, and on the ninth, therefore, it may well be supposed that there are many hearts swept and garnished, plentifully stocked with good intentions, and considerably under the influence of unnatural religious intoxication. But, strange to say, when the good missioners have packed up their trunks and departed, there are also a good many people who ask, What can be the lasting effect of these clerical crusades? But these are probably scoffers who do not say their prayers or go to church.—*Vanity Fair*, *Feb.* 10, 1877.

GEORGE ODGER.

It must be upwards of three and twenty years since I first met Mr. George Odger. There was a political conference held in a large provincial town which we both attended as representatives. I remember well the cold, somewhat dirty, and dismal room in which we met. While the delegates were exchanging congratulations, and the secretary was verifying their credentials, I got into conversation with my neighbor, a pleasant-spoken, intelligent man. We discussed the objects of the meeting and the prospects of the Radical party. I had not met my brother delegate before, but as soon as the meeting was called to order by the chairman, I learned that his name was Odger. We were appointed members of the business committee for the conference; and, after the day's speech-making was over, the two of us retired to our hotel. Dinner over, we went to a theatre, where poor Mr. Gustave Brook, whose melancholy death on board the *London* will be in the recollection of some of your readers, was playing *Othello*. I found my new acquaintance passionately fond of theatricals, and a warm admirer of Brook, who was at that time one of the most popular of our tragedians. The friendship then commenced lasted undimmed and unbroken until Mr. Odger's death. I have met him since on many public occasions. We have been members together of numberless committees, and delegates of many political and social congresses. The attachment and respect I felt for him at first has only been strengthened and deepened by closer intimacy.

The point that always struck me most in Mr. Odger's character was his simplicity and political enthusiasm. He was not a trading politician. The last thing in his thoughts was to obtain popular distinction, or to earn by his public labors the means of living luxuriously. He had certain clearly-defined political principles, and enforced them with all the earnestness and devotion of an apostle. His type of politician was common in this country during the old Chartist agitation, and it is still to be found amongst French and German Republicans. The class has, however, nearly become extinct with us. The materialistic tendencies of our age, and the selfish, if not the self-seeking doctrines common to trades union leaders, and politicians generally, have destroyed the chivalrous character that distinguished our earlier democratic teachers. Mr. Odger was about the last of the type that I know of. He was infinitely superior to the men with whom he was usually associated. He never aspired to play the part of the well-dressed *bourgeois* or to ape the political dandy. He was not ashamed of his trade, while never boasting of the fact that he was a working shoemaker. He was too proud and too manly to conceal his connection with the members of his own craft. There was nothing, to his mind more contemptible than a working-man agitator who set out to be "Brummagen gentleman."

Mr. Odger had little literary capacity, and although fairly read, especially in English history and, strange to say, in the works of the early English dramatists, his chief knowledge was gleaned from observation. He was a student of men more than of books. I never saw a more adroit and competent chairman in a stormy meeting. He had the capacity of softening irritations and of allaying ebullitions of popular feeling in fuller degree than almost any man I ever knew. In the ordinary acceptation of the term he was not an orator, but he could speak with singular clearness and point. I went with him to a meeting in St. James' Hall, several years ago, to express sympathy with the Northern cause in the American war. Mr. John Bright was in the chair, and some of the most prominent Radical politicians took part in the proceedings; but by many degrees the best speech made on the occasion was that by Mr. Odger. The late Mr. John Stuart Mill, walking from the meeting with a friend after the proceedings, and commenting on what had been said, expressed his gratification and surprise at the powerful address of Mr. Odger. Mr. Mill said that he had written and thought as much about the American struggle as most men, and he had an idea that he had said everything that could be said in favor of the North. But he declared he had learned from the speech of Mr. Odger that there were stronger arguments and a better case to be made for the North than he had dreamt of.

I saw much of Mr. Odger during the Reform League agitation in 1866 and 1867, and one phase of his character at that time came prominently under my observation. Funds were placed at the disposal of the council of that body to send speakers to public meetings in different parts of the country. Not a few of the professed reforming patriots, who were never more eloquent than when denouncing the extravagances of the government, demonstrated their practical disregard of economy by managing to run up large accounts for personal expenses. Mr. Odger, on the other hand, strove to practise what he preached. He invariably travelled third class; put up at the humblest hostelries; and always rendered full details of his expenditure, even to sixpence. He did ten times the work of some of his more pretentious colleagues at a twentieth of the cost. Instead of trying to extract money out of the funds of the League, the chief object Mr. Odger seemed to have was to take as little as possible.

He was one of the most genial of companions, full of anecdote, could tell a good story, never had an unkind word for a political opponent, and always strove to put the best interpretation upon even the doubtful actions of those with whom he was associated. The only exception I know to this all but universal rule was the manner in which he spoke of the treatment he received at the hands of the Whigs, and especially the late whip to the party, Mr. Glyn, who "arbitrated" him, as he called it, out of the representation of Chelsea and Stafford, and prevented his election for Southwark. To the last, Mr. Odger spoke of the conduct of Mr. Glyn and the Whigs generally with unusual bitterness. He was singularly indifferent to popular criticism, and laughed as heartily as any one at the unjust and grotesque estimates of his character that some of the newspapers, especially the comic journals, indulged in. The unfortunate legal proceedings that were taken in his name against a satirical paper a few years ago were never heartily sanctioned by Mr. Odger. In that, as in other matters, he allowed himself to be guided by the opinions of his friends. He acquiesced in these proceedings more than he approved of them. As illustrating the striking injustice of the charges made against him, I may state that when the journal in question was charging him with living in revelry on the forced contributions of the working-men, the only salary he was getting was the munificent one of half a crown a week for acting as Secretary to the Trades' Council. This was the only regular remuneration he ever received for his life-long services to political and trade associations. His words were few, his mode of life simple, and his worldly aspirations not high. He died, as he lived, a poor but honest man. It is customary to say harsh things in this materialistic age when money is too often made the only measurement of a man's worth. It is the practice too often to speak slightingly of any one that has lived to nearly sixty, and was dependent to the last on simply weekly wages. Mr. Odger's poverty, however, was not the least honorable trait of his character. If he had made money the object of his life, he could have lived and died in comparative affluence.

ONE WHO KNEW HIM.

—*London Mayfair*, *March* 13, 1877.

THE POPULAR UNDERTAKER.

WHAT BRET HARTE HEARD IN A SLEEPING-CAR.

We had stopped at a station. Two men had got into the car and had taken seats in the one vacant section, yawning occasionally, and conversing in a languid, perfunctory sort of way. They sat opposite each other, occasionally looking out of the window, but always giving the stray impression that they were tired of each other's company. As I looked out of my curtains at them, the One Man said, with a feebly-concealed yawn:—

"Yes, well, I reckon he was at one time as popler an undertaker ez I knew."

The Other Man (inventing a question rather than giving an answer, out of some languid social impulse)—"But was he—this yer undertaker—a Christian? had he jined the Church?"

The One Man (reflectively)—"Well, I don't know ez you might call him a perfessin' Christian; but he hed, yes, he hed conviction. I think Dr. Wiley hed him under conviction. Et least, that was the way I got it from him."

A long, dreary pause. The Other Man (feeling it was incumbent on him to say something)—"But why was he popler ez an undertaker?"

The One Man (lazily)—"Well, he was kinder popler with widders and widderers—sorter soothen' 'em a kinder keerless way; slung 'em suthin' here and there, sometimes outer the Book, sometimes outer himself, ez a man of experience az hed hed sorrer. Hed, they say" (very cautiously), "lost three wives hisself and five children, by this yer new disease—dipthery,—out in Wisconsin. I don't know the facts, but that's what got round."

The Other Man—"But how did he lose his popularity?"

The One Man—"Well, that's the question. You see, he introduced some things into undertaking that waz new. He hed, for instance, a way, as he called it, of manniperlating the features of the deceased."

The Other Man (quietly)—"How manniperlating?"

The One Man (struck with a bright and aggressive thought)—"Look yer; did yer ever notice how, generally speakin', onhandsome a corpse is?"

The Other Man had noticed this fact.

The One Man (returning to his fact)—"Why, there was Mary Peebles ez was daughter of my wife's bosom-friend—a mighty pooty girl and a perfessing Christian—died of scarlet-fever. Well, that gal—I was one of the mourners, being my wife's friend—well, that gal, though I hedn't perhaps oughter say—lying in that casket, fetched all the way from some A1 establishment in Chicago, filled with flowers and furbelows—didn't really seem to be of much account. Well, although my wife's friend, and me a mourner—well, now, I was—disappointed and discouraged."

The Other Man (in palpably affected sympathy)—"Sho, now!"

"Yes, sir! Well, you see, this yer ondertaker—this Wilkins—hed a way of correcting all thet. And just by manniperlation. He worked over the face of the deceased until he perduced what the survivin' relatives called a look of resignation—you know, a sort of smile like. When he wanted to put in any extrys he pro-duced what he called—hevin' reg'lar charges for this kind of work—a Christian's hope."

The Other Man—"I want to know!"

"Yes. Well, I admit, at times it was a little start-

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lin'. And I've allers said" (a little confidentially) "that I hed my doubts of its being Scriptooral or sacred, being, ez you know, worms of the yearth; and I relieved my mind to our pastor, but he didn't feel like interferin' ez long ez it was confined to church membership. But the other day, when Cy Dunham died—you disremember Cy Dunham?"

A long interval of silence. The Other Man was looking out of the window, and had apparently forgotten his companion completely. But as I stretched my head out of the curtain I saw four other heads as eagerly reached out from other berths to hear the conclusion of the story. One head, a female one, instantly disappeared on my looking around, but a certain tremulousness of her window-curtain showed an unabated interest. The only two utterly disinterested men were the One Man and the Other Man.

The One Man (detaching himself languidly from the window)—"Cy Dunham?"

"Yes. Cy never hed hed either con-victions or perfessions. Uster get drunk and go round with permiscous women. Sorter like the prodigal son, only a little more so, ez fur ez I kin judge from the facks ez stated to me. Well, Cy one day petered out down at Little Rock and was sent up yer for interment. The fammerly, being proud-like, of course didn't spare any money on that funeral, and it waz—now between you and me—about ez shapely and first-class and prime-mess affair ez I ever saw. Wilkins hed put in his extrys. He hed put on to that prodigal's face the A1 touch—hed him fixed up with a Christian's hope. Well, it waz about the turning point, for thar waz some of the members and the pastor hisself thought that the line ought to be drawn somewhere, and thar was some talk at Deacon Tibbets' about a reg'lar conference meetin' regardin' it. But it wazn't thet which made him onpopler."

Another silence. No expression or reflection from the face of the Other Man of the least desire to know what ultimately settled the unpopularity of the undertaker. But from the curtains of the various berths several eager and one or two even wrathful faces, anxious for the result.

The Other Man (lazily recurring to the lost topic)—"Well, what made him onpopler?"

The One Man (quietly)—"Extrys, I think—that is, I suppose, not knowing" (cautiously) "all the facts. When Mrs. Widdecombe lost her husband, 'bout two months ago, though she'd been through the valley of the shadder of death twice—this bein' her third marriage, hevin' been John Barker's widder—"

The Other Man (with an intense expression of interest)—"No, you're foolin' me?"

The One Man (solemnly)—"Ef I was to appear before my Maker to-morrow, yes! she was the widder of Barker."

The Other Man—"Well, I swow!"

The One Man—"Well, this widder Widdecombe she put up a big funeral for the deceased. She hed Wilkins, and thet undertaker just laid hisself out. Just spread himself. Onfort'nately—perhaps fort'nat'ly in the ways of Providence—one of Widdecombe's old friends, a doctor up thar in Chicago, comes down to the funeral. He goes up with the friends to look at the deceased, smilin' a peaceful sort of heavinly smile, and everybody sayin' he's gone to meet his reward, and this yer friend turns round, short and sudden on the widder settin' in her pew, and kinder enjoyin', as wimen will, all the compliments paid the corpse, and he says, says he:—

"'What did you say your husband died of, marm?'

"'Consumption,' she says, wiping her eyes, poor critter. 'Consumption, gallopin' consumption.'

"'Consumption be d—d,' sez he, bein' a profane kind of Chicago doctor, and not bein' ever under conviction. 'Thet man died of strychnine. Look at thet face. Look at that contortion of them facial muscles. Thet's strychnine. Thet's risers Sardonicus' (thet's what he said; he was always sorter profane).

"'Why, doctor,' says the widder, 'thet—thet is his last smile. It's a Christian's resignation.'

"'Thet be blowed; don't tell me,' sez he. 'Hell is full of that kind of resignation. It's pizon. And I'll——' Why, dern my skin, yes we are; yes, it's Joliet. Wall, now, who'd hev thought we'd been nigh on to an hour?"

Two or three anxious passengers from their berths: "Say, look yer, stranger! Old man! What became of—"

But the One Man and the Other Man had vanished.

MR. EMERSON AT THE OLD SOUTH.

Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson might well have added to the glories of Boston the cultured audience which assembled at the Old South Meeting-house yesterday afternoon for the purpose of hearing him read his lecture on Boston, which was read in this city some sixteen years ago. Among those present were the Hon. Henry L. Pierce, A. Bronson Alcott, Col. Theodore Lyman, Dr. George B. Emerson, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, Hon. Richard Frothingham, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, Rev. Charles G. Ames, and the Rev. Joseph Cook. It has been several years since Mr. Emerson has delivered a public address in Boston, and hence there was a large attendance of his friends and admirers. His lecture was mainly devoted to a portrayal of the educational advantages of Boston, and the high character and culture of its citizens, with frequent reference to the sterling character of its founders.

Commencing with a general reference to the influence of climate and air upon a people, and the belief that to certain spots special powers attach, he said that one who lives one year in Boston ranges through all the climate of the globe, and the influence of this upon the character of the people was to give them greater versatility. With its snows, its east winds, and changing skies, it was not a luxurious climate. Wisdom was not found with those who dwell at their ease. New England, he said, was a sort of Scotland. Those who drink the waters of the Charles River get up earlier than those who drink from the Potomac. Boston was an exceptional city and an exceptional community, in the extraordinary and abundant means it furnished to enable every poor man to secure his child good culture and a finished education by its libraries, its schools, and the sympathy of the community with every manifestation of talent. Citizenship in Boston he regarded as a sort of nobility, and it commands attention as the town appointed in the history of nations to lead the destiny of New England.

He then referred to the founding of the early colonies at Plymouth, Salem, Weymouth, and Medford, and finally to the foundation of Boston, giving a beautiful description of its harbor and bay. He narrated some of the curious stories which were current in those times about the country, such as the burning over of Monadnock Mountain to destroy the lions, the sweet fern which caused the people to faint, etc.; and referring to the religious character of these early settlers he said a good woman who knew some of them said they had to hold on to the huckleberry-bushes hard to prevent being translated. The deep religious element which pervaded the early settlers was the basis of many of the most prominent traits of the New England character, and the foundation of the school and the village lyceum side by side with the church had tended to promote the culture of the intellect until New England supplied a large quota of ministers and teachers to the South and West. It had produced a refinement that makes the elegance of wealth look stupid. While its founders were united by personal affection, they stood in awe of each other as religious men, and for the first time an ideal social compact was realized. He spoke of the Old State House as the seat of the Revolutionary counsels, which, like the Old South, knew the voice of Adams and Otis and Hancock and the early patriots, and Mr. Emerson in this connection expressed the hope that the modern rage for improvement would long spare both of these modest monuments of our ancestors.

In speaking of the foundation of the State he said that the phrase often heard among boys on the street, "I'm as good as you," was the essence of the Massachusetts bill of rights. It soon demonstrated that moral values would become money values, as a house in Boston came to be worth as much again as a similar house in a town of timorous people. There was nothing like a stirring town, instead of a talking town where nothing was doing. Boston had never been wanting in some theme of discussion to prick the sides of conservatism, from the days of the persecution of the Quakers to the time of Abner Kneeland and Garrison and Andrew. In all great parties it was the ceaseless agitators, the men that were never contented, who did the work, and not the men who wore the badges of office and spent the salaries.

Boston never wanted a good principle of rebellion in it. It always had a respectable minority, as in the times of the defenders of the slave against the politicians and the merchants. He referred to the early literary eminence of Boston, and noting that it produced no finished writer between 1790 and 1820, he said it had well sustained its early reputation in this direction in these later days. Another peculiarity of Boston was that it had given good sons to good sires, like the younger Adams, Otis, and Quincy; the high character of its State papers had been maintained by the character of its executives from Winthrop to Andrew; and the decisions of its Courts were respected as good law, both in America and England. If it had not produced a Milton or a Shakspeare, it must be remembered that Nature was a frugal mother, who never gives without measure, and that in its early years Massachusetts wanted strong-hearted and strong-willed working-men instead of epic poems and dramas. The distinctive features of this new Atlantis were its civil and religious freedom, education, social order, and loyalty to law. Our little city among the rocks owed its existence and its virtue to the principles which were deeper than the rocks, and so long as it cleaves to these principles of liberty, education, and truth, it would teach the teachers and rule the rulers of America, its geniuses could write the laws, and its historians the fate of the nations.—*Boston Journal, April* 17.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

MAY, 1877.

The Tenth Annual Convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association will be held in Masonic Hall, corner 6th Avenue and 23d Street, New York, May 24, 1877.

The nation has entered upon its second century of existence, leaving one-half its citizens political slaves. While the form of our government declares woman's demands to be righteous and just, man's legislation still holds her unenfranchised. As in law is found the security of rights, and as woman has been denied the constructive rights of the Declaration and Constitution, she must seek recognition in specific law, by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The great effort of the National Woman Suffrage Association this year will be for a sixteenth amendment which shall specifically declare woman's right to the ballot. The right of petition is woman's only recognized method of influencing legislation; a million names to the Forty-fifth Congress would have great moral influence upon Congress and the nation. The United States already has three classes of voters, the black men, naturalized male citizens, and amnestied rebels; each of these has right to the ballot under United States authority. Though by decision of the Supreme Court in case of Virginia L. Minor, of Missouri, all women were remanded to the States, yet as the national government had power to invest with the ballot in the above instances, it has like power to enfranchise woman.

Let us therefore meet and discuss the best methods of attaining this great object.

MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, *Ch. Ex. Com.*

All contributions to this convention should be sent to Ellen C. Sargent, 1733 De Sales Street, Washington, D. C. Letters should be addressed to Mrs. Gage, Fayetteville, N. Y.

N.B.—The New York State Woman Suffrage Society (organized in 1869) will hold its annual convention in Masonic Hall, May 25th.

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE,
Ch. Ex. Com. N. Y. State Society.

All contributions and correspondence for the State should be addressed to Miss Jennie MacAdam, 238 West 14th Street, New York City.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

LONGINGS.

BY C. APLIN.

Oft the prophet's eye has seen it,
Oft the poet's tongue has told,
How the future in its bosom
Bears the happy Age of Gold!

Age when all things dark and evil,
In truth's sunlight broad and free
Like the noisome mists shall vanish,
And the good alone shall be:

When all men shall be as brothers,
War's harsh dissonance shall cease;
Love fulfil her angel mission,
And the peoples dwell in peace.

Still the prophet looks and listens;
Still the poet hopes and dreams;
While sometimes earth's cloudy verges
Seem to catch the golden gleams.

Oft upon his field of triumph
Has the hero died content;
With the martyr's groans of anguish
Oft the songs of victory blent.

Yet through all the lapsing ages,
Still unconquered, bold and strong,
Changing ever, dying never,
Strides the Protean form of Wrong—

Scoffs the prophet's word of wisdom;
Scorns the hero's battle blade;
Hardly for all human yearning
Does its shadow fail or fade.

Still unsolved the mighty problem,
If it be in Heaven's design,
Man by virtue of his manhood
May attain to the divine.

Yet to faith's ecstatic vision
Shines afar the herald-ray,
And the poet's song of gladness,
Wistful, hails the coming day.

With her presages of beauty
Nature all her being fills;
And the spirit depths within us
Stir and leap with answering thrills.

Like the low mysterious music
Ocean murmurs to the shore,
Come the sweet and solemn voices,
Calling, calling evermore.

And the poet's faith-song echoes
To the wisdom of the sage;
Strength and trust and high endeavor
Yet shall bring the Golden Age.

Be not idle, then, nor faithless,
Soul of mine, for it may be,
With the longing and the striving,
Heaven at last shall come to thee.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 21.

L. Neufeld, $4.04; Hon. S. Campbell, $3.20; J. W. Pike, $3.20; David Bruce, M.D., $3.20; Jay Patrick, $10.75; Chris. Lewis, $3.50; Thos. Dodge, $8.25; J. J. Kerr, 35 cents; Mrs. W. P. Southworth, 25 cents; Mrs. Peter Phillips, $1.50; J. E. Hitchcock, $3.20; A. M. Lathrop, $3.25; W. F. Abbot, $1.50; W. P. Wilson, 70 cents; Lydia M. Plummer, $10; Enoch Plummer, $3.20; M. W. Moakley, $1.60; James Blinn, $1.60; Benj. Cobb, $1.25; Chas. E. Gager, $3.20; W. H. Spencer, $3.20; Max Lemaire, $3; Nathan Tabor, $1; Prof. J. E. Clark, $1.50; H. B. McNair, 20 cents; C. A. Lloyd, $2; Mrs. L. B. Sayles, $3; R. Burnham, 80 cents; R. G. Shaw, $6.40; Cash, $1.50; T. H. Cushing, 25 cents; Susan A. Tyrrell, $3; A. A. Bell, 50 cents; P. Sidebotham, $5; W. F. Hayes, $1.85; H. C. Southworth, $3.20; W. R. Cole, $3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 26, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

WE ARE requested to state that Mr. Charles Ellis proposes to give a course of free lectures in this city at Amory Hall, beginning Sunday afternoon, April 29, at 3 P. M. The subjects of the course are to be: I. Authority. II. The Infinite Impersonal. III. Prayer to God an Absurdity. IV. Reconstruction. All interested are invited to attend.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD is holding a public debate with Professor Braden at Denver, Colorado, beginning April 23 and lasting twelve nights. The rules of discussion are published at length in the *Daily Tribune* of that city, and great interest in the debate has been excited. Mr. Underwood is a skilful debater, and has won a very wide reputation at the West by his ability and success in such encounters.

AN ENGLISH gentleman, ordering ten copies of THE INDEX containing "The Scientific Method in Religion" to be sent to his address in London, writes: "Allow me further to ask you respectfully either to print this paper separately for sale in the usual way, or to grant me permission to make the request of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in London that they will do so." A few copies of this lecture had been already printed privately in the form of a handsome pamphlet, on thick tinted paper and with broad margins; and these will be mailed to order at twenty-five cents each. But any one is at liberty to reprint the lecture who may desire to do so. Our wish is to disseminate the thoughts it contains as widely as possible.

THIS LETTER, published in the New York *Tribune* of January 16, with reference to the Sunday closing of the "Permanent Exhibition" at Philadelphia, is full of instruction, and shows afresh what an outrage on the rights of the people was committed by the Centennial Commission last summer in shutting on Sundays to the general public, but opening secretly to the privileged few, a great Exhibition for which the whole people had been taxed. The letter is headed—"The Permanent Exhibition: Plea of a Poor Man to have it Open on Sunday," and is addressed to the editor of the *Tribune*:—

Sir,—The *Tribune* being the workingman's paper, and mine particularly, will you allow me to say a few words on the letter of "J. C." in Saturday's paper? He says the whole Christian community rejoiced that the Centennial Exhibition was closed on Sundays, and he hopes, if any part is opened hereafter, it will be kept closed on Sunday. Now he must know this is not true. Thousands of Christians, including ministers, petitioned for the Exhibition to be opened on the Sabbath, to say nothing of other thousands, not Christians, but who have equal rights with them. I spent a fragment of one Saturday there, and never felt so much enjoyment in anything before. Of course I could not see much in the short time I had, and I had to return to work on Monday, or lose my place. Some one told me that a few persons would be admitted on Sunday, and I went, thinking it might be such as me, but I found it was not. Some dozens of people were let in—great people I was told,—and spent what time they liked looking at things at their leisure, while I and some thousands more spent most of the day looking through the fences and knot-holes, and thinking what a grand thing it was to be great and rich. If "J. C." had heard the rebukes that I did showered on the Centennial Commissioners, and churches, too, he would have changed his opinion, I think. I am a poor man, but would have given all the money I possess to have spent that Sunday in there with the big men. JOHN BAYLIS.

NEW YORK, Jan. 13, 1877.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE DEATH OF REV. JOHN T. SARGENT.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Free Religious Association, held in this city on April 23, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"With tender appreciation of the graces of his character and the righteousness of his life, this Committee recognizes the loss it sustains by the death of a beloved member, John Turner Sargent.

"Carrying the generous dream of his youth into the practice of his latest hours, courteous and sincere, gentle and inflexible, having the wisdom which springs from purity of heart and the dignity which attends perfect uprightness, he has crowned his early protest for Freedom in Religion by a constant adherence to its principles.

"This recognition of his faithful services is presented with deep sympathy to Mrs. Sargent by his fellow-workers."

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 31st, at 7.45 P. M., business session in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and consideration of the practical work of the Association. A special discussion is also invited on the proper interpretation of the word "scientific" in the first article of the Constitution of the Association.

Friday, June 1st, at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for Essays and Addresses. Morning subject: "External Dangers of Religious Freedom." Afternoon subject: "Internal Dangers of Free Thought." Speakers and essayists will be announced hereafter.

A Social Festival is to be held Friday evening at Horticultural Hall.

W. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

FREEDOM AND FAITH.

In kind compliance with our request, Rev. Francis G. Peabody, of Cambridge, has furnished for publication this week a recent discourse of his on "Faith and Freedom," a brief abstract of which in a daily paper had attracted our interested attention. It is an exposition of the Liberal Christian or Unitarian view of a very important subject, made with exquisite simplicity, sincerity, and frankness, and sure to command the respect of every discerning reader. From beginning to end, one feels himself in contact with a mind which presents no second-hand commonplaces, no mere echoes of a traditional system, but rather the fresh thoughts of a singularly guileless and truth-loving nature. Such qualities are too rare not to be charming wherever they reveal themselves, especially in the pulpit, which so often exhibits their exact opposite; and it would be difficult to find a more winning illustration of them than is offered in this discourse.

There is little, if anything, in Mr. Peabody's main thought, from which we differ; at the most, we should simply ask some questions. The answers to these questions would in all probability develop points of more or less difference; but his statements scarcely suggest them. It is certainly true, for example, that real freedom is a means rather than an end; that it cannot be absolute, or independent of an environment; that it does not confer a right to "do or think *as we please*," regardless of others; in short, that it is "freedom to do one's best." Perhaps it is not so certainly true that "Christian faith" is simply "the conviction that the straightest way to God lies through the spirit and influence of the life of Jesus Christ." More than this, by the testimony of the Christian Church itself, is involved in those comprehensive words, "Christian faith"; but there is no need of inquiring here what that more is. It is enough to say that the "faith in an infallible Church and the kindred faith in an infallible Book," which Mr. Peabody recognizes as unfavorable to freedom in his own sense of the word, cannot be dropped out of Christianity except under the strenuous protest of almost united Christendom; and that the issue between "faith and freedom" has been historically waged without any such omission.

It is especially when Mr. Peabody says that "we become aware that the best work is done, the enduring structures built, only when beneath the method of science there is a foundation of genuine and spiritual faith," that we should like to ask—"faith in *what?*" The vagueness of the word faith, when evacuated of all reference to an infallible Church or Book, perplexes us a little, and leaves us in doubt as to the extent of his meaning. There is a perfectly intelligible and very common use of the word which is applicable to science; "faith" in the universality of law, in the constancy of Nature, in the validity of the scientific method, etc., is no restriction of freedom, but rather a sign of it, and science would be impossible without such faith as this. But Mr. Peabody undoubtedly means more than this,—how much more, we do not know. Without resorting to conjecture as to his meaning, however, we will pass to some general considerations of faith, in its theological and scientific senses respectively.

The essential difference between faith theological and faith scientific, we conceive, lies in the difference of their underlying grounds. In itself, considered merely as a state of mind, faith is a complex union or consolidation of the intellectual, the emotional, and the active—a psychological compound of thought, feeling, and will. It is a condition of complete *confidence* in an idea or a person, based on belief and culminating in act. Belief seems to lie at the bottom of it, no matter how it manifests itself. A Christian has faith in God or in Christ primarily because he cherishes certain beliefs about him. A business man has faith in a particular investment because he believes it will prove profitable, or in a particular bank because he believes it well managed. A scientific man has faith in the laws of Nature because he believes that they are constant—that like causes will always produce like effects. And so on; belief seems to be the *substratum* or foundation of faith, no matter what may be the form of its manifestation. But the difference between theological faith and scientific faith (or faith in any of its other than theological senses) lies, if we mistake not, in the fact that the former always requires for its belief an *authority*, and the latter a *reason*. The one appeals to the authority of a Pope, a Church, a Book, as its own ultimate ground; the other appeals to evidence, to reasoning, to experience. Scientific faith is *rational* because it always asks, and can always render, a *reason* for its belief; theological faith is *irrational* because it asks *no reason*, but relies wholly on authority.

It is in the light of this simple distinction that we would answer an inquiry made in a private note from Rev. Mr. Chadwick, of Brooklyn, which we suppose he intended to be answered in these columns. He writes: "I have been reading your lecture in THE INDEX. . . . I write to ask you about this passion for the truth, this certainty that it must be best to know the truth. Does this passion, this certainty, rest upon a scientific basis which you have yourself discovered—which anybody has discovered? If not, does it involve a Transcendental element, or is it only an intuition in the new sense (Lewes') of an inherited experience? You of course are bound to deny the former, but, if not the latter, what is the nature of the experience that is the ground of the conviction?"

This question is a very proper one to be put, and we thank Mr. Chadwick for putting it.

1. The "passion for the truth" is the natural hunger and thirst of the intellect—its natural appetite or craving for the only food which can keep it alive. Before knowledge (science is only clarified and verified knowledge) can be acquired, the desire for knowledge must be excited; and this desire is the "passion for the truth." The intellect seeks, by the very law of its nature, to know what is true; it cannot seek to know what is false, for that is not knowledge at all. Its whole function is to seize the true relations of things in the confused impressions that come to the mind from all sources, and to correct its own mistakes by reflection; and, like every other faculty, it grows by what it feeds on. The "passion for truth," therefore, is the natural appetite, the necessary characteristic of every intellect which has attained a healthy, vigorous development; and it is strong in proportion to the degree of this development.

2. The "certainty that it must be best to know the truth" is simply an induction from the totality of human experience, collective and individual alike. Experience teaches each of us afresh, as it taught the race before we were born, that the worst evils of life are traceable directly or indirectly to ignorance; and the certainty that it is always for the best to know the truth is exactly as strong as our own experience of the miseries that result from not knowing it. No Transcendental or *à priori* intuition is necessary to convince us of the superlative importance to our own welfare of getting all the light we possibly can, with reference to the nature of our own environments; the

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experience of mankind, if it has taught us anything, has taught us that ignorance is weakness, that "to be weak is to be miserable," and therefore that it is always best to know the truth. It is really a question only of the relative benefits to be derived from ignorance and from knowledge; and, although ignorance may possibly be, as has been asserted, the "mother of devotion," knowledge is certainly the mother of civilization, of culture, of all that is high and ennobling in human society or in the individual soul. Above all, knowledge of moral and spiritual truth is the prime requisite of lofty religious character; and the experience of all ages is our warrant for the conviction that it is "always best to know the truth."

3. How much is contributed to the formation of this conviction in a particular instance by the general experience of the race, and how much by the experience of the individual himself, it may be difficult to determine. Strictly speaking, no *specific* experience can possibly be inherited; nothing is inheritable but the *capacity* for experience. That this capacity is increased by cultivation or use, and that, thus increased, it may be transmitted by inheritance, is indubitable; but it is an abuse of words leading to confusion of ideas to call such an inherited capacity of experience an "intuition." The original sense of the word intuition, as used by Kant, was an "objective perception" of "a singular and individual object"; and this is its only proper philosophical usage. Lewes and Spencer have done a disservice to philosophy by confounding the *inheritable capacity of experience* with the *non-inheritable specific experience;* and this very unfortunate confusion has only introduced darkness into the discussion of "intuition." Visual power increased by constant use,—that is, an improved visual faculty and organ,—may be transmitted, and in the course of generations may become extraordinarily developed, as in the case of Indians or of eagles; but no particular act of vision can be transmitted at all. The intellectual perception of a special truth (*e. g.*, the existence of God), however unquestioned it may be, is not transmissible as such; all that is transmissible is the faculty of perception itself, heightened and improved by cultivation. This distinction is of the utmost importance to exact thinking on this subject; and we therefore attribute the conviction that it is "always best to know the truth" neither to the Transcendental intuition nor to intuition in the "new sense" of Spencer, but to a fresh induction from experience by the individual intellect, whose powers are, of course, an inheritance from ancestral sources. But it should not be forgotten that this conviction is not a universal one. The world has not yet generally attained to it. Too many people believe that falsehood is more useful than truth, and it is only the best intellects that love and serve the truth with deep faith in its paramount utility and sanctity.

We now are in a position to understand the kind of "faith" which science recognizes; namely, a faith which demands and can give a "reason" for itself, and which, therefore, is alone entitled to the praise of being "rational." Faith in truth, as we have seen, rests on reason, not on authority, and is only strengthened by the growth of science. But it demands absolute freedom for the intellect, so far as all the ancient "authorities" of the Church are concerned. The intellect has faith in its own perceptions and conclusions, in proportion to the strength of the evidence and its consciousness of its own strength. A feeble mind never has strong convictions, though it may have tremendously strong prejudices; a strong mind may have strong convictions which are erroneous, but it never rejects the offer of fresh evidence or clings to its error in the face of it. To fear investigation or to flinch from the exposure of error is always the proof of an intellect relatively weak in comparison with feeling or selfish purpose. A powerful mind always has faith in itself, faith in the beneficence of truth, faith in the laws of thought and the capacity of thought to compass the discovery of truth; and it is in virtue of this *faith for which it can render a reason* that it insists on absolute freedom from *all forms of faith which have no reason to render.*

The issue between freedom and faith, therefore, more exactly stated, is the issue between FAITH RATIONAL OR SCIENTIFIC and FAITH IRRATIONAL OR THEOLOGICAL. And we believe that no form of religious faith, however disguised or gilded, however vigorously battled or craftily plotted or tenderly pleaded for, can permanently maintain itself in human society or the human mind, unless it can satisfy completely the demands of the scientific intellect by giving a full and adequate "reason for itself."

HOW TO MEET THE CONFLAGRATION.

Mr. Gannett is right that the points of sympathy with other faiths or forms of faith are as real and as important as the differences, and much of the best work of the Free Religious Association has been in finding the sympathy of religions, the union in great essentials of the most alien faiths. But my practical question would be, which side needs emphasis in regard to such a movement as Moody and Sankey's?

When a fire is sweeping over the city, would you strive to show the beneficent uses of well-regulated fire, which is always the same in substance, or would you stay its ravages by its great neutralizer, water? The trouble with the revival movement is not that it utters no truths, but that it emphasizes and energizes its half-truths or falsities with such destructive agencies as are extremely harmful. We would not fan the flame with a wind of opposition, but we certainly would try to bring up all those reserved powers which would keep the people cool and calm and interested by its power.

Let me tell a little story. A revival was going on in a pleasant village, sweeping in the young people by its fierce excitement. A wise lady who had some young people under her care took occasion to make pleasant parties for them, and invited their young friends to her beautiful garden, and gave them that natural, healthful enjoyment proper to their age. One of the revival ministers felt the counter-current, and called to remonstrate with her. He found her sweeping a room. She sat down, broom in hand, and talked freely and pleasantly with him. "Do you not feel the importance of religion?" said the minister. "Oh, yes!" said she; "we must have religion in everything. When I sweep my room, I feel that I am not religious, if I do not go thoroughly into the corners and remove every particle of dust. I always teach my young people so."

The revivalist retired, feeling the difference of their religions, and not sure that his would win the victory.

When we find a people persecuted and oppressed on account of their religion, then let us emphasize the side of common unity, and help ourselves and others to charity and justice towards them. We will not "break the broken reed, nor quench the smoking flax," but will bring our buckets to help put out a conflagration. E. D. C.

Communications.

"WOMEN AND CHRISTIANITY."

CHICAGO, April 13, 1877.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I have just read your editorial in THE INDEX of April 5, containing a statistical report of the relative number of men and women requesting prayers at the Moody and Sankey meetings. The result showed, as you expressed it, that "women are the chief dependence and support of Christianity in the United States, and that without this support Christianity could not long sustain itself as a social power at all." There are many, however, who will dissent from your consequent conclusion that woman's enfranchisement will be likely not to have an immediate beneficial effect on our free institutions. For myself, in this connection, I desire only to repeat what has been often said by yourself and several of your correspondents, that the poorest way to teach woman how to use the ballot is to continue to withhold it from her. It would be like refusing to teach a child to walk until it had first learned the use of its feet. I have no doubt that, when we get the ballot, we shall handle it rather awkwardly at first, not knowing just exactly what it is for or how we are to use it, and it is quite possible that many of us will treat it as the women of old did their jewels, and consign it to the Church for safe-keeping, and as a symbol of our devotion, But such over-zeal as this always punishes and in time corrects itself, and perhaps in consideration of how man's misuse of the ballot has invariably tended in the direction of immorality, we can afford to be a little patient over woman's misuse of it in favor of religion.

But the point I wished to call attention to was the inference you drew with regard to the superior culture of the non-praying man over the praying woman. Such a conclusion does not seem positively demonstrated as yet. It may be fairly doubted if the widespread masculine scepticism of the present day is a more healthful moral influence than the prevailing feminine credulity. If the sceptic were always an honest doubter, and never a mental shirk, then the figures you have given us might tell wofully against woman's intelligence as compared to man's. As it is, the worst, and that is enough, that can be said of them, so far as she is concerned, is that they militate largely against her common sense. They do not in consequence prove man's superior wisdom, for his unbelief may rest on quite as shaky a foundation as her belief. It is true, as you say, that "the Christian religion has already lost its real, if not its nominal, hold on the cultivated masculine mind of the nineteenth century"; but does it necessarily follow that all "masculine minds" upon whom this religion has lost its hold are therefore "cultivated"? So far from thinking that the attitude of the average business man towards Orthodoxy is one of careful and conscientious doubt, I am more inclined to believe it to be that of supreme indifference. He does not so much reject the creed of the Church as ignore it. He has an abundance of shrewd common sense, and suspects it is a fraud, but is too much engrossed in stocks and dividends to care to verify his impression. In the meantime he encourages his family in their credulity, hires an expensive pew, and does not disdain to occupy one corner of it, wherein he presents a pleasing picture of somnolent respectability. And, what is more significant, it not seldom happens, when the lamp of life flickers and dies out, that he manifests the uneasiness of an unstable mind, and gives assent to doctrines he has formerly ridiculed and affected to despise. At heart such liberals are cowards, and are always to be found on the safe side.

Because the majority of thinking men are men of advanced and liberal views, it does not therefore follow that all liberals are thinkers; and so it may happen that a woman of devout religious feeling is superior in thought and culture to the professed atheist whose atheism is mere conceit and flippancy. I would have women pay less attention to the fame and superstition of religion, and men pay more attention to its spirit. When men are as able to explain and justify their unbelief as women are unable to account for their belief, then I will believe that her religion proves his wisdom, and his irreligion her stupidity. Until then, I hesitate at concluding that, because more than twelve hundred and eighty-four men can be found who did not request prayers, therefore they are the intellectual superiors of twelve hundred and eighty-four women who did. The quality of a man's mind is not determined by its outcome, but by its method.

CELIA P. WOOLLEY.

FIRST-HAND TESTIMONY ABOUT CHINESE MISSIONS.

Lately, when in a Western city, while attending service at a Congregational Church, I listened to an eloquent sermon on the efficacy, the necessity, and the success of foreign missions. The minister was very earnest, without doubt very sincere in the belief he expressed; and I could not help thinking what a great amount of matter was asserted from the pulpit as *fact*, though the same might be the purest fiction. It is not for a moment to be imagined that a preacher does not himself believe thoroughly in all his assertions; but I do think he often takes as fact the assertions of others without direct inquiry into the subject to assure its truth.

During a residence of four years in China, I associated considerably with missionaries, saw the result of their workings, and inquired into their experiences. In China, all the different religious sects have missionary representatives. But the most successful workers are the Roman Catholics. Their success is due to two obvious reasons. First, their forms of religious worship are so similar to the Chinese form, that no great change is demanded of the convert. Secondly, the Catholic missionaries adopt the Chinese costume, and go among the people just as do the native priests. Within twenty miles of Shanghai there exists a cluster of hills, known as the "Feng Wang Shan" Hills. On the summit of one, the height of which would not exceed five hundred feet, a chapel has been erected by the Jesuits. It was computed at the consecration (at which I was present) that within three days over one hundred thousand Chinamen visited the chapel. During the two days I remained in the neighborhood, endless seemed the stream of arrivals; the creeks were crowded with sampans, some of which came over one hundred miles to witness the ceremonies. Many of the boats floated from the stern a flag decorated with a red cross. The pilgrims on their way to church knelt at the many shrines, told their beads, and said their "paters." All this would have been more surprising had I not already visited one of the largest and most celebrated monasteries in all China, the monastery of "Ku Shan," near Foochow. The similarity between this institution and a Catholic oné of the kind is most marked; the following are noticeable points of resemblance: the Chinese priests wear long, gray cloth garments, with rosary, beads, etc.; their heads are shaved, and they are celibates; and there is a chief priest corresponding to a Catholic abbot. In Chinese temples the idols but take the place of the idols of the Virgin and various saints common to the Catholic Church, and are as symbolical in the one case as in the other. No seats are to be found in the heathen temple; there are mats for devotees to kneel upon; and incense burns before the altars upon which stand lighted candles, while a bell summons to worship as regularly as at St. Peter's in Rome. The Chinese priest goes among his people, attending to their interests, and extracting money from them just as the Catholic priest does. Has not enough been written to prove the similarity existing between the outward forms of Roman Catholicism and Buddhism? To these similarities may be ascribed the more general success of Catholic missionaries; and it is to be inferred from the preceding that numerous converts *are* made.

Now let it be observed that the fundamental principles of Christianity and Buddhism agree on the two most salient points, and these are *so* salient that Jesus said they embodied all of Christianity. Both Christ and Confucius taught, "Honor to the supreme power, and to do unto your neighbor as to yourself." Now it may be asked reasonably, When two religions are so alike in their essentials, why should one declare the other all wrong? During a voyage of six hundred miles into the interior of China I met a Wesleyan minister, who was on a tour of inspection, and quite delighted with what he was pleased to call

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the success of the work. Our arguments on the necessity of missionary labor induced me to look more closely into the subject, and the following result will stand for a fit memorial of the whole success:—

From an American missionary in Hankow who had had ample experience from fifteen years' work, who stood high among the missionaries, and had large opportunity for judging, as Hankow and Wuchu, the latter one of the most important and wealthiest cities in China, were within his district, I learned that the mission in five years spent $45,000, and at the end of that time, when the roll was called, but three responded as converts, and these three were known to be scamps. The schools of the mission were well attended; the number of *apparent* Christians was very large; but his experience assured him that in the fifteen years he had worked, he had never made a convert in the true sense of the word, and from the clear comprehension of the subject. This is easily explained, for it is the fact that all so-called converts are made from the commonest element in the country,—among beings compared to whom the stupidest negro might be deemed a Machiavelli. To convert a man of respectability is so rare as to be hardly ever done; and to give an idea of the effect, the *enlightening* effect that Christianity has upon the assumed converts, be it known that as a rule a missionary will not employ in *his* service any convert, for such lie and steal. No wonder; for in professing Christianity they lose caste with their own people, and with it respect for themselves.

A great deal is said and written about the hard life missionaries lead, of their trials and privations, and on this account a great deal of money is drawn from charitable pockets. My actual experience from visiting eight or ten towns is that they live in the greatest luxury,—that they live in better style than most of our successful merchants, keep a better table and more servants, and enjoy quite as much of the good things of this life. They become rich, buy land, lend money at extortionate interest, and many retire from the scene of their labor with a competency. If any one could be certain of living as well all his life as do the poorest missionaries I have seen in either Foochow, Ningpo, Shanghai, Ching-kiang, Ku-kiang, Hankow, and Wu-chu, he need not complain.

In conclusion I would ask, what is the use of sending abroad year after year such large sums of money to effect an end which is an impossibility, and, even if it were not, would do no good as a success? Of what use is it to give a nation another name merely for its religion? That thing becomes a success which has some utility. But must there not be an immense amount of utility about a religion whose converts are not employable even by their converters? What can be the use of spending millions yearly to make a certain number of beings say, "I believe in the doctrines of Jesus," rather than in those of Confucius, when the sayer has not enough comprehension to understand the principles of either? I have still to add that, if the opinion of the mercantile communities of China be asked as to the utility of missionary work, it will be found to be the almost universal opinion, that the whole undertaking is a great mistake, and a great waste of money that might be better employed; and I submit that on this topic a fairer opinion can be had from such a source than from the workers themselves, who will not willingly publish their own uselessness, and who naturally enough do not want to relinquish their livelihood. Further, I would ask, in the name of common humanity and charity, is it right to send year after year such vast sums as are sent, to continue such a useless piece of work, when here at home our own poor are a much more worthy object of our charity and care? JULIAN DE CORDOVA.

BOSTON, April 13, 1877.

THE INWARD SPIRITUAL LIGHT.

The doctrine of the early Quakers seems to have been that there was an inward light "that lighteth every man that cometh into the world"; that this light, as a rule of faith and practice, was above all Scripture; and that every one who was fully obedient to this inward teacher would finally be sanctified and saved, no matter what his religious faith might be, or whether he was found in the highest walks of civilization or in the hut of the Hottentot. Whether this doctrine was entirely true or not, there perhaps was never a braver company of men and women than that devoted band of Quakers who went up and down in the land preaching the inward light.

The tendency of these times, however, even with Friends themselves, appears to be to leave the subject of an inward light almost entirely in the background, and to hold up the Scriptures as the highest guide in religious matters. Hence it becomes a proper subject for inquiry, whether or not man has any Spiritual guide to direct him in the right way or the way of salvation. In regard to this way, however, there seems to be considerable difference of opinion among men.

One class of persons think that man is in the way of salvation when he does right. Another class urge the necessity of believing right, or of accepting the true faith. Perhaps more or less controversy has always existed between the advocates of faith and the advocates of works. One class, no doubt, can testify that they are made happy when they exercise full faith in some doctrine. The other class can testify that they are made happy when they do right. Besides this difference of opinion with Christians as to the relative value of faith and works, there are various notions amongst the inhabitants of the world as to what is the true religion.

The Buddhist thinks that his religion is the inspiration of youth and the comfort of age; that it has increased for more than twenty-five centuries and now numbers nearly four hundred millions of the human race as its subjects, and that it is the true religion. The Mohammedan thinks that his is the true religion; that it is now making its thousands of converts in India, and that it has nearly two hundred millions of followers. The Catholic says that his Church is by far the largest branch of the Christian Church; that it has a regular succession from the Apostle Peter down; that it has gathered to its fold two hundred millions of souls; and that those who obtain salvation must do so through this Church and faith. The Protestant Church is composed of Methodists, Baptist, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Friends, and a number of other denominations, and is supposed to number about a hundred millions in the world.

No two of these sects believe just alike, but each one claims that it finds ample evidence in Scripture that its faith is the true faith. A number of the Protestant sects believe in the doctrine of predestination, and think somehow that the glory of God will be promoted by consigning the great majority of mankind to the regions of eternal death, without giving them any chance to escape. Other sects believe that a chance of salvation is offered to all, but that by far the largest majority will nevertheless be lost. Others think that it is God's purpose to save all men, and that he is able to accomplish his purpose. Another class concludes that God only proposes to save those who believe in and submit to water baptism.

Now in all these conflicting systems of religious faith there is much honesty, and the devotees of each particular creed are no doubt comforted in the belief that they are right. Many of those, even in the smallest, narrowest sects, may perhaps look with a kind of yearning pity on what they imagine to be the great outside world of erring barbarians. But it is self-evident that so many opposite systems of faith cannot all be true, and the fact of so many creeds being honestly held is the strongest evidence that man has no infallible spiritual light, or inward teacher to show him just what is sound doctrine. If there was an infallible guide in all to direct them precisely right in religious matters, it would not be possible for humanity to be divided up as it is into Buddhists, Mohammedans, Christians, and Infidels. If it was God's plan to save only those who believe just right, he certainly would enlighten all so that they could know what to believe without making any mistake. Many persons think that it is necessary to believe in what is called the "plan of salvation"; but it is not likely that the inward light, apart from Christian education, would lead to this belief any more than it would to Mohammedanism. Some imagine that the comfort experienced when they exercise full faith in a certain doctrine is conclusive evidence that that doctrine is true; but it should be remembered that it is the nature of faith to comfort, and that faith in error may sometimes be equally inspiring and comfortable as faith in truth. So it appears that the inward light does not show people to a certainty what religious creed is right; but one Scripture-writer says: "He hath shown thee, oh man, what is good; and what doth the Lord thy God require of thee?" What is this? Why, simply to "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God."

Now all men, no matter how depraved, have something of a sense of the beauty and propriety of doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly. The inmates of the worst dens of degradation in all lands will perhaps acknowledge the righteousness of the Golden Rule. This great rule of life has been taught in more or less emphatic terms in all the great religions of the world. Moses says: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Now if one loves his neighbor as himself, he will certainly be just and merciful to that neighbor. Confucius, who was born 551 B. C., said: "What you do not want done to yourself do not do unto others." Hillel, who lived 40 B. C., said: "What is hateful unto thee thou shalt not do unto others." And Jesus, in his great Sermon on the Mount, said: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them." The doctrine of returning good for evil means, I think, that men should still do right to those who do wrong to them; and the duty of this course has been recognized and taught perhaps in all ages.

Buddha said: "The man who foolishly does me wrong, I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love. The more evil goes from him, the more good shall go from me." Mohammed said: "Turn away evil by that which is better, and he between whom and thyself was enmity shall become as though he was a warm friend." Jesus said: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you." Thus we see that the duty of loving enemies and of observing the Golden Rule has been taught in heathen as in Christian lands. In all nations and through all contradictory systems of religious faith, the sense which men have had of justice has been much the same. This universal sense of right, or justice, then, is the inward spiritual light or "grace" which, according to the Scripture-writer, "bringeth salvation" and "hath appeared unto all men, teaching them that they should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world."

While this light of itself does not show people fully what religious creed to believe, its tendency the world over is to bring mankind to the love and practice of righteousness. It brings condemnation for sin, and through condemnation works humiliation, repentance, and final amendment of life. And conversion through the instrumentality of the inward light progresses as the selfishness of human nature is slain, and as there is a yielding to the highest sense of right under all the trials of life.

But this gradual conversion through obedience from a bad to a good life appears to be almost lost sight of in this day, when so many things are done in a hurry by steam; but it should be remembered that "the mills of God grind slowly," and that it is a difficult thing to purge the badness all away from human nature by any quick steam-process. If we look out into the world, we may find great numbers who will tell of the day and the hour when they were "converted," and yet they seem all the time running over with the little and larger tricks of selfishness; they are not humble; they are not merciful; they are not peacemakers; they do not unto others as they would have others do unto them. In short, they seem almost entirely destitute of those qualities which were so conspicuous in the life of the great Nazarene. Yet they satisfy their consciences with the conclusion that they have been "converted."

It would be really healthy, if some people could conclude that the sudden change of feeling which is frequently called conversion, is nothing more than an experience which comes up under certain conditions, and that, if this experience does not lift people out of their selfishness and make them live purer lives, it amounts to nothing to them.

While this universal sense of right to them is certainly a light and a guide, it may not be entirely infallible in all the complications of life. Persons may be very desirous to do right, and yet under some circumstances they may hardly know what would be best. But I think the plan of the world in all its departments is one that is calculated to promote growth and progress, and it may not always be against man's final spiritual welfare to blunder and suffer under the impressive lessons of experience.

We know that reason is a guide in regard to temporal duties, but it is hardly infallible in any, for the wisest are sometimes mistaken. The best thing for all is to use what intellectual light they have, that it may grow stronger by exercise. The man who looks wholly to intellectual authorities for counsel, instead of to his own judgment and experience, will never be much of an authority himself. So the greatest spiritual lights of the world have undoubtedly been those who have risen entirely above the bondage to authority, and through the light in their own souls have searched after truth for themselves.

This inward light, in its operations upon most minds at least, does not reveal the facts of future existence; but it is saying in all men: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." Certainly those who live up to the best light which God has given them in this life have the best grounds for trusting themselves to his fatherly care for the life which may be to come.

The Church of Rome places infallibility in the Pope, and therefore necessarily denies the authority of the inward light and the right of private judgment in spiritual matters. The Protestant Church, without apparently knowing it, is about as fully committed to the doctrine of infallibility as the Church of Rome. Whenever any Church holds up certain articles of faith, as absolute truth, and demands that they shall be believed, without being questioned, and without being tried by proper evidence, it has planted itself squarely on the platform of infallibility. And it makes no difference whether the creed is dictated by the Pope, by an Evangelical Alliance, or by the pastor of some isolated congregation.

It is difficult to conceive to the full extent what a power a church may be for the crushing out of free-thought and for the perpetuation of mental slavery, when it claims to dictate infallible truth, and threatens all who do not believe with the vengeance of eternal fire. It is to be hoped, however, that in every conflict superstition may be weakened and the right may make some advance towards victory, and that finally humanity may be united together in the great brotherhood of one universal religion, in which the inward light, the voice of reason, and the demonstrations of science will all harmonize and work together for the highest good of the human race.

D. EDWARDS.

RAYSVILLE, Ind.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. ABBOT:—

I have to-day, for the first time, read your interesting journal, THE INDEX. Being a busy family man, I have not of late years attended public lectures, or sought communion with the progressive spirits of the age, as much as formerly; but my reading has been of the solid, scientific, and historic works of great modern writers. The investigations and discoveries of this age go far to confirm my early conclusions respecting religion. I am now upwards of fifty years old, and great is my joy that I found the right way even in boyhood. My grandfathers and one of my great-grandfathers were Universalists. Their instruction did much to open my mind for the reception of light and liberty. If the revivals of my youthful days disgusted me, they now astonish more than offend my experienced mind. Our noted Evangelists are calling on us to "come to Christ," believe their creeds, ignore all science, all logic, all reason, and have faith, against common sense; that the Bible is an infallible book; that a certain earnest free-thinker of Galilee was a god to be worshipped; and that a handful of over-zealous enthusiasts in Christendom are the only conservators of true religion; and (worse than all) that, unless we all do just as they direct, and become "born again," we shall go to hell.

This is certainly a disgraceful sight to witness in such an age as this, unless we keep constantly in view that men are only civilized apes.

But I wish to be respectful to opponents. I heard Theodore Parker's sermons and lectures, though not one of his disciples. How glad it made my soul to hear him declare his unbelief in the miracles described in the Bible! Mr. Cook mystifies Parker's idea of Jesus. Parker said in his lectures at the Melodeon, that Jesus was nothing more than other

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men, although he might have had an extraordinary power of healing by his touch, as had been the case with certain other persons. Mr. Parker was ever trying to discover scientific truth. He once attended a little gathering at the lodgings of Andrew Jackson Davis. I was present, and some eight or ten other friends. Davis described his discoveries of spirits in the upper air. Mr. Parker asked Davis what sort of clothing the spirits wore. Davis was slow to describe it; and Parker asked if they had on "jackets and trousers." At this Davis seemed a little disturbed, and remarked that it was no great matter what they wore; "but," said he, "they had light, airy robes about them, and they dwelt upon the top of the ether that surrounds the earth." Of all this Mr. Parker seemed incredulous. Yet he was willing to listen and investigate. He evidently did not believe in spirits at all. I never could determine what sort of life Parker expected in a future state.

Theology has been over-practiced in the world as a means of acquiring power and wealth. As long as it is made a profession and a trade, so long will superstition and idolatry be preached. Converts often confront my arguments with the assertions that they don't need to reason about religion, for God speaks directly to their souls, and holds communion with them, and tells them what is true and what is false. Is this superstition, or is it insanity, or both? Indeed our communion with Nature is communion with Deity, which, as the moral poet sings:—

> "Lives in our souls, informs our mortal part,
> As full, as perfect in a hair as heart,
> As full, as perfect in vile man that mourns,
> As the rapt seraph that adores and burns."

But there can be no miraculous intercourse between God and man any more than between him and brutes or trees. The stupendous theories of Providence erected by schoolmen in past ages have nearly faded out. Plagues, earthquakes, and misfortunes are seldom considered dispensations, as they were in Cotton Mather's time. But still much of the old leaven of folly inheres in certain creeds. The success of Moody and Sankey consists in their appealing to the affections of unsophisticated people, especially youth and the female sex, unaccustomed to reason for themselves. And by not denouncing any trade or profession, by not requiring any good past record in their converts, by not using any arguments or investigation respecting their doctrines, they attract all classes of weak minds; even the base and criminal look to them for fellowship. This cannot be of permanent benefit; for the converted will soon discover that they have been cheated and duped into unreasonable conduct. Fear of hell is not a high and effectual inducement to become good and noble characters. Moody and Sankey should preach righteousness for its own sake, truth because God is truth, virtue because that alone is happiness, temperance because licentiousness is death, faith not in myths of the dark ages, but in honor, honesty, brotherly love, forgiveness of injuries, justice. When people see plainly that a virtuous life pays best, they will become properly converted and born again.

D. DUDLEY.

BOSTON.

AN ISRAELITE'S PROTEST AGAINST CHRISTIAN PROSELYTISM.

ATLANTA, Ga., March 31, 1877.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—Enclosed is a letter (one of the many I and my friends are troubled with) and some *tracts*, which came from one of your "brethren in the flesh" whose tender heart at New Brunswick, N. J., was touched with compassion for my poor soul at Atlanta, Ga. It may be of some spiritual benefit for you to peruse it. And perhaps you will be able to tell me why such "Christian" friends evince so little self-esteem and so little respect for the feelings of their fellow-men.

NEW BRUNSWICK, March 8, 1877.

REV. H. GERSONI:

My dear Israelite,—May I ask you why you are still clinging to your present belief? It is but a shell, and the kernel is taken out of it.

You may ask the reasons.

I. The sceptic has departed from Judah.

II. The number of weeks prophesied by Daniel were fulfilled at the time Christ was upon the earth, which would prove that he had come.

III. And when the Messiah came, the sacrifice on the altar was to cease, and there are other proofs to show that the Messiah has come.

But what I desire to impress upon your mind, my dear friend, is the *necessity of a sacrifice*. To be without a sacrifice is to be without one to bear the weight of your sins, of which the law is the criterion by which to judge. Man has the guilty nature of Adam, and how can he stand free at the bar of God without a sacrifice?

Your fathers had sacrifices by which they were made perfect in the sight of God, and that was effectual if that they believed in the coming of Christ who was to be the real sacrifice of which their sacrifice was a type. Therefore they were rendered just through faith in the sacrifices of animals, believing it to be a type of the coming sacrifice—the Savior—the Christ—the Son of God.

But now there is no altar fire; there are no sacrificial victims—the types of the true Lamb of God; yet you are compelled to do something. It will not be policy to wait until the time is at hand when you will be compelled to stand before the Judgment Seat of God, to answer for the many sins for which you have no sacrifice. For you must either build your fires upon the altar and sacrifice (but that will not be effectual, for the time of the types has passed away and the Lamb of God was sacrificed upon the cross), or you must accept Christ as your sacrifice. He is willing to accept you now in your present condition, and will wash away every stain of sin; so that when you die you will be sanctified and accepted of Jehovah as perfect.

Let this matter not be postponed, but settle it now.

The Holy Spirit is knocking at the door of your heart, now asking you to resign yourself to the Master—through the *one sacrifice of Christ*. There is only one way by which you may avoid the wrath of an angry God, and that way is through the blood of Christ, which was shed for all those who will believe.

Turn not, turn not your back to this call of grace. In whatever direction you may go, you will meet the same manifestations of the displeasure of God, which reaches its climax in the torments of hell.

Stop and think and pray to God earnestly for direction, lest you be turned aside from the way—the only way to a reconciled Jehovah!

Come, dear friend, do not delay. Christ's is the the *true*, the *loving* way.

Your well-wisher,
C. W. HIGGINS.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

Who gave that fellow Higgins and his "pals" the right to impose upon my time with his incoherent gibberish? By what human, or divine, or devilish authority do they presume to pry on the matter of conscience between me and my God, and to force upon me the spectre of their mediæval ignorance, all blazing with the flames of hell and steaming with gore,—not the hell and the gore of a divine revelation (for such things could never be), but those which the ancestors of Higgins & Co. have created here on earth for my persecuted race, and which their worthy descendants are doing their utmost to keep alive?

There is not an instance in social and civilized life but we Israelites try to show to the world that we are ready to forget, that we have forgiven long ago, all the injustice we have suffered from the Gentiles. But like the Alaka of the Bible, whose progeny can never be satisfied, the miserable tools of a degrading and senseless theogony are incessantly at work with their devilish foolishness to stir the old wounds, to drip fresh poison into the healing scars.

Talk about the aggressive efforts which an *ipse idem* hierarchy is making against the liberal institutions of this land,—talk about the injustice which courts of justice and institutions of equity, imbued with the delusive frenzy of Christian theogony, are perpetrating almost daily against the rational and the liberal-minded! What will you say to those religious monomaniacs who, not satisfied with having turned their churches into nurseries of *delirium tremens*, endeavor to carry their influence into the quiet study of a man who knows them not, who has not the least desire to know them?

If I feel indignant about this matter, it is because I consider it a burning disgrace to humanity that they should be encouraged by Americans. Do not Americans maintain these "conversion" societies? Do they not uphold the tract societies which publish the enclosed trash? Do they not send them broadcast over the land and thus rock the masses into the sleep of ignorance and exclusiveness, instead of endeavoring to elevate them to higher thoughts and more dignified conceptions? As to the fellows Higgins & Co., who honor the Jewish ministers with their precious missives,—it is simply ridiculous that those who have perhaps never seen how the original of the Bible looks, should tell Hebrew scholars the meaning of Jewish legends written in the Hebrew tongue; that they should presume to tell a Jewish minister, "Your present belief is but a shell, the kernel of which is taken out of it."

May this my protest rouse all those who are troubled by the same parasites (and I know that almost every rational thinker and every Israelite are imposed upon in the same manner) to lay their cause before a generous American audience, and may it lead to the result of having the disgraceful stain washed away from the face of this "land of the free."

Respectfully yours, HENRY GERSONI.

OBITUARY.

Died in Syracuse, N.Y., March 5th, in the eighty-second year of his age, Mr. ABIRAM MILLS, father of C. D. B. and W. R. Mills, of Syracuse, and of Hon. H. A. Mills, of Mt. Carroll, Ill.,—the last named gentleman well known to the readers of THE INDEX as one of its most earnest friends, and a staunch advocate of freethought generally.

Mr. Mills was formerly a clergyman in the Presbyterian Church, and in the old years, when the anti-slavery conflict was in progress, stood early and late among the devoted champions of the American slave. He coöperated earnestly with Beriah Green, Gerrit Smith, and others of like stamp, and the work wrought by these tireless, intrepid apostles, especially in Central New York, had much to do with the amelioration, the transformation even, of the general sentiment with regard to slavery, that opened the way for the significant events that have followed. Of strong polarity to truth and right, he was the fast friend of humanity universal, and he never ceased to regard with deep interest and cordial fellowship whatever enterprise sought sincerely and faithfully to promote the welfare of man.

In the latter years of his life, withdrawn as he has been from active service, he has not lost in the least his sympathy with human kind, or his love for its progress. Although he never perhaps outgrew fully the limitations of early theological education, yet his eye was ever opening to the broader recognitions of religious truth in our time, and he felt a lively interest in the discussions now going forward in behalf of freedom and growth in religion.

With the sterner qualities of a man, such as gave him a high, upstanding character, an exactitude and rigor of moral requirement, he united in fine blending the susceptibilities which mark and distinguish woman; he had deep tenderness, sympathy, and a warm, magnanimous love. Gentle, generous, kindly to all, he was ever one of the most genial and attractive of men, loving and loved by all.

The writer can never forget the signal patience and fortitude, the oblivion of self and tender consideration for others, that he exhibited in his last sickness, a sickness which at times brought sufferings the most excruciating and intense that flesh can bear. The gentle soul never lost its sweetness, trust, and generous love. It was an honorable, brave, victorious life, victorious in its day and in its gloaming and its close.

The record is laid up on high and can never fade away. It is inscribed in humanity and there it shall live. Fare thee well, thou loved and honored one, thou most kind, magnanimous parent, thou loving father, thou noble, universal friend! To the keeping of the infinite Truth and Love in death, as in life, we may most confidingly commit thee. Peace to thy soul, and blessings ever on thy hallowed name and memory!

COM.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., April, 1877.

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DRABBLED IN ATONEMENT BLOOD.—I look a little forward, and behold you are at the judgment. Yes, you are there in murderous blood; the mark is on you,—it's on your feet! How hard you trod Him down, when you treated with contempt His salvation! Oh, how drabbled in Atonement blood you are! As these blood-spotted multitudes are made to face retribution, I seem to see restrained lightning grow restless and fiery. Oh, how its forkedness shoots out like adders' tongues,—lurid and red, all tremulous with charged damnation, as if in haste to be avenged on that spotted throng! How Atonement blood on feet stirs the vials of wrath.—*"Shocks from the Battery": a volume of Sermons by Rev. B. Pomeroy, of the Troy M. E. Conference, published in* 1869.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

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THE LABOR QUESTION—

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

MOODY AND SANKEY have closed their thirteen weeks' meetings in this city; and Boston's intellectual neck is not yet broken!

THE MINNEAPOLIS Liberal League sent out an address to the people of Minnesota on the Governor's late proclamation of a day of fasting and prayer to avert the grasshoppers. It is a rich document, and will be given to our readers next week.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition have been received as follows since our last issue: from Mrs. Almira L. Tracy, Peterboro, N. Y., 248 names; from Ingersoll Lockwood, Esq., New York City, 27; from Mr. George F. Ransom, Cleveland, Ohio, 31; from Mr. D. Q. Curry, Decatur, Mich., 79; from M. A. Blanchard, Esq., Portland, Me., 144. Total number thus far received, 4,836.

THE *Independent* incautiously admits that "numbering the additions to the churches is the best way of numbering the converts." We commend to its prayerful attention this anecdote from its own columns: "'I am convinced that the world is daily growing better,' remarked the reverend gentleman to a brother clergyman; 'my congregation is constantly increasing.' 'Yes,' interrupted the brother, who happened to be a penitentiary chaplain, 'and so is mine.' And there the discussion on the early arrival of the millennium dropped."

MR. FROTHINGHAM'S new book, *The Cradle of the Christ*, an account of which by the New York *Tribune* we republished in THE INDEX of April 5, discusses the origin of the New Testament, especially of the four gospels, from a purely literary point of view, and gives information which we have often been asked where to find. It is quite unnecessary to mention the charms of Mr. Frothingham's style; they are too well known to the readers of this journal. But this book ought to be widely known, as a distinguished thinker's treatment of a scholarly problem.

THE FOLLOWING is from the Passaic *City Herald* of April 7, and refers to the Religious Freedom Petition: "There is but one test, in fact, which is universally applicable—the test of life. He who makes the best husband, father, and citizen, who is governed by high aims and noble impulses may believe what he pleases without molestation. He who overruns with love to the neighbor cannot be far out of the way in his love for God. We have before us a petition to totally eradicate sectarian teaching from our public schools. We want to prevent any possibility of any union of Church and State. We want no Protestant country, no Catholic country. We want a universal country, in fact, free from all sectarian influences and where the mind of the child and adult shall be free. We have a petition to this effect to be presented to the next Congress already numerously signed. Those who wish may sign by calling at this office during the next three days."

THE BOSTON *Congregationalist* rejoices over a "debt-paying revival" on the Pacific coast; and the New York *Observer* urges a movement along the whole line upon church debts, taking advantage of the same means. Now we profoundly respect every honest attempt to pay a debt, though it is better to keep out of debt. But we do not respect the profession of tender concern for the salvation of converts, when the real concern is how to get dollars out of their pockets to pay church-debts with; and that, if we understand it, is exactly what a "debt-paying revival" means.

THE NEW YORK *Daily Witness* of March 22 crustily remarked: "The *Sun* says Robert Ingersoll dined with the President on Sunday. This is, we suppose, the blatant atheist whose advocacy was a reproach to the Republican party, and, if the report be true, which we doubt, we cannot help deeply regretting that President Hayes should entertain any such company. 'Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.'" The Republicans were glad enough to have Col. Ingersoll's aid in prosecuting the Presidential campaign; but, now that their candidate is in the White House, they (or the dominant Orthodox portion of them) growl at the "blatant atheist" who does not know enough to keep in the background. "Equal rights in religion" are not likely to be made a part either of the Republican or the Democratic platform. But then the people do not care very much for equal rights in religion. It is only a few impracticables like the editor of THE INDEX who think such rights worth troubling oneself to secure. As to the future of religious equality, or the causes which are steadily rendering the demand for it more and more chimerical, there is not a statesman in the country who occupies his thought about a problem so absurd.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* published this paragraph lately: "A strange story comes from the north of Spain. A moribund landed proprietor, notwithstanding the entreaties of his family and friends, refused to receive the consolations of religion. His family, thinking they had overcome his scruples, sent for the parish priest; but upon his arrival the sick man declined to receive him, and the priest withdrew, declaring that the devil would come in person to carry off so hardened a sinner as soon as he was dead. A few hours afterward the sick man died, and, while the family were watching over the body, the door of the room was opened with a great noise, and there appeared upon the scene a personage arrayed in red, brandishing a pitchfork, dragging a long tail after him, and smelling very strongly of sulphur. His appearance created so much terror that the women present fainted and the men rushed out of the room by another door. A man-servant, hearing the screams, and thinking that thieves had broken into the house, armed himself with a revolver, and made his way to the room from whence they proceeded. For a moment, he, too, was terrified by the appearance of 'the devil,' who by this time had got the body in his arms; but, mastering his fears, he fired three barrels of his revolver at him, and the supposed devil, who fell to the ground, proved to be the parish sexton, disguised as Satan. He was quite dead when picked up, and four priests, who are suspected of complicity in this attempt to work upon the superstitious feelings of the family of the deceased, have been taken into custody."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Thoughts Suggested by an Easter Sermon.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

The sermon in question is entitled "The Resurrection," and is founded on a passage in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians; namely, "If Christ be not raised your faith is vain." In most respects this discourse resembles the hundreds of others which are annually preached on the day called "Easter Sunday," but it contains one concession rarely expressed by clergymen, the introduction of which may make the discourse worth commenting on. The preacher says: "Our faith in the event commemorated by this Easter day is a historical faith, and we need not fear to go back to examine its foundations. Let us see who testify directly to the resurrection, and if their testimony is worthy of credence." This is a fair and reasonable proposition, and it seems a pity that most clergymen discourage, instead of favoring, scrutiny of the kind referred to. Indeed, the preacher of this very sermon does nothing but quote and insist upon such parts of the documentary evidence as seem to favor his theory. Yet, as he invites examination, we will look at some other aspects of the matter.

The first witnesses appealed to by the preacher are "the women" (Mary Magdalene and the other Mary) who are said to have visited the sepulchre early Sunday morning, and of whose visit four different and diverse accounts are given in the four gospels. These narratives, to some extent conflicting with each other, are the only documentary evidence in regard to what the women in question saw and heard. The inquiries first in importance then are: Who gives us these statements about the women? Who wrote the four gospel narratives? and, How soon after the events described were they written?

Somebody, we know not who, has labelled these narratives the Gospels "according to" Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; which may mean either that they were written by those persons, or written on information or tradition derived from them. Inquiring more minutely as to authorship, we find good evidence that Matthew the Apostle wrote a life of Jesus; but the same evidence proves incontestably that the document he wrote is not the one now in our Bibles. The Hebrew gospel of Matthew is lost, probably beyond recovery. It may or may not have been used (nobody knows) in preparing our version of the gospel "according to Matthew," which nobody pretends to have been written earlier than thirty years after the crucifixion. Luke, writing at least as long after, tells us plainly that his narrative is a collection of testimony gathered from various quarters. The gospel "according to John" is, confessedly, of much later date, and the testimony gathered in regard to it in the last half century seems to show conclusively that if John the Apostle wrote the book called "Revelation," he did not write the fourth gospel. Moreover, the later critical scrutiny just referred to shows increased probability; first, that all these gospels were written much later than has heretofore been assumed, and next, that none of them were written by eye-witnesses of the events therein narrated.

In spite of the evidence to this effect brought out by modern criticism, which was, no doubt, accessible to the preacher if he had cared to look for it, he goes on to affirm: "No event in the history of the world is so well authenticated as this event which Christendom to-day celebrates. The concise histories of Tacitus are not so trustworthy. The accounts of Livy and Herodotus are less reliable."

I will not be so cruel as to hold the reverend gentleman to the precise terms of the above extravagant statement. I will not suppose him really to mean that we do not know "so well" the facts about the French and American revolutions, the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo and his death at St. Helena, as we know the restoration to life of the dead body of Jesus. I will take what he meant instead of what he said, and accept his contrast of the gospel narratives with the writings of Livy and Tacitus. Let us look at some of the circumstances.

We know who Livy and Tacitus were, and when and where they lived. We know about the time when their respective histories were written; there is no question of the authenticity of those books, nor of the competence of their authors for that work. there is no reason to doubt that Livy and Tacitus inquired more or less carefully, and wrote according to the best of their knowledge and belief; and there is contemporary evidence to confirm most of their statements. Nevertheless, our confidence in their intelligence, their accuracy, and their honesty of purpose does not lead us to accept everything they said as true. When Livy says that, on a certain occasion, an ox spoke ("*locutus bos*"), we do not believe it. Nobody now believes it. Even the people who accept the speaking of Balaam's ass do not accept that of Livy's ox. They reject it promptly, on general principles, without thinking it worth the trouble of particular inquiry or critical examination; and this even while admitting that Livy probably believed it.

What is the standard of discrimination in this case? What is the rule by which, admitting Livy's general trustworthiness, we unhesitatingly reject certain parts of his testimony? The rule seems to be this,—that, the more extraordinary the statement, the fuller, more abundant, more minute, must be the evidence. Livy's bare statement is enough to assure us about an insurrection, a war, a famine, an imperial succession; but when it comes to articulate language uttered by an ox—something contrary not only to all our experience but to the most enlightened estimate of possibility,—there we stop; we feel it needful to inquire if there was any evidence in the case beyond common rumor; and, further, if any circumstances explain how Livy, or the Roman people in his time, could possibly credit such a thing.

Of the ox's speaking we find no evidence that came to Livy other than common rumor, a ground which we see to be quite insufficient to substantiate it; but inquiry shows us plainly how Livy and the Roman people of his time could believe it. The religion in which they were educated—a religion, dissent from which was thought impious, and was certainly dangerous to the questioner—assumed the reality of many things which we now see to have been impossible. So that generation, on theological grounds, accepted the speaking of the ox, just as our generation, while utterly discrediting that, accept, on similar grounds, the speaking of Balaam's ass; each generation accepting the affirmations of its own priesthood, without regard to evidence, or probability, or even possibility.

Returning now to the testimony of the women in regard to a resurrection of the body of Jesus, we find that they occupied, theologically, a position exactly parallel to that of Livy; they had been educated in the belief that miraculous restorations from death to life had repeatedly occurred. The records of their religion were full of miracle, and the coming of such things into their own experience, however startling, had nothing incredible about it. So when, on going to the sepulchre, they found it open and empty, and when, inquiring for the body, they were told that it had come to life and gone away, they had no difficulty in believing; neither had they any difficulty in assuming that this news, told them by "a young man," according to the second gospel, or by "two men," according to the third, was told by an angel, as the first gospel declared, or by two angels, according to the fourth. Their theology assumed, as a matter of course, that angels might at any time appear to men, and talk with them; and it was from traditions handed down from this sort of persons, holding this sort of theological belief, that the narratives which we call gospels were compiled, from thirty to sixty years later. Clearly, for evidence of something so intensely improbable as the coming to life of a dead body, we need something more to the purpose than what, thirty or forty years after, was reported by unknown persons to have been said by "the women," thirty or forty years before.

The next point made by our preacher is that Peter, James, Thomas, and the rest of the apostles believed this resurrection doctrine so firmly that they were willing to die for it. If this were an argument at all, it would prove too much, for Julian the Apostate, Hypatia, Servetus, Giordano Bruno, were equally willing to die for their widely different beliefs. But it has no force as an argument. Firmness of belief is not in the least a security for soundness of belief. As a matter of fact, here in New England as well as in India and China, unwavering theological belief springs from credulity far oftener than from intelligent conviction, and most of the vast variety of beliefs are held without evidence, though the believers are ready to die for their faith.

"But Paul too," says our preacher, "believed in an Easter day most strongly; and Paul was a sharp reasoner, a clear thinker, and an acute logician." Yes, both these points may be admitted, exceptions excepted in the latter. Paul was a firm believer and a very great man; but he could not escape from the circumstances and influences of his time; and he, like "the women," was so prepossessed by belief in miracle as to have felt, like them, no need of scrutiny in regard to evidence. Paul was a very great man; but his reasoning was sometimes unsound, his quotations from Hebrew Scripture were sometimes incorrect, and sometimes inapplicable to the matter in hand, and his confidence in the Hebrew idea of Messiahship was so overmastering that he could not help interweaving it with the character and the mission of Jesus, in spite of the fact that the life, the teachings, and the death of Jesus were irreconcilable with the chief features of that idea. Most Christians, reading the New Testament through "in course," finishing the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles before coming to Paul's epistles, and not noticing the dates of these works and the chronological order of their succession, suppose the expressions of Paul to be confirmatory of what had been thoroughly established at first hand in the Gospels and the Acts; whereas, in fact, the confident and oft-repeated assumption in Paul's epistles that Jesus was both "Christ" and "Lord," being written and circulated years before the first five books in the New Testament were written, was no doubt the chief determining cause of so much of the assumption of the Messiahship of Jesus as appears in those five books. There can be no doubt that to Paul, much more than to Jesus, is due the authorship of what is now called Christianity. How he persuaded himself of it remains a mystery; but being so persuaded, he had force of character enough to impress that idea upon his contemporaries, whose traditions, echoing his assumption, gave rise in succeeding years to those records which have ever since been accepted as truth and law. We need better evidence of the resurrection of the body of Jesus than Paul's acceptance of it, under Paul's circumstances.

As our preacher insists so strongly on the sharp reasoning, the clear thinking, the acute logic of Paul, it may be well to look, in passing, at one of the many instances where Paul's rhetoric got the better of his logic. In regard to the very subject we are here considering, Paul says to his Corinthian converts, "If Christ be not risen then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." Is that really so? Surely he preached, and they believed, something else besides the resurrection of the body of Jesus. So far as that preaching and that belief regarded God, and duty, and responsibility, and retribution, the doctrine of repentance as illustrated by "the prodigal son," and of loving helpfulness to one's neighbor as illus-

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trated by "the good Samaritan," they were quite indepent of the resurrection doctrine. Those ideas are just as good, just as true, just as needful to be preached and believed and acted on without a resurrection of Jesus as with it; and even immortality, if the resurrection of Jesus were sufficient to prove it, had long before been proved by the revival of Lazarus, of the daughter of Jairus, and of the son of the widow of Nain, not to speak of the more ancient instances in Old Testament history. Immortality was *not* first brought to light by Jesus. Socrates and Plato taught it before him. Neither was he, as Paul says, "the *first* fruits of them that slept." The cases just referred to had previously given the same sort and the same amount of demonstration, if the records in the two Testaments may be relied on. But the argument has no more soundness than the assumption. The revival of a dead body would not prove the immortality of even its own soul, still less of the souls whose bodies rotted in the earth without rising. The doctrine of immortality rests on other and better reasons, though even these do not amount to demonstration.

Our preacher, rivalling Paul in extravagance of statement, speaks of early Christianity as "the religion whose chief article of belief was in a risen Lord." Is that so? We had supposed that to be meek, to be merciful, to be peaceful, to be pure, to be honest, to be helpful, to seek righteousness, to stand fast in liberty, to turn away from all evil and follow after all good, were parts of the doctrine of Jesus and of Paul, and parts quite as important as any others. But our preacher is so much in the habit of exaggeration, and so much in bondage to the letter, that he even adopts, for himself and his comfortable New England hearers, the saying of Paul that if in this life only he and his brethren had hope in Christ, they were of all men most miserable. Paul had good reason for saying so. His doctrine, in that age, brought upon him not only general reproach and contempt, but persecution as bitter as any human being was ever subjected to, proceeding both from the government and the people, and including serious danger to limbs and life in every public address and every private gathering of Christians. Now, on the contrary, the public profession of Christianity brings a man not only higher respect and esteem in general, but more custom in the way of his trade or profession and a better chance of election to offices of honor and profit. At the present day, one great danger and misfortune to the Church is that its high estimation in the community tempts unworthy men to pretend piety to gain the worldly advantage of church-membership. Yet, none the less, the cant of revivalism constantly assumes that "to profess Christ" is to take up the cross, to make enormous sacrifices, to become as the offscouring of all things, etc., etc.

Another of the ingenious methods of our preacher, as of his class of proselyters generally, is to assume that, if the resurrection story be not literally true, it is "a lie," "a monstrous fable," "a horrible lie," "a gross falsehood," "an imposture," "a baseless fabrication," "a gigantic fraud," "a grand imposture." And he tries to persuade his hearers that if they decline to accept this latter repulsive theory, they must needs accept the former; must inevitably admit that a dead body first returned to life, and then, having proved its restoration by walking, talking, and eating, ascended through the air, beyond the sight of the gazing disciples.

Our preacher goes still further in this sort of attempt to compel assent to his doctrine. He represents that, if the resurrection narrative be not literally true, Jesus himself must be regarded as "a worthless imposter"!

Why does our preacher pertinaciously refuse to admit—why does he try so hard to prevent his hearers from suspecting—the possibility of mistake in this matter, without fraudulent intention? Why does he not present, in explanation of the way such mistake may probably have occurred, the fact, admitted by commentators of his own sort, and printed in their editions of the New Testament, that the gospels were not written till many years after the events narrated, giving opportunity for large traditional modification of them, and supplying mythical features in current rumor, which might honestly be selected for record by persons whose whole religious culture had been saturated with mythological beliefs? Does he consciously venture upon the risk and the guilt of making false assumptions, or have the peculiarities of his theological training so confused his mind that the confident assumptions of his church seem to him equivalent to fact and evidence? Probably the latter supposition is the more correct, as well as the more charitable, of the two.

I will give but one more specimen of our preacher's quality. He sums up the doctrine of his Easter sermon by saying of Jesus—"If he is not an impostor, all that he has done and said is strictly true,"—meaning by this first that all which, thirty years or more after his death, was gathered from current rumor in regard to his sayings and doings was correct and accurate; and next, that such correctness and accuracy logically follows from the admission that he was not an impostor! Further comment is needless.

ACCORDING TO the Norse mythology, man was made of trees—the ash and the elm. There is something graceful in this idea. This conception certainly is of a higher order than those which produce man from earth and stones. It is more natural and more noble to regard man as having been made of trees, which, as they grow from the earth heavenward show an unconscious attraction to that which is divine, than to make men stand forth out of cold clay and hard stones.—*Prof. E. B. Anderson.*

TRUTH IS strong enough to indulge charity for error.—*Papillon.*

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

No. IX.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

I must still recur to Swedenborg. Some of the most important ideas embodied in Universology are derived directly from him. Among these is that of the Grand Man. Every consociation, or community of persons, held together by whatsoever bond, as a family, a church, a sect, a political party, a nation, is according to this idea necessarily conceived of in "the sensuous imagination," as in the form, of a man; that is to say of the human body. It has its head, its hands, or executive arm, its feet, or runners, etc.; and especially we may say now that it has a Without, a Within (or interior circle), and their Between. Even an ideal personage, like Brother Jonathan, or John Bull, is submitted to these conditions, in order to be conceived of by us at all. (Boston is, I believe, called "the hub" of one of them; that is to say the Within, the core, the centre, the heart, or the like.)

Society has, therefore, no less than the individual, its body and its mind, and these have their without and their within, if not so distinctively, still no less truly than the individual. This is true, in a larger sense than any I have mentioned, when applied to the whole mind and population of the planet, not merely now living, but who have lived and will live. It is this which Comte calls "Humanity," and which he also names, in the spirit of the idea of Swedenborg *le Grand être* (the Great Being). Spencer has treated the same idea in his essay entitled "The Social Organism"; Draper has applied it to the rise and fall of nations, by analogy with individuals; and Fourier applied it to the planetary population, indiscriminately, as to its worlds or spheres, but chiefly in the mundane sense. It struggled in the minds of Hobbes, of Pascal, of Condorcet, and of numerous others. It is implied and assumed, rather than distinctly propounded, by Hegel as the basis of a Science of History; and the anonymous author of *Vestiges of Civilization*, grasping this thought and demanding this analogy to be made good, avers that "History is still written in America *biographically*; in Britain *empirically*; in Germany *scholastically*; in France alone *philosophically*. But nowhere, as yet, is it written *scientifically*." (p. 15.)

But more specifically, characteristically, and broadly than any other, Swedenborg has seized on and propounded this idea of the Grand or the Greatest Man; the reproduction in collective humanity, by analogy or coincident repetition, of the individual. But in accordance with his general drift, he sees the arena for the special display of this larger human personality, not in this mundane sphere of being, but in the spirit world; and the perfected, orderly, and harmonious development of Society in that world is what he calls Heaven. Still, by his principles, he would have accepted the perfect, orderly, and harmonious development of Society, anywhere, as a miniature or lower form of Heaven; down to such adjustment of the faculties and functions of the individual mind; which is Heaven *within us*, according to the words of Jesus.

Heaven, as an idea restricted to the spirit world, Swedenborg divides into three,—high, highest, and lower; or spiritual, celestial, and natural. This, then, is his account of the Grand Man: "The three heavens together constitute the grand or greatest man." *Arcana Celestia* 4380. "All who are therein are in Heaven, but all who are not, correspond with the various corruptions and diseases of the human body, and are in hell." *Arc. Cel.* 4225. "The Grand Man is Heaven. In the head of the grand man are those who are called celestial; from the breast even to the loins are those who are called spiritual; and in the feet [or lower limbs, the apendicular portions] are those who are called natural." *Apocalypse Explained* 708. This correspondential distribution of the body is more closely stated at other points, but this answers for the general view. "Not only those things in the body which are external and visible, according to their functions and uses, correspond to the grand man, but also those things which are internal and not extant to the sight; consequently, both those things which are of the external man and those which are of the internal man. The Societies of spirits and angels to which the things of the external man correspond, are in a great part from this earth; but those to which the things of the internal man correspond are for the most part from other earths." *Arc. Cel.* 4330.

The attentive reader will observe that instead of Internal, External, and Interior, or Within, Without, and Between, we have here another division of the human body brought into view, into that which is Uppermost, Middle, and Beneath; and that almost the same terms and specifications are now applied by Swedenborg to this second series of discriminations as had been applied to the former. He is justified in what he does in this regard by inherent correspondences between the two series; but his method of presenting the subject is confused and unsatisfactory, he failing sufficiently to distinguish the two series, and to point out their differences, as well as their correspondential identity.

Observe, in the next place, that Swedenborg not only confines the Grand Man to the spirit world, but that virtually and practically, so far as his own writings inform us, and are concerned, he restricts the extension of this ideal grand personage still more; namely, to the Spiritual or Middle Heaven of those three which constitute Heaven at large, nearly omitting the Celestial Heaven above and the Natural Heaven beneath. Throughout Swedenborg's illuminated writings nothing is more obvious than that he almost constantly dominates or modulates in that realm which he himself distinctly specifies by the term *spiritual or by the analogy, in the realm of the Heart and Lungs.* He virtually cuts off both the celestial or ruling domain above (about which he gives us the least possible information) and the ultimate or terminal world, analogous with the extremities of the body (about which he gives us even less), and confines himself almost wholly to the breath-region, or the middle. He does, indeed, make his bow of deference to the head when he says, occasionally and, as it were, parenthetically, that *the intellect is the supreme faculty*, and that the brain *is the realm of principles*, and the heart and lungs only that of *principiates* (or things acted upon, and resultant from, principles); and he confers great honor, in the same incidental way, on the limbs and extremities, when he says, in the same incidental manner, that all [realized] power *resides in ultimates*; but, for himself, he recoils at once from both extremes, and centres himself upon the region of the Chest, which our readers may now begin to perceive, is, in a preëminent sense, the *Spiritual* domain of the human body. The solution of this analogy is this: the Within (which we have already identified with the spiritual realm), coincides with and is, in a special sense, repeated by the Chest; the Without coincides with the Extremities in like manner; and the *Rational Domain*, the Between, coincides with and is specially reproduced by the Head, which is developed out of the Median Line of the body.

It would seem that it was Swedenborg's own personal position in the Grand Man, taking himself as authority, which rendered it impossible for him to have more than a glimmering view of the true distribution of the Grand Man; and that is the reason why every one must feel the utmost meagreness of detail, in this particular, in his writings; for, as he did rightly perceive, "*angels* [*inhabitants of the head*] *know in what province of the grand man they are, but spirits* [*inhabitants of the chest or torso*] *do not.*" *Arc. Cel.* 4800.

This intuitive utterance, which I presume Swedenborg did not himself perfectly understand, I interpret as meaning, in simple terms, that clean-cut intellectualists, those who dwell in the head, have the truth of things clearly defined to them; while those who dwell in the region of the heart and lungs (of the affections, and of inspirational knowledge merely), are liable to have their mental perceptions obscured by clouds and mists and fogs, though they may be as great as a Jesus, a Plato, or a Swedenborg, though their spiritual perceptions may be at times transcendently clear, and though, as in the case of Jesus, the great Heart—man—their sympathetic *rapport* may take hold of and sway the world for ages. Despite of all this, however, the religion of the integral and reconciliative co-action of all the faculties, with the pure intellect presiding over all, will be the religion *of the adult manhood* of the world.

Everybody, each one of us, dwells in some part of the Grand Man, in the thinking and directing head, in the feeling heart, in the executive hand, in the upholding foot, or in some special tissue, viscus, membrane, fibre or cell, which is the social *habitat* of the individual; and it will be one of the results of universology to ascertain and fix the place of each, in this grand rational anatomy, as distinctly as geography now determines one's locality on the earth's surface. The individual may make excursions, may even be a traveller by profession, may go from part to part with the circulation, but some point is sure to be his appropriate home. Every individual character has, so to say, a centre of gravity, a dominant propensity, which settles his destiny, in the midst of all incidental deviations; and he finds, or constantly tends to find, his true position in the economy of the whole.

But, heretofore, the Grand or Greatest Man has never been rightly defined. Swedenborg, at his greatest, still confines him to the Spirit-world, to the virtual exclusion, or at any rate to the entire neglect, of this outer mundane world, and Comte confines him to this outer mundane world to the exclusion of the spirit-world. Let us begin by amending all this, and include in our definition of the Grand or Greatest Man, at least, the entire scope of *Rational* existences. Let us, in distributing his parts, instead of a subdivision of heaven, make a correspondential distribution of this grand totality of rational spheres. The exo-naturismus of our universological Grand Man (repeating more largely Swedenborg's natural heaven), will then be the mundane rational world which we now inhabit, prior to the event we call death, which is the entire *grand être* of Comte; the endo-naturismus of the same is, then, the entire spirit-world of Swedenborg and the spiritists (or spiritualists); especially "heaven"; we need not trouble ourselves at present about "hell," as we are mainly considering what is normal, and as hell, with Swedenborg, means what is diseased and abnormal. (This entire spirit-world then repeats, more largely, Swedenborg's *Spiritual* Heaven.)

These two (the exo- and the endo-naturismus) coincide with the without and the within of the human body—the "soft solids,"—or, by the other analogy, with the limbs and trunk; and, in either sense, they, conjointly, make the naturismus at large. There remains, by the first analogy, "the solids" of the body; and, by the second, the Head (the "hard-headed" scientists) to fill the *rôle* of Swedenborg's Celestial Heaven, which he makes to be the head of the Grand Man. This is, then, the Scientismus of our distribution; and, in our enlarged programme, this thinking head of the Grand Man, this scientismus of the total rational career and destiny, is not something hid away in the spirit-world, or merely so; but is, instead, the universologized pantarchal *régime* of the future, rising above both the mere mundane and the mere spiritual, presiding over them, reconciling and adjusting them, through science and special scientific discovery adequate to that end, and being therefore

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truly the culmination and head, or the flowering out and fruitage of the tree of human progress.

The third of this trio, the Artismus of this growth of the ages, the analogue of the circulation within the body, in one of the series of analogy; and of the totality or completeness of the body (head, trunk, and limbs) in the other series, is evolution in the one view and Integralism in the other view. This whole showing is an *epitome*, and is liable to such obscurity as is incident to a "condensed statement." It confounds as Swedenborg has done, but with something more of discrimination, two series of analogy, which in a full treatise should be very clearly discriminated n detail.

There has not been, heretofore, and there is not, as yet, apart from universology, any genuine reconciliation and integration of the materialistic and spiritualistic theories, methods of thought, and orders of mind, any more than of the two corresponding worlds. We have seemed, from time to time, to be brought to the verge of such a reconciliation by the subtle thought of some philosopher; but we have somehow slid past it, and found ourselves again in the camp of one or the other of two hostile armies. If Swedenborg had adhered to and carried out his basic principle of a correspondential identity between the two spheres, the point would have been gained and the compromise effected; but he proved to be, in fact, as exclusively a mere Spiritualist as Spinoza or Comte was a mere materialist. If we look to the other side there is the same fulness of promise and short-coming of performance. Alexander Bain has stated the true view on this subject in a way to leave nothing to be desired. "His confession of psychologic faith was well summed up by him in his *Mind and Body; the Theories on Their Relation*, published in 1873. He utterly rejected the notion of two substances, and held human nature to be 'one substance with two sets of properties, two sides, the physical and the mental; a double-faced unity.' With this he maintained philosophers should deal, 'as in the language of the Athanasian Creed, not confounding the persons nor dividing the substance.'" And yet Alexander Bain proves to be in fact a mere materialist.

This doctrine, as stated by Bain, is the much-vaunted Monism of Hæckel, and quite generally of the naturismal scienco-philosophers of our day; and adhered to it would be all right. It is Mr. Greene's account of the relation of subject and object in consciousness, generalized to the relation of body and spirit. But it is never adhered to, in any fairness or impartiality. We have only to read on a few pages to discover that any one of these gentlemen is as fully committed to the supremacy of matter, as Swedenborg is to the supremacy of spirit. We cannot trust the casual mental *aperçu* and specious fine statement of any author to decide on his habitual point of view. It is a matter of organic leanings, rather than of definition. We must follow up his exhibit and make, as it were, his personal acquaintance, and sense his character, apart from his sayings, much as we do that of individuals in society. The doctrine of equality between the two spheres, as heretofore uttered, on either side, and as commentated on by the exposition, is like the confession of the equality of the sexes, of which we have heard, and which runs after this sort: The man and the woman are one, and that one is the man; or, if there is a sturdy Amazon in the case, that one is the woman. "One substance" indeed, "with two sets of properties, two sides, a physical and a mental"! But, read on a little and you shall find that the mental is a mere derivation from, and a pure dependency upon the physical, while the physical is something very substantial and independent of the mental; that is to say, the proposed adjustment is all a one-sided affair after all, and no genuine reconciliation in any just sense of the term.

Bain's *double-faced unity* of Matter and Mind (or that of his reviewer) is admirably explicit; and is exactly the universological point of view; pains being scientifically and religiously taken *to maintain always* the absolute equities of the adjustment. Such a procedure would habilitate Swedenborg for the Spiritualities, as completely as Tyndall for the materialities; would redeem our leading thinkers, on both sides, from their abject sectarianism or narrow-mindedness, in rejecting every thing which is not of their own school; and would conduct to that grand mental comprehensiveness, and judicial mental posture which I designate by the term Integralism. They would, in other words be whole men, instead of segments of men.

Of the *double-faced unity*, which is, indeed, the elementary form of all Being, the Principle which is illustrated in the Unity is UNISM; the Principle which is illustrated in the Double-facedness is DUISM, and the Principle which is illustrated in the Totality—the embracing Unity (of the simple Unity and the Double-facedness)—is TRINISM. Hence it results that Unism, Duism, and Trinism are the three fundamental Principles of Being, and so of all things.

INSURRECTION IN THE CHURCH.

The address which has just been presented to the archbishops and bishops, and which has been subscribed by four deans, eight archdeacons, a Regius Professor of Theology, and many other clergymen of position and influence in the Church, is a document of a truly startling character. It disposes once for all of any illusions as regards the extent to which the most outrageous pretensions of the ritualist party have spread among the general body of the clergy. Those who have looked upon Mr. Tooth as a solitary or at worst a slenderly-supported fanatic must abandon their belief on this point when they read an address signed with so many influential names,—an address which, from its substance, might have been drawn up by Mr. Tooth himself, in consultation with his faithful church-wardens. For what the memorialists demand is nothing less in effect than a total reversal of the relations which now subsist between the civil and ecclesiastical authority, and the erection of the latter into a supreme government for the Church. The case which they put forward for this revolutionary change is shortly and simply stated. "On the one side," they say, "we see coercive measures resorted to for enforcing uniformity such as have been happily unknown in this country for centuries; and, on the other, a determination to endure any suffering rather than submit to a jurisdiction which, rightly or wrongly, is regarded as purely secular." In other words, Mr. Tooth has been sent to prison for contempt of the jurisdiction of a court of law, which jurisdiction is regarded as "purely secular"; and whether it is "rightly or wrongly" so regarded, the position, it is insisted, is intolerable to those from whom submission is now required. But the memorialists are not content with demanding that the law should be altered, or even merely that the obnoxious jurisdiction should be purged of its secular character; it must be made impossible for such injuries to be inflicted on the Church in future. The evil must be attacked at its source, and the Church must be invested with that supreme legislative authority which will prevent the possibility of purely secular laws being passed, or of purely secular jurisdictions being created at any time hereafter. Such, at least, is the claim which emerges, somewhat obscurely perhaps, from the next paragraph of the address, but clearly enough from those which follow it. The memorialists are "much impressed by the unsatisfactory character of the authority and arguments to which appeal is made in the controversies now distracting the Church. For, while the Church of England to-day has the same right to decree rites or ceremonies and possesses the same authority in controversies of faith as the same Church had at any previous period of her history, appeal is now made, not to the living voice of the Church, but to events and documents which have themselves always been matters of controversy." This description of the existing system of church government and of the administration of ecclesiastical law is not, perhaps, as clear as could be wished; but there is no uncertainty at all as to the system which the memorialists wish to substitute for it. Believing, as they do, in the "presence in the Church of its Divine Head," they are "convinced that what is required is not the mere interpretation, however skilful, of existing law, but the living voice of the Church clearly laying down what the law shall be in future." The "living voice of the Church" is, it is needless to say, Convocation; it is Convocation which is "clearly to lay down the law of the Church" for Parliament, acting in a purely ministerial capacity, to register. Such is the modest demand of the memorialists, and it is supported on the plea, of all pleas in the world, that it would preserve the "existing relations" of the Church with the State. For these cannot be maintained unless "laws for the regulation of divine service and for other spiritual matters of primary importance" (such, we suppose, as the practice of confession), "are made by an authority which both clergy and laity would feel to be binding upon conscience; and we are equally satisfied that no authority will be considered thus binding which does not proceed from the Synods of the Church as well as from Parliament." Parliament is here politely admitted to a seat beside Convocation, but no doubt is left as to which of the two is to overrule the other. For what now "paralyzes the legislative action" of the Church is "the apprehension that, when her Synodical Acts are submitted to Parliament in the constitutional manner, material alterations may be made in them, and that the final result may be seriously at variance with the intentions of the Synods, and may become law without their consent." Remove this apprehension—enact, that is to say, that Parliament shall not introduce material alterations into the synodical acts of the Church, but shall merely register and give them binding force as civil statutes,—and the paralysis would disappear. No doubt it would; for when "paralysis" merely means subjection to existing authority, a simple interchange of positions between the subject and ruler is pretty sure to afford an effective cure.

This, then, is the claim which can be preferred at this time of day by a Dean of St. Paul's with a train of ecclesiastical dignitaries at his back. The archbishops and bishops are quietly requested to agitate for the abolition of the Royal supremacy and for putting Convocation in the place of the Pope. For that, simply stated, is what their demands amount to; and they are not at pains to disguise, even in words, a pretension which cannot be concealed in fact. They insist that Parliament shall not decree anything in ecclesiastical matters against the consent of Convocation; and they do not even offer in exchange that Convocation shall on its own part decree nothing against the consent of Parliament. Nor would such a concession have been compatible with obtaining a redress of the special grievance of which they are complaining. They want to abolish the jurisdiction of Lord Penzance and to repeal the Act which created it: which means that they would begin their "reforms" by overruling that decision of Parliament by which the Act was passed and the Court established. The address, in fact, is not even a plea for a division of authority between the civil and ecclesiastical powers,—a plea which would be in itself inadmissible; it is a naked demand for absolute ecclesiastical rule. And it comes, not from men who ask to be set free from their relations with the State altogether, but from Church dignitaries who wish to maintain the "existing relations" of the Establishment with the State; or, in other words, who wish to keep their present *status* and emoluments free of the conditions upon which they were originally conferred, —to Romanize the doctrines and practice of the Church by decree of "its living voice," and at the same time to employ the arm of secular authority in reducing to submission any Low Church Mr. Tooth who might resist the decree. That such extravagant pretensions as this can be put forward at this day is surprising; but that it should be put forward by dignitaries of the English Church, and supported on such grounds as appear in this address, is a circumstance of evil omen for the Establishment.—*Pall Mall Gazette, April* 5.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE STATE.

The Rev. Berdmore Compton, of All Saints', Margaret Street, forwards to the *Guardian* for publication an address which has been presented this week to the archbishops as representing the English episcopate. Mr. Compton says: "As the correspondence relating to it has mainly fallen on me, I venture to ask you to insert the following account of it. It was designed for representative rather than general signature, and has been signed only by the few clergy to whom the promoters were able to send it, and by a few others who accidentally saw it. But it is believed that very many other clergy not only concur in its sentiments, but wish for on opportunity of expressing their concurrence. The proper mode of doing this will probably be discussed in ruridecanal or other clerical meetings, who will determine whether to concert large collective addresses or to adopt the readier method of small separate addresses to their diocesans."

"TO THE MOST REVEREND AND RIGHT REVEREND, THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:—

"We, the undersigned clergy of the Church of England, being anxious to retain the relations of Church and State which have so long existed in this country, venture to express to your lordships, as our spiritual fathers, the great anxiety and distress which we feel at the present position of affairs. On the one side we see coercive measures resorted to for enforcing uniformity, such as have been happily unknown in this country for centuries; and on the other, a determination to endure any suffering rather than submit to a jurisdiction which, rightly or wrongly, is regarded as purely secular. Moreover, we are much impressed by the unsatisfactory character of the authority and arguments to which appeal is made in the controversies now distracting the Church. For, while the Church of England of to-day has the same right to decree rites or ceremonies and possesses the same authority in controversies of faith as the same Church had at any previous period in her history, appeal is now made, not to the living voice of the Church, but to events and documents which have themselves always been matters of controversy. Believing, as we do, in the presence in the Church of her Divine Head, we are convinced that what is required is not the mere interpretation, however skilful, of existing law, but the living voice of the Church clearly laying down what the law shall be in the future. With this conviction upon our minds, we beg to urge upon your consideration that, in our opinion, no peace can be secured for the Church, nor can her existing relations with the State be long continued, unless laws for the regulation of divine service and for other spiritual matters of primary importance are made by an authority which both clergy and laity would feel to be binding upon conscience; and we are equally satisfied that no authority will be considered thus binding which does not proceed from the Synods of the Church as well as from Parliament. In saying this we must add that the legislative action of the Church is now paralyzed by the apprehension that when her Synodical Acts are submitted to Parliament in the constitutional manner, material alterations may be made in them, and that the final result may be seriously at variance with the intentions of the Synods, and may become law without their consent. We trust that your lordships will take these representations into your serious consideration, and in your wisdom devise measures to allay the anxiety and distress which is now pressing upon Churchmen."

The first signature is that of the Dean of St. Paul's, and the next is Canon Gregory's. Nearly all the signatories (there are about eighty in all) are pronounced High Churchmen. The address is dated "Tuesday in Easter week, 1877."

The *Times*, commenting upon the memorial drawn up by certain members of the High Church party for presentation to the archbishops with reference to the relations of the English Church to the State, characterizes it as one of the most extraordinary addresses which, even in these days of such documents, has ever been seen. We might expect from such a body of men as those who sign the memorial some expression of opinion which would tend to allay the irrational excitement of the extreme members of their party and to strengthen the hands of authority in dealing with the spirit of rebellion by which the very existence of the Church is menaced. It will be seen, however, with equal disappointment and astonishment, that a course the very reverse of this has been adopted. Nothing more discouraging at the present crisis could well be conceived. In their demand for the self-government of the Church, the memorialists (says the *Times*) leave out of sight entirely what the mass of the laity and, unless we are much mistaken, the majority of the clergy require. The clergymen whose practices have been challenged have accepted their offices, and have received their orders as well as their benefices, upon a distinct promise to conform to the existing law. Such is the definite contract into which they have entered with the Church at

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large and with the State; and that which the State and the Church require of them is that this contract should be fulfilled. The Synods of the Church may perhaps some day acquire the power now coveted for them, but only on one condition,—that the clergy abandon the privileges and the benefices which they possess under the existing constitution of Church and State.

The *Daily Telegraph* says it would appear to be not liberty for all, but supremacy for themselves which the memorialists demand. The last word on the subject, however, must be that, so long as the spiritual power wants to have the privileges and emoluments of a State Establishment, the power which establishes it—that is, the will of the Queen, Lords, and Commons of England—must always hold supreme authority in finally determining what it is that it establishes.—*Pall Mall Gazette, April 5.*

PROSECUTION OF MR. BRADLAUGH.

Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, the editor, and Mrs. Annie Besant, sub-editor, of the *National Reformer*, were arrested yesterday morning on a charge of publishing what is alleged to be an immoral book. The work is a pamphlet by the late Charles Knowlton, M.D., entitled *The Fruits of Philosophy*, which deals with the Malthusian theory as to population, and it is sold by the defendants at the offices of the Freethought Publishing Company. Some few weeks ago Mr. Charles Watts, who is also a freethought lecturer and publisher, was indicted at the Old Bailey for a like offence; and on his pleading that the work had been sold unchallenged for many years by him and others, and that he had not, therefore, taken the trouble to peruse it, but that as soon as the proceedings were commenced against him he had diligently read it, and found that he could not conscientiously defend it, and had thereupon stopped its sale, he was let off on payment of costs, amounting to something like £200. Upon this Mr. Bradlaugh openly announced his intention to reprint and publish an edition of the work, as he considered that so far from containing anything of an objectionable nature it dealt with matters of vital importance, and was really conductive to the best interests of society, and that in its prosecution and suppression a blow was dealt to the freedom of the press. He therefore said he was determined to contest the legality of the prosecution, and about a fortnight ago commenced republishing what he called an amended edition of the work. Since that time many thousand copies of the work have been sold by Mr. Bradlaugh and his assistants, and the first two copies of the new edition he delivered personally to Mr. Martin, the chief clerk at the Guildhall Police Court, and to the authorities at the City detective office, at the same time stating to the latter that if it was found necessary to arrest him he hoped they would do so at as convenient an hour as possible, to avoid the unpleasantness of his passing a night in a police cell. It appears to have been found necessary to arrest the defendants, which was done about ten o'clock yesterday morning.

From the Bridewell Police-station the accused were taken to the Guildhall justice room, where they were brought before Mr. Alderman Figgins on the charge of publishing an obscene book on March 24. The names and addresses were given as Charles Bradlaugh, of 10 Portland Place, St. John's Wood, publisher; and Annie Besant, of Oaklands, Mortimer Road, St. John's Wood, journalist.

Mr. Bradlaugh asked that only formal evidence might be given, and the case adjourned, as he was not prepared with the witnesses for his defence.

William Simmonds, a city detective constable, said that on Saturday, March 24, he went to the Freethought Publishing Office, at 28 Stonecutter Street, about twenty minutes to five o'clock. It was an open publishing shop. He saw the two defendants in the publishing office, and asked Mrs. Annie Besant for a pamphlet on *The Fruits of Philosophy*. Mr. Bradlaugh was by her side behind the counter, and could hear what witness said. Mrs. Besant gave him the book, for which he paid 6d. On March 29 he went there again, and purchased another copy of the work from a young man in the shop, but neither of the defendants was there.

By Mr. Bradlaugh: I was aware that you had given notice to the chief office of the City Police that you would attend at your shop on March 24 and sell the book from four to five o'clock.

Edwin Williams, detective officer of the City Police, deposed that on Saturday, March 24, about five o'clock, he bought a copy of the book from Mrs. Besant, the other defendant standing by at the time.

Simmonds, recalled, produced two memorandums, —one addressed to Detective Sergeant Green, at Old Jewry, and one to Mr. Martin, chief clerk, Guildhall. He also produced a copy of the *National Reformer*, in which Mr. Bradlaugh advertised for persons to come forward to be bail for him in the event of his being arrested.

Mr. Bradlaugh maintained, whether rightly or wrongly, that the book was not obscene, and he wished to have the case properly tested. For that purpose he sent notice on March 24 to the chief office, to the City Solicitor, and to this justice room, stating what he was going to do.

Mr. Alderman Figgins remarked that it appeared to him that this was not a case for a warrant, but for a summons.

Mr. Martin (chief clerk) stated that the usual course had been taken.

Mr. Bradlaugh said he had no right to complain of that, and he did not; and he must say that he had been treated by the police with the greatest courtesy consistent with the fact of the capture.

Detective Sergeant Outram then proved the arrest of the defendants, and also that he went with a search-warrant. When he saw Mr. Bradlaugh he stated that there were no books there that would come under the search-warrant. He had only five copies of the work at his private residence, and those he should require for his defence. Witness then took the two defendants to the Bridewell Police station, where they were charged.

Mr. Alderman Figgins suggested that they had gone as far as they could at present, and that they had now better remand the case.

Mr. Bradlaugh replied that that was what he wished, and he would ask for as long an adjournment as possible, as he had about forty witnesses to call for his defence, many of whom were medical men, and it would take some time to serve them.

Alderman Figgins said that as he should admit them to bail he could have an adjournment for as long as he wished. He presumed the defendants were prepared with bail.

Mr. Bradlaugh answered that he had about sixteen persons who were willing to become bail.

Mr. Martin observed that he had received four telegrams from Mr. Bradlaugh's friends in the country offering to become bail.

The Alderman then decided to adjourn the case until Tuesday, the 17th instant, and admit the defendants to bail in two sureties of £100 each, and themselves in £200 each. Dr. C. R. Drysdale, of Woburn Place, and Mr. Joannes Swaagman, of 26 Featherston Street, became bail for Mrs. Besant; and Mr. Edward Truelove, of 256 High Holborn, and Mr. William Bell, of 44 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn-fields, bailed Mr. Bradlaugh. The parties then left the court.—*London Daily Telegraph, April 6.*

PRIESTHOOD AND HUMANITY.

Mr. J. Kaines, in the *National Reformer* of February 4th, has favored us with an article under the above heading on the benefits conferred upon humanity by the priesthood, on which I wish to offer a few remarks.

Mr. J. K. says: "But even now, notwithstanding its obscuration and retrograde tendencies, the Romish priesthood, as a whole, exercise a wholesome social influence, as well as a moral control over Catholics, to which Protestant priests, mere creatures of the State, can lay no claim."

Whether "J. K." like myself, has ever been under the control of the Romish priesthood or not, I can safely say that that control is the most obstructive to and destructive of the development and powers of the human mind. The Russian general who, in his despatch to the Emperor, briefly said, "Peace reigns in Warsaw," which was saying as much as "I have blown the brains out of every Pole in Warsaw," is very much like the wholesome control exercised by the Roman priests over their unfortunate victims whose brains are made useless under the "wholesome control of the priests." This "wholesome control" has so made my unfortunate countrymen "the hewers of wood and the carriers of water" to the two hemispheres, that to-day you will not find a Protestant Irishman amongst all the Irish bricklayers' laborers in London. The reason of this is that the Catholic Irish are taught their Catechism, and the only books they are chiefly allowed to read are the lives of the Saints and the history of the Church, so that when they enter into the race of life with Protestants and men of the world, they find the lives of the Saints and the history of the Church no use to them, but an encumbrance, which they must unlearn or despise if they wish to make headway in the race. "The wholesome control of the priests" is after this fashion: the Bishop, who is under the control of the Archbishop, who is under the Pope, who is God's vicegerent on earth, gives power to the Bishop to appoint parish priests over the parishioners, who are bound on pain of damnation to submit themselves to the Church, of which the parish priest is the representative, and to whom the parishioners are also compelled to make confession of their sins. Thus described by the poet:—

> "Confess your sins about great Easter day,
> And to the Church neglect not tythes to pay.
> Blessed be he who pays, Perdition to him who don't."

One can easily imagine the power the priests of the parishes of Christendom have acquired by this means, where they become the masters of the secrets of every man, woman, and child under their care, in their respective parishes; to which condition the English ritualistic priests are endeavoring to reduce their parishioners in our time, to that wholesome control over Englishmen, whose fathers fought the good fight successfully three centuries ago; but for that fight England would now be under the dominion of the Pope, and his tyrannical crew of priestly spies, who dole out such nonsensical stuff as the following, in order to be able to exercise that wholesome control that "J. K." seems to be so much enamored of. Superstition has in nothing more plainly manifested at once its foundation in ignorance, and its mighty hold over the popular mind, than in the extraordinary variety of *relics* which have claimed and received the homage and adoration of mankind. It is only a few weeks since, at Stonyhurst Catholic College, in Lancashire, that we were shown a piece of the real wood of the cross; and the following are some, mentioned in Brady's *Clavis*, which either have received or are receiving the wondering adoration of folly:—

"A figure of St. Andrew.—A finger of John the Baptist.—The thumb of St. Thomas.—A tooth of our Lord.—A rib of our Lord, or, as it is profanely styled, of the *verbum caro factum* (the word made flesh).—The hem of our Lord's garment which cured the diseased woman.—The seamless coat of our Lord.—A tear which our Lord shed over Lazarus. It was preserved by an angel who gave it in a vial to Mary Magdalen.—Two handkerchiefs, on which are impressions of our Lord's face; the one sent by our Lord himself as a present to Agbarus, prince of Edessa; and the other given at the time of his crucifixion to a holy woman named Veronica.—The rod of Moses, with which he performed his miracles.—A lock of Mary Magdalen's hair.—A hem of Joseph's garment.—A feather of the Holy Ghost.—A finger of the Holy Ghost.—A feather of the angel Gabriel. —A finger of a Cherubim.—The water-pots used at the marriage in Galilee.—The slippers of the antediluvian Enoch.—The face of a seraphim, with only part of the nose.—The snout of a seraphim thought to have belonged to the preceding.—The coal that boiled St. Laurence.—The square buckler, lined with red velvet, and short sword of St. Michael.—A vial of the sweat of St. Michael, when contending with the devil.—Some of the rays of the star that appeared to the Magi," etc.—*Chamber's Papers for the People*, "The Wonders of Human Folly," p. 7.

This is the kind of wholesome control the Romish priests exercise over their flocks, and even to be suspected of doubting the truth of the history of these relics would ensure for the doubter a specimen of that "wholesome control," something like the Egyptian darkness, which was a "darkness that could be felt."

Yours truly,
MYLES MCSWEENEY.

—*London National Reformer.*

Poetry.

THE BLIND MEN AND THE ELEPHANT.

A HINDU FABLE.

BY JOHN G. SAXE.

It was six men of Indostan,
To learning much inclined,
Who went to see the elephant,
(Though all of them were blind),
That each by observation
Might satisfy the mind.

The first approached the elephant,
And, happening to fall
Against his broad and sturdy side,
At once began to bawl:
"God bless me, but the elephant
Is very like a wall."

The second, feeling at the tusk,
Cried, "Ho! what have we here
So very round and smooth and sharp?
To me 'tis mighty clear
This wonder of an elephant
Is very like a spear."

The third approached the animal,
And, happening to take
The squirming trunk within his hand,
Thus boldly up he spake:
"I see," quoth he, "the elephant
Is very like a snake!"

The fourth reached out his eager hand,
And felt about his knee:
"What most this wondrous beast is like
Is mighty plain," quoth he;
"'Tis clear enough the elephant
Is very like a tree!"

The fifth, who chanced to touch the ear,
Said, "E'en the blindest man
Can tell what this resembles most;
Deny the fact who can can,
This marvel of an elephant
Is very like a fan!"

The sixth no sooner had begun
About the beast to grope,
Than, seizing on the swinging tail
That fell within his scope,—
"I see," quoth he, "the elephant
Is very like a rope!"

And so these men of Indostan
Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion
Exceeding stiff and strong;
Though each was partly in the right,
They all were in the wrong!

So oft, in theologic war,
The disputants, I ween,
Rail on, in utter ignorance
Of what each other mean,
And prate about an elephant
That none of them have seen!

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 28.

M. F. Whitehead, $3.25; A. C. Erksen, $9.60; R. L. Houghton, $3.20; W. K. Smalley, $5.20; E. A. Bullen, $3.20; W. McFarland, $3.20; Theoph. Brown, $3.20; Rev. James Boyd, $3.20; I. W. Springfield, $3.20; Geo. Chamberlin, 50 cents; Mrs. A. C. Angell, $3; Warren Griswold, $7.60; Mrs. J. H. Holden, 80 cents; Mrs. S. M. Nowell, $2; Henrietta Hyde, $1.60; H. C. Warren, 10 cents; W. W. Wilcox, 20 cents; J. S. Coffin, $1.25; S. M. Carroll, 10 cents; F. E. Abbot, $100; Mrs. S. E. Muller, $3.36; W. H. Jenkins, $3.50; Geo. C. Young, 75 cents; Dr. E. Evans, $4.80; Dr. G. W. Topping, $1.50; J. B. Brown, 50 cents; S. P. Putnam, $6.40; Horace Ritchie, $3.20; Prof. F. Adler, $3.20; F. F. Merrill, $3.20; J. Damon, $3.20; B. F. Lawton, 67 cents; Mrs. G. R. Russell, $3.20; F. M. Vaughan, $3.20; Mrs. H. J. Gale, $6.40; Cash in office, $2.50; W. A. Butler, $3.20; Ella A. Bigelow, $1; G. P. Delapisime, $4.40; W. Campbell, $7; Nath'l Little, $3; J. P. Bradley, $3.20; Geo. Allen, $1.60; Schneider & Kneppers, $2.20; W. L. Taylor, $10; J. R. Hawley, $2.85.

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 3, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

WE ARE REQUESTED to state that Miss Susan H. Wixon will speak next Sunday at the Paine Memorial Building.

WILL THE NUMEROUS correspondents whose letters remain still unanswered, though often important and urgent, excuse us for our seeming neglect on account of utter inability to meet all the demands on our time and strength?

A PRIVATE MEETING of the subscribers and friends of THE INDEX was held in this city on April 28, in accordance with the confidential circular of March 19. It is proper to inform those to whom this circular was sent that an adjourned meeting was appointed for 3 P.M., May 12, at the same place, to receive the report of a committee.

THE FIRST NUMBER of the *Radical Review* is announced as ready to be issued May 15, or earlier. The list of contents is as follows:—

THE TWO TRADITIONS, ECCLESIASTIC AND SCIENTIFIC. *By William J. Potter.*
TO BENEDICT SPINOZA. *By B. W. Ball.*
PRACTICAL SOCIALISM IN GERMANY. *By C. W. Ernst.*
THEODORE PARKER AS RELIGIOUS REFORMER. *By D. A. Wasson.*
THE DISCOVERER. *By Edmund C. Stedman.*
SYSTEM OF ECONOMICAL CONTRADICTIONS. Introduction. *By P. J. Proudhon.* Editor's Translation.
THE INFLUENCE OF PHYSICAL CONDITIONS IN THE GENESIS OF SPECIES. *By Joel A. Allen.*
OUR FINANCIERS: THEIR IGNORANCE, USURPATIONS, AND FRAUDS. *By Lysander Spooner.*
CURRENT LITERATURE.
Tennyson's "Harold."—Larned's "Talks about Labor."—Ellis's "Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson." — Lowell's "Three Memorial Poems." — Thompson's "The Papacy and the Civil Power."—Gross' "The Teachings of Providence."—Habberton's "The Jericho Road."
CHIPS FROM MY STUDIO. *By Sidney H. Morse.*

This is a very interesting list, and gives excellent promise of the new quarterly. Mr. B. R. Tucker, the editor, can be addressed at New Bedford, Mass. The subscription price is $5.00 a year.

THE PRESBYTERIAN COUNCIL at Princeton, N. J., are trying Rev. John Miller for heresy. He has just published a book entitled *Questions Awakened by the Bible.* The questions it treats of are three in number: 1. Are souls immortal? 2. Was Christ in Adam? and 3. Is God a Trinity? In the preface to his discussion of the first question, Mr. Miller tells us that "the sole object of this book is to show that the immortality of the soul is not taught in God's holy word"; and, further, that "our doctrine is that man dies at death; that the body is mortal, and that the soul is mortal; that the body will live again, and that the soul will live again; that the body will live forever, and that the soul will live forever; and that, therefore, keeping them together, the whole man will die, sleep, rise again, and be immortal." The chief merit which he claims for this view is its antagonism to the Roman Catholic dogma of purgatory, with all its attendant consequences, and he denounces the prevailing belief of Christians in the separate existence of the soul after the death of the body as a relic of paganism. His ideas on the second and third points are thus summarized:—

"Second—That Jesus of Nazareth was a descendant of Adam and of David, not without the sinfulness of the flesh, inherent in his forefathers, but, through the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary, incarnated with the spirit of God, and thus enabled to withstand the temptations to which mere men gave way. That in his death he opened a pathway for the redemption of the race.

"Third—That there is no Trinity, but one God, the Spirit which pervades all things. That it was the spirit of God born in Jesus which made the Savior of God, and that the term Holy Ghost is a mere rhetorical expression for the spirit of God, and synonymous with God himself."

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 31st, at 7.45 P. M., business session in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and consideration of the practical work of the Association. A special discussion is also invited on the proper interpretation of the word "scientific" in the first article of the Constitution of the Association.

Friday, June 1st, at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for Essays and Addresses. Morning subject: "External Dangers of Religious Freedom." Afternoon subject: "Internal Dangers of Free Thought." Speakers and essayists will be announced hereafter.

A Social Festival is to be held Friday evening at Horticultural Hall.

W. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

"NATURAL RIGHTS."

What are "natural rights"?

This phrase is used a great deal in discussions of a political or ethico-political character. In the New York State Senate, the question was recently put on submitting to the people a Constitutional Amendment restricting the suffrage to tax-payers and rent-payers in elections for members of the Board of Finance. This proposal to establish a new property qualification for suffrage in a certain class of elections, being opposed on the ground that it was an unwarrantable restriction of the right of suffrage, was met by the oft-repeated statement that "suffrage is not a natural right"; and it was supposed that this reply was unanswerable. In this opinion we do not coincide.

Strictly and properly speaking, all rights are "natural." There may be various classifications of rights, but they all come under the general head, "natural." A right which is not natural is not a right at all; it must have its foundation in Nature, or it is merely imaginary and unreal. The moment that the ancient, crude conceptions of Nature were enlarged so as to include the whole order and constitution of things,—all existent forces, laws, relations, and realities,—the words *natural* and *real* became coextensive in meaning, and no room was left for anything outside of the one all-embracing universe of Nature. To speak of any supposed rights, therefore, as otherwise than "natural," or to treat them as belonging to some system not included under that word, is simply to deny their reality altogether.

This is what people who affirm that "suffrage is not a natural right" substantially mean; they mean that suffrage is not a right at all, but a mere question of expediency, to be settled with regard to considerations of policy or utility alone, and without reference to general moral principles. To take this ground, however, logically commits one to more than is perhaps intended. The suffrage question involves the whole question of the ultimate source of political power; and it is impossible to prove that a republican form of government is any more just than a despotic one, if it is a matter of indifference, morally considered, whether political power is justly derived from the whole people or only from a larger or smaller part of the people. This prior inquiry into the ultimate source of political power cannot be got rid of; those who declare that "suffrage is not a natural right" thoughtlessly or designedly push it aside, but it will not be pushed aside. When the Declaration of Independence was made, the principle was laid down that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and that is only asserting in other words that *suffrage is a natural right.* Let us be honest, frank, and explicit in this discussion all around; let us call into question, if you please, the truth of the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence, and inquire whether our forefathers did not make a great blunder in founding this government on moral ideas,—on distinctions between natural rights and natural wrongs. But do not let us be satisfied with a shallow or superficial treatment of questions involving the very existence and perpetuity of American institutions from their foundations upwards.

Now the notion of "divine right," whether vested in king or lords or commons,—in a monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy,—may be dismissed at once. As an antithesis to "natural right," "divine right" has disappeared from the political problem in this country, except in the minds of those Christian fanatics who are aiming to Christianize the Constitution of the United States. A "government of the people, by the people, for the people," knows nothing of divine right, unless Nature itself is divine; for it must rest wholly on the natural relations existing by necessity in a community of intelligent and moral beings.

But the notion of "artificial" or "conventional" or "political" rights is, in a great many minds, opposed to that of "natural" rights, simply because these latter are supposed to be "absolute" and "unalienable," while the former are supposed to be dependent on circumstances or voluntary arrangements. Let us at once dismiss the notion that any right whatever can be "absolute" or "unalienable," if by those words it is intended to assert that such a right cannot be forfeited, or for any reason held in abeyance. That notion is the source of very great confusion in reasonings on this subject. Why, the very forefathers who declared that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are among the "unalienable rights" of "all men," certainly believed that these very rights can be forfeited or alienated by crime. Nobody, so far as we know, ever held that natural rights are absolute or unalienable in the sense of being non-forfeitable. All that can be claimed for natural rights is that they result from the natural and necessary relations of human beings in a state of society rather than from an original "divine ordinance," or a long-inherited "social compact." All individual rights are limited by the equal rights of other individuals, and are forfeitable on violation of the latter; and this is as unqualifiedly conceded by the defenders of the natural rights theory as by the defenders of any other theory.

There is, however, a distinction of kind among human rights, even when they are (as they should be) regarded as all purely natural in their origin. Instead of the false and misleading distinctions of "natural and divine," "natural and artificial," "natural and conventional," "natural and political," etc., let there be substituted a division of *all natural rights* into "primary and secondary," or "original and derivative"; and then the first approach would seem to be made to a scientific classification. Primary, original, or personal rights would include the rights to Existence, to Freedom, and to Development—to the possession and enjoyment of free individual activity, subject only to the restrictions imposed by equal rights in all other individuals. Secondary, derivative, or conventional rights would include the more numerous and complicated rights which grow out of a state of society among many co-equal individuals. It is among these that we class the right of suffrage, as the necessary and general means of securing protection for other rights; also, the right of contract, and the right to the execution of contracts, to which Sir Henry Maine traces so largely the growth of civilization. But both classes of rights, primary and secondary, are equally natural, and equally unalienable *except for cause.*

This exception is vitally important to the permanent welfare of mankind. Whoever would abridge the right of suffrage, and disfranchise any class of the community on the plea of social welfare, should be compelled to meet the issue fairly and manfully; he should be compelled to show adequate and unquestionable CAUSE for alienating the right of suffrage from anybody; he should not be allowed to escape with shallow assertions that "suffrage is not a natural right," or that "virtue and intelligence should govern," etc. When the great and sole defence of popular liberty is in question, and a proposal is made to reverse the whole current of American tendencies by taking away the suffrage from classes already enfranchised, those who advocate so grave a change should not be excused from treating the subject in its *moral* as well as in its other lights. The confinement of suffrage on property questions to those who have property at stake, for instance, may or may not be a just and righteous measure; but we shall never be satisfied that it is until it is abundantly proved that the first step towards a plutocracy is not thereby taken. We distrust profoundly all attempts to remedy the evils of universal suffrage by restricting it to a class; every principle of our ethical and political philosophy impels us to seek such remedies in educating the ignorant and, by the abolition of monopolies and unjust privileges, in giving every voter a personal stake in good government. Unless these results can be attained, the republican experiment itself is a foredoomed failure, and the future of America is dark indeed. But we believe they are attainable; and every patriotic citizen will do well to scrutinize closely any public measure which rests on a covert assumption of the contrary;

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FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE "CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS."

In fulfilment of the promise, made in Mr. D. Y. Kilgore's appeal to the public, March 1, 1876, of a "full report of all expenditures," the following statement of expenses, dated Dec. 30, 1876, was forwarded to us by that gentleman:—

Rent of Hall, etc	$253.00
Expenses of Reporting	150.00
" " Printing Circulars	15.50
" " Tickets	3.00
" " Posting up Bills	15.00
Cash paid Mr. Phillips, services	25.00
" " Mr. Collins, "	10.00
" " for Advertising	83.50
Expenses to Boston	25.00
" for Postage, etc	38.00
Amount	$618.00

To complete the above statement, we make the following exhibit of this date (May 1, 1877):—

Total Receipts.

General Fund acknowledged in *Equal Rights in Religion*.	$1513.75
Accidentally omitted in ditto:—	
S. Colt, Humboldt Basin, Oregon	10.00
L. Spaulding, Norfolk, Va	5.00
Total of General Fund	$1533.75
Special Fund ("Thousand Dollar")	500.00
Total Trust Fund	$2033.75

Total Disbursements.

By D. Y. Kilgore (General Fund)		$618.00
" F. E. Abbot, " "	815.75	1315.75
" " " " Special "	500.00	
		$1933.75
Balance in hands of D. Y. Kilgore		100.00
Total		$2033.75

In order to explain fully our own part in these disbursements, and thus fulfil our implied promise in THE INDEX of April 13, 1876, we add the following exact and detailed report, duly audited by two gentlemen of high character in this city who have very kindly rendered us this service:—

Centennial Congress of Liberals in Account with F. E. Abbot, in Trust.

1876.		Cr.
July 13.	By "Thousand Dollar Fund"	$500.00
1877. Jan. 15.	By contributions paid to F. E. A. and by agreement receipted for to D. Y. K.:—	
	May 23, 1876	$31.10
	" 29, "	65.00
	" 30, "	116.10
	June 6, "	120.50
	" 7, "	54.80
	" 8, "	35.55
	" 10, "	28.75
	" 12, "	34.50
	" 20, "	94.75
	" 23, "	38.95
	" 27, "	50.50
	July 11, "	48.00
	" 18, "	9.80
	Sept. 20, "	1.00
	Jan. 15, 1877	1.00
		$730.30
Jan. 12.	By remittance from D. Y. K.	50.00
	Amt. advanced by F. E. A. in trust	43.88
	Total	$1324.18

1876.		Dr.
May 18.	Paid G. H. Ellis, Printer, as follows:—	
	4000 "Circulars"	$20.50
	5000 "Applic. for Membership"	16.50
	700 envelopes, etc	3.00
" 20.	" M. L. Akins, for postage	20.00
" 22.	" Ward & Gay, 2000 envelopes	4.00
" 23.	" G. H. Ellis, 2000 "Certif. of Memb."	15.00
June 8.	" M. L. Akins, for postage	12.00
" 12.	" " " " 6000 stamped envelopes	72.00
" 12.	" Jas. Parton, expenses in advance	50.00
" 16.	" Bacon & Panin, 6500 Circulars to Editors, with "Notices"	45.00
" 26.	" L. B. Atwill, clerical services	15.00
" 27.	" G. H. Ellis, 2500 "Constitution"	14.25
	" " " " 5000 handbills	23.50
	" " " " 500 large posters	19.25
July 10.	" C. F. Paige, expenses at Phila	50.00
" 14.	" C. D. B. Mills, " " "	50.00
" 25.	" Bacon & Panin, 24 stereotype plates of "Patriotic Address"	46.55
" 25.	" Bacon & Panin, 137 plates of *Equal Rights in Religion*, in adv	303.45
Aug. 25.	" M. L. Akins, clerical services	25.00
Sept. 11.	" Bacon & Panin, 10,000 "Pat. Add." (paper and press-work)	134.23
Dec. 8. 1877.	" G. H. Ellis, 51 plates of *Equal Rights in Religion*	178.45
Jan. 10.	" G. H. Ellis, 1000 *Equal Rights in Religion* (paper, press, and binding)	205.80
		$1324.18

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *in Trust.*

BOSTON, Jan. 20, 1877.

This certifies that we have examined the above port of "Centennial Congress of Liberals in ac- unt with F. E. Abbot, in Trust," and have found correct. The $1324.18 shown on the Cr. side were posited in the First National Bank of Cambridge the credit of "Francis E. Abbot, in Trust." All e items of disbursement on the Dr. side were made cheques on the same Bank; and these cheques, dorsed by the payees, have all been handed to us inspection. In addition, a regular receipt has en shown for every disbursement except those of ne 12 to James Parton and July 10 to Chas. F. ige, for which receipts were superfluous.

FRANCIS V. BALCH.
GEO. W. PARK.

On February 1, 1877, after the above report had n audited, we received from Mr. Kilgore a cheque $35.45 and a promissory note for $100.09, dated uary 31, 1877.

A CRITICISM.

There is no indelicacy in printing an anonymous letter, and the following communication is too characteristic to be thrown into the waste-basket, which was its first destination:—

BOSTON, April 23d.

DEAR SIR:—

I read, if you are correctly reported, that you "have no sympathy with the Christian system." If you mean the Orthodox system, it is not any matter of surprise. Neither have I among a multitude of others. If you mean that system of faith, hope, and love,—that system of faith in God, hope of another and better life and love of our brethren which lie at the foundation of Christianity, it is a lamentable fact. You certainly have degenerated very much from the belief of your beloved and venerated father, as well as the fathers of liberal Christianity. I really hope that you are not correctly reported. Again, although Jesus said he could call on his Father for a legion of angels to support and defend him, he did not do it, but submitted to his predicted fate, willingly and without a murmur. "Not my will but thine be done." "Thus it is written and thus it behooved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." How could he, feeling he had such a mission to perform, call upon God to save him from the cruel death by crucifixion? The sufferings of his sensitive nature were so intense, that, at last, his great heart gave way and uttered the exclamation: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!"

It appears to me that the Free Religionists often leap to their conclusions hastily. You are a man of talent, a good writer, and exert, no doubt, much influence over many minds. I, for one, beg of you to ponder well before you throw away your faith in the Christian system or pure Christianity.

Yours respectfully, A UNITARIAN.

To be entirely ignorant of the principles of the Free Religionists is no crime; neither is it a crime to be unacquainted with the meaning of the phrase "the Christian system" as used by writers of the rationalist school; nor yet is it a crime, or a grievous fault to confound, even in these days, the teachings of a sect with the teachings of Jesus; nor, further, is it an unpardonable offence to imagine that the "fathers of liberal Christianity" had penetrated to the inmost secret of religion; neither, to make one specification more, is it positively sinful to think that faith in God, hope of another and better life, and love of our brethren are peculiar to Christianity, or are, in any special sense, characteristic of it; the habit of identifying Christianity with religion, and ascribing to it every perfection is, unhappily, too deeply-rooted to excite indignation. The letter is not remarkable on account of the positiveness of its assumptions or their groundlessness. It is not remarkable for any thing. But it is noticeable as an evidence of the neglect of the Unitarian denomination to pursue its original bent, and carry out its cardinal principle of inquiry into matters of historical and literary interest in the domain of religion. There is, and has been, particularly since the Parker controversy, a deplorable remissness on the part of Sunday-school teachers, instructors of Bible-classes, pastors, and superintendents, in their duty of explaining the New Testament, according to the most enlightened rules, communicating the most recent discoveries relating to its origin and composition, the relation of its parts to each other, and the relation of the whole to the religious literature of the Jews. The criticism of the New Testament has not been faithfully dealt with. The history of the religion that is supposed to rest upon it has not been philosophically delineated; in a word, Christianity has not received the candid, scholarly treatment it had a right to look for from the successors of Norton, Palfrey, Channing, the Wares, to say nothing of men more recently passed away. Had such instruction been given, had interest in this real knowledge been sustained, had the willingness to accept or consider it when it was offered been cherished, it would have been impossible for a Unitarian to write so curiously and ingeniously bemuddled a letter as the foregoing,—a letter in which nearly every form of logical stupidity is illustrated. Of course, all Unitarians are not so benighted as this one; but the remonstrances I individually receive from Unitarian well- or ill-wishers compel me to believe that the number of such is very considerable, even among the best-educated of our metropolitan congregations. Many times lately I have been astounded at the ignorance and unintelligence of people who think themselves somewhat on account of the eminence of their Unitarian standing. It is coming to be recognized that this sect, like all the others, has assumed the policy of the defensive against the discoveries of scientific criticism.

On one other point it may not be indelicate for me to say a single word. The memory of my "beloved and venerated" father is as dear to me as it is to anybody, and it is the dearer because he was not afraid to read and think. However he may have thought it unwise to divulge all his mind—in this he was countenanced by so venerated a person as the late Dr. James Walker,—he let it be pretty well understood that his place was among the intelligent and active inquirers. In his latter years he was a convert to the views of the New Testament and of primitive Christianity that are maturely summarized and presented in *The Cradle of the Christ*, and was in cordial sympathy with his son's endeavor to spread them. This is a matter of no logical importance; for one generation does not bind another, but properly helps to emancipate it; so that the son can justify the father only by going beyond him; but it is of importance that the attitude of an eminent divine and teacher should not be misrepresented.

O. B. F.

LIVE ISSUES.

DEAR EDITOR:—

Several points of interest have come up lately in THE INDEX of which I should like to say a word, but busy hours have slipped by without doing so. So I am going to say a few brief words on them now, and perhaps leisure will come to develop thought more fully.

It is a cheering sign that the discussions of THE INDEX are reaching such real and vital questions as divide and interest those who think freely, instead of being occupied with old issues. When one feels constrained to differ from Mr. Wasson or Mr. Gannett or Mr. Abbot, one feels bound to search and review one's own thoughts, sure that the contest is not with a dead lion but a living one; and that the speaker is representing a real mental experience, and not a dead tradition.

I have felt a difference of thought on the subject of suffrage with both Mr. Abbot and Mr. Wasson which seems to me to touch the essential basis of the right of suffrage. Mr. Wasson's well-known views in regard to the right of intelligence and virtue alone to suffrage are worthy of great respect. But it seems to me that I should state it the other way. The virtuous and intelligent alone must have suffrage, he says; I should say, the voter must have intelligence and virtue. That the world shall be governed by intelligence and virtue is its only hope of salvation. But how shall we secure that it is so? By shutting out the masses from any participation in government? That has been abundantly tried, and we have had French Revolutions and abundant other horrors as the result. But universal suffrage makes it the interest of all, that all shall become intelligent and virtuous, and so secure that basis of government. The man, however, who assumes that he or his class or his party alone is "intelligent and virtuous," and so entitled to rule others, disproves his statement, it seems to me, in the very act; for he shows at least that he has not the virtue of humility and respect for others.

Widely apart as Mr. Wasson's views and Mr. Abbot's often are, it seems to me the same distrust of this great principle, which he has nobly advocated in other relations, lurks in Mr. Abbot's suggestion that woman suffrage is unsafe or in any way to be postponed because women generally are more attached to existing religious superstitions than men. Women have a right to express their opinions and to exercise their choice on this as on all other subjects, and, if existing religious beliefs are dangerous to the State, it is precisely owing to the want of interest which women must have in a government in which they have no share that they do not see fully the bearing of Church interests upon the security of the State. My remedy would be to give women a motive and a chance to study the good of the State as much as of the Church; and then their genuine religion would be as loyal to it as now to the institution which has given them most recognition. I am sorry that the expression "lukewarm" was unpleasant to any one, for after all it is a purely relative expression; but since it has brought out a claim on the part of THE INDEX to stand as a hearty advocate of woman suffrage, I am not sorry to have used it.

Again, I do not think it is the Bible which delays woman suffrage, but it is the opposition to woman suffrage which makes use of the Bible. The Bible is, as the negro said, "like Massa's fiddle; you may play any tune you please upon it." The Bible used to be made out to be the great bulwark of slavery; and Parker Pillsbury was wont to say, we must batter down the Church and the Bible before we could free the slaves. But slavery is gone, and the Church and the Bible remain; and ministers who believe in woman suffrage, like Jesse Jones, can find just as

good texts for it as his opponents can against it. But the same great principle which is the basis of free religion is the strong foundation of universal suffrage for both men and women,—the principle that every human being has his own right to be and to judge of his own welfare, and to accept truth on the evidence which is conclusive to his own mind.

The same thought, it seems to me, would meet the difficulty between Transcendentalism and what Mr. Abbot calls the Scientific Method. The Transcendentalist affirms an inward evidence of certain truths which satisfies his mind of their truth; he has a right to rest in his affirmation, but no right to assert that no man can attain these truths on other evidence, or that he must be satisfied with evidence which is not conclusive to himself. The heart asks no evidence that what it loves is lovely; but it cannot demand that any other shall so accept it. If the Transcendentalist becomes a dogmatist, he is wholly untrue to his theory, and is the worst of dogmatists, because he may make his narrow self the standard which he claims to be universal. Science can also be narrow and dogmatic. The great idea of Transcendentalism, that the mind has cognizance of truth which does not come to it through the outward senses, is one not easy to prove to one who does not receive it, but which I do yet most potently believe. It may be a womanly weakness so to do, for, I confess, nothing more strengthens that faith than intercourse with the little buds of humanity who come "trailing clouds of glory" into our prosaic world.

E. D. C.

DR. BARTOL'S ACCUSATION AGAINST THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

In the eighth line of Dr. Bartol's letter, published in THE INDEX of April 19, the word "correctness" should have been printed "earnestness." This merely typographical error, though not of much consequence, we correct in deference to Dr. Bartol's wish, communicated through a friend.

But we have anxiously hoped, for his own sake as well as that of the Free Religious Association, to hear from him directly on the main subject of his letter. He has repeatedly insinuated that the *Association as such* were guilty of the offensive rebuke administered to him by an *individual member* at the Providence Convention; and this persistent attempt to lay the blame of one man's offence on innocent shoulders we have proved, by a simple recital of undeniable facts, to be contrary to justice and truth. Every clear-headed reader now understands that perfectly well; and it is not the Free Religious Association that is now on trial. Whoever brings an accusation against another incurs by his own act a sacred obligation, from which he can in no manner free himself, either to stand by that accusation bravely and prove it, or else as bravely to withdraw it. If, being called on by the accused party, he fails to do either of these things, he condemns himself as a calumniator and defamer. We are confident that Dr. Bartol will never be willing to put himself in any such position as that.

Of all men, he can least afford to disregard the demands of equity in this respect. For the second time, we quote from his Anniversary Discourse of March 4, 1877, these solemn words of his own:—

"I received from New York, in return for public words, vague, vindictive, anonymous insinuations, to which I made no answer at the time. My only reply now is to adjure any man, woman, or child, in the body or out, whom I ever in any way have wronged or hurt, by their voice or letter, by telegraph or telephone, through any medium from earth, or heaven, or hell, to speak."

As merely one of many members of an Association which Dr. Bartol has "wronged," we did "speak" a fortnight ago; and he is silent! In the case of another, he has severely denounced the "policy of silence"; will he now adopt it? Was his solemn adjuration, above quoted, a mere piece of empty rhetoric? Did he intend, when he uttered it, to take no notice of a sincere response to it? We cannot believe this. The charge he makes is that the Free Religious Association, *as a body*, is false to its own professed principles—false to the "freedom" which its Constitution guarantees to all who speak upon its "platform." It is a charge most grave and serious in its nature, affecting the reputation of the Association for sincerity and integrity; and it ought not to be left in the form of an oblique thrust or insinuation. Let it be boldly stated and as boldly defended, or altogether withdrawn. We have denied and (as we believe) disproved this charge; and we now, in all calmness and kindness, publicly request him either to make it good or else to withdraw it altogether.

Communications.

HOW TO CHOOSE A MINISTER.

To all flocks, pastor-searching or pastor-sought, the following is dedicated with absolute gratuitousness:—

Freely ye have received, freely give—*advice*.

Imprimis, choose not rashly. The foundations of repentance are laid in haste.

Be not too easily captivated by outward show. Even a "perfect love of a man" may not be without disadvantages. Pretty men, male flirts, and gay Lotharios, are not so scarce in this world, even in the clerical profession, that they need be angled for with a golden bait.

Avoid specialists. Whatever his particular excellence—be it orotund delivery, crude masses of unassimilable learning, irresistible personal magnetism, or devotion carried to the verge of insane fanaticism,—if he is one on whom some one talent sits like an excrescence and starves all its fellows, refuse him; demand a whole man or none.

Beware of professional clergymen, men who have gone into the ministry just as they might into law, medicine, the army, or life-insurance, adopting it in cold blood as their means of winning fame or money. These are, of course, of the order, *hypocrite absolute*; as well have Satan himself for your teacher as one of these. They are usually men of aggressive materialistic egotism, bound to push their way; they will look upon you as their "flock" in several senses of the term. Give them no opportunity to fleece and despise you.

Of course you do not want a man who is pointedly inferior to the general average of intelligence and virtue among yourselves. He could not be in any satisfactory sense your teacher. I often wonder how people can think it worship to listen to sermons that are mere cant,—simply a more or less congruous fermentation of well-known phrases, never even accidentally irradiated by a spark of originality or freshness in word or thought. More profitable than these is the creaking of signs or the hooting of owls.

Refuse peremptorily an aristocrat. Christianity, if it is anything, is democratic, even to communism. Undemocratic men or institutions are reliably bogus, as far as their Christianity is concerned.

Avoid the ultra-conservative who has got everything, from theology to tailoring, "fixed," and intends never to change his mind again. If you want a code, buy a printed one, but distrust the petrified man.

Beware, too, of his near relative, the man who is perfectly satisfied with everything. A soggy soul is that in which there is no least leaven of "noble discontent."

The o'ertrue legend of the *Minister's Wooing* flows often in a sleepy doggerel gurgling over Pactolian sands, to wit:—

> He wooed a congregation;
> Fine, wealthy men were they;
> And a $5000 salary,
> They were willing for to pay.

But, alack! many dangers lie in wait for the adventurers after high prizes; rocks, whirlpools, and shallows, in whose no-thoroughfares many a promising career has been hopelessly stranded. You have seen the underrated preacher? Yes, we all know him well. A few years ago the expression of his face, though a little too defiant and combative, was neither sour nor cynical. He failed to get as remunerative "calls" or appointments as he thought he deserved, and this habit of not being appreciated has grown on him. I saw that look in his face deepen year after year, grow sterner, more strenuous, and bitter, till now it is something sad to see,—such a hopeless eclipse under years of disappointment, wounded pride, and disgust with the world's misjudgments! And I am told that he was a man of superior Johnsonian diction in his sermons; exemplary in every respect; a man of learning and virtue, but nevertheless not wanted by the world as pastor at a fair salary. Rocks, whirlpools, and shallows!

And when the shining goal is won, 'twere often better missed. The church that rears a vast temple-pile, and rewards with much greenbacks its officiants, is quite likely to be ruled by a coterie of "merchant princes" who have acquired fortunes in the crooked, unclean ways of trade, and now fee a holy and talented divine to sanctify and legitimize their title to their gains. Analyze a rich and preëminently respectable church association, and you will generally find a black and bloody basis of rum-selling, slave-driving, smuggling, stock-gambling, usury, life-insurance lottery, puffery, or "protection to home manufactures" by boughten legislation. Such an audience may be flattered or narcotized, but must not be chidden. A large salary is a devil's retaining fee, and operates steadily three hundred and sixty-five days and nights of the year to induce the accipient thereof to pamper his patrons with the sweets of discriminating encomium rather than shock them with truth's tonic bitter. Therefore, if you would have sincerity from your pulpiteer, do not bias his utterance with a large salary.

Be not surprised nor cast down, if the desired, when you have sought him out, proves not to be a very pronounced formal religionist. Remember that Jesus, the pattern of imitation, was put to death for irreligion and blasphemy by the orthodoxy of his day. Remember that he was infidel to the faith of his birth and nurture,—was on the whole a very radical, heterodox sort of person.

Ten to one, the object of your search, when found, will prove not to be a clergyman at all, but excessively laical; you may find him in a factory or on a farm; perhaps in the pages of a book; happiest of all if you find some degree of him in your own hearts. As the best physicians hold for one of their mottos, "Throw physic to the dogs," so the real shepherds of the soul will toast you, "Every man his own priest." And this sentiment is not a reckless whim, but the expression of a natural law; the light of Nature, to truly fertilize, must fall direct nor be intercepted by the opacities of an intervening mind. It is little less foolish to think of eating, drinking, or loving by proxy, than to think of worshiping or knowing by proxy. G. E. T.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

REFLECTIONS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The prospect for many signatures to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition is not likely to be very flattering in places where the authority of old tradition has been questioned to but slight extent, and where revivals, so-called, are actually raging. The purpose of the petition is apt not only to be misunderstood, but widely and variously misrepresented, and he who circulates it to be made a subject of special prayer. Whether such things are done charitably or not, it is hard to say, since the affection that waits upon idolatry may take quality from the supposed administration to which it avows allegiance. This may be all well enough. We can wait awhile, and long before Congress meets again the prospect may be more favorable. Well, indeed it is small business that people should have their attention diverted by such small things as the perfection of Republican liberty (which some are foolish enough to think those trying to govern themselves ought to be ashamed to stop short of) and the means of its continuance, while they have the more important work on hand of seeking pardon or excuse for the horrid rascality of being born of a parentage not in all respects perfect.

Oh, it just occurs to me why so many of the ministers of the Gospel, a few years ago, were accustomed to declare in sermons that slavery was a divine institution. If the negroes had never concluded to be slaves, what business had they to be born of such black parents, and come into the world in such an unfashionable shape, with their woolly heads and flat noses and thick lips? The wickedness of doing so is just of a piece with that which the revivalists want people to cry over now. We ought to be thankful for small favors. If the God these people worship has as clear an idea of moral responsibility and obligation as the man-stealers, there is surely hope for the nation, at least as long as they are allowed to practise their arts at the expense of other people. They affect really to think that their fellow-citizens have no right to complain of injustice or to criticise absurdity, so long as such citizens do not profess themselves able to explain the whole theory of the universe and the origin and destiny of mankind.

We are not specially interested in attempts or pretensions to do that which is impossible. But all of every creed are alike interested in the security of just government. Who can be so illogical as not to know that while, under a free republican government, every man must be secure in his right to be as austere or as babyish, as prudent or as thoughtless, as upright or as hypocritical, as manly or as subservient as he sees fit to be; to accept what gods or demons he prefers, if any; to think what he will, and say what he thinks, being subject to fair criticism and responsible for invasion of another's rights,—he is not to be required to do service or homage to any sect or party, or even to be burdened with the expense of carrying out other people's projects or caprices?

Experience abundantly proves that, in asking signatures to this petition, you will occasionally meet with a man more outspoken than the rest, who will say that infidels have no rights which other people are bound to respect; that all government and order rest upon the Bible; and that infidelity and treason ought to be treated alike. How thankful might such a person be to the God he worships for that phase of human existence which it is given him to enjoy, and might be given him to illustrate, if that which blossoms now in theory could but ripen out in practice, as the abject slave of a despotism weighted on its march to judgment; by responsibility, not for one only, which would be amply sufficient for its condemnation, but for unnumbered savage outrages and murders! Such proofs are not wanting to show that the world has not yet outgrown the hideous barbarism which not long ago deliberately roasted people at slow fires for fidelity to conscience on occasion of differences of opinion. It would take but little to transform the hypocritical politicians, who are ready to float into official station on such a Stygian current, to persecuting inquisitors.

Indifference to injustice may be as wicked as the infliction of it. It was by being suffered to take advantage of wide-spread popular prejudice that what was called religion became not only the enemy of civilization, but the scourge of the world; and it may be so again unless the worshippers of mammon, who slumber upon a volcano all unmindful of the inexorable law that the energy of active virtue is essential to salvation, and that present blessings of liberty will not long remain where undeserved, shall hasten to arouse themselves from their selfish and inglorious indifference.

It must be confessed, however, that the senseless jargon of this artificial theology, by which natural reason, that sublimest gift of God, is habitually replaced or obscured, is sometimes relieved by utterances much more rational, and that persons who are even inclined to the childish enthusiasm of revivalism will sometimes put forth a salutary doctrine of moral responsibility, so that the hearer is led to exclaim, almost like Pope in the "Essay on Man":—

> Good men and honest, when of late they saw
> A Christian preacher teach the moral law,
> Wondered that souls, by superstition soiled,
> Could show some vestige still of sense unspoiled.

It would be no more than fair that the more be-

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nighted of such teachers and their blindly-led constituency should sometimes awaken sufficiently from their gloomy and debasing mental servitude to reciprocate the justice of favorable construction, and to suspect that those persons who are faithful to the revelations of the real Almighty are none the worse for the moral and manly fidelity which compels the rejection of silly nursery lore. It is high time for all to see that such lore, even as poetical imagery, becomes immoral, repulsive, and contemptible, when authority is arrogated for it above the eternal and unchanging testimonies of Nature's law, involving, as that does, the claims of justice, the dictates of common-sense, the teachings of true science, the substance of all true religion. That law, whose only fit interpreter is reason, proceeding upon the basis of observation, and, by original, divine, and exclusive authority, present with every man in the exact ratio of his enlightenment, must ever be to all honest and intelligent minds the only authoritative expression of the will of the Almighty. Human enactments may give recognition to such portions of that law as come within their legitimate province, but must not be allowed to forbid its further ascertainment.

If truth lies dormant where there is no present capacity to comprehend it, it does not follow that error of wild and distorted fancy, whether born in past or present times, ought to be enjoined or accepted to supply its place; for the extravagant machinery of dogmatism, when made the means of concert of action, becomes ever the patroness of ignorance and the prolific mother of social abuses. However sweet or meritorious might be the grace of pious fraud or that of accordant humiliation, it would be as impious as it would be absurd to assert that the religion which rested on robbery or injustice could be divine. Let us all take timely warning from the muttering thunder which announces the approaching storm, and be true to humanity rather than, by recreancy to the duty of insuring success to this example of free government, which is the hope of the world, give sad occasion not only for the scorn but the pity of mankind. But let us indulge the hope that, in proportion as arrogant and interested assumption and gross ignorance shall recede with the advance of fair inquiry and free discussion, men will come to appreciate better and better the sentiment:—

> "How charming is divine philosophy,
> Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
> But musical."

C. C.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Pa., March, 1877.

VISIBLE DARKNESS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Several weeks since, in a very short communication, I called for information concerning *scientific* evidence bearing on the subject of immortality. From the tenor of two replies and the able and interesting essay by Mr. Stoddard, I conclude that I may have been laboring under a sad misapprehension. It is clearly made to appear that there is no scientific evidence, nor *evidence* of any kind,—that all we possess is a "solemn hope" of the god Wish. In other words, the human conception of immortality is purely mythological. Science must be sorrowful. I deeply sympathize with her!

Moreover, we learn from Mr. T. J. Atwood that she *cannot* furnish such evidence. These are his words: "If true, it (immortality) lies beyond the domain of science to show it." Vainly have I striven to imagine something above, beneath, or *beyond* "the domain of science. "I find myself incapable of any such stretch of imagination, and have only succeeded in being reminded of the old problem of creating something out of nothing, or of that "outermost orb" of Milton's known as the "Limbo of Vanity." That "cannot" has a strange sound in mine ear, and again I feel constrained, sorrowfully and deeply, to sympathize with science! Will Brother Atwood be so kind as to inform us how he discovered what evidence science "cannot" furnish?

I asked for a morsel of bread, and received—a whole cart-load of stones! Mere hope, solemn or otherwise, is a thin diet for some intelligent persons. Doubtless it is better than downright despair. Stone walls are useful; if I cannot "go to glory," that is no reason why I should think disrespectfully of the wall.

Mr. Atwood also consoles me by saying that Mr. Lum's logic is "invulnerable." *If it is*, any the slightest hope of immortality is an absurdity. But Mr. Atwood mentions a "distant probability" and quotes approvingly from THE INDEX: "Human knowledge is far too limited, as yet, to permit a final disposition of it." John Phœnix once asserted a suspicion that the sun must have "wiggled a little" when Joshua "wasn't minding." I fear the aforesaid logic must have wiggled a little when Mr. Atwood wasn't minding!

Let us proceed with the indictment: "But few are willing to accept as scientific evidence the mysteries or madness of modern spiritualism." This is too mild. Let us have a fair count. Mystery enough; surely, more than enough; and we will allow no abatement because some high authority has said that genius is closely allied to madness. But vastly more than this can be brought against modern spiritualism, and I could give it a terrible slashing if it were not for one thing, which is this:—

I have a profound and abiding reverence for *facts*. A methodical and reasonable exposition of facts, as we call science, is to me revelation,—the genuine word of God. Science is the only and universal court of appeals. Let the case be what it will, no other court can have final jurisdiction. It is God's law and the universe its realm. There is nothing *beyond*, nothing *super*; whether the question is of God, man, immortality, duty, or whether the building of a boat, the final and conclusive decision must be rendered by science.

It is natural, therefore, that I should have respect and sympathy for any man, or set of men, who are striving to solve a difficult problem by the scientific method. The manner of their pioneering should not frighten us. It may be confused, malarious, disagreeable, and worse; but if the tendency be correct, the attempts, however abortive, should not be condemned as wholly unprofitable. For my part, I would not give a button for all the arguments in favor of immortality from Plato's time down to now. If spiritualism can succeed in finally establishing *one* of her peculiar phenomena as veritable *fact*, the world will freely forgive her sins. A scientific demonstration of immortality will richly repay mankind for all the ballooning in "mesmeric heavens," for all confused flounderings in "mesmeric hells." Some worthy people are concerned because so much precious time and talent are wasted in the consideration of other worldliness. But intellect and heart cannot be satisfied with an inherited myth, a "solemn hope." The pangs of doubt impel us to dwell often and persistently on this subject. If spiritualism succeeds, doubtful hope will give place to confident joy; men will be more likely to attend carefully to the duties of this life, knowing that thus it will be better for them hereafter; and the "light from above" will effectually dispel the dark cloud of fettering superstition that has settled down on us from the past, closely enveloping the ancient "hope."

Yes, there is at least one other reason why I am averse to exercising my wits on the follies of spiritualism. Our honored prophets affirm that this nation is destined to pass through a fiery agitation of a religio-political character. In such a case it is clear that if *all* liberals do not hang together, they may be in danger of "hanging separately," as Franklin said to his comrades. In consequence of their numbers and zeal, the Spiritualists are likely to prove an important element in the strife; perhaps the most important. Brethren, let us associate, reason, and *organize* together in peace and unity. The times demand it of us as a duty.

Dr. Parkhurst shows himself to be a true brother Yankee by putting several knotty questions to me instead of answering my two. With all due respect I will suggest that he "carried his coals to Newcastle." My position is that of a student, not an expounder of science. But I would like to see his queries answered through THE INDEX, and trust that some one of your readers will feel competent to the execution of the task.

PRESTON DAY.

LONGFELLOW.

I observe, in the list of "popular books sent by mail at publishers' prices" from the office of THE INDEX, Longfellow's poems.

In his poetry Longfellow is of the ultra-romantic school. He might be called a sentimental Romanist. The space which nuns, monks, and cloisters occupy in his verses is large. His *Evangeline*, which is an imitation of Goethe's *Hermann and Dorothea* in style, is all in the interest of reactionary Romanism. During his sojourn abroad in his youth, Longfellow became deeply imbued with the mediævalism which the German romanticists in literature and art, the Tiecks, Overbecks, and their coadjutors, had made fashionable. Without questioning for a moment his exquisite taste and exquisite poetical faculty, one may regret that he has not more intellectual brawn and muscle. The influence of his poetry is enervating. It is too much drugged with Roman Catholic imagery to be healthful. Certainly it is not the sort of verse which an apostle of free-thought in religion is called upon to circulate. His earliest book of poetry (the title of which, *Voices of the Night*, was evidently suggested by the *Hymns to the Night*, of the German mystic, Novalis) contains a "Midnight Mass of the Dying Year." His *Golden Legend* is pure romanticism and *Faust* diluted. Even his *Hiawatha* sings the praises of the Jesuits. I have spoken of the lack of muscle in this exquisite versifier. There is the same lack in Whittier, whose poems, when read separately, are so delightful, while they are monotonous in the mass. The haze of an Indian summer broods over the Quaker poet's verse.

B. W. B.

[The list of books referred to has nothing to do with propagandism; it is only what it purports to be, a list of "popular books." Literature knows no creed, and welcomes all genius. Would Mr. B. object to the sale of Milton or Dante?—ED.]

SHADOWS in portraiture are often an inscrutable mystery to many otherwise well-educated persons. When Queen Elizabeth sat to Zucchero she desired to be painted "neither with shades to the right nor to the left, but in an open garden light." In other words, Her Majesty was for having her countenance depicted in the similitude of a muffin. A portrait of George III. was sent to China under the emblem of Lord Amherst, in which the features were in half shadow. It was destined for a gift for the Emperor of China, but a Celestial critic inquired why the King of England had one side of his face covered with dirt. Oliver Cromwell warned the artist who painted him that he would not pay him a single penny if he suppressed a pimple or modified a single wrinkle in his rough visage; but Charles II. took Sir Peter Lely to task, and said: "O'ds fish! if that's like me I must be a monstrous ill-favored fellow." A nobleman, both stingy and ugly, refused to pay Hogarth for his portrait on the ground that it was not a good likeness. Whereupon Hogarth threatened to put a tail to it and sell it to the Barnum of those days to be shown with the wild beasts. The money was paid at once.

Sanctuary of Superstition.

SEEING JESUS.—The glory of heaven will be in seeing Jesus. . . . If we ever weep in heaven, it will be tears of joy at meeting Jesus. Perhaps in that "upper room" also he may show unto us his hands and his side, and we may cry out with happy Thomas: "My Lord and my God!"—*Theodore L. Cuyler, D. D., in the Independent.*

BENEVOLENT CRUELTY.—O my friends, where are you? If your life is hid with God in Christ, Satan can't get at it. I can now shout over death, and over the grave, and if you can do that all will be well. Now, my friends, if you can't say that, I hope you will have no rest. I hope sleep will depart from you, and you will have no peace until you confess Christ.—*Dwight L. Moody, at New York, Feb. 20.*

THE BIBLE EARTH LEAGUE.—That truth is often stranger than fiction is once more exemplified by the formation of the "Bible Earth League of Christians" in London, under the leadership of a Mr. Fitzgerald, who purpose to upset the Newtonian system by proving that the earth is flat. The promoter pleads that "the work of surveys and obtaining other incontrovertible proof that the earth is not a rotating revolving globe, will be necessarily expensive, and can only be effected by liberal contributions of Christians." The *Bible Earth Monthly* will cost six shillings yearly, payable *in advance*.—*N. Y. Sun, May* 12, 1876.

A CAMP-MEETING PLACARD.—The following placard was published in the St. Paul, Minnesota, *Despatch* of Jan. 26, 1876, which protested against "the Lord Jesus Christ being advertised as one of the attractions":—

TAKE NOTICE!

GREAT GOSPEL CAMP MEETING.

SERVICES WILL COMMENCE THIS EVENING AT THE
FIRST METHODIST CHURCH,
COR. SUMMIT AND DAYTON AVENUES.

To these meetings, which will be continued all the week, the following persons are specially invited; *viz.*, all the members of the Legislature now in session; also prodigals of every class, including thieves, pickpockets, gamblers, blacklegs, rumsellers, drunkards, the fallen and wandering of every condition and sex.

These meetings will be conducted in old-fashioned Methodist camp-meeting style. Old-fashioned camp-meeting songs and tunes will be sung. Christians of every name who can sing and who have a religious experience to tell are invited to be present and take part in the exercises. W. B. Barber, formerly from Brooklyn, New York, who goes at things in an earnest, old-fashioned way, will be present to conduct the exercises. The Lord Jesus Christ has also promised to be present to save sinners of every class who will come to him.

No reserved seats. Everything free. If you desire seats be on hand early. Doors open at 7½ o'clock; services commence promptly at 7½.

To all, we say, come to these camp-meeting services and become a disciple of Jesus.

WHY NOT?

SUNDAY TRAINS.—The following remarkable statement appears in the North-western *Christian Advocate* of July 3:—

"The Sunday-train question relating to the coming Chicago District Camp-Meeting must not be misunderstood. The committee stipulates with the railway that there shall be but one Sunday train to run out and back after the Sunday services. The fare is reduced, and perfect order and decorum are observed. One engine and six men can do the work that would otherwise fall upon two thousand horses and many drivers, while thousands of people will thus be enabled, under proper and perfectly possible restraint, to attend religious services on the camp-ground."

This is a very lucid and unanswerable defence of the position of Chicago Methodism on the "Sunday train question." A committee of distinguished Christian gentlemen deliberately stipulate with a railway that a train shall be run to their camp-meeting and back on the Sabbath. Wisconsin Methodism has long been shocked by the running of Sunday trains on the same railway, not to and from camp-meetings, but for the same purpose,—*to make money*. We have felt that said railway thus profanes God's Sabbath. But Chicago District Methodism deliberately bargain with the same concern to employ "one engine and six men" to do what the general rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church positively forbids,—"doing ordinary work therein."

Seriously, we enter our solemn protest against this whole transaction. It yields the whole question at issue between the Sabbath and anti-Sabbath theories. It is as wicked to run a Sunday train to a camp-meeting as it is to a beer-garden, for the end does not sanctify the means. Is it said that the choice is between the Sunday train and "the two thousand horses and many drivers"? I deny it; there is of necessity no such choice. Better never hold another camp-meeting on the American Continent than for the Methodist Episcopal Church to stipulate for Sunday trains. If such meetings must be held on the Sabbath, leave the people to their own choice how to get to them. And if they will profane the Sabbath let the sin be on their own souls. This action of the committee is exceedingly unfortunate.—*Rev. H. C. Tilton, in Milwaukee Christian Statesman of July* 18, 1872.

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Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. 35 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains essays by J. W Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celia Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

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Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. 40 cents. (Four or more, 25 cents each.) Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wixon and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "the Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss,—together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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Journal of Radicalism and Freethought.

EDITED BY

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

REV. JOHN MILLER, D. D., has been convicted of heresy by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, N. J., and suspended from the ministry.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition have been received as follows since last week: from Dr. C. W. Fillmore, Providence, Rhode Island, 74; from Mr. Titus L. Mann, Napoleon, Ohio, 90; from Mr. D. P. Willcox, Yankton, Dakotah Territory, 228. Total thus far received—5,228.

THE OLD SOUTH MEETING-HOUSE in Boston was sold by the society to those who at present hold it, on the express condition that no religious services should be held in the building on Sunday for thirty years—a mean condition, yet one the former owners had a right to impose. The new proprietors have now got the Legislature, under the alleged right of eminent domain, to cancel the condition after the transfer of the property. It is a disgrace to Massachusetts that her Legislature should thus make itself a party to a flagrant breach of contract.

REV. DAVID MCALLISTER, Secretary of the miscalled "National Reform Association" which is trying to Christianize the Constitution, reported that "only two Christian ministers [in Chicago], of all the large number I have thus far called upon, have declared themselves opposed to the National Reform movement." Bishop McLaren, of Illinois, is announced by Mr. McAllister to be a fresh convert to the Christian Amendment. That the clergy will almost universally support it, when the time for action arrives, may be safely taken for granted.

THE IMPORTANCE of not desecrating the Sabbath is thus strikingly illustrated by Boston Christians: "The pastors and evangelical churches of Boston and vicinity have united in and approved of the gathering of thousands at the Tabernacle every Sabbath for three months, to hear Mr. Moody preach, necessitating the employment of two hundred horse-cars, a large number of omnibuses and private carriages every Sunday, besides the patronizing of the steam-railroads, as the way to promote a glorious revival of religion, save souls, and elevate the standard of piety in the churches."

THE MASSACHUSETTS Legislature have passed a law requiring all religious societies, as well as all literary, educational, benevolent, charitable, or scientific institutions, to report annually on or before the fifteenth of May the amount of their property which is exempted from taxation, on penalty of losing the exemption. The act takes effect on the first of June next—an unnecessary postponement which defers all such reports another year. But the law itself is a very good one, and indirectly recognizes *the right of the Commonwealth to tax such property*. That is a great point gained in the approach to public justice on this question, and was probably not considered in all its bearings by those who passed the law.

ONE OF the Boston papers says: "The text of the extraordinary letter of the bishop of Nevers to Marshal McMahon, written April 7th, bears out the report of its high clerical pretensions and accounts for the profound sensation it created in France. The bishop writes in discharge of his pastoral duty to a great Catholic population. He assumes that the President is acquainted with the appeal of the Supreme Pontiff to the Catholic faithful against the ever-increasing encroachments of the Italian government. He alludes to the high importance of the commercial treaties with England, now in progress, to the national prosperity of France, but asks what are these interests compared with the religious interests connected with the religious liberty of the Sovereign Pontiff? The letter wholly ignores the fact of the unity of Italy, regarding the present situation as only revolutionary, and asks in effect for the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Italian government. The bishop dreams of reviving the priestly rule of three centuries ago, and of seeing once more the policy of Europe governed by ecclesiastical considerations."

THERE SEEMS to be a growing disinclination on the part of freethinkers, on the death of friends, to conform to the stereotyped funeral ceremonies. A fresh instance of this has occurred lately. The residence of General I. N. Stiles, in Warren Avenue, Chicago, was the scene of a touching funeral a few weeks ago. The wife of the General died on April 7, and on the occasion in question her friends and relatives had assembled to take their farewell of their beloved associate, and to pay their last tribute of respect to her earthly remains. General Stiles is one of the most prominent lawyers in Illinois, and the leading men of the bench and bar of the city were in attendance, but no clergyman was present. The services were of an unusual character, but were conducted in a manner which, as General Stiles said, was in accordance with the desires of his wife. She was a woman of rare intelligence and superior culture, and in common with her husband was a freethinker. When the friends had all assembled in the parlor, General Stiles greeted them with a few remarks in which he explained to them why the usual services had been dispensed with. They might think it strange that no minister was there, but he had consulted his wife's wishes in the matter as well as his own. He then, in a few words, told those assembled some facts in the life of the deceased. She was born in 1837, in Sag Harbor, N. Y. In 1860 she was married, and in the following winter she accompanied her husband to the war. She was present at two battles, and in one of them a shell burst only a few feet from her. She was not only an accomplished musician, but a fine linguist, and was ardently devoted to literary pursuits. General Stiles related a few touching incidents in reference to her last hours, and closed by reading a little poem which his wife had written and presented to him on the tenth anniversary of their wedding. A short memorial was then read by the president of the Athenæ Club, as was Mrs. Browning's "De Profundis," and then, after the two sisters of General Stiles had sung a hymn entitled "Farewell," the remains were removed for burial. Our readers will remember the exquisite lines, "In Pace," by "J. L. S.," in THE INDEX of January 11, 1877, which, as we happen to know, reached and deeply touched many a heart.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Transforming a Religion.

THE JEWS OF THE WORLD IN ARMS OVER THEIR ANCIENT RITUAL.

STRIPPING THE FAITH OF ALL OF ITS PECULIAR FORMS AND OBSERVANCES—ADAPTING THE JUDAISM OF THE BIBLE AND THE TALMUD TO THE CONDITIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Whoever first conceived the idea, lately acted on, of requesting the Jewish congregations of the United States to prepare records of their settlement and of the foundation and development of their synagogues, schools, and other institutions, with a view to the permanent preservation of these local histories, deserves undoubted credit for it. The thought is a good one, and it is well that there is to be no delay about carrying it into execution. A collection of such records, if accurately and intelligently prepared, will prove of considerable and peculiar interest. They will constitute a history of an entirely unique character; the narrative of a religious conflict that has been in progress for more than a generation past; a persistent struggle in every synagogue and every Jewish household for change, reform, and abolition in an ancient ritual and a revered system of religious observances. That conflict is to-day at its height in the United States as well as other lands, and it will continue in one country or another for generations, perhaps, to come.

The Jews are distributed all over the world to-day, as they have been for a good long while past. Only to-day their dispersal, instead of being a curse and a mark of misery, as people are accustomed to say, increases with every improvement in their condition. With every new country that opens its doors to them, or that invites them by evidences of liberality, the boundaries of their habitations are extended, and the extent of their dispersal is by that much enlarged. No sooner do they see evidences of toleration in Switzerland or Spain than the peculiar people are scattered over that much additional area. What was once a calamity has become, in the nineteenth century, a privilege, a choice, and an evidence of amelioration and prosperity.

In every land in which they have thus dwelt, they have formed numerous communities in city and country, where for centuries they have worshipped and have conducted their households and all the affairs of social life in strict conformity with a peculiar religious code which had its basis in the Books of Moses, but in the course of time was elaborated by the rabbinical scholars into a system of the most extraordinary detail and technicality. That code regulated their services in the synagogues, their prayers in public and private, their table and kitchen, the burial of the dead and the care of the newly born, their betrothals and their marriages, the observance of their Sabbath and their festivals; nearly all their affairs, indeed, of whatsoever character, besides providing tribunals and laws for the settlement of their personal controversies. All the torments of the Middle Ages did not disturb its observance. Persecution only strengthened it, and the vicissitudes and perils of centuries only rendered it the more sacred. But its day has come at last, and for our time has been reserved the impressive spectacle of its decay. With the great change in the temporal condition of the Jews that the enlightenment and liberality of the nineteenth century have brought about, there has come a corresponding change in their religious *status*. As long as the Jews had no choice but to keep to themselves, their religious system remained intact. But now that they come constantly into closer relations with their neighbors of other faiths, they find many of their traditionary observances inconvenient, and some objectionable for other reasons; and an agitation has arisen for their modification, or even entire abolition—an agitation pertinaciously resisted by those of a more conservative disposition,—that is destined not to cease until the entire system is overthrown.

This state of affairs is not by any means precisely the same in all parts of the world. In countries where illiberal laws and an intolerant people make the civil *status* of the Jews most like that of the past, their religious condition has likewise undergone least change, and there is much less desire for reform than in others where the Jew enjoys freedom and security. Thus it is that there are some parts of the world where the old Jewish code is still observed with the Orthodox strictness of the Middle Ages; but there is no land, no place to which the clamor of the struggle has not penetrated. Not even in Poland or on the Black Sea does the old order of things prevail entirely undisturbed. Even those free spirits who are denounced by the rabbis as apostates proclaim the necessity for reform, and urge it at every opportunity.

It is, however, undeniable that in such regions the cry has been little more than an echo, and compared with what has been going on in other lands, it may be said that in Russia, parts of Austria, Poland, Roumania, and the neighboring provinces and principalities, Turkey and the Asiatic countries, the Jews maintain the observance of their religious system as it has descended to them, uninfluenced to any noticeable extent by the spirit and the working of the modern world.

The assertion that the desire and the struggle for change is in proportion to the improvement in the civil and political condition of the Jew, while true on the whole and as applied to countries widely different in civilization and enlightenment, is not strictly accurate where the differences are not so great.

In France, England, and Holland, where the Jews enjoy entire civil and religious liberty, the agitation is not very persistent, nor has it, comparatively, made very much progress. Changes that were effected in many congregations in the United States years ago are only beginning to be talked about in England; and the Jews of France are equally conservative. This difference is owing partly to the absence of aggressive and inquiring minds, such as abound in Germany, to take the lead, and partly to a difference of national, as distinct from race, characteristics.

Much the greatest advance in the agitation has undoubtedly been made in Germany and the United States. The Jews of these two countries are abreast in that regard; and it is entirely natural that they should be, for a large majority of American Israelites are emigrants from Germany, whence many of them have come with spirits of inquiry and speculation, aroused already at home, and either desirous of reform, or at any rate prepared for it. From Germany they have most of their rabbis and religious teachers, and thither they often send their youth to be educated.

In the United States the Jewish communities are now found in every city of forty thousand population, from one end of the broad land to the other, and there is probably not a hamlet of five hundred souls from the Rio Grande to the Canadian border in which there are not representatives of the ancient race. While every European country is represented among them, a very large majority over all others combined is formed by the Germans, with whom only the Poles compare in number. The Germans here take the lead in the reform movement; the Bohemians co-operate with them. Of the Poles some are among the most progressive, some among the most Orthodox. The English and Portuguese are mainly very conservative. In every community and every congregation these different nationalities are more or less mingled. It is only in a few of the largest cities of the country that the Jewish population is sufficiently numerous and the pick large enough to make the formation of congregations of exclusively one nationality or one shade of opinion possible. It is generally necessary, and in the smaller cities almost always so, to associate all these various nationalities with their diverse characteristics of prejudice, manners, and sentiment. There are thus very few Jewish congregations in the whole land in which the opinions even approach a state of unanimity. There is everywhere struggle, dissension, and upheaval.

In New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and New Orleans there are a few congregations composed entirely of persons who had reached a certain pass in the reform movement beyond which there is very little ritual or ceremony to differ over; very little, at least, that gives any of them inconvenience or annoyance. Here, then, in these few larger cities we find a few congregations in which a certain amount of harmony of sentiment prevails. They have rejected many of the laws relating to prayers, observances, and ceremonies in the synagogue, and pretty nearly all appertaining to home and social life. Most of them entirely disregard practically, even if not avowedly, the laws relating to the use of animal food, the slaughtering of animals, and their cooking. What they have retained is a modified use of Hebrew in their public services, in which there is a large infusion of German and English, a modified observance of the festivals, such as the Passover, the Day of Atonement, and the Jewish New Year's Day, and they still hold, at least formally, to Saturday as their Sabbath. Otherwise they follow the manners and customs of their Christian neighbors.

In these large cities there are also a few congregations of Polish and Russian Jews who, because they have but recently come from abroad, or from other causes, adhere as yet with absolute faithfulness to every letter of the Orthodox Jewish law. These are the extreme opposites to the "reform" congregations, and for the moment are equally unanimous in their opinions. There may be a few individual congregations between these extremes that, from exceptional causes, also get along without serious dissensions; but as a rule, all the other Jewish congregations of the country are in a state of tumult and contention unlike anything experienced in any other religious denomination in the world.

The leaders in this wide-spread and vital agitation, as well as to a great extent its originators, have been the German rabbis. They have had numerous conventions, not only in Germany, where they date back over half a century, but also at various times in the United States. There they discussed most of the reforms that have now been effected; and there they laid the foundation for future agitation, and secured each other's coöperation. There were able, learned, strong, and upright men among them. Dr. Geiger, who but recently died in Berlin, was all his life a famous champion of the reform movement. Drs. Einhorn and Adler of this city were prominent advocates of reform in Germany, and continued the agitation all through the twenty-five years or more that they have lived here. Those rabbis were men who were not only learned in the Talmud, like many of their predecessors of earlier times, but they had also imbibed from modern founts of knowledge, were filled with progressive ideas, and desired to fit the faith of their fathers in all its usages and appearances to the more liberal and humane age in which it was their fortune to live.

Among the reforms to which they earliest turned their attention were those relating to the services in the synagogues, into which they desired to introduce decorum and intelligence. A book of Hebrew hymns and prayers was then in use which was thought susceptible of a large amount of useful curtailing. The prayers were too many and too diffuse, prolonging

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the services uselessly and requiring intolerable haste in their recital. Other prayers, again, were objectionable on account of their contents, as, for instance, the petitions for a speedy return to the Holy Land and the restoration of the monarchy of David. During the services the men and the women of the congregations were rigorously separated, the men sitting together in the body of the synagogue, while the women were usually confined to a gallery. On the anniversary of the second temple's destruction, it was the practice to sit on the floor of the synagogue in stocking feet, and recite the lamentations. On the Day of Atonement the elders entered the synagogue in their burial attire, a white cotton robe, and in that attire worshipped the entire day, and frequently the whole of the preceding night, without food or drink, and in a state of the extremest abandon. No prayers in German were permitted. No organ or choir was allowed. Services on many occasions began before daybreak and lasted until near noon. So there were also in regard to the burial of the dead many superstitious practices that needed improvement. There was too much haste in the burials, the departed being hurried to the grave as soon as cold. The relatives were not permitted to see the dying being's last moments. They were removed from the apartment, and were rigidly debarred from contact with the remains, strangers preparing the body for interment, and depositing it in the grave. The relatives, however, were required to give expression to their grief by rending their garments, and by sitting for seven days on the floor in mourning. At the grave there were also various absurd ceremonies. And of a similar character were other customs and observances that in the interest of reason and decorum these rabbis declared must be changed or discontinued.

Among those German rabbis there were others who adhered tenaciously to the old customs and the letter of the old law. They opposed reform of any kind, and there followed a bitter and uncompromising warfare from the pulpit and in the religious press. The rabbis of Poland were particularly zealous in their support of the old order of things, and they resisted the innovators with rage and hatred, and often with threats of violence and curses. Their followers hardly ever mentioned these men of new-fangled ideas without expressing the hope that all kinds of calamities might overtake them; and every ill that did befall them was attributed to divine displeasure at their infidelity.

The opposing parties acquired the designations of "reformers" and "Orthodox," and as such they are known to-day, both in Germany and the United States. There are not two clearly divided bodies who can be classed under these heads, one believing one definite set of doctrines, and practising one definite ritual, and the other another. On neither side are there any two men who are entirely agreed, and who in their private life retain and have discarded the same share of the old ritual. The "reformers" are fairly described as those who, without being agreed among themselves, some being much in advance of the others in their demands, are constantly endeavoring to institute changes and improvements, and the "Orthodox" are simply those who are resisting them. Reformers in one congregation would not necessarily be so in another that is more advanced. Take a very Orthodox congregation like that old one in Thirty-fourth Street in the city of New York, and there the questions about which war is waged are such as the introduction of a choir or the institution of family pews. The Orthodox there oppose these changes. The reformers demand them. But one who should go somewhat further and propose that the congregation remove their hats in the synagogue, as is the usual custom in houses of worship in civilized European and American countries, would find himself altogether too daring for the most extreme of these reformers. Yet that has been the custom in the congregation of the Fifth Avenue Temple Emanuel, in the same city for many years. The reformers of the Thirty-fourth Street Synagogue would, therefore, be extremely Orthodox in the Fifth Avenue society.

The bitterness that characterized the conflict when the reform movement was initiated has in no wise abated. It is to-day marked in every country by a very great degree of partisan feeling. The rabbis assail each other unsparingly from their pulpits, at conventions, in the Jewish press, and in pamphlets and books. The laity participate to some extent in the controversy, and the Jewish press, in which the main shades of opinion have their pronounced organs, is largely devoted to it. In the United States the *Jewish Times* and the *Jewish Messenger*, published in New York, and the *Israelite*, published in Cincinnati, have long been known as the leading Jewish journals, the *Times* being the advocate of the more advanced reforms, the *Messenger* representing the Orthodox, and the *Israelite* holding a position between the two.

In most congregations the rabbis take the lead in advocating reforms, and they surely bring them about in the end, though in some places more slowly than in others. Where they possess tact and foresight, they remain on harmonious terms with their flocks; but where they are hot-tempered and headlong, the most violent quarrels often occur. A congregation of the old Scotch Covenanters could not have been a more unruly flock to one of the priests of Baal, than the Orthodox members of an average Jewish congregation to such a rabbi. Personal collisions have more than once occurred between the teacher and the taught, contracts have been broken, rabbis have suddenly left their congregations, and congregations have repudiated their rabbis. These occurrences show how little reverence is paid to the office of rabbi. Many rabbis, throughout the land, enjoy the highest respect and affection of their congregations; but it is invariably their personal superiority that causes it.

With this constant open agitation for change and reform by minds dissatisfied with the old customs and observances, other causes combine,—association with people of other faiths, the indifference and, upon some points, the ridicule of the younger generation, even the mere lack of any positive opposing influence; and the result is with all, even the most Orthodox, an almost unconscious but certain advance from their old stand-point of view and feeling; so that daily the Orthodox grow less Orthodox, and the reformers more advanced in their notions of reform. A man, who, ten years ago, would have offered to take up arms in opposition to the introduction of an organ into the synagogue will to-day, be unable to understand how anybody could become so excited over such a matter; and this change will have been effected without his being able to recall the stages of the transformation, or ever reflecting upon it.

There are individuals who prove an exception to this rule, and will not go with the world. Here and there is an old man who observes every ceremony and repeats every prayer as faithfully and as accurately as when a lad he was taught them in his German or Polish home, when the Jews were ill-treated and in danger, and reformers were unknown. Learned in the Jewish lore and ritual; spending an hour or more in prayer every day, strapped in his phylacteries, and four or five on Saturday and the festival days; bowed in the dust on the anniversary of Jerusalem's destruction and other fast days; humbled and stricken as though at the entrance of the tomb on the Day of Atonement; joyous on the festivals; at all times a great authority with Jewish housewives upon questions of dietary law and other household observance; very select in what houses, even of Jewish people, he touches a morsel of food, for fear that it may not have been prepared with strict obedience to the dietary code; confining his food when away from home to boiled eggs and potatoes cooked in the skin; a man well understood by his more worldly Jewish neighbors, but an exception and queer even in their eyes. This kind of Jew looks to Jerusalem as the holy city where David's throne is to be reëstablished, and is about the only kind of Jew who has any desire to remove to Palestine. A few individuals of this kind are to be found in different cities of the United States, and here and there a few families of the same type exist. But they are curious even to the Jews. In European countries they are, of course, more numerous.

The Portuguese, as I have already said, are much more conservative throughout the United States than the Germans, and they have been so for a hundred years. They seem to be of a different temperament as well as of a different type of mind; but the time has evidently come when even they are to move. The rising generation of the Portuguese Jews of the United States shows no more of a disposition to follow in the footsteps of their fathers, so far as regards their religious opinions and practices, than the upgrowing Jews of other nationalities.

There will be no agitation for reform among the rising generation; at least, in the United States. There will be no occasion for it. There will be nothing to reform. None of the ceremonies, observances, or customs that are now the objects of the struggle for reform, will be followed or practised by them. They will not have the desire; they will not have the capability. As a rule, they know little or nothing of Hebrew, in which their parents are more or less versed, and of which a knowledge is necessary for an understanding, and for the preservation of the old ritual; they know nothing of this ritual except the slight, imperfect, and superficial knowledge resulting from seeing it in practice without understanding the reasons for it, its meaning, or its origin and authority; they have no affection and no reverence for it, and not even the attachment that grows from habit; they have only seen it denounced and ridiculed; no solemn memories and no loved associations lend in their eyes beauty, authority, and significance to dubious forms as they have done in those of their fathers; they have hardly been accustomed even to observe Saturday as a Sabbath, and the festivals have been little else to them than days of leisure, good fare, and holiday attire. Family, business, and other influences may induce them to join some kind of religious body as they go into life for themselves; but it will likely be more and more congregations with nothing distinctively Jewish about them. Hebrew will doubtless be ultimately dropped altogether as a feature of religious services, and no forms or ceremonies will be permitted for which they do not see some good modern reason. They will adopt Sunday for their worship, such as it may be. After a while they will lose more and more even of the influences of German and Jewish descent. Then intermarriage with those of other faiths will follow, and that can result only in the merging and disappearance of the Jew, so far as those are concerned who are born and reared on American soil. A new element of immigration will constantly come from abroad, but that will go through the same process; and, meantime, the world stands not still beyond the borders of the United States. The process that has been gone through here will not fail in other lands, though it may not be so speedy.

Meantime the present generation continues its war about reform. Entire congregations, as I have stated, have already reached a point at which there is nothing further worth contending about. Take, for instance, in New York, the Fifth Avenue congregation, the Temple Emanuel. The services there consist of a few hymns, brief prayers of a general character, reading from the Pentateuch, and a sermon. The congregation sits as in the ordinary Christian Church, with uncovered heads, families together in family pews, quiet and decorous. There is a fine choir, a handsome religious edifice, the service begins at the usual hour for such a thing, and lasts about the same time as the ordinary church service. There is absolutely nothing peculiar about it, except that some of the hymns and prayers and the reading from the Scriptures are in Hebrew, and that the chapter of the Pentateuch is read from a parchment-scroll instead of a bound volume. But until the station of this congregation is reached, the agitation will not cease, and the generation that has been chiefly troubled by it will die out while it is in progress.

That there is no breaking up into sects with definite differences of forms and ceremonies is owing to various causes, but chiefly to the fact that none of these forms and none of these observances possess sufficient importance to make men rally around them and abide by them. Nothing will permanently satisfy any mind of average intelligence uninfluenced by early association or long habit save their entire overthrow, and were a congregation, in the efforts to discard them, to break up, as has frequently happened, the only result would be that very soon in the severed portions the old struggle would be renewed and carried on as before, the Orthodox growing less Orthodox, and the reformers more advanced in their notions of reform.

A natural inquiry is, "But is this entirely and purely a conflict over forms, or does it involve, also, to some extent, questions of doctrine and principles of belief; and if so, to what extent?"

Dogma is undoubtedly involved to some degree, but it is only collaterally. No essential principle of belief has been made directly the object either of discussion or dissension; but there are two or three which certainly have been drawn into the conflict by implication. One long-settled article of the Jewish creed has been the belief in the coming of a future Messiah, who was to be a personal redeemer, and with whose advent the Jewish people should be restored to their kingdom in the Holy Land; and the hastening of that event is implored in various prayers and hymns that for a long time had been a part of the regular Orthodox service. These passages the reformers have sought to expunge, and, as upon all other points, have met with a tenacious resistance from the Orthodox. Here, then, an undoubted question of doctrine seems collaterally involved; and to some extent it may be so. The doctrine of the Messiah has not itself been directly the subject of controversy, but collaterally it undoubtedly seems to be involved in the conflict over the prayers. And yet that controversy furnishes no indication of the extent of the belief in the doctrine. It is not entertained by any of the reformers, who construe the apparent prediction in the Prophets of the coming of a redeemer in a figurative sense. They do not believe that a personal redeemer is ever to appear. The ultra Orthodox think otherwise. They believe, unfalteringly, that a Messiah will come some day, and may come any. But of a class as Orthodox as that, there are few in the United States, and few in Germany. Doubtless in other countries the proportion is greater; but in America, it has been said so often as to have become hackneyed, that not only do the Jews not believe in a return to Palestine and a restoration of their kingdom, but they would refuse to take part in it if they had the opportunity. The resistance on the part of the Orthodox in American congregations to the proposed modification of the prayers was in truth based upon a disinclination to change of any kind, and from a general distrust of the reformers and a desire to concede nothing to their wishes. The prayers being in Hebrew, understood by few, and well understood by hardly any, their incongruity was not so glaring as might otherwise be supposed.

Another principle of faith that is collaterally involved in the controversy over the ritual is the belief in the divine authorship of the Old Testament, and in revelation as there narrated. If the Old Testament is merely human poetry and philosophy, inspired by nothing save the fire of genius and history, more or less dubious and unauthenticated, as the advanced reformers believe, the many observances enduring to the present day that are based upon passages in the Books of Moses, are entitled to very different consideration from what they should receive if those passages are, as the Orthodox believe, direct communications from God, expressive of his will. Here there is clearly involved a principle of belief of the highest importance; but, like that of the Messiah, it is only collaterally so; it has never been made the subject of congregational discussion or action.

Some reformers who have not gone the length of avowing their disbelief in the divine origin of the Old Testament, draw a fine distinction on this point. Without committing themselves distinctly upon the main question, they say that, even supposing the directions contained in the Books of Moses for the social and religious government of the Hebrews to have proceeded from divine dictation or inspiration, they were evidently designed solely with a view to the temporal condition of the Jews as it was at that time, and they in no way go to the essentials of the religion, and, amid different circumstances, may be altered accordingly. At the time these commands were proclaimed, the Jews were a nation by themselves, were the only people professing the pure monotheistic belief, and were surrounded by idol-worshipping peoples, guilty of all manner of barbarous and immoral practices, from whom it was necessary to keep them separated by numerous marks of distinction in dress, laws, customs, and observance.

That is all changed now, and it was obviously never contemplated that the directions then prescribed should not change likewise. All the minute rules relating to the priesthood and the sacrificial offerings, and those appertaining to the jubilee year, not only cannot be observed to-day, but actually have not been since the upturning of the Jewish State.

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Even the most Orthodox do not dream of restoring them, nor do they think them essential to the religion. Equally unessential are the other commands, such as those relating to the animals that may and may not be eaten, to the observance of the festivals, and the wearing of a fringed garment as a constant reminder of their God. On this principle, the reformers ought, logically, to see nothing objectionable in intermarriage by the young people of the rising generation with those to whom their hearts take fancy in other faiths; but very few go quite that far as yet, although it is true that where the reformers oppose intermarriage, it is not on the ground that their creed forbids it, but rather on grounds of convenience and expediency, and for fear of dissensions and unhappiness.

Some of the forms and observances that the reformers have been discarding are based either wholly or mainly on rabbinical authority, such as the fast days and most of the refinements and technicalities about the slaughtering of animals for food and the observance of the Sabbath. In regard to these, there is merely a difference of opinion between the reformers and the Orthodox as to the weight to be given today to the rabbinical synods of the past and to the dicta and views of rabbinical scholars as found in the Talmud and other works,—all this fabric of the rabbis the reformers declare themselves prepared to repudiate so far as their opinions condemn it. They assert that it has no authority, and that the views of rabbinical scholars of the past have no preference over those of the scholars of to-day. The test of reason will be applied to them, and the palm be given to those that best stand that test. In rejecting the Talmud, they are only doing what the Caraites of Russia have always done. This peculiar sect is a class of Jews who have never received the Talmud as of any authority whatever, and have adhered closely and literally to the text of Moses. Many of the observances that the Jews in other places have conformed to for centuries were never known to them. Yet nobody has ever questioned that they were Jews or doubted their Orthodoxy.

It thus results that, however advanced the reformers may be (excepting some who reject formal creed of any kind, and call themselves freethinkers, deists, or what not), they still call themselves adherents of the Jewish faith, and assert that between themselves and their Orthodox brethren—even the most Orthodox—there is no real doctrinal difference, but only a conflict of forms and observance. The essentials of Judaism, they say, are only the belief in one God, the doctrine of the soul's immortality, and the pure principles of morality, whose foundation is in the Ten Commandments; and over these they and their most Orthodox brethren have no difference of opinion.

This is the reform movement among the Jews of to-day,—a movement and a conflict that in many respects have no parallel. It is at the present moment incipient in some countries, and at its very height in others; it will end in all with stripping the old creed of Moses of all the curious excrescences that have grown over it in the course of its marvellous career, as well as of those forms and practices that were by necessity made a part of it in the remote days of its foundation."—*New York Sun.*

SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT.

NEW APPEAL TO THE FRIENDS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE TO ROLL UP MAMMOTH PETITIONS TO THE NEW CONGRESS.

TO THE FRIENDS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE:—

In response to the appeal of the National Woman Suffrage Association issued in November last, petitions from twenty-two States, at the rate of a thousand names per day, during the first ten days of January, were received by the Chairman of our Resident Congressional Committee in Washington, D. C., were counted, classified in States, duplicated for the Senate, and prepared with appropriate titles for presentation in Congress. It has been the custom, heretofore, in the House of Representatives, for the member who was requested to present a woman suffrage petition to slip it quietly into a box without a word, even a friendly member being unwilling to risk the storm of objections and ridicule likely to burst upon his head if he asked for unanimous consent to present it in open house. But now, in the midst of the most exciting Presidential conflict in our national history, when important legislation for the whole country is thrust aside to await the decision of the great question of the hour, our request that these petitions from twenty-two States might be publicly presented and read by their titles, met with a general and cordial response from the leading representatives of all those States, coming from every section of the country, and holding every variety of public opinion. The Speaker of the House, who was asked to entertain a motion to grant unanimous consent to have the presentation made in open House, anticipated the motion by himself presenting the request.

A single objection would have sent them all to the box in silence. *There was no objection*, and twenty-five representatives arose in succession and presented petitions numbering seven thousand names from twenty-two States. Some of the oldest representatives said "it was a grand scene,—the finest demonstration on the woman question ever made on the floor of the House." The following day the duplicate petitions were presented in the Senate in the same spirit, with earnest commendations from leading senators.

Three thousand more names had already arrived, but were not classified and labelled, and on January 31 a second public presentation in House and Senate was made in an equally courteous manner by other representatives and senators from twelve States. In all, more than ten thousand names to Sixteenth Amendment petitions were presented on January 19, 20, 22, 23, 31, and February 7, by Representatives Banks, of Massachusetts; Blair, of New Hampshire; Bland, of Missouri; Brown, of Kansas; Cox, of New York; Eames, of Rhode Island; Fenn, of Colorado; Hale, of Maine; Hamilton, of New Jersey; Hendee, of Vermont; Hoar, of Massachusetts; Holman, of Indiana; Jones, of New Hampshire; Kasson, of Iowa; Kelley, of Pennsylvania; Knott, of Kentucky; Lane, of Oregon; Lapham, of New York; Lawrence, of Ohio; Luttrell, of California; Lynde, of Wisconsin; McCrary, of Iowa; Morgan, of Missouri; O'Neill, of Pennsylvania; Springer, of Illinois, Strait, of Minnesota; Waldron, of Michigan; Warren, of Connecticut; Wm. B. Williams, of Michigan; and by Senators Allison, of Iowa; Bogy, of Missouri; Burnside, of Rhode Island (for Connecticut and Rhode Island); Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Cameron, of Wisconsin; Chaffee, of Colorado; Christiancy, of Michigan; Cockrell, of Missouri; Conkling, of New York; Cragin, of New Hampshire; Dawes, of Massachusetts; Dorsey, of Arkansas (a petition from Maine); Edmunds, of Vermont; Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey; Hamlin, of Maine; Kernan, of New York; McCreery, of Kentucky; Mitchell, of Oregon; Morrill, of Vermont; Morton, of Indiana, Oglesby, of Illinois; Sargent, of California; Sherman, of Ohio; Spencer, of Alabama (a petition from District of Columbia); Thurman, of Ohio (a petition from Kansas); Wadleigh, of New Hampshire; Wallace, of Pennsylvania; Windom, of Minnesota; and Wright, of Iowa. Members who were not on the floor during the general presentation, improved the first opportunity to ask for unanimous consent, that the women of their State might receive the courtesy which had been extended to others, all the members taking evident care to commend attention to the subject.

Upon being asked to present the Massachusetts petition, Judge Hoar said to Miss Anthony: "I am glad to see you on the floor of the House, and I should be glad to see you here, returned by your own constituents."

Senator Sargent, upon introducing the California petition, said: "To deny the ballot to one-half the people of the United States, who are recognized as citizens by the Constitution, is an injury to the country, if those excluded have at least the average virtue and intelligence of the voting class. I claim that the women of the United States are the equals in intelligence and the superiors in virtue and good intentions of the men, and that their influence at the polls would purify elections and give us a better class of public officials. It cannot be insisted that women do not need the ballot for self-protection, while laws exist in so many States putting them under disabilities as to property, inheritance, business, and even the custody of their children." He called attention to the rapid growth of the woman suffrage movement in England and in the United States, and said: "But the advocates of this measure should not be left to the herculean task of applying to the States in detail. The colored man would never have had a vote left to that process. Congress should fairly submit the question to the people, as is its custom in such matters, and the people can be safely trusted to decide it rightly."

Senator Dawes, Senator Wright, and Senator Christiancy urged early and fair consideration of the merits of the question, the latter remarking that his own observation proved that the forty thousand citizens of Michigan who voted for woman suffrage were among the most intelligent, thoughtful, and benevolent people of the State.

Mr. Bland, upon presenting the second Missouri petition in the House, added: "I will say that there are, I believe, a hundred thousand more on the way." (Laughter.)

The *Congressional Record* now contains the names of prominent men and women citizens from twenty-two States asking for national protection for the rights of women. But letters from every State prove that not one-tenth of the friends of woman suffrage had an opportunity to sign the petitions. Venerable men and women eighty-five, eighty-three, and seventy-six years of age, men and women of middle age, and young men and women full of enthusiasm and willing to work, have written to the Chairman of our Resident Congressional Committee that they have gone through snow and sleet and rain at the most inclement season of the year, obtaining signatures in most unexpected quarters, but pressed for time (since all the petitions were to be sent to Washington by January 10), and far from being discouraged and weary, their only regret was that we could not postpone the presentation that they might roll up larger petitions.

In answer to the general desire of the friends of woman suffrage throughout the country, and after counsel with friends of the cause in House and Senate who intend to advocate a Sixteenth Amendment for woman in the new Congress, we now issue another call for new mammoth petitions to the Forty-fifth Congress. We urge the women of the United States, who are taxed without representation, governed without their own consent, classed with lunatics, paupers, criminals, and idiots before the law, denied the custody of their own children and their own persons, compelled to stand bound hand and foot while licensed and protected crime and vice tempt and sweep away their nearest and dearest, to work now for their own enfranchisement with the same energy, devotion, and enthusiasm which they have hitherto devoted to thankless toil in their homes and in the great fields of reform. Canvass every city and town and village and farm throughout the broad land. Continue to labor early and late. Remember it is for your homes, your firesides, your sons, and your daughters. Work while others pray, and you will return rejoicing bearing your sheaves with you.

Call Sixteenth Amendment meetings, organize a local society, read to your friends this Appeal. Urge them to circulate the petitions. Ask local journals to reprint this paper. Subscribe for a woman suffrage paper. Keep two copies of the petition always on hand, and lose no opportunity of obtaining signatures. Have each name written plainly with ink on both papers, one for the House and one for the Senate. Ask for the signatures of all who signed the late petitions (since these are to be presented to a new Congress), and as many more as possible. Do not fear refusal. Many write to us that those who refused yesterday sign to-day. Even active opposition will awaken thought, and the end of fair argument must be a verdict in favor of human rights.

Read carefully the instructions "To Signers" at head of petition, and also at head of "Petition for Relief from Political Disabilities." Do not forget to ask each signer to remit ten cents to our Treasurer in Washington. To reach one hundred thousand persons who have at various times signed woman suffrage petitions in the various States, and furnish each one with copies of the petition, and an urgent request to sign and circulate, would cost us at least 100,000 x. 05=$5,000. No one supposes we ever had a tithe of that amount in our Treasury. Our work will be limited only by our resources. Every dollar and every dime received will be used to carry on Sixteenth Amendment work. If you need more Petition Headings and Appeals, you can obtain them by mail, post-paid, from the Chairman of our Congressional Committee in Washington, D. C., for 15 cents per dozen, $1.00 per hundred, or $10 per thousand.

When you have obtained all the names possible, roll up the two petitions (pasting together your own and those circulated by your friends), and send by mail to Sara Andrew Spencer, Chairman of Resident Congressional Committee, corner of Seventh and L Streets, Washington, D. C. Every name sent to this address will be appropriately classified and presented by the proper Representative and Senator. All petitions should be received in Washington before December 1, 1877.

On behalf of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Pres.*
MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, *Ch'n Ex. Com.*
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, *Cor. Sec.*
SARA ANDREWS SPENCER, *Ch'n Res. Cong.*

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE AND THE GRASSHOPPERS.

THE EFFECT OF FASTING AND PRAYER ON GRASSHOPPER EGGS.

The Minneapolis Liberal League, on Sunday last, adopted the following address to the people of Minnesota, and that it may be seen and read by the people, they ask for it a place in the columns of the *Pioneer Press*. Here it is:—

"It has pleased the Governor of this State, in deference to the petition of various religious bodies, to designate a day upon which all the people, with fasting and humiliation, are urged to pray for deliverance from the threatened grasshopper calamity. It is fair to presume that this petition of these religious bodies is made in full belief that the end sought can be attained by the means proposed. This belief is also now accepted and proclaimed as true by the State, through its official head. We hold that the belief is palpably untrue, its influence pernicious, and at this day a marked discredit to the intelligence of Minnesota.

"The doctrine of the proclamation is based upon the assumption that the grasshoppers are a special scourge sent by the Supreme Being upon our State in punishment for sins committed. If any persons really believe this theory, we appeal to their candor as to whether such punishment does not seem to be cruelly indiscriminate and disproportionate to any known offences. Unless it be a great sin to be very poor, are the suffering men, women, and children of our frontier sinners above the comfortable people in the Eastern States? Besides, see what a pitiful picture we make by this business. Some of the settlers out in Noble a County, we will say, have told lies. For this offence there comes down now the great First Cause in the Universe to whip the whole western line of settlements with grasshoppers. Next on the scene appear all the inhabitants of Minnesota, a great concourse led by the governor, with garments rent and bodies dilapidated by voluntary hunger, trying by genuflections and such-like persuasions to stop the whipping!

"It is plain that all external disasters and annoyances, great or small, whether of fire, or flood, or pestilence, or heat, or cold, or any other thing, must all alike have their origin either in the orderly processes of Nature or all alike in the direct personal intervention and management of the Creator. The magnitude or the rare occurrence of a calamity in no degree implies a different law or origin from that of ordinary events. If grasshoppers are a providential infliction, so are rats, potato bugs and mosquitoes.

"The only hypothesis, therefore, which the rational man can accept as to this destructive insect is that it is subject to a line of natural causes, both in its coming and going. Now then, are prayers and fasting likely to banish it? For four years past many of the frontier people have not ceased to pray; and they have prayed with great unction and importunity, because their bread was at stake. The grasshopper, meantime, has continued to chirp and to multiply. Nor is this experience a new one. For thousands of years the generations of men have been accustomed to call upon heaven lustily as a cheap way of deliverance from physical ill, the frequency and urgency of the call being generally in direct ratio to the ignorance of the people. Yet from the beginning down to this day, outside of the so-called sacred history, there is

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not one well authenticated instance of such prayer having been answered—not one! The dictates of reason and all our actual experience is, fight manfully against physical evils with your own brain and hands, and thus manfully submit to the inevitable. Prayer is still left us, but it is simply communion with the All-Father in which material good or evil is best not thought of. What man in Minnesota who has lived his life with open eyes really believes that there will be one grasshopper the less by reason of this day of supplication? How thoroughly astonished everybody, including the above-mentioned petitioners, will be if these pests should really disappear provably in response to the prayers of the 26th of April!

"Once more the respectable old experiment is to be repeated; and this time the stage is so conspicuous, the spectators so intelligent, the calcium light of science meantime streaming down, that any feats of legerdemain will hardly be successful. Let it also be remembered that the prayers of that day are not answered by mere increase of goodness or piety, unless thereby grasshoppers be destroyed. To the end that the exact and true result may be known, we call upon all thoughtful men to note carefully and systematically the condition of the eggs and young insects in their respective neighborhoods on the 25th inst., and then again on the 27th, and so on from time to time through and communicate their observations to the entymological commission lately established by the United States in our behalf, and which will soon be in the field prosecuting its investigations in the same direction. Then if what shall actually happen cannot be accounted for except by miracle, a miracle it shall be."—*St. Paul Pioneer Press, April 19th.*

VIEWS OF A BROAD CHURCHMAN.

Rev. John Service, of Inch, England, recently published a small volume of sermons, which attracted no notice till an article in the *Spectator*, written, it is said, by Thomas Hughes, called attention to the work. This review awakened curiosity; other papers noticed the book; the publishers were soon obliged to issue a second edition to meet the demand, and now a third edition is called for. This shows that sermons are not such a drug in the market as many people imagine; a fresh, earnest, first-hand dealing with the great vital questions of life and duty always finds waiting readers. The sermons of Mr. Service are characterized by a frank, forcible, manly, yet reverent treatment of religious topics. He is a nineteenth century Churchman; and while he holds firmly to the historical religion and its institutions in a large and generous way, he uses his ears and eyes, and is as ready to believe the new science as the old traditions. His sermons show what breadth and diversity of sentiment and variety of feeling and character there are in the Established Church, which really includes a number of sects in a single body, and needs but a little further enlargement of its lines and scope of operations to be national in the sense of representing the religious thought and life of the English people. Mr. Service believes in the Church, but he thinks it must hold its place not by prescriptive title, but by becoming truly helpful; it must be the Church beneficent. He "does not believe in any magical effect belonging to the habit of attending regularly," and complains that so "many good people make of their church-attendance a substitute for various cardinal virtues and an atonement for many sins and shortcomings." But if the services were made what they ought to be, he thinks they would be invaluable as a religious and educational help and socializing and humanizing influence. He is not scared by science, but says "that when Christianity is opposed in any sort of way to science, it is made to reject the help of its best friend against its worst enemy." And he boldly says that "for one man who is shaken in his belief of this or that religious doctrine by arguments advanced by men of science, a hundred might perhaps be counted who owe a suspicion of the religious teaching, or a contempt for it, to apologists for Christianity, who undertake to defend it against science, and succeed only in showing with what bad arguments a good cause may come to be supported." He does not imagine that all men can adopt the notions of God, which are cast in the prevalent theological moulds, and he says, "Whether we will or no, God will be different to different men's thoughts; but that each man should think for himself, and should think freely rather than according to some common notions,—this, if anything is sacred and certain, is sacred and certain. Poorer, more irrational, more superstitious notions about God, it would not be possible to find anywhere on the face of the earth, than are common among ourselves, and, I will venture to say, are commonly enough preached among us." Authority in the sphere of religion, he contends, has no place. The only authority in its domain is truth. "The authority of truth is all that it is good for any soul that religious beliefs should have." The stereotyped notions of heaven he has quite outgrown and sloughed off. The projection of pure selfishness into another world does not strike him as specially desirable, and in the heaven of many if not of most people there is no room for "what is most sublime and glorious in man's being and history—his love of his kind, his courage, his magnanimity, his pity, his self-sacrifice. They superannuate the moral part of man." "David Livingstone, wandering through Africa on a moral errand—an errand of pure humanity,—drinks even in the burning and alien desert from fountains of deeper satisfaction than he could have done if he had stayed at home and cultivated his own farm and soul. We see no such room anywhere in heaven as in the heart of Africa for this moral activity, if the common representations of heaven are correct. They do not seem to provide at all for the exercise of some of the noblest and best feelings of our nature." Mr. Service writes with admirable simplicity and directness.—*New York Graphic.*

MR. BRADLAUGH'S PROSECUTION.

LONDON, April 21.

Irish-Americans ought to be interested in the result of the Salford election; though not, perhaps, pleased. The American politician who angles for the Irish vote ought to be not less interested. Here is a large English constituency, next door to Manchester, with as large a mingling of Irish voters as any place in England, except Liverpool, can boast. The Liberal candidate, Mr. Kay, or his managers for him, think it necessary to seek Irish support by a qualified pledge in favor of Home Rule. The result is the election of a Tory. The Irish vote was secured, but a still larger English vote was alienated. It is admitted by both parties that this is the true explanation of the result, and there is some reason to suppose the Liberals mean to profit by the teaching. It is their coquetry with the Home-Rule party in Parliament which has made that party important. It is the Liberals who are responsible for Messrs. Bigger and Parnell, the two Home Rulers who are just now occupied in proving the fitness of Ireland for separate Parliamentary government by doing what they can to make all Parliamentary impossible. It is the Liberals who to some extent still believe in that policy of conciliation which, as Mr. Froude has shown, has been so often tried during the last fifty years, and so uniformly failed. The Tories are not free from the same reproach, but with them it has been the exception, not the rule. A debate is shortly to come off in the House on this very question of Home Rule. It may then be seen whether the Salford lesson has been well learned.

The prosecution of Mr. Bradlaugh for selling an obscene book has filled some space in the papers, but the whole matter may be briefly stated. The book in question is not of the usual Holywell-Street order. It is a book which (as I am told, for I have not seen it) undertakes to give a certain amount of popular physiological instruction, and especially to supply practical directions for preventing an undesired increase of the population. I should suppose it was such a book as Miss Martineau would have approved. The real complaint is, that the book is brought by its cheapness within reach of the masses. It is sold for sixpence, and has now been advertised by this prosecution to an extent which will insure it a largely increased sale, no matter what police precautions may be put in force against it. Mr. Bradlaugh's position is a plain one. He took up the sale as a matter of principle. He contends that he has as much right to sell this pamphlet at sixpence as Messrs. Churchill have to sell elaborate treatises on similar topics at half a guinea. He will doubtless be able to prove that one is no more "obscene" than the other. But I apprehend he will fail in the end. He will be tried before a British judge and British jury, who will be likely to agree in suppressing a sixpenny tract which enables unmarried young men and women to indulge as much as they like in sexual intercourse without fear of the usual restraining consequences. They will be the more ready to adopt this view from the fact that Mrs. Besant is indicted along with Mr. Bradlaugh, and that the two must be acquitted or convicted together. And there is a strong general feeling that, if such literature must be sold, a woman is not the person to be publicly concerned in its sale. All this may be prudery and unscientific to the last degree. I am expressing no opinion. I am only recording what I believe to be the state of the British mind on this matter.—*G. W. S., in the New York Tribune, May 5.*

THE OLD SOUTH BILL.

The House passed the Old South bill yesterday, there being only thirty votes in opposition. The bill provides that the Governor of the Commonwealth, the Mayor of the city of Boston, the President of Harvard College, the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the President of the American Antiquarian Society, and the President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, *ex officiis*, and William Gaston, John Lowell, Samuel E. Sewall, Henry Lee, Edmund Quincy, Samuel A. Green, Martin Brimmer, and John D. Long, and their associates and successors, are hereby made a body corporate by the name of the Trustees of the Old South Meeting-house in Boston, for the purpose of acquiring and holding the Old South Meeting-house in Boston, and the land under and adjacent to the same, upon the corner of Milk Street and Washington Street in said city, for historical, memorial, educational, charitable, and public religious uses and none other, with all the powers and privileges, and subject to all the duties, liabilities, and restrictions set forth in chapter sixty-eight of the General Statutes and acts in addition thereto. Said corporation shall have the power to take and appropriate to the uses of said corporation said meeting-house and land; *provided*, that in case it shall exercise said power, it shall, within sixty days from the time of said taking and appropriation, file in the registry deeds for the County of Suffolk a description of the premises so taken as certain as is required in a common deed of conveyance of land; and any party aggrieved thereby shall have the right to apply for a jury to assess the damages sustained by him, in the manner and with the effect provided in the seventy-ninth section of chapter forty-three of the General Statutes. And said corporation shall also have power, until the foregoing powers are exercised, to take a lease of said meeting-house and land, and hold the same thereunder for the purposes aforesaid.

The officers of said corporation shall consist of a board of managers, the number of which shall be fixed by the by-laws, and of which the six first named in the act shall be members *ex officiis*, and two shall be elected annually by the City Council of the city of Boston, and the rest shall be elected by the members of the corporation; and said managers shall elect one of their number president, and shall also elect a secretary and a treasurer. All officers shall hold over until others are chosen in their stead. New members may be admitted in such manner as the by-laws shall provide.

Said corporation may make contracts with the Commonwealth for the use of said meeting-house for the annual Election Sermon, and with the Commonwealth or the city of Boston for its use for any public purposes not inconsistent with the provisions of this act. Said meeting-house and land shall be exempt from taxation while used for any of the purposes aforesaid. The act takes effect on its passage.—*Boston Journal, April 27th.*

NO PICNICS FOR THE PIOUS.—Who are ready to come to the front when a picnic, a pleasure excursion, a worldly party, or other pleasure-seeking movements are proposed? Are they, in fact, the class that always attend prayer-meetings, that are always in a revival state of mind? Do they belong to the class whose faces shine from day to day with the peace of God pervading their souls? Are they the Aarons and Hurs that stay up the hands of their pastor with continual and prevailing prayer? Are they spiritual members, whose conversation is in heaven and who mind not earthly things? Who does not know that it is the worldly members in the Church who are always ready for any movement in the direction of worldly pleasure or amusement, and that the truly spiritual, prayerful heavenly-minded members are shy of all such movements? They are not led into them without urging, and weep in secret places when they see their pastor giving encouragement to that which is likely to be so great a stumbling-block both to the Church and to the world.—*President Finney, of Oberlin.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE GOSPEL OF HEROIC UNBELIEF.

Perhaps 'tis best that some souls should not see
The higher truth, the blessèd verity
To which we cling through all life's good and ill;
That we may know that God is greater still
Than our sublimest thought or dearest dream,
Because these ever to high duty beam,
Who "without God" are yet so full of Him,
They help to make our faith less vague and dim.
O when we see such souls with "lesser light,"
So brave, so buoyant, scorning death's cold night
With such sweet courage, can we not endure?
Do not their very doubts make heaven more sure?

S. P. PUTNAM.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

FROM THE SPANISH OF YSOLDE DE QUELSI.

You tell me there is Heaven
Beyond the grave;
That Christ died on the cross
My soul to save.

That he who died for me
Now reigns on high;
That what you call the soul
Can never die.

I know whate'er I do
For good or ill,
Even when my life is o'er,
Endureth still.

I pray that I may learn
To do the best;
Gladly to God I'll trust
For all the rest.

Fresh may the hearts I love
My memory keep;
For nothing else I hope
But dreamless sleep. J. K.

BENTON PLACE, St. Louis, March, 1877.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 5.

Mrs. Dr. W. H. Wild, $3.20; John Badcock, $3.90; R. S. Perris, $1.20; Nichols & Hall, $1.70; S. C. Gould, 75 cents; Colby & Rich, $1; Jno. H. Bridge, $3.20; Lorenzo Stone, 50 cents; Dr. J. E. Jones, $3.20; Mrs. E. M. Hausson, 10 cents; Rev. F. G. Peabody, $4; W. H. Crowell, $5; Mrs. L. B. Crowell, $5; Mrs. N. H. Crowell, $5; H. D. Kingsbury, $13.75; C. N. Norris, $3; A. Skinner, $1; J. S. Mercy, $3.20; L. Fauke, $6.40; Guido Marx, $3.20; W. C. Fisk, $3.20; H. E. Howe, $6.40; A. L. Whitcomb, $3.20; G. W. Warren, $2; W. A. Dutton, 75 cents; D. H. Hunnewell, $6.40; Rev. H. Gersoni, $1; R. L. Roys, $1; C. F. Gard, $3.20; Rev. C. G. Ames, $3.20; Rev. W. H. Savage, $3.20; Allen Keen, $3.20; B. B. Hill, $3.20; G. D. Hencke, $1.80; J. H. Sawyer, $1.60; Henry Damon, $3.20; Rev. J. De Normandie, $3.20; J. G. Holsworth, $3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 10, 1877.

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N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognises no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

MR. JAMES S. BEDEL, Secretary *pro tempore*, writes as follows from Hudson, Michigan: "We have just organized a Liberal League in this village. President, L. R. Pierson; Secretary, Dr. F. O. Baker; Treasurer, Philip Sewald; Councillors, H. Welch, S. Lamb, J. B. Allen, and R. W. S. Johnson. We have a membership of forty-nine. I think we shall send for a charter soon. . . . Our prospects are fair for a large League. The printed matter you sent me last came just before Mr. B. F. Underwood visited us. He gave us four lectures, which were very entertaining and instructive. The hall was well filled every evening by a fine-looking and intelligent audience. The Patriotic Addresses and other papers were freely distributed, and have had a good effect in opening the minds of the people to the great movement before us. . . . Our League was organized Sunday, April 15."

THE LONDON *Jewish Chronicle*, singularly enough, defends the union of Church and State in England, but offers some reasons for its preference. It discusses the "continued movement of Great Britain toward the disestablishment of the Church, which has taken the significant title of 'Religious Equality.' The Jews profess little interest in the question beyond the benefits or disasters to common humanity which it involves. The separation of Church and State in England, in the *Chronicle's* view, would make a ragged wreck of a very compact social structure, which is the shelter of multitudes and the spiritual home and shrine of large classes, whose faith and hope and consolation are built upon the foundations of the Established Church. The Jewish organ characterizes such a spiritual and temporal rupture and demolition of idols as 'an act of vandalism from which thoughtful and sensitive minds may well recoil.' In the view of the Jewish editor the intimate association between Church and State has incidentally produced the most beneficial effects for the country at large. Each is a complement of and at the same time a check upon the other. They act together as sort of mutual monitor, and are a combined protest against both religious and political intolerance. The Jews are well enough off under the consolidated institution of Church and State. What is passing in the United States, where religions are perfectly free, proves at least that the Jews could gain nothing by the abolition of a State Church. Religious equality is bearing its fruits in the United States, and among them are a feeling and practice of intolerance which does not and could not exist in England. It crops out particularly against the Jews, and the *Chronicle* cites several late instances of intolerance toward the Jews in America, and the very opposite treatment of them in England in parallel cases. After looking calmly over the whole field of the Established Church and religious freedom and equality, the *Chronicle* gives a decided verdict to the former in the interests of humanity in general." All this is interesting. That there is a growing intolerance in the United States, and that it presses heavily on the Jews in some places, is undoubtedly true. But the answer is that Church and State are not thoroughly separated here, and that the tendency at present is to increase, not diminish, their connection. The Liberal League movement, under some name or other, is destined to vindicate its own necessity, as the only preservative of religious equality and liberty. For our own part, we are inclined to prefer an honestly avowed marriage of Church and State, like that of England, to the dishonest and clandestine concubinage of the two which to-day is demoralizing both Christians and liberals.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 31st, at 7.45 P. M., business session in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and consideration of the practical work of the Association. A special discussion is also invited on the proper interpretation of the word "scientific" in the first article of the Constitution of the Association.

Friday, June 1st, at 10 A. M. and 8 P. M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for Essays and Addresses. Morning subject: "External Dangers of Religious Freedom." Essayist—C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, N. Y. Afternoon subject: "Internal Dangers of Free Thought." Essayist—Rev. Wm. R. Alger, of New York City. Among the speakers invited whose attendance we have reason to expect are Prof. Felix Adler, of New York; Rabbi Lasker, of Boston; Wm. Henry Channing, of England; Rev. Dr. Dudley, of Boston; and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois. Further announcements hereafter, especially in the Boston dailies.

A Social Festival is to be held Friday evening at Horticultural Hall. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. There will be brief speeches, music, conversation, refreshments, and a chance to contribute to the Treasury of the Association.

W. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

MR. LONGFELLOW ON TRANSCENDENTALISM.

So profoundly important a topic do we consider the relations of science and its method to the Transcendental philosophy of religion, that it has been our wish for years to see a general discussion of it, conducted at the same time with the thoroughness and frankness of treatment which are due to truth and the kindliness of tone which is due to fellowship in the pursuit of it. In both these respects the letters from Rev. Samuel Longfellow which appear below are a model; and it is with peculiar pleasure we are permitted to publish them. Mr. Longfellow is by nature both a poet and a thinker, and has made his name in very many minds a synonyme for brave yet reverent and tender radicalism in religion. What such a man as he has to say on this great subject will command the strict attention of all who are interested in it; and we augur well of a discussion which has elicited already such statements as his and that of Mr. Mills. We have numbered the sections of his letter for greater convenience in making the comments which he courteously invites.

CAMBRIDGE, April 28.

MY DEAR ABBOT:—

After hearing your lecture at Horticultural Hall—and I need not say that I listened to it with close attention and interest,—I wished to write you a few words about it, but waited, hoping to read it in print. Somehow I missed the number of THE INDEX in which it appeared. But it is not too late for me to say something of what was in my mind, trusting to my memory.

1. I failed to see, and I still fail to see, the necessary contradiction between the "scientific method" and the Transcendental position that there are certain primal ideas and sentiments given in the constitution of the human mind, by the operation of its laws springing up spontaneously and perceived *immediately*, *i. e.*, intuitively or by self-evidence, and that these are authoritative in the sense of being a trustworthy and sufficient ground of belief. It seems to me that the scientific method of observation, verification, and induction may fairly lead a man to the conviction that the ideas of God, Right, Truth, Immortality, are such primal ideas given in the human mind and springing up by its laws, under certain conditions; that these are not the results of reasoning, but *data* and grounds of reasoning; and that they are not merely subjective notions, since he finds with them an inherent tendency and necessity to regard them as truly representing some objective reality.

2. Surely all science starts from certain assumptions, unproved and unprovable, such as the trustworthiness of the senses by which we observe the outward world, and the trustworthiness of that necessary inference which we make that there is an outward world corresponding to our subjective perceptions. Is it unscientific to hold that we have spiritual faculties by which we perceive spiritual facts (*i.e.*, ideas and principles), and that these faculties are trustworthy? Is it unscientific in me to say that, observing my own mind, I find these ideas and sentiments spontaneous there—instinctive, intuitive; that I find my individual experience verified in the history of the race, these same ideas and sentiments being, under some form, almost universal; that I make the induction that they represent, or present, an objective reality; that my intuition is indeed a *looking upon* a reality?

3. But it is asked, if the ideas of God, Right, Truth, Immortality, be spontaneous and intuitive in the human mind, why do not all men alike have them? Surely an instinct and a faculty may be native to man, and yet not equally developed in all men. You would call hunger a natural human instinct; yet all men do not hunger equally, nor for the same kinds of food. Sight is a human faculty, acting spontaneously; yet all men do not see equally far, nor with equal accuracy.

4. Our idea of God, or our conception of him, is doubtless a complex one, and a highly and long developed one; but at its heart is the simpler primal conception of Invisible Power, other than ourselves and the visible world, which lies under all the varying conceptions which men have had of God.

5. I find scientific men everywhere speaking of Causes, Forces, Atoms; all *conceptions of the mind*, springing up instinctively and spontaneously and believed to be real outside of the mind, because, in common phrase, "we are so made that we cannot help believing it." The Positivist, however, denies their reality, and says we have no right to speak of Cause or Force, but only of an observed sequence of phenomena. Perhaps he is the only consistent anti-intuitionalist, yet he speaks of the obligation to live for others; on what ground I do not know. Why *should* we live for others, except that a native, instinctive, authoritative impulse moves us to do so?

6. One word about *authority*. Surely there is a vast chasm between the ecclesiastical assertion of an *external* authority, to which we are bound to render obedience because it imposes it, and the Transcendentalist's inward authority of the constitution and laws of our mind. Can there be any other definition of *freedom* than obedience to that constitution and law? Of course you do not consider the Free Religionist absolved from that obedience. You seemed to consider him *bound* by the scientific method, as opposed to the Transcendental. And I understood you to imply that a Transcendentalist could not logically or fairly stand upon the "free-religious" platform. Not, of course, that you wished to read out the *individual* Transcendentalists who may be there: but you felt their need of conversion for full fellowship.

7. A word, also, about your statement that "the appeal is to the intellect alone." Surely you do not mean to rule out imagination and feeling as avenues to certain classes of truth. The passion for Right, for Love, and for ideal Good and Beauty, is as strong in some minds as the passion for truth in others. But no doubt all feeling, all sentiment, all ideality, needs to be balanced by the truth of the understanding.

I have written hurriedly; but you will get at my meaning, I think, and believe me for all differences no less truly yours, SAMUEL LONGFELLOW.

WEDNESDAY [May 2.]

MY DEAR ABBOT:—

I am much obliged to you for the copy of the lecture, which I am glad to have and to read. It comes just as I am packing for a journey: so that I can only now say what I meant to have written in my previous note—that I do not think the Transcendentalists ever regarded the spiritual intuitions as *infallible*. Nothing human is that; the scientist would not claim it for his experiment or his induction. He *would* regard these, under proper conditions, as sufficient *grounds* of *certitude*; and that is all that the Transcendentalist regards his intuitions to be. Of course, both believe that they *are not* deceived.

Of course, too, what is a sufficient ground of belief, in any particular instance, to one man may not be to another. There are men who do not see the force of an argument or a logical inference. But the Transcendentalist believes that the insight or intuition of the mystic will prove to have been as valid as the observation and deduction of the scientist.

Yours for the truth, and the *whole* truth,
SAMUEL LONGFELLOW.

1. The "necessary contradiction between the scientific method and the Transcendentalist's position," if we mistake not, appears in this, that the scientific method claims for the *logical intellect or understanding*, beginning with observation of facts and ending with verification by facts, the right to answer, or to pronounce unanswerable, any and all questions which can be stated in human language; whereas Transcendentalism denies that the questions of God, Immortality, and Duty can be answered by the logical understanding at all,—nay, more, it denies that God, Immortality, and Duty can be regarded in the light of questions, since (to quote Mr. Longfellow's phraseology) they are "primal ideas and sentiments given in the constitution of the human mind." The issue turns on the *degree of liberty* to be granted to the logical understanding, or discursive reason, or scientific intellect—which are merely different names for one and the same thing. Science requires that the scientific intellect shall have absolute liberty—shall be permitted without restriction to ask any question it pleases, and answer it in accordance with its own laws—shall not be called upon to assume beforehand any "primal ideas given in the constitution of the human mind." Nothing less than this is the freedom of thought which science demands and exercises. But Transcendentalism lays a veto on the claim of advancing science to subject the ideas of God, Immortality, and Duty to her own tests of truth. The natural and entire freedom of the scientific intellect cannot be conceded by Transcendentalism without the abandonment of all *à priori* or innate ideas. The "necessary contradiction" lies in the fact that science affirms, and Transcendentalism

denies, the right and competency of the logical understanding to accept or reject the ideas of God, Immortality, and Duty. The whole issue is one of *freedom of thought*.

If, as Mr. Longfellow suggests it may, the scientific method itself shall at last lead to the acceptance of these ideas as "primal" and "given in the constitution of the human mind," belief in them will then rest on scientific verification, and no one will dispute them. But we do not see any possibility of that result, and certainly cannot take it for granted in advance.

2. Is it true that "all science starts from certain assumptions, unproved and unprovable," such as the trustworthiness of the senses and of the inference of an outward world? We think not. The senses are not entirely trustworthy; their errors have to be eliminated as far as possible by indirect means, often of a highly complex nature; and science only accepts the observations of the senses as provisional and liable to correction by processes of calculation and intellectual comparison. Professor Julius Bernstein, of Halle, says in his *Five Senses of Man* [p. 163]: "We cannot help conjecturing that . . . the perception of the external world is essentially an act of the mind, which has its seat in the cerebrum and is connected with this organ; and, further, that the sensory organ with its nervous connections only affords the brain the material which it converts into a sensory perception." Science does not really rest on *assumption*, either of the trustworthiness of the senses or of the intellectual faculties, but rather upon an experimental comparison and (as it were) checking-off of one by the other; it corrects the senses by reasonings, and reasonings by the senses; and its certitude mounts only to the very high probability that truth has been attained, at least approximately, when the senses and the reasonings have at last been found to agree. The belief of an external world, so far as science holds it, is the result of the concurrent testimony of several senses which singly are often deceived; and belief in the correctness of the inference, instead of being an *à priori* assumption, is rather the consequence of a close cross-examination of witnesses who are found to agree substantially in their evidence.

But there is no doubt that we have spiritual faculties whose function it is to take cognizance of spiritual or interior phenomena; as for instance memory. The question raised by Transcendentalism is whether God, Immortality, and Duty are thus cognized as primal or elementary constituents of the mind—as innate ideas given in its very constitution. If the Transcendental position is correct, these ideas are known only as subjective facts, and have no objective validity at all. Kant's doctrine that they are only "regulative principles" of thought, and reveal nothing outside of the mind itself, would follow as a matter of course; and this doctrine is that of the original, the severely self-consistent Transcendentalism. We are unable to see how Mr. Longfellow "makes an induction" from his own premises as to the existence of any "objective reality" corresponding to these ideas. Conceding for argument's sake that God, Immortality, and Duty are indeed "primal ideas given in the constitution of the human mind," we are constrained to conclude that Transcendentalism can find no warrant for believing in any objective correlatives of these ideas, *except in the claim of a Divine Revelation*.

This is the claim actually made by Rev. Dr. Hedge, one of the original and representative Transcendentalists of New England, in his *Reason in Religion*. Declaring [p. 66] that "the knowledge of God is not a conclusion of the understanding, but an intuition of the moral sense," he consistently declares also [p. 209]: "What is true of the being of God is true of all kindred verities. All our perceptions of the primary truths of religion are products of divine illumination. All religion that is true is revealed religion." This seems to us the only conceivable escape of the Transcendentalist from hopeless subjectivity, when the jurisdiction of the scientific intellect is once denied in these matters; that is, Transcendentalism offers a *supernatural divine revelation* as the only possible alternative of objective atheism. The scientific method shuts us down to no such untenable and already doomed alternative; it seems to lead (we speak diffidently because we have no right to speak otherwise) to the conclusion that the being of God is an objective and eternal *truth of the universe*, not a mere time-born and perhaps time-perishing *idea of the soul*.

3. Mr. Longfellow inquires whether the intuitions of Transcendentalism may not be supposed to lie latent or undeveloped in some men, without thereby throwing suspicion on the claim that they are "primal ideas given in the constitution of the human mind." We should certainly answer this inquiry in the negative. His own illustrations tend to the same answer. Men may not hunger "equally," but they all hunger; they may not see "equally," yet (if they are not blind) they all see. To carry out the suggested argument, the Transcendentalist must hold that whoever is *wholly unconscious* of his alleged intuitions must be *wholly blind* in a spiritual sense. Now this conclusion must cover a great many more cases than the Transcendentalist would like to admit. Thousands and thousands of educated, intelligent, seemingly normal minds will confess that they are wholly unconscious of these alleged intuitions, and must therefore be set down as, spiritually considered, wholly blind. We have known many such among those whom we respect the most highly for mental and moral worth. But perhaps this testimony may be doubted. Very well; we will offer ourself as a "horrid example" of this utter spiritual blindness, and confess that we have not a shred or suspicion of the consciousness of the Transcendental intuitions in our own mind. We possess no such consciousness at all, and are as blind as the blindest, if it is indeed spiritual blindness. Every particle of belief or certitude we have on these subjects is due to the activity of the despised "logical understanding"; and we happen to know that we are by no means alone in this.

Therefore, the Transcendentalist must either set down a large and respectable part of his fellow-beings as totally lacking in the "primal ideas given in the constitution of the human mind," and as abortive or only half-made mortals, or else surrender the position that God, Immortality, and Duty are intuitions in the sense assigned. But it is for him, not for us, to elect between these alternatives.

4. If we do not misunderstand him, Mr. Longfellow here reduces the idea of God, so far as it is "given in the constitution of the human mind," to a simple conception of "Invisible Power, other than ourselves and the visible world." This is certainly going a long way towards abandoning the "intuition of God" altogether. Power itself is always invisible; only its effects, only the changes it produces in visible objects, are visible. If there is nothing more than this in the "intuition of God," and if all the moral attributes usually connoted by that word are conceded to be later additions, then the intuition is reduced to a simple recognition that we ourselves are not the only power in the universe—which perhaps no one could be found to deny.

5. We agree with Mr. Longfellow entirely in the opinion that there is a consciousness of causation in the human mind, and that even scientific men cannot get rid of causation as manifested in the phenomena they study. The Positivist does indeed deny that causation is anything more than a mere sequence in the order of phenomena—the cause being only the sum of the antecedents, and the effect being only the sum of the consequents. This is certainly a position of "anti-intuitionalism," not only in the Transcendental, but also in the philosophical sense. But since it is only the Transcendental intuitions, described by Mr. Longfellow, that we are now discussing, we must forbear at present to enter into the very interesting philosophical question to which he alludes.

6. The way in which Transcendentalism, forbidding the scientific intellect to undertake the settlement of the great questions of God, Immortality, and Duty, exercises an "internal authority" over thought which is a restriction of its just and rightful liberty, has been already pointed out above. Any authority, external or internal, which sets any conceivable limit to the movement of the logical understanding in any direction whatever, in our opinion, violates arbitrarily the true "constitution and laws" of the human mind. The scientific method recognizes no such limitation as lawful, and presses steadily against any "authority," within or without, which presumes to make it. We therefore see no important difference between the ecclesiastical authority of Romanism and the spiritual authority of a Transcendental intuition which would seclude the questions of God, Immortality, and Duty from the action of the scientific intellect.

With respect to the bearing of all this on the question of fellowship, we certainly wish to be understood. The "Free Religious platform" is pledged, by universal consent, to "absolute freedom of thought and expression." It was established for that—it exists for that. Now all who are in favor of that "absolute freedom of thought and expression" have a right to the fellowship of that platform, if they wish to avail themselves of it. But if any one is not in favor of such freedom, he certainly is not entitled to the fellowship, and will as certainly not seek it. Why not accept the fact that whoever seeks the fellowship is entitled to it, since his seeking it is sufficient proof of his favoring "absolute freedom of thought and expression"? THE QUESTION WE HAVE RAISED IS ONE OF THOUGHT, AND NOT OF FELLOWSHIP. Each member is entitled to his own conception of what constitutes liberty; we certainly wish to impose ours on nobody. But we just as certainly wish to explain it, and advocate it, and recommend it. Perfect freedom is anti-Christian, in our view of it; we have said so from the beginning, and nobody ever suggested that we denied the right of Christians to join the Free Religious Association on that account. It is possible to believe that Free Religion is both anti-Christian and anti-Transcendental, and that all who care more for intellectual liberty than they do for special doctrines will by and by come to see it, without a remotest wish or a faintest intimation that those who think otherwise should be considered as out of place on that platform, or as "needing conversion for full fellowship." He who thinks Christianity or Transcendentalism is itself perfect freedom is as honestly on that platform as ever we were; he who thinks that neither of the two is compatible with freedom, and yet consciously prefers to sacrifice freedom for the sake of any doctrines whatever,—he is the only one who does not belong there rightfully. On the freedom issue the Free Religious Association is not neutral; and our whole aim has been to give a higher and truer idea of what perfect freedom is and requires.

7. Mr. Longfellow could not overstate the high function of the imagination and the affections, as conducing to human nobility and happiness. They play a part in human life which could just as ill be spared as that of the intellect. But in questions of *truth as such* the intellect is the only appeal, for the simple reason that the intellect is the only faculty that can conjoin subject and predicate. The imagination imagines; the feelings feel; the intellect alone thinks. And because truth is always a matter of thought, we hold that the intellect alone is the guide to truth. Recognized or not, it is always that which thinks; and we have only tried to dispel the illusion that there is any thinking faculty other than that which thinks.

But it is impossible to do justice to Mr. Longfellow's pleasant and suggestive letter in our necessary limits. We can only renew our acknowledgments, and cordially invite his correction of any errors we may have committed in interpreting or treating his thought.

LORD AMBERLEY'S BOOK.

About a year ago, Viscount Amberley, the eldest son of Earl Russell, died at the early age of thirty-three, leaving in course of publication a work entitled *An Analysis of Religious Belief*. Efforts were made by his family to suppress the book, because of its sceptical character, but they were unsuccessful, and after duly appearing in England, it has been reprinted here (D. M. Bennett). It forms an octavo volume of more than seven hundred pages, and apart from the high social standing of its author, has merits of its own deserving of consideration.

The task which Lord Amberley set himself was nothing less than to examine the religions of the world, to describe their origin and characteristics, and from these to deduce the truth common to them all and constituting the bond of unity between them. The preparatory labor involved in such an undertaking is evidently immense, and the dedication of the book pays a touching tribute of thanks for aid in performing it to the wife of the author, who, like him, died before the full completion of their joint work. A prefatory note gives the titles of eighty-seven publications in English, German, and French, which are most frequently referred to, and there are, besides, many others mentioned but once or twice. The facts derived from these sources, with the author's comments upon them, fill the first six hundred pages of the volume. They form, indeed, a small cyclopædia of religious creeds and practices, and bring within a short compass a mass of information valuable in itself to the lover of knowledge. The remaining pages only are occupied with the author's conclusions, and give his own personal views of the subject.

In arranging his preliminary matter, Lord Amberley assumes that the underlying principle of religion is "the desire felt by the human race in general to establish a relationship between itself and those superhuman or supernatural powers, upon whose will it supposes the course of nature and the well-being of men to be dependent." This desire, he says, gives rise to the employment of means, first, of conveying information upward from the worshippers to their deities, and, second, of conveying it downward from those deities to their worshippers. Under the first head he classes not merely prayer, sacrifices, and ceremonial worship, but the consecra-

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tion of places, such as shrines and temples; objects, like idols and votive offerings; persons—that is, ascetics and monks; and mediators, or priests, who are regarded as official mouth-pieces of the god they serve. In the second division he includes holy events—that is, dreams, omens, and miracles; holy places, of which the ancient oracles are a specimen; holy objects, such as relics; holy persons, or priests and others (also embraced in the first class); and finally, holy books. After a brief but comprehensive account of the religious ceremonies of all nations, he takes up and discusses in order the founders of the various great religions of the world—Confucius, Lao-tse, Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster, Mohammed, and Jesus Christ—and then gives an analysis of the chief books reverenced as holy by their followers; namely, the thirteen *King* of the Chinese, the Vedas, the Tripitaka, the Zend-Avesta, the Koran, and the Old and New Testaments. The views he presents are those of the extreme rationalistic school. The points of resemblance between the character and deeds of Jesus Christ and those attributed to the other personages grouped with him are brought into prominence, and so are the leading features common to the Bible and the sacred writings of other religions. The real Jesus Christ is assumed to have been the son of Joseph, and to have perished on the cross, while upon him has been built up a mythical Jesus, who, in the view of our author, never existed save in imagination. All the usual infidel objections against the Old and New Testaments are likewise marshalled anew, and, it is but fair to acknowledge, candidly and temperately. An occasional phrase, however, reveals a feeling of contemptuous bitterness for some of the saints of the Biblical history, and jars upon the mind.

The main interest of the book, it will readily be seen, centres in the short concluding portion, in which, as we have said, the author expresses his own opinions. If, as he undertakes to show, all religions have a common origin, and are alike unworthy of adoption by intelligent thinkers, and if all holy books are alike of human composition and marked by human imperfection, is or is not the essence of religion itself a delusion, resting upon no solid basis, and destined to disappear before the advance of science? Lord Amberley considers this question at length, and, after his fashion, answers it in the negative. His argument is this: There are three fundamental postulates involved in the religious idea: that of a hyperphysical power in the universe, that of a hyperphysical entity in man, and that of a relation between the two. The universal adoption of the first postulate by all peoples, nations, and kindreds is a proof that it embodies a truth which satisfies a permanent need of the mind. As men always have been, so they always will be, irresistibly impelled to conceive of an unknown power hidden behind sensible phenomena, and to clothe this power with the attributes of deity, and thus religion will always exist in some form or other. Science never has and probably never can dispense with the assumption of a permanent force dwelling in matter and giving it quality, and hence science cannot destroy the idea of God. Equally ineffaceable is the contrast between mind and matter, or the second of the there postulates of religion. "Between that which thinks, perceives, and reasons, on the one hand, and that which is felt, thought about, and reasoned, there is no community of nature. The distinction between these two, though it need not be ultimate in the order of things, is absolutely ultimate in the order of thought. In their own undiscoverable nature these two manifestations may be one; in their relation to us they are forever two." In like manner the third postulate, that of a relationship between the unknown power called God, on the one side, and the human soul, on the other, is proved by its universal acceptance. If it were not true it could never have been invented, since nothing in nature suggests it. There are no analogies from which it may be inferred. "It is one of those primary constituents of our nature, which are incapable of proof because they are themselves the foundations on which proof must be erected." Thus, while the various forms of religion are unessential and temporary, its uniform substance is essential and permanent.

But, although conceding the reality of the underlying substance of religion, Lord Amberley is none the less decided in his rejection of all the forms in which it has hitherto been embodied. Science, he says, shows the imperfection of all the concrete expressions which have been found for the Unknowable. It proves that we cannot think of the Unknowable as entering, in any peculiar sense, into special objects in nature, dwelling in special places, or speaking through special channels. And he continues:—

"Thus, while scientific inquiry tends to diminish the intensity of religious ideas, it tends to widen their extension. They do not any longer cling to partial symbols. They do not attach themselves with the same fervor to individual embodiments. But, in becoming more abstract they become also more pervading. Religion is found everywhere and in everything. All Nature is the utterance of the idea. And as it gains in extension, while losing in intensity in reference to the external world, it goes through a similar process in relation to human life. No longer a force seizing on given moments of our existence, at one time inspiring devotional observances, at the next forgotten in the pleasures or the business of the day; at one time filling men with the zeal of martyrs or crusaders, at another leaving them to the unrestrained indulgence of gross injustice or revolting cruelty, it becomes a calm all-pervading sentiment, shown (if it be shown at all) in the general beauty and spirituality of the character, not in the stated exercises of a rigorous piety, or in the passionate outbursts of an enthusiastic fervor."

To the objection that so abstract and cold a faith as this can afford no satisfaction to the moral sentiments, the reply is that this is a necessary loss, and one no greater than that which the early Christian suffered when he gave up the Greek mythology with its gods and goddesses, or which the Protestant has to endure by his rejection of the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of prayer to the saints:—

"It is, in fact, the very condition of progress that, as we advance in knowledge and in culture, we give up something on the road. But it is also a condition that we do not feel the need of that which we have lost. Not only as we become men do we put away childish things, but we can no longer realize in thought the enjoyment which those childish things brought with them. Other interests, new occupations, deeper affections take the place of the interests, the occupations, and the affections of our early years. So, too, should it be in religion. Men have dwelt on the love of God because they could not satisfy the craving of Nature for the love of their fellowmen. They have looked forward to eternal happiness in a future life because they could not find temporary happiness in this. It is these reflections which point out the way in which the void left by the removal of the religious affections should hereafter be supplied. The effort of those who cannot turn for consolation to a friend in heaven, should be to strengthen the bonds of friendship on earth, to widen the range of human sympathy, and to increase its depth. We should seek that love in one another which we have hitherto been required to seek in God."

Even those who cannot accept this opinion as true, will admit the spirit which animates it, and the honesty which impelled its utterance. The youthful author had everything to lose and nothing to gain by renouncing the faith of his childhood, and setting himself against the social as well as the religious prejudices of his class. For, in England, to be unorthodox is to be both unfashionable and heretical. Even a dissenter is looked upon with dislike, and practically excluded from good society; much more an infidel. That a young man like Lord Amberley, therefore, should have written and commenced the publication of this book, and thus incurred the risk of outlawry from the circle in which he was born, proves him to have been one of those heroic inquirers who, in all ages of the world, have preferred to meaner objects what they conceived to be the truth, and have not been deterred by fear of the consequences from speaking their convictions.—*N. Y. Sun.*

Communications.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

No. X.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

Having now sketched the Grand or Greatest Man, as the total mentismus or mind-realm of the total universe, aggregated and organized in a manner of which the constitution of the human body is a material and visible type, let us reconsider the within and the without of this immense idealization (and their intermediate) upon a still larger scale than any which has been hitherto presented. Before, when considering the human mind, I adverted to Hegel's division of mind into the Subjective mind—that of the individual, as a special withinness,—and the Objective mind—that of the many persons in society as its special withoutness. But Hegel was contrasting the individual mind with the social mind in the limited sense of mundane human affairs, or, at the most not *ex professo*, extending his scope to the pneumatological and divine spheres,—spheres which philosophy must take into account, as phenomena of thinking, whether their reality be assumed or denied. We are now to extend our generalization to those spheres, especially to the divine sphere (for the present) in conjunction and contrast with the human sphere of affairs, and to establish their proper relationship.

What is it which we think when we think God, and what is it which we think when we think man, as a mind? What, in other words, are the highest philosophical aspects of these contrasted ideas? I reply that the God-thought is the thought of a withinness of the total mental sphere, of a central and pivoting mind as contrasted with a withoutness of the same mental sphere, consisting of the many individual minds of men, and other orders of being, which constitute the mental environment of the divine mind. God is the presiding mind in a conclave of minds. Hence he is called a king, a lord, and a father, words which denote this pivotal and presiding relationship.

Observe, however, that this Kinghood taken as the withinness reverses the order which made the individual mind, generally, the within and the sphere of society to be its withoutness. All individual minds, *except the mental pivot*, are now aggregated, and as a whole become the withoutness, relatively to the pivotal as the withinness. This is always the case from the socialistic as contrasted with the individualistic point of view. Individuality of lead is substituted for the diffusive or distributive aspect of individuality. The monarchical idea is put in the place of the democratic idea; but they have this in common, that whether we start from the common individual or from the representative individual, as the within—the standing-point of observation—the common mass of individuals as society at large, is the *matrix* of the conception, and is in both cases, therefore, the without.

The Kantian group of the categories of quantity sums up as ONE, MANY, ALL. In accordance with what has been said, the One may be any one of the many taken singly, or it may be a single, central, and representative one, which is the case now under consideration. Instead of numerical units, think geometrical points, and one particular point as centering and representing the entire group of points, no matter how restricted or extended. Or again think, instead, the group of material atoms which constitute a given body, with a centering and representative atom. It is in this manner that astronomers take the geometrical centre or the central atom of the Sun to signify the whole Sun. It is in this manner that Louis signed himself "France." It is in this manner that God is, representatively, "All in all." It is in this manner that pivots, in all spheres, stand for the sphere of things pivoted and represented. In this manner the representative One is a withinness, and the indifferent manyness is its withoutness, *matrix*, or environment; and it is in this way that the God-idea is the within of the Grand Man, and the many-headed-personality of humanity the without. The category of unity is thus the divine category; the category of manyness is the human category; and the category of all-ness is the betweenity of these (mediatoral), as this word has to be used, with a variety of modification, first for that which intervenes; then for that which clasps and holds in the larger or complex unity; and then for the representative totality of the first two factors, and of itself included.

In the human body it is the *punctum vitæ*, in the base of the brain and at the decussation of the nerves, which is the representative unit; an idea which cannot now be adequally elaborated.

We may now pass to the deeper significance of these preliminary ideas. The mathematical unit, which centres a group of units in the sum, the geometrical point which centres the group of points, the material atom which centres a star or sun, *the punctum vitæ* which centres the human body, are analogues or repeaters of each other. Each of them is the representative one, as a within, centering the circumferential aggregation of its sphere, as a without. The geometrical point centering and representing its group of points may be taken as representative, in turn, of all the other cases; and I shall therefore mainly advert to it. *Observe now that this Central Point is nowise different, in its own essential nature from any other point in the group.* It is only a mere point, as they are mere points. It differs from them positionally, merely. It is not, in other words, absolutely different, but relatively different only. It is not different in kind but different in condition, or the degree of its promotion. Among all the points of the group, there is EQUALITY OF WORTH WITH DIFFERENCE OF RANK. Fundamentally, substantially, essentially, inherently, the points of the group are all equal, each to the other; superstructurally, formally, existentially, apparently, they are different. The order of their arrangement alone, with the function incidental to their position, makes their difference. By means of this difference, the central point outranks and reigns over all the rest, and all the others rank high, we may assume, in proportion, as they approximate the centre, or gather round the throne.

But we have seen that the God-idea is simply such as that of this centering-point in the group of points. The God-mind is simply the supreme or paramount mind in the given group or consociation of individual minds, from the smallest such up to the total rational universe, the Grand Man, of whom such godlike personage would be the *punctum vitæ*, or focus of life—not, however, by virtue of any inherent and essential difference between him and the humblest individual of the whole group; *but positionally and functionally, merely.* Mr. Beecher is the God-man of Plymouth Church. Mr. Cook reigns supremely at the Boston Tabernacle. The Czar of Russia is called God by many of the common people of Russia. This, it would seem, was the idea which Jesus entertained of the meaning of Godhood. When the Jews were shocked by his open claims of partaking the divine nature, and accused him of blasphemy, he repelled their charge by appealing to their own Scriptures to the effect that distinguished and representative men were therein called Gods; meaning thereby, as we shall see presently, that Godhood is simply supreme Manhood, in some sphere of being.

The point herein of paramount importance is that the true God-idea makes God to be not essentially different, not different in substance and kind, from Man, nor Man from God; that it identifies them in quality and real being, each with the other—their difference being merely one of the greater and less unfoldment of the same faculties, attributes, nature and powers. If this be true, then every human being, as to the inmost potentiality of his being, is equal with God and is God. The same may be said of him, as an individual being, as is said of the abstract *logos* in the first chapter of John. This thought does not degrade the divine but elevates the human aspect of things. Jesus, whose intuitions on this central doctrine of religion were deeper and truer, it seems to me, than any one's else was thus, and could only thus be justified in saying, in one breath, to his disciples: "I and my father are one"; and in the next breath: "I am the vine and ye are the branches."

These are wonderful *dicta*, with a direct and a reverse signification. They mean directly, that God is essentially and inherently one with, and so only equal with, my personality, and I am essentially and inherently one with, and therefore, only equal with, your personality; and, inversely, that I am essentially and inherently one with and so equal with God, and you are essentially and inherently one with and so equal with me; and so finally you are inherently and essentially equal with God, as beings of the same

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nature and possibilities,—not equal position ally and functionally, but with such differences only as characterize the root, the vine, and the branches—one in kind but different in organic relation and in development.

Jesus thus labored to inculcate what may be called the democratic element in theology; but with eminently bad success. The world was not prepared for that idea. The opposite idea of the absolute and unlimited supremacy of one mind, in all senses, over all other minds, accorded with Oriental despotism and Cæsarism then prevalent over the known world; and that side of the complex thought which haunted the mind of Jesus alone survived in traditional theology, and has come down to our day in the churches. That was the unismal and simpler form of the conception. The development of the democratic or duismal side of the thought had to wait till the eighteenth century, and get itself then expressed as a political, and not as a theological idea. The politics of the universe will be further considered in the next following article. We must accustom ourselves to some shocks of existing well-*bedded* opinions. Swedenborg curiously says that *bed* means, by correspondence, *doctrine*, because as the body rests in its bed, so does the mind in its doctrine. We need not be surprised, therefore, if when the morning comes, we are summoned *to get up;* and if some shall be more sluggard than others in answering the call; for "there shall be two in one bed; the one shall be taken and the other left."

CHARLEMAGNE.

Near the close of the eighth century the fleets of the Saracens dominated in the Mediterranean, and their armies had wrested from Christendom nearly all the countries of the East. Jerusalem and Carthage, Antioch and Alexandria, had passed from Christian domination. Their bishops had disappeared; and, of all the great episcopal seats, only Constantinople and Rome remained. The latter lay at the mercy of Arian Lombards and the barbarous hordes of Germany. Everywhere the imperial power seemed paralyzed, and even communication between the great capitals of the Roman world was at the sufferance of Mohammedan navies. The Arabs had made themselves masters of Spain, and boasted that they would speedily traverse the Pyrenees and the Alps, and proclaim the name of Mohammed on the seven hills. Aristolpho, at the head of his Lombards, brandished his sword before the city gates, and threatened to put every Roman to death.

Christ came to bring a sword, and it was now needful that the sword should be called into requisition. Pope Zachary wanted liberation from the Lombards, and Pepin le Bref wanted the crown of France. So the warlike Franks unsheathed their swords in defence of the "Republic of God." Pepin recovered from the Lombards their conquests from the Romans, deposited the keys of the conquered cities on the altar of St. Peter's, and caused himself to be raised on a buckler and proclaimed king, while the bishops anointed him with oil. When the succeeding Pope, Sylvester II., visited France, he placed the diadem on Pepin's brow, and anointed him, his wife and children with holy oil in the monastery of St. Denis. Thus by the sword of a successful soldier the Bishop of Rome became a temporal sovereign, and the keys of St. Peter became firmly bound to the hilt of the sword.

Charlemagne appeared. His name and Constantine's mark the two most important eras in the history of Christianity. First proclaimed by a few humble fishermen along the shores of Galilee, the gospel of the manger-born son of Mary had been accepted by the first Christian Emperor of Rome, confirmed by council and creed, and established upon the throne of the Cæsars. At the accession of Charlemagne to the government, all the ancient landmarks of social order had been overthrown with the colossal power of Rome, and the whole civilized world was covered with its ruins and infected with its crimes. The ancient seat of empire was divided among a score of petty tyrants; the Saracens had overrun Spain and threatened the further West; the northern kingdoms of Europe were only known as the cradle of adventurous armies; Russia did not even exist, and England was just emerging from the confusion of the Heptarchy. The unbounded ambition and vast genius of Charlemagne were made subservient to the papacy for the building up of a powerful Christian protectorate in the West. Encouraged by the Roman Pontiff, and prompted by that warlike religious zeal which has ever deluged with blood the altars of the Church, he took up arms for the Christianization of the still idolatrous Saxons. In 772 he commenced a conflict with that valiant and stubborn people which was maintained for upwards of thirty years. As the circle of his power extended, he everywhere founded churches and established bishoprics, enriching them with territorial possessions. He always insisted upon the rite of baptism as a sign of submission. Resistance to this saving ceremony was punished with the most appalling barbarity. The conquered Saxons had to choose between baptism and death. One day in 782, this Christian butcher cut off the heads of forty-five hundred persons at Verden who refused the baptismal rite, which to them only signified the most servile submission. The influence of Christianity rapidly extended, sustained by the successful sword of Charlemagne. He had made a solemn engagement with the papacy to enforce Roman Christianity upon Europe wherever his power could reach; and most fearfully did he observe his obligation by making his sword a terrible, but convincing, missionary. To the day of his death he observed a savage fidelity to his bond with the head of the Church. In return, Pope Leo III., after the celebration of the holy mysteries in the Church of St. Peter at Rome, on Christmas day, 800, placed on his head a diadem amid the acclamations of the people: "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" His head and body were anointed with the holy oil, and, after the example of the Cæsars, the pontiff himself saluted or adored him. He might now be appropriately distinguished the "Emperor of the West," for his empire comprised all the regions between the Elbe and the Ebro, extending eastward to Hungary, and southward to Calabria. He manifested his appreciation of St. Peter by his princely munificence to that apostle. At the request of the Pope, he substituted the Gregorian for the Ambrosian Chant in his dominions; and wherever his priests or singers resisted, he burnt them along with their books. The private life of Charlemagne was stained with great immoralities and crimes. After having divorced his first wife, he indulged in a polygamy scarcely worse than that of the caliphs, solacing himself with not less than nine wives and many concubines. He sought to increase this number by a marriage with Irene, the infamous Christian Empress of the East, who put out the eyes of her own son in the porphyry chamber of Constantinople.

The career of Charlemagne marks an epoch in modern history, and his sword shaped the map of Europe. He was a great and remarkable man in many respects, a man of genius, a wise sovereign, and a victorious warrior. But only this does impartial history speak in his praise. He was immoral and ambitious, cruel and intolerant; he was a polygamist, a wholesale murderer, and a Christian zealot. Still he was great. He was a great ruler, a great robber, and a great butcher. He was great in that which will forever render his name infamous in the memory of mankind. He was the greatest propagator of Christianity since the time of Constantine. He gave to the Papal Church its lease of power over the governments of the earth,—its ecclesiastical supremacy that only succumbed before the successful arms of Victor Emanuel, and the mighty, resistless waves of progress in this nineteenth century. He sought the compulsory Christianization of his subjects, and his effectual missionary was the sword. His sole argument with unbaptized Saxons was death or immersion. He exalted the Church above the State, and confirmed the claim of the Holy See to secular supremacy. To conclude, Charlemagne was a great General, a great Christian, a sanguinary and victorious villain.

S. H. PRESTON.

141 EIGHT STREET, New York.

MOHAMMEDANISM AMONG THE AFRICANS.

Several remarkable papers have lately appeared in an English magazine on the comparative progress of Christianity and Islam in Africa. Some of the facts and suggestions offered merit careful attention, not only by their intrinsic importance, but because the author of the articles, Edward W. Blyden, the Principal of the Liberian College, is himself a black of pure African descent.

At a time when events in the East provoke appeals to religious prejudices, and when a narrow view of Mohammedanism, its moral worth and its true function in education is often put forth even in England and America, nothing could be more opportune than a lucid account of what it has done for Western and Central Africa. We are told, for instance, that Islam has a tendency to pen up nations in Chinese immobility; that it is a sort of progress which stifles the progressive spirit; that it is not a short cut or stepping-stone to a better civilization, but a blind alley. Now that this notion is quite erroneous, as regards one branch of the human race at all events, the data collected by Mr. Blyden effectually prove.

For three centuries Western Africa has been in contact with Christianity, yet not a single tribe has been collectively converted, nor has one powerful chief accepted the faith which European missionaries have offered him. Mr. Blyden tells us that even on the coast of Liberia and Sierra Leone there is not a point, with the exception of one small island, where the imported Christianity can fairly be said to have taken root. Islam, on the other hand, since its introduction by Akbar in the ninth century and establishment at Timbuctoo, has steadily and vastly widened the circle of its authority, showing itself competent to master the most virile and refractory tribes, addressing itself, indeed, by preference to those peoples which already possessed the rudiments of civil government and a social organization. It is Islam which has built and now occupies the largest towns of the interior, which has evoked and still controls most of the trade between equatorial Africa and foreign countries, and which gives laws to the most considerable kingdoms, such as Hausa, Bornu, Daffour, Kordofan, and Sennaar. We are reminded, further, that in this quarter the fervor of proselytism is unquenched, and that every day the Moslem missionaries are gaining ground on the native fetichism and idolatry, and enforcing respect for their faith upon all Africans, even those who are not yet enrolled under the standard of the Prophet.

As to the work of melioration performed by Islam within its expanding pale, Mr. Blyden tells us that with the first step inland from the West Coast you are struck with the different aspect of localities according as the inhabitants are heathen or Mohammedan. The divergence runs through the form of government, the social laws, the manners, and even the amusements of the people. Passing in 1873 from Sierra Leone to Futah Jallo, he had to traverse some large pagan villages, and soon afterward entering a Mohammedan town, he seemed to breathe a higher and purer atmosphere, the character, sentiments and condition of the population having undergone a complete metamorphosis. It appears that the ascent of an African community in the social scale, under Moslem impulse, is often attended with signal exhibitions of individual capacity. Those who are familiar with the Mussulman world of Western and Northern Africa tell us of more than one great man among the negro converts who has exercised a potent influence in the religious and political affairs, not only of his own land, but of the older and classic seats of Islam. In the Arabic collections of biography, many Mussulman blacks of merit are said to figure, and much space is given to the achievements of a negro named Fodie, whose zeal and daring won to the true faith a large part of the region watered by the Niger. One of the most noteworthy persons of recent times in the country lying between Timbuctoo and the West Coast, was a native of Futah-Toro, known as the Sheik Omarwal-haj. This man, brought up by an Arab missionary and instructed in the Arabic language, made two pilgrimages to Mecca, and returning to his native district undertook a proselyting campaign against some formidable heathen tribes whom he subjected to Islam, next setting himself to purify the practices of several Mussulman peoples among whom vestiges of idolatry yet lingered. We may add that sons of this Moslem apostle militant are now reigning in two of the largest towns of central Africa. One or two additional facts deserve mention. For instance, in Sierra Leone and Liberia the Mohammedan converts build mosques and maintain public worship at their own cost, and contribute largely to the support of Arab missionaries coming from foreign parts, whereas it is notorious that the native Christians depend almost wholly in such matters on European and American aid societies. Again, in the last Ashantee war the stanchest and bravest of the black troops were the Hausas, who are strict Mohammedans, while the Christian negroes proved quite unstable. Mr. Blyden assures us that Sir Garnet Wolsely's statement, in an order of the day, that "the indigeneous African feels a superstitious terror of the white man," if applied to the heathen or Moslem black, is ludicrously ill-founded.

Now, the key to this strange contrast in the effect of the two religions upon the native African doubtless lies in another fact frequently remarked, and in the explanation of that fact. Almost all travellers agree that the negro convert to Islam evinces a sentiment of personal dignity and self-respect not observed in the Christian neophytes. The reason, of course, is not far to seek. If Christianity were now preached, as it once was, to the non-Aryan races by missionaries of their own or a less alien stock, we might possibly witness something like the success of those Nestorian monks who swept across Central Asia into China some ten centuries before the advent of the Jesuits in the latter country. But as it is, the work of Christian propagandism is wholly committed to men of European origin; that is, to men in whom the subtle teachings of laws and manners, of literature and art, have planted an overweening and inveterate pride of race. We can judge how grave a bar this feeling must prove to a close and fervid sympathy on the part of their white pastors with the African proselytes, from the plain admission of so enlightened a man as Bishop Heber, that "there is certainly something repugnant in the negro to those who are unaccustomed to him." Where his conversion is effected under these conditions, it is not surprising that the native black should regard its author as a superior, or at all events alien being. Hence he conceives a poor opinion of himself, learns to depreciate his characteristic qualities, and is discouraged by the manifest hopelessness of reproducing the physical and mental traits of his preceptor.

In the hands of its Semitic apostles, Islam seems to have been more profoundly loyal to the spirit of broad humanity which was the common emblem of both faiths. There is not now, and there never has been, any instinctive repulsion, or assumption of inbred superiority, on the part of Arabic conquerors and educators toward Mussulman blacks. The case might have been different if Moslem art had been allowed to idealize and, so to speak, sanctify the Arab type; but this an express precept of the Prophet, and perhaps the genius of the race, forbade. The fact is that the traditional prayer, the *Adzah*, which convokes at the same hour more than a hundred millions of human beings, was first formulated by a negro named Bilal, whom Mohammed, upon the prompting of a dream, made muezzin or public crier; and travellers say that even the renown of Alexander the Great is eclipsed in Central Asia by that of this famous black. We read, too, of a negro caliph who reigned with credit at Bagdad in the ninth century, and is said to have been a man of rare merit and accomplishments. Finally, the Moslem propagandists have at all times proved the sincerity of their sympathies in the most conclusive way,—namely, by intermarriage; and some of the most esteemed Arabic authors were the offspring of such mixed unions. With such precedents and principles, tolerance and fellow-feeling are easy to the missionaries of Islam, while the African disciple finds himself stimulated to self-improvement and fortified in self-respect by the bracing benignity of his new relation.—*New York Sun.*

SATAN AND CONSCIENCE.—"But now, tell me, Mr. Chambers, which is it, Satan or my conscience, that is telling me I am too bad, that I have committed too many sins to be saved?"

"My opinion, John, upon that matter is, that it is Satan making use of your conscience."—*"After All": American Tract Society.*

IT IS A PART of probability that many improbable things will happen.—*Aristotle.*

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1877. WHOLE No. 386.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE REPUBLIC of Colombia is torn by a bloody civil war between the Catholics and the Liberals.

THE FACULTY of Michigan has forbidden dancing in the University Hall. The Seniors in indignation have resolved to take no part in Class Day and Commencement. This is one of the straws which show the current of a reviving and spreading fanaticism.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition have been received as follows since last week: from Mrs. M. G. House, Avoca, N. Y., 74; from Mr. James M. Rowen, Louisville, Kan., 42. Total thus far received—5,344. Every friend of Equal Rights in Religion is earnestly requested to aid in obtaining signatures. Petitions will be cheerfully sent free to any address by the National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston, on receipt of a stamp for return postage.

HERESY-HUNTING is a delight which no full-blooded Evangelical will ever voluntarily forego. Rev. John Miller has been fairly torn to pieces by the hounds, and now the pack are in full chase after Rev. O. L. Ashenfelter. The latter, indeed, is a much worse heretic than the former, though he is a man of singularly gentle and reverent spirit, even in the worst of his heresies. There is considerable Gospel-spluttering in this case, but not much sense; and we hope that the result of the whole business may be the final establishment of a strong independent society at Carlisle, Pa., unbound by the least remnant of a creed.

DR. D. K. BOUTELLE, of Lake City, Minn., one of the warmest friends of THE INDEX, is publishing a series of articles in the *Lake City Leader* in explanation of the National Liberal League and its objects. He has incorporated long extracts from its Constitution, and is doing a most valuable service in the cause of equal religious rights by spreading accurate information about this organization. We wish heartily that every reader of THE INDEX would do the same. By their combined exertions through their local press, they could wield an enormous influence, and create at last a public opinion in favor of the League which is certain to follow knowledge of its aims and principles.

FATHER HYACINTHE lectured at Paris, April 15, on "Respect for Truth." Among other things he is reported as saying that "thirty years ago, while walking with a young man on the banks of the Lago Maggiore, they met the great philosopher Rosmini. His companion, whose name was Montalembert, said: 'Oh, how I sigh after truth!' Rosmini said: 'Young man, you can never get through without martyrdom.' Although there were not now, and never would be again, martyrs in the old sense of the term, and the lovers of truth had not to fear the scaffold, the stake, or the rack, they must be prepared for the scorn of relations and dear old friends, and the calumny of the world; and as regards this moral martyrdom the words of Rosmini were true."

A TELEGRAPH dispatch of May 4 says: "There was closed to-day in the New Brunswick (N.J.) Presbytery a trial of a clergyman on the charge of heresy, which has attracted wide-spread attention in the Christian community. The Rev. John Miller was convicted of publicly denying and assailing important doctrines of the Confession of Faith and the catechisms of the Church, in teaching that the soul is not immortal, that Christ was a child of Adam, and denying the doctrine of the Trinity. The conviction was by unanimous vote of the Presbytery, and it was also unanimously voted that the Rev. Mr. Miller be 'suspended from the preaching of the word of God as a minister until such time as he sees the error of his way and returns to Orthodoxy.' There were many Princeton theological students present at the trial, and it was noticed that they frequently applauded the accused while he was speaking in his own defence."

IT TAKES one lady to understand another. Gail Hamilton says of Mrs. Hayes in the *Christian Union*: "There is not a woman from Mount Desert to Vancouver's Island who would not be willing to economize any day in a camel's hair shawl costing three or four times its weight in gold. Mrs. Hayes wears her hair plainly on the face and over the ears and fastened in a knot with a comb, not, I venture to assert, from any 'I am holier than thou' uppishness, but because she knows she has a face fine enough to stand it. She assumes black silk as innocently as the milkmaid dreamed of green, because that suits her complexion best, and because nothing is so dignified and distinguished; and the attempt to throw a wet blanket over woman's divine, artistic instinct of adornment by calling it Mrs. Hayes' camel's hair shawl, only adds another to the myriads of futile efforts which man has already made to gather thorns of grapes and thistles of figs!"

THE SECULAR PRESS deals with religious topics to an amazing extent, and in a way very unlike that of the religious press. The Seymour (Wisconsin) *Weekly Times* of March 31 is a case in point. It said: "Jefferson County has a meek and lowly servant of his Master by the name of William Y. Monroe—Rev. William Y. Monroe. The Rev. William is zealous in the cause of his Master and thirsts for the salvation of souls. In fact, in his zeal for souls he sometimes gives his God a character that would doom him to the penitentiary, if we could identify him and fetch him into court. In preaching the funeral of a poor little innocent child recently, the Rev. William said that he believed that God 'killed that child' in order to arouse religious sentiment in the hearts of the parents and friends and draw them to him! God murdering a poor innocent child to help on a religious revival! Isn't this giving God a nice character? Can you worship and love a being that would murder a child? And this is the stuff that is preached in order to scare people into the churches. Is it any wonder that the churches and priests are tottering to their fall? Is it any wonder that the people are looking to common-sense and a sounder philosophy for their moral guides, when such monstrous doctrine as this is preached by an authorized priest right now in the steady light of science and the glare of the noonday sun of the nineteenth century?"

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Joseph Cook Measured by his own Rule.

A DISCOURSE PREACHED IN THE CHURCH OF THE UNITY, BOSTON, ON SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 1877.

BY REV. M. J. SAVAGE.

* * * * * * * * * *

There are two or three things that I wish to call to your attention in regard to this movement in Tremont Temple, as they are signs of the times. In the first place, all men are aware that the movement for twenty-five years of science, of intelligent thought and criticism, has been directly and squarely against the main positions of Orthodoxy. The drift of the tide of intelligence has been all the other way. The success of Mr. Cook, then, in Tremont Temple, and the crowds he gathers about him, seem to me perfectly intelligible when you remember the joy that comes to the hearts of those that have been discouraged and troubled about questions which they supposed essential to the holding of revelation and to their hopes of a future life. When, I say, he comes and claims to stand on the basis of science and enter upon the work of their defence, it is an unexpected championship that they had not looked for. And so, without any very careful discrimination, they are ready to applaud and to fling their hats in air and to rejoice as though at last the inroads and approaches of liberalism were to be brought to an end.

But, on the other hand, let me call your attention to a very significant thing: Mr. Cook has dared to plant himself deliberately and squarely on the basis of "the scientific method," so far as his *claim* is concerned. And this is so significant that I wish to emphasize it in your thought for just one moment. In so doing he has totally and utterly abandoned, as indefensible, the old ground of revelation, as revelation, and has confessed to the city of Boston, to New England, to America, that, so far as his thought and study are concerned, this same claimed "revelation" must go by the board unless he can make it square with the conclusions of modern science and criticism. This is a significant confession that I wish you to take to heart.

Now, there are two or three superficial characteristics of the Monday Lectureship that of course I do not offer in the way of argument *pro* or *con*, but that I wish to refer to simply as indicating the style of the man and of his dealings with these great questions; and I do this the more readily because he has given me adequate excuse. He has not hesitated to fling out against "small philosophers"—meaning by that those persons that did not agree with Mr. Cook. He has not hesitated to talk of "low, loaferish liberalism," of "a liberalism having venom but no fangs," as though it would be glad enough to overthrow the positions that he was defending but utterly lacked the power and the ability to do so. Now, I have not any more respect than Mr. Cook has for a "low, loaferish liberalism"; and I have not one iota more of respect for a low, loaferish Orthodoxy. Neither have I any more respect for a conceited, self-sufficient, assuming Orthodoxy, such as Mr. Cook himself represents. The modesty of the man is apparent from the fact that the reports of his lectures (which he himself takes a whole day to supervise, so that they do not appear in the paper until Wednesday morning) are sprinkled and filled all through with "Great and prolonged applause!" "Profound sensation!" "Great applause!" "Sensation!" "Applause!" repeated and re-repeated! Of course if he chooses this no one has any right to object to it. But in thinking of it I have been irresistibly reminded of those funny lines of Mr. Lowell in the "Biglow Papers," in the introduction to the last paper of the second series, which purports to be the report of a speech delivered to the rows of cabbage-heads in his garden, at a March meeting. Mr. Lowell says:—

> "I've noticed that reporters get a hint
> To make dull audiences seem 'live in print;
> And, since I've got to report myself, I vum!
> I'll put the applauses where they'd ought to come."

Now, I don't doubt for a moment that Mr. Cook *gets* the applauses; but he seems exceedingly anxious to put them "where they'd ought to come"; and I was told the other day (and I do not question the truth of the statement), by a minister who heard the lecture and carefully looked at the report the next day, that in one instance there was "Great applause!" in the report where there was not a sound of applause in the lecture-room itself.

And then Mr. Cook has made a great deal of the fact of his travels abroad in Europe, and of his introduction to and conversations with great men,—overawing the unintelligent mass of his hearers by these foreign and high-sounding names, as though they all stood in serried ranks at the back of the Monday Lectureship, ready to give him their ardent support. Now, if a man becomes exceptionally wise by conversing with and being introduced to great men, it is a short and easy way to scholarship. But let me suggest to Mr. Cook, in the words of Mr. Moody in a sermon of his, the other day, on another subject, that possibly conversing with or getting very near to some great personage may not result in making you equal to him, or giving you a place by his side. In a sermon which I heard Mr. Moody preach he said: "Judas got near enough to God to kiss him, and then went straight to hell!" So it is possible that a man may get near enough to a wise man to shake hands with him, and then straightway go to the outer darkness of illogicalness and ignorance.

And, then, the mass of authorities that Mr. Cook brings, overawes and subdues his audience,—quoting from this name and that and another; flinging the German dictionary at the heads of his hearers until they are perfectly bewildered at the array of authorities, and suppose that at least some out of the great mass must stand substantially for the positions that the Monday Lectureship represents. I am reminded by this of what one of your own number told me a short time ago concerning a celebrated case in which Mr. Choate was engaged, in the western part of the State. A gentleman was talking with one of the jury who served on that occasion, and asked whether they gave Mr. Choate the case or not. "Why," said he, "of course we gave Mr. Choate the case. Why, he had a pile of papers *so* high!" And so with the great mass of people,—if you only bring a long array of authorities they suppose the matter is ultimately and finally settled.

Now, there are just two characteristics of Mr. Cook, and his position this winter in Boston, that you want to keep carefully in mind, in order to estimate how much reliance is to be placed on his statements,—whether he intends to misrepresent or not. In the first place, his distinguishing quality and characteristic is that he is a rhetorician. And let me here give him grand and magnificent praise. I do not know of any speaker of modern times who surpasses some of the things that the Rev. Joseph Cook has given to the city of Boston in the way of grand and magnificent rhetoric. But fireworks, while they are very fine to look at, are not so good to capture a strong fortification with as even a muddy artillery train. It is solid shot that batter down walls, and not the brilliant firing off of words.

And there is one other thing that you must remember, and that is that Mr. Cook stands as the avowed advocate of a system, and not as a person simply seeking after truth. You are perfectly familiar with the logic of this in your every-day conversations. "Why," you say, "it is of no use to talk to such a man about a particular plan or idea. He will not hear you. He is given up to another system and plan, and stands as the representative of it, and is working for it before the community. It is of no use to talk to him about such things as that!" So I say that Mr. Cook, however he may talk of "logic," however he may talk of "fairness," and however he may talk of the using of arguments on one side and the other, perfectly well knows that if he starts on a train of argument and does not land on the Orthodox platform, the whole foundation of the Monday Lectureship is out from under his feet at once. He stands, then, as the avowed advocate of a system, and you should test his words with this idea.

Now, then, I have done, so far as anything personal is concerned.

Mr. Cook has said, in his last lecture—two or three words from which I wish to quote—that he places himself distinctly and deliberately on the scientific basis and method, and is ready to stand or fall by that method—holding that Orthodoxy itself, if it is to endure, must endure as tested and measured by that method. Now, he says: "Clearness will not mislead us if we set it up as a goal. But our prejudgments as to what is true may easily do so." And, again, he says: "Let us be true to the scientific method, and truth will take care of itself." And again: "Let us seek first, midst, and last, all that intuition, instinct, experiment, and syllogism can teach us, or perfect loyalty to the scientific method, whatever stands or whatever falls." That is Mr. Cook's own measure, by which I propose to test some of his judgments.

And now I wish to quote just a word from Mr. Huxley to give you an idea of what a prominent scientific man means by the "scientific method." In his first lecture, last fall, in New York, he said: "We men of science get an awkward habit,—no, I will not call it that, for it is a *valuable* habit, of reasoning, so that we believe nothing unless there is evidence for it; and we have a way of looking upon belief, which is not based upon evidence as not only illogical, but as immoral." That is, in a word, Huxley's idea of the scientific method; and, to put it in my own words, the scientific method is, in short, simply this: you cannot establish by it anything for which you cannot bring direct proof of facts, or strict logical deductions from facts. That is the "scientific method." Now let us test Mr. Cook in some of his main positions by that. Of course I cannot review here this morning sixty or seventy lectures. My purpose will be accomplished when I take a single leading argument from some of his main points, and let you see his method, let you see what he has done with it, and how much he has accomplished.

I shall pass over his discussion of "Evolution," on which he spent so long a time in the early part of the winter, for the simple reason that it is capable of taking care of itself. It is in the hands of Mr. Darwin, and of most all the scientific men of the time. There is hardly a man in the civilized world to-day, who has given it competent, earnest, unbiassed study, who has not accepted it in some one of its forms. Let me, in connection with this, simply give you, in my own words, the warning of Peschel, a prominent scientific man of Germany. When, he says, a few years ago, the Pope and his followers put the Creator of this universe on the Index, because he had not chosen to create the world after the Ptolemaic pattern, but had chosen to create it after the system that Copernicus himself had discovered, they simply showed the power of prejudice and bigotry. Peschel warns the men of this time,—and I give his warning again to you, lest we again repeat that folly of persecuting the Creator, in the persons of those that are giving the grandest expositions of His methods, and doing it all for the sake of a mental phantom or a theological prejudice. When Newton discovered the law of gravitation, Leibnitz, the grandest living mathematician besides Newton, rejected it to the day of his death, for a purely theological reason. And yet since that time all the preachers of the world have been using Newton's discoveries in astronomy as a means whereby to set forth the glory and grandeur of the creative work of God. And I prophesy here to-day that it will not be twenty-five years before the

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Orthodox ministers of this country will be reading the law of evolution in the first chapter of Genesis, and telling the world that they always believed it.*

I pass this, then; and the first point that I wish seriously to take up and analyze at any length is Mr. Cook's treatment of the question of materialism, as opposed to spirit. Now you know me well enough, friends, to know that if any man in this city, or in any part of this world, could give me in my hand, so that I could grasp it, a new weapon against materialism (which I disbelieve, utterly reject, and despise), —if, I say, he could give me a new weapon against materialism, I would give him heartfelt thanks. I should consider it a favor and a blessing conferred upon the city of Boston if Mr. Cook could have succeeded in such an attempt. But what did he do? He reviewed at length the arguments that are familiar to all who are acquainted with science, in this direction, concerning the mechanism and structure of the brain. He merely echoed thoughts and guesses and speculations concerning this. Ferier is the great authority on this subject,—the man who stands recognized as leader. And such men as Prof. Youmans, such men as George Henry Lewes of England—the most competent men of the age, all will tell you that Ferier's work is only preparatory, and that there is nothing in this direction that is definitely and finally settled. We know very little indeed about the brain. So that Mr. Cook's science, so far as this is concerned, was simply standing on the speculations of other men, and carrying the speculations a little farther.

But the principal point here is this: you will remember how, week after week, elaborately and at length, Mr. Cook abused, villified and misrepresented such men as Tyndall, such men as Huxley, such men as Herbert Spencer, such men as John Fiske of Harvard,—abused them at length for their materialism. And here let me tell you what I propose to prove, and defy Mr. Cook, or any one else, to controvert: that the only argument which the Monday Lectureship, during the whole course of this winter, has brought against materialism which is worth five minutes' consideration on the part of a thoughtful man, the said Rev. Joseph Cook did steal bodily from Huxley, from Tyndall, from Spencer, and from John Fiske,—the very men that in the same breath he was abusing. This is not the vapor of words. I am not one—being such as Mr. Cook would call "a small philosopher"—I am not one to assume that the Monday Lectureship had not read Huxley and Tyndall and Herbert Spencer's *Psychology*, and Prof. John Fiske's *Cosmic Philosophy*. I would not dare bring a charge against his claimed "colossal scholarship" that he had not even read these works. And yet the fact remains, just as I have stated it, that the one sole argument against materialism which he has brought forward this winter that is worth, as I said, a moment's consideration by a careful and intelligent thinker, is contained, and elaborately wrought out, in the works of these men. I wish to read you just one sentence as a specimen. Prof. Huxley (whom Mr. Cook put forward as the prince of materialists), after dwelling on Berkeley's celebrated argument for idealism, goes on thus: "I conceive that this reasoning" (that is, the reasoning of Berkeley) "is perfectly irrefragable; and therefore, if I were obliged to choose between absolute materialism and absolute idealism, I should feel compelled to accept the latter alternative." That is from Huxley's *Critiques and Addresses*, page 314. A similar argument you will find in his *Lay Sermons*, in his *Discourse on Descartes*. You will find the same thing wrought out elaborately and at length in Spencer's *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I.—the chapter on "The Substance of Mind," particularly,—pages 157 and 158. You will find it in Tyndall's *Fragments of Science*, the chapter on "Scientific Materialism," pages 119 and 120. You will find it in Prof. Fiske's *Cosmic Philosophy*, the chapter on "Matter and Spirit," Vol. II., page 432, *et seq.* The whole argument of Mr. Cook on this subject is not only touched on, but elaborately wrought out in a magnificent manner, finer than I have ever seen it anywhere else, in a whole chapter of Fiske's *Cosmic Philosophy;* so that if Mr. Cook had taken this one chapter into Tremont Temple and had read it to his audience he would have presented the identical argument in a much finer and stronger way than he did in his own language.

I am reminded here, as suggested by this "Method," of that sharp epigram of a wit of the last century, who, having read a play that had been written by a friend, said to him:—

> "Your comedy I've read, my friend,
> And like the part you pilfered best.
> But sure the drama you might mend;
> Take courage, man, and steal the rest."

If Mr. Cook had stolen the whole of it he would have made a better lecture than he did. So much for materialism. You can estimate how much this style of treatment is worth on the basis of the scientific method.

I come now to look at Mr. Cook's treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity—one of the cardinal central points. His argument, in outline, is simply this: he asserts that it is taught in the New Testament, by implication, at any rate. He asserts that it was believed by the ante-Nicene fathers—that is, the fathers living before the formulation of the Nicene Creed. He asserts that it was the creed of the martyrs. And then, after three assertions, he goes on to outline it with that celebrated figure, which you will remember, of the rainbow. Now let us test this argument a little by the "scientific method." And in the first place suppose, for the purposes of this argument, that the doctrine of the Trinity is written in large letters all over every single page in the New Testament. How much would it mean as a scientific argument on the basis of the "scientific method"? Why, it would mean simply this (and when people fling texts at your heads I ask you to notice and remember this idea),—it would mean simply that certain men who wrote the New Testament books, eighteen hundred years ago, more or less, believed the doctrine of the Trinity. But these same certain men, eighteen hundred years ago, more or less, believed that the world was flat, and that the sun moved around it. They believed in witchcraft. They believed in possession by devils. They believed in exorcism. They believed in all sorts of things. It seems a little strange, when you are going to argue strictly on the basis of the scientific method, that these men's opinions should be absolutely taken as fact in regard to one point of their belief and utterly rejected as nonsense concerning every other! But until Mr. Cook establishes the infallibility of these men's opinions he has not taken one single slightest step towards proving the doctrine of the Trinity.

His next argument was "that it was believed by the ante-Nicene fathers." Here, again, the same principle holds. Suppose it was believed by the ante-Nicene fathers. I admit for a moment (which I shall deny in the next breath) that they did believe it. Suppose they did believe it; what of it? They believed a good many other things. Thousands of people believe in Mormonism. Millions of people believe in Buddhism. Is that scientific argument for their truth? If it is, we have got more infallibilities in this universe than we shall know what to do with.

His next argument is that it was the faith of the martyrs. Suppose it was; it simply means that certain men believed the doctrine with sufficient certainty to die for their faith. Mormons believed in Joe Smith sufficiently to be willing to die for their faith. There is no faith on the face of the earth that has not had its martyrs. Does the belief of the martyr in his creed make it true? When the Mohammedan leaps on the swords of his enemies, dying with the vision of Paradise, with its seventy thousand houries, opening before him, does that prove the Paradise with the seventy thousand houries? It proved that the martyr believed it, and that is all.

Now, then, let me give you a specimen of Mr. Cook's treatment of these "arguments," as he calls them. (As you see, of course, they are no arguments at all.) I want to refer to that celebrated epistle of Clement, that he made so much of in his Tremont Temple lecture two or three weeks ago. Clement, it is *supposed*—notice there is a little weak link in the chain of argument; it is not known that he was the author—it is *supposed* that he was the author of a celebrated Epistle to the Corinthians. And it is *supposed* that this man was the one whom Paul refers to in his Epistle to the Philippians, and so was a person known to Paul. Of course if it could be proved that this man, living away back in that time and known to Paul, believed in the Trinity, it would be a very strong argument in favor of the proposition—not that the Trinity was true, but that the ante-Nicene fathers, some of them, believed it. But let us see how he treats this epistle of Clement. This epistle, as is admitted by every competent critic in the world, in its prevailing tone, and in most all of its passages, is utterly inconsistent with the doctrine of the deity of Jesus Christ. It fairly bristles with passages from one end to the other that teach the subordinate and derived nature of Jesus. There is one passage near the beginning of the epistle that some critics have supposed might possibly teach another doctrine. We have just one manuscript in existence (one original one) of this epistle of Clement. The whole argument turns on the use of one word—whether it is *mathemata* or *pathemata*,—and the *p* and *m* in Greek are so nearly alike that it is one of the commonest things in the world to have them mixed up by transcribers; and in the present instance a part of the letter is gone, so that it is utterly impossible for any human being living to decide whether it was one or the other. If it is *mathemata* it means nothing at all to our purpose. If it was *pathemata* it might possibly be twisted into meaning a little something. But such authorities as Lardner and Bunsen, such authorities as Reuss and Dorner—one of the greatest of German theologians—all of them Orthodox—every single one of them concedes that it is not worth a straw as an argument. And yet on the strength of this, and half-a-dozen "ifs" and "perhapses" piled together, Mr. Cook, by injecting, in brackets, some words of his own, and putting a meaning into the passage that is not there at all, brings forward the shade of the mighty Clement and puts him at the right hand of the Monday Lectureship and stands him up as a witness to the doctrines of Joseph Cook,—a mere shuffling with authorities, for he does not even hint at a question concerning the interpretation that he brings forward. Photius, Bishop of Constantinople in the ninth century, says this epistle is *not Orthodox concerning the person of Christ*. And chiefly for this reason—though once read in the churches—it was left out in forming the New Testament canon. The other authorities that he quotes do not even go so far as this.

And now let me clear your minds a little bit on this point before I leave it, because I know it must trouble a great many of you. It used to trouble me before I learned so much as I have concerning the thinking of the early ages. There are undoubtedly passages in the Bible, and passages in the early Church fathers, that ascribe to Jesus certain supernatural qualities and offices and powers. That means simply that these men believed that he was a supernatural being and possessed some of these supernatural qualities. And in the first chapter of John it looks in one place as though Jesus were himself called God.

And now, suppose this were all true, what of it? Remember that, so far as any passage speaking in exaltation of Jesus, or referring to him as the son of God, or as the child of God, or as a supernatural being or preëxistent being, is concerned, remember that not a single one of these passages has the slightest bearing on the question of the truth or untruth of the doctrine of the Trinity. Even if you proved that Jesus was God, it would be a "Duality," and not a Trinity. There is no reason in the nature of things why you should stop at three and not make it six.

It was a common, familiar, early belief, a belief not confined to Judaism, but universal in that period of the world, that God was likely to send supernatural beings, angels, and messengers into the world, for this purpose or that. So it was nothing strange if people believed that Jesus was one of these supernatural beings sent on such a mission. But even if he were called God, what then? Take that first chapter of John, and that remarkable verse, how much does it mean to a person familiar with the thought of the early ages? I have had occasion to tell some of you in my Bible-class what I must repeat here for the benefit of you all. You know that there was at that time a wide-spread sect called the Gnostics. And even outside of this sect the peculiarities of the Gnostic belief were spread everywhere through the current philosophy and thought of the time. The New Testament itself—of course you cannot observe it in the English translation, but every one who knows anything of it in the Greek, and otherwise is familiar with the doctrines of Gnosticism, knows the truth of this—is covered all over with the finger-marks of this Gnostic belief. The Book of John is full of technical terms and phrases of the Gnostic philosophy. What was the Gnostic belief? The Gnostic belief was that the original and supreme God dwelt apart and afar from the operations of the material universe, and had nothing whatever to do with matter. They taught that he did not create the world, nor sun, nor star, nor anything that appears; but that it was a subdeity, a delegate-deity that they called a Demiurgus, that was the creator of the world.

Now Mr. Cook, in the face of facts like these, goes on and makes a striking impression on his audience by quoting some passages from the early fathers, in which they speak of Jesus as the creator of the world. And people to-day say, as they take up the Bible and read the passage that speaks of the world being created by, or through, Jesus Christ (notice how that chimes in with the Gnostic philosophy, that God created the world by, or through, an agent, just as you make a trade in Chicago by, or through, your agent or messenger)—Mr. Cook, I say, makes an immense impression on his audience by quoting passages that refer to Jesus as creator of the world; and we all feel to-day, when we come to such a passage, that Jesus Christ was divine, for we say, "Nobody but God could create a world." But mark you, in the philosophy and belief that prevailed at that time the doctrine that Jesus Christ was the creator of the world was the strongest of all possible ways of asserting that he was not the original and supreme God, because it was a very fundamental article of their belief that this original and supreme God did not do the work of creation. Now here again a "small philosopher" does not dare to assume that the "colossal scholarship" of the Monday Lectureship is not familiar with this truth. But if he is, unless he is convicted by this of ignorance, you yourself can draw the inference as to whether he is or is not convicted of the wilful suppression of evidence, the perversion of truth, the misrepresentation of facts.

And this is the sum total of his proof of the doctrine of the Trinity. There is not an intelligent jury in Boston or in New York that would think of convicting William Tweed of stealing the worth of a pin on the basis of evidence so flimsy as that. And this he calls his "scientific method"!

I pass now to consider for a moment the doctrine of "the atonement" as he treated it by "the scientific method." I must deal with this very shortly—simply by pointing out one or two principles which you can readily apprehend. What are the facts on which is based any claim that there ought to be an atonement? Simply this: there are certain laws of this universe—laws grounded in the nature of things,—by which the universe stands together, and which are essential to its permanence. If you break these laws you necessarily and inevitably suffer the penalty of broken laws. If you keep them, it is life and health and peace. Most of us, through ignorance, inherited weakness, tendencies this way or that, have, in some direction, at some time, broken these laws. Now comes in the Orthodox and says: "On account of this fact (which all the world admits), since it is necessary that law must be upheld and the breaking of that law must be punished, therefore somebody must take the penalty." (But consider, friends, somebody does take the penalty already—every day, every instant. You can no more break any minutest fragment of the law of God and not suffer than you can put your hand in the fire and it not be burned.) And since some men are saved and delivered, the argument is that God must take the penalty upon himself. Mr. Cook deliberately shifts the whole ground of the old Orthodox faith, and says that it is "chastisement" that God takes upon himself rather than "punishment." But it amounts to the same thing, or amounts to nothing at all, as argument.

Consider, then, this, and it will be a light to guide you through all this wilderness of confusion surrounding the subject of "the atonement." There are just two ways by which any law, human or divine, can be magnified and supported: one is by the person who breaks it suffering the penalty. A law is not *broken*. We simply say figuratively that a man breaks a law; but he transgresses and the law breaks *him*. The law stands in its integrity, perfect in every part; works under the impulse of the divine and

* In fact, an article appeared in the New York *Tribune* last fall, while Huxley was in New York, advocating this very idea.

eternal Omnipotence. The other way by which to maintain a law is to have it kept. Now, so far as the law itself is concerned, it is indifferent to that, of course, whether it is maintained by the penalty being exacted when it is broken, or whether it is maintained by being obeyed. Now, then, the man does suffer the necessary, essential, and adequate result of broken law every time that he breaks it. And if men are brought into obedience to that law, the law has no desire or power of going back and exacting something for that which is passed. Suppose to-day the whole universe were brought up into perfect order, and all persons were keeping exactly this law of God; who cares, then, for the past? Evil has passed away like a morning cloud. It were only criminal, causeless revenge to punish any one after the evil itself had ceased to be.

With that slight touch upon the doctrine of the atonement I pass to the last main point in my discussion of the importance of clear-thinking everywhere; and that is Mr. Cook's method of dealing with the doctrine of everlasting punishment. I am not going to argue it on general grounds. I shall simply give you the method in which he treats it,—claiming that it is scientific. And here let me say that the sum total of his teaching (which he calls scientific) is based on simple, unqualified *assumption*, from first to last. Throughout the whole argument he does not touch his feet anywhere. What is his argument? The first point in it is this: he *assumes* that men may voluntarily come into a condition of permanent, confirmed sinfulness. Has he proved it? Has he proved that a man may do it? What is the totality of his proof? Simply that there are men who die unrepentant and apparently still on their downward course, as we say, morally. But let me indicate to you how much this is worth: here is a man who goes on in the downward course until he is twenty years old; then he repents, turns, and goes upwards. Another man goes on in the downward course until he is forty; then he repents and goes upwards. Another man goes on in the downward course until he is sixty; then he repents and goes upwards. And I remember one remarkable case in my own ministerial experience of a man at eighty years of age repenting and coming to me like a little child to become "a member of my church"; so it is possible for a man to repent even at eighty years of age. Now, suppose this man who repented at eighty had died when he was fifty; he would die still going downward, as we say. How does Mr. Cook happen to know that at the end of fifteen or thirty years in the other world it is utterly impossible for this same man who would have repented here at eighty, at the same time, when he gets to be eighty there, to turn and go upward in the other world? Before this assumption of Mr. Cook is worth the breath he takes to utter it he must give us one poor little fact. And until he can go into the other world and follow the course of each one of its innumerable inhabitants until he gets clear to the other end of eternity, it is utterly impossible for him to tell us that any man will continue on his downward course forever. That question cannot be decided until the end of forever,—not on the basis of fact and the use of the scientific method. When Mr. Cook has been to the other end of forever, and comes back and reports a case, then we will account his argument worth something.

After he has assumed that a man *may* do this, then he goes on to make another gigantic jump of assumption and assumes that ever so many people *will* do it. Even if you proved that a man *might* do it, that would not prove that anybody *would*. Perhaps I can prove that any one of you may do any sort of unreasonable and unheard-of thing before night; but on the basis of that it would hardly be reasonable for me to assume that you would do it, and then go and tell your neighbors that you had done it.

And then, again, another gigantic assumption is that the Omnipotent power that we call God, who reigns and rules at the heart of this universe, could not help himself if anybody chose to go on and confirm himself in a character of evil and become permanently opposed to him; because Mr. Cook says (I quote his own words in his last Monday's lecture)—he says deliberately, and makes it the foundation of one of his grand structures of argument and syllogism —"God wills man's perfection." He admits, then, that God wants everybody to be perfect; and he dares, for the sake of upholding the blasphemous assumption of the Pagan doctrine of everlasting torture, for the sake of upholding that, he dares to assert in the face of the Almighty that if men choose to go on in opposition to him forever he cannot help himself. That is the sum total of his argument on that point. For if God wills man's perfection, and he can help himself, then it would seem to be the next logical step that he *would* help himself, and that man would some time be perfect.

If a man, then, who plants himself on the scientific basis, and is going to argue strictly in accordance with the scientific method, offers, as the sum total of his gigantic argument for everlasting punishment, three magnificent "ifs," it is not a very substantial affair, after all. You may build a structure as high as heaven, and if it rests on an "if" at the bottom it is about as good as a cob-house in a storm. The scientific method starts with its feet on a rock somewhere—with a *fact*,—and there cannot by any possibility be a scientific method until you get your feet on that rock.

As to Mr. Cook's treatment of Theodore Parker I shall say nothing beyond remarking that he is in the hands of careful year-long students of Mr. Parker, who are critically acquainted with his works. I confess to you that I am not sufficiently acquainted with Theodore Parker's writings, in all their particulars, so that I am fit to take up the statements of Mr. Cook concerning them. I have kept myself to-day on that which I do know, and which I can prove if I were called upon to do it in a court of justice. Therefore I leave Theodore Parker one side, merely remarking that Mr. David A. Wasson, a man who has made Theodore Parker's works the study of years, said only last Sunday (a statement that means a great deal more when calmly put, as he put it, than when uttered in the excitement of debate) that, so far as he had studied and read Theodore Parker's works, Mr. Cook had not made one single statement about Theodore Parker yet that was not a misstatement. I give you that, on Mr. Wasson's authority, for what it is worth.

And now, then, Christian friends, I must ask your time for a few minutes longer while I take up Mr. Cook's method of treating authorities, in two or three instances, that have not come in the line of my regular argument. I do it because from one case you can know all. And I want you, and I want any person that reads what I say here this morning, to understand how much dependence they can put upon the Monday Lectureship's use of authorities. Here the other day he quoted from a fresh book called *The Best Reading*, edited by Mr. Perkins, and brought him up as an authority for the position he was taking concerning the Bible, as against Mr. Gibbon, the historian. A day or two afterwards Mr. Perkins comes out in an article over his own name, in the *Globe*, and fairly laughs at the idea of Mr. Cook's making any such use of it, and says that his authority is just as good on one side as it is on the other.

You will remember, some of you, Mr. Cook's citation of Carlyle's opinion of Darwin, some time ago, full of misstatements of fact to start with. And then consider the absurdity for a moment of Carlyle, the great *littérateur*, but no scientist at all, sitting in judgment upon a man like Darwin, and being brought to the city of Boston to condemn his system!

Another point: one of Mr. Cook's strongest appeals that he has made this winter has been by means of conjuring up the shade of Hermann Lotze, a celbrated writer, a philosopher of Germany, one of the greatest men of the age; and he brought him, in his argument against Huxley, and put him in opposition to Huxley,—telling the intelligent city of Boston that here was the greatest man of Germany who was going utterly to demolish one of the greatest men of England; and he stood him up, and with his image attempted to knock Mr. Huxley down. You can judge of the accuracy of the scholarship involved in such a performance as that. In regard to this particular point where Mr. Cook set Lotze in opposition to Huxley, Lotze teaches precisely and identically the same doctrine that Huxley teaches. This is another illustration of Mr. Cook's use of authorities!

But the most strange, far-fetched, and outrageous one of all was his treatment of Mr. Carlyle and Dean Stanley, as backing-up his position as a believer in the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Nicene Creed. You will remember that, for it has been written about in papers; and it is one of the most noteworthy occurrences of the winter. He goes on and states that Carlyle and Dean Stanley are both believers in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. Now let me delay you a minute in regard to these men. Mr. Stanley delivered a very celebrated address before the students of the University of St. Andrew's, at Edinburgh, the other day. It is so thoroughly rationalistic in its whole doctrine, from one end to the other, that it is republished as a liberal document in the Unitarian papers of both England and America. And this same lecture was the basis of Mr. Cook's assertions. In it Dean Stanley explicitly and implicitly abandons almost every single essential point of the Thirty-nine Articles, and places himself substantially on the platform on which I myself claim to stand. Mr. Cook, in quoting the words of Dean Stanley, says of Mr. Carlyle: "Mr. Carlyle has not *broken with* the traditions of the Scottish Church." That is Mr. Cook's quotation from Dean Stanley. Mr. Stanley's own words are these: "Mr. Carlyle has not *disdained* the traditions of his Church." You might say that of anybody. Mr. Cook, for the sake of bringing Mr. Stanley as a witness to the Orthodoxy of Carlyle, changes the words that are published all over America, and puts entirely another meaning into his language.

And, then, as to Mr. Carlyle's adhesion to the Thirty-nine Articles, why, read him in the *Life of Sterling*, and all throughout his different books. He stands as the one gigantic representative, in this age of that contempt for shams, that hates a *pretence* of belief where the heart has been eaten away.

And to think of Carlyle's praising the Thirty-nine Articles when nearly half of the ministers of the English Church, to-day, by their own confession, do not believe the Thirty-nine Articles! Think of him standing behind to bolster up a sham like that!

And then Carlyle himself, in his own language, has used words of bitterest contempt for these Thirty-nine Articles. Let me give you a specimen, and you can see, then, how Orthodox Carlyle is concerning the creed of the Church of England. He says, in the celebrated verse quoted by Tyndall at the end of one of his lectures:—

"The Builder of this universe was wise;
He formed all souls, all systems, planets, particles.
The plan he formed his worlds and æons by
Was—Heavens!—was thy small nine-and thirty articles!"

That is Carlyle's Orthodoxy on the Thirty-nine Articles, in his own words, without changing the sense to make them mean something else.

And then he brings Carlyle and Stanley up in Westminster Abbey and says he is going to make them recite the Thirty-nine Articles in opposition to certain words he shall quote. But after he has got them installed in his imagination, in Westminster Abbey, he drops the Thirty-nine Articles, and there is no hint of them from that time forth in all the rest of his lecture. For that he substitutes the Litany, which is simply general expressions of praise and worship of God, which not only Carlyle and Stanley, but which Theodore Parker, which Confucius, which Zorosaster, which any man with intelligence and reverence in his nature, all over the world, could have repeated just as well as Carlyle and Dean Stanley. And that is an argument that they believe the Thirty-nine Articles.

Now I have just one word more to say in regard to this scientific method with which we began: Mr. Cook has not offered *one single fact* in regard to these matters which I have brought up for discussion, the central ones that he has treated this winter. He does not know, or if he does he has not put in practice, the very first letters of the alphabet of the scientific method. And, furthermore, I dare to assert here, in opposition to the teaching that has been so bruited abroad in the city of Boston this winter, I dare to assert, and challenge New England or America for a reply,—there is not one single distinctive doctrine of the Orthodox system that ever has been proved by the scientific method, that can be proved by the scientific method, that in the nature of things the scientific method can even be brought to apply to. The man, then, who appeals to that method and stands faithfully by it is lost, at any rate to Orthodoxy.

Now, then, what is the summing up?

Mr. Cook's claimed *science* is *scientism*. His hydra-headed propositional *logic* is *assertion*. His *proof* is *rhetoric*. His *insight* is *perversion*. His *Orthodoxy* is *Cook-ism*. His honesty and fairness in debate are either ignorance, carelessness in the use of authorities, or something which I will not name, but which you can infer for yourselves. He has poured out his reading undigested before the audiences that have gathered around him, as a champion of the old beliefs. He has added hardly one thought of his own that will stand the investigation of a critic. That in him which is true is not new, and that which is new is not true; or, at any rate, if it is, he has utterly failed to prove it.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

ON THE ANNIHILATION OF THE MIND.

BY JOHN TROWBRIDGE,
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS, HARVARD COLLEGE.

There are some subjects which are unapproachable by any of the present methods of scientific investigation; yet the human mind, especially that form of it which is utterly untrained in scientific methods of thought, loves to ponder over the profoundest mysteries, and calls upon Science with an almost imperative tone to solve moral doubts and fears. One of the greatest questions which one finds is perplexing the general reader of popular science, who is also an independent thinker on religious questions, is that of the survival, so to speak, of the human mind and all that betokens the mental and moral power of man after death. The alarming doctrine that the mind and soul are the result of a process of growth in the individual, like physical growth of bone and muscle, and that body and mind increase and decrease together, and are resolved into the elements again at the close of life, is not infrequently put forward by materialists. It is maintained, further, that the belief in immortality is largely a matter of education, notwithstanding the evidence which is brought forward to prove that even uncivilized nations have a belief in deities and a future life. To the materialist, the picture presented by the unwrapping of a Peruvian family burial-sack, with its young and old mummies, and its collection of pottery and a bag of grain to help the disembodied spirits on their way to a happier hunting-ground, is pathetic only because it seems a hopeless superstition. What kind of a soul, it is asked, has the Digger Indian who is hardly more intelligent than a wild animal? If he has a mind and soul, so has my dog. No; what we call the soul is a cultivated state or condition which perishes like a highly-disciplined adaptation of the muscles of the body which a gymnast possesses. It is a state of crystallization; it is a reaction or interaction of atoms consequent upon physical growth. When the body dies, the mind and its attributes perish. Such utter disbelief in the great doctrine of the resurrection is hard to combat; for, even among scientific thinkers, the class of men who do not become attached to the cast-iron ways down which thought has traveled to them is small. A logician who sets his mental machinery in motion, and then steps to one side to scrutinize its defects and limitations, is rare. To hint that there may be higher processes of logic than those generally accepted, implies the possession of a scientific mind, to say the least, not of a quantitative cast. It has seemed to the writer that a discussion of the idea of the degradation of spiritual energy, so to speak, would not be an unprofitable or irreverent subject from the purely scientific point of view. A little thought will convince one that no transformation of energy can take place in Nature without degradation or dissipation of it. In order to generate steam we must expend the energy stored up in the coal; and in its turn the steam in doing work passes from a hotter state to a colder one. A fresh supply of energy is needed in order to enable the cold body to do work again. There is a tendency to a uniform diffusion of heat, or to a degradation of energy.

In the process of physical growth and decay, the doctrine of the conservation of force, and the degradation of energy, is clearly exemplified. What the body receives from the sun in the process of growth is given back, transformed, to the earth. At death the physical being undergoes a chemical change; and the earth and air recall to themselves their respective portions. Here there is an equivalent rendering of matter. If the soul and mind have been the result of a process of growth, the entire potential energy of the living unit has not been ac-

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counted for in the final dissolution. The song of a bird can be resolved into waves of motion which, although they cease after a moment, and the consequent vibrations of the human ear die away, are still exerting an influence upon matter. Babbage, in his "Bridgewater Treatise," has drawn a powerful picture of the possible permanence of the motion which has been communicated to the ether by the tones of a human voice, and shows that it may not be impossible to believe that the eloquence of Demosthenes still continues in some form of motion. So we can believe that the physical effects of a bird's song can remain forever impressing some form of motion upon matter. Besides the physical vibrations which the song communicated to the human ear, it has so impressed the mind that, after the lapse of years, the repetition of the same notes can call up innumerable memories of deeds and a thousand pictures of the past. In the mind of the poet it may be the one detached note from which he can construct a song of home which can serve to arouse the ardor of the Christian Slav against the Turk, and store up a fearful potential energy which by its fall can destroy entire nations. Here we have, in the transformation of the vibrations of sound to another form of energy, a continual degradation of energy; but we may have by the same means an exaltation of spiritual potential energy which is unexplained by our doctrine of the conservation of force, and seems to require the incoming of another element in our calculations. Where does appear the force of mind, the high courage, which can enable a feeble body to maintain a high potential energy out of the same physical materials which contribute to the formation of the sluggishness of others? It may be answered: What makes the difference between the energy of the blooded hunter and that of the dray-horse? Where does the difference appear in the final dissolution? With this latter question we immediately perceive the difference between the degradation of energy which accompanies that which recalls life, and that which is manifested in the combinations of matter. Gunpowder, fired by the concentrated rays of the sun, leaves only ashes and a rapidly-disappearing veil of smoke. It has impressed upon the ether vibrations which are forever undergoing rapid transformations: In regard to its physical nature it goes from inertness to inertness. A current of electricity is maintained by chemical action which takes place in a voltaic cell. As long as this action continues, the current can exercise its functions. When the potential energy of the chemical activity falls, the current dies away. From the earth the gunpowder can be reconstructed with exactly the same characteristics. From the earth, beings endowed with life can be created by a process which is far beyond our ken, yet the new creations are never exact reproductions. We are forced to acknowledge that there must be something which is called the principle of life. If there is such a principle, does it die at the physical death of each individual? If so, we must modify the all-embracing scope of the doctrine of the conservation of force and its non-annihilation. When a body loses its heat, or its electrical charge, we can readily form the equation of transformation. With matter endowed with life we must join, by an additive or subtractive sign, an unknown function which we may term the life-function. In discussing such an equation of transformation of energy, we must refuse to admit such a term depending on the life-function, on the ground that we are dealing with matter and material forces, and that there is no energy distinct from that communicated by chemical processes. Or we must admit it; and make some assumption which can just as well be made in reference to its spiritual or non-physical nature as in regard to the peculiar relations which different organic compounds may maintain toward each other. The first step leaves an hiatus in our expression for the transformation of energy, and the second gives a choice of belief.

It may seem to some that the doctrine of Darwin is capable of being extended to intellectual philosophy; and, as certain animal types fail to flourish and perpetuate themselves because the conditions are not propitious, so we can admit the possibility that the South Sea cannibal is endowed with a mind or soul germ which could be developed if the right conditions were at hand. In chemistry we find many substances which are apparently identical in composition, but which possess diverse qualities. Certain conditions are requisite to produce different states of the same compound. If these conditions are not fulfilled, the required combination is not made. With the cannibal our equation of the conservation of force would require a small term to represent the mind and soul, but a comparatively large one, it may be, to account for that stress of the particles, so to speak, which manifests itself as life. The source of the physical energy is the sun's heat. Looking, therefore, at the problem of life and mind from a purely scientific point of view, we seem to require a source from which can come the principle of life, and which can create moral and intellectual growth in suitable soil and under fitting conditions. In the case of the energy derived from the sun's heat we have a cycle of operations in which there is no annihilation of force. If we grant that there is a source of life and mind independent of mere chemical change produced by the sun's heat, and if we adhere to the notion of the conservation of force applied to this principle of life and mind, we are led to adopt the idea of a cycle of operations in which there is no annihilation of spiritual force. The doctrine of the existence of the spirit after physical death seems to me not to be foreign to the scientific ideas of the conservation of force, which have now obtained such complete supremacy in the science of physics; or to the doctrines of Darwin, which are accepted by so large a body of eminent naturalists. Without the sun there would be an annihilation of force. When energy is dissipated, we find the sun exalting it again by processes which we cannot completely follow. The idea of a great source of life and mind, the prototype of our physical sun, which sets in motion a vast scheme for the survival of the fittest, and the exaltation of energy in vast cycles, is not inconsistent with the doctrine of the New Testament, and seems to be required in a philosophical theory which shall endeavor to account for the differences in that great spiritual world which are continually suggested to the human mind by the various types of mental growth.—*Popular Science Monthly for April.*

PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN AMENDMENT MOVEMENT.

CHICAGO, Feb. 24, 1877.

DEAR STATESMAN:—

Only two Christian ministers, of all the large number I have thus far called upon, have declared themselves opposed to the National Reform Movement. One of them, Dr. W. W. Patton, takes squarely the ground of secularism, and opposes not only the Religious Amendment of the United States Constitution, but every law or act of our government which favors Christianity. At a large meeting in Farwell Hall one Sabbath afternoon last fall, this gentleman upheld the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools, and was applauded to the echo by a multitude of the enemies of the Christian religion, and by other secularists. He assured me that his views were gaining ground rapidly among Christians; but I have not met with a single minister of his own church who does not emphatically condemn his course and oppose his philosophy. So far as I can judge, his discourse has opened the eyes of many to the logical results of the secular theory of government.

The other minister to whom I referred above does not oppose the Christian elements of our national life. He most cordially sustains Sabbath laws, Christian education by the State, etc., but regards any clause in the National Constitution authenticating these Christian institutions as oppressive in its character. When I asked him if the religious acknowledgments in our State Constitution were oppressive, he said that was not in point; and again, when I reminded him that the facts of the Bible in the schools and Sabbath laws, and not the authentication of them in the Constitution, must specially touch the infidel or atheist, he said his mind was made up, and he would not argue the question.

With these two exceptions the ministers of all denominations have given me hearty encouragement. Even the comparatively few who have declined to unite in the call for the Convention, have still declared that they sympathize fully with the National Reform Association in a large part of its work; and many of them admitted that they might yet be led to coöperate with it.

Only one man has objected to the distinctively Christian character of the acknowledgment proposed by the National Reform Association. After he had stated his objections, and I had assured him that in this distinctively Christian character of the movement lay its whole power, I frankly told him that I thought he had better not give his signature to the call, and was about to put the document in my pocket, when he insisted on appending his name. I tell every man that his name is not wanted, if he does not cordially approve the objects of the National Reform Association.

I have not yet called on many citizens of Chicago outside of the ministry. John V. Farwell, H. S. Spafford, and Alonzo Abernethy have given their names. The first of these said this was the beginning of a great struggle, especially with Romanism, and he wanted to take his stand. Mr. Spafford is a Pre-millenarian. He has no hope for the reformation of our nation. He is waiting for the coming of Christ in person, when the nation will be destroyed, and not until then does he look for the acknowledgment of the authority of God and Christ and the Bible in the Constitution of our country. At the request of the Hon. Mr. Abernethy, President of the Chicago University, I am to address all the students next Tuesday on the National Reform cause.

The most interesting interview, all things considered, that I have yet had, was with the Hon. J. A. Jameson, of the Superior Court of this city, and author of the celebrated work on *The Constitutional Convention*. Mr. Gault, a lawyer of this city, who has given me efficient aid, introduced me in the court, and I had the opportunity for a very satisfactory conversation. Having understood that Judge Jameson did not favor the Religious Amendment, I was desirous of learning the ground of his opposition, inasmuch as the principles and arguments of his book, in my view, logically lead the other way. The essential point of our conversation was on the expression in the unwritten Constitution, of the connection of our government with Christianity. Judge Jameson in his book, as readers of the *Statesman* will remember, carefully distinguishes between written and unwritten Constitutions, and insists that in any case where the written instrument does not express and authenticate what is vital in the unwritten Constitution, the former must be amended to conform to the latter. I asked him if Christianity was not a vital fact in our unwritten Constitution, and urged that, according to his own argument, the written Constitution of the United States should be amended to conform to that essential fact. He replied that it was such a fact as did not require expression. Let me suppose by way of analogy, he continued, that the people of Illinois are forming a Constitution. Here are the facts of her broad prairies, her system of rivers, etc., entering into her vital, unwritten Constitution. They do not need expression and authentication. So with the connection of our government, as a fact with Christianity. I respectfully suggested that the facts of prairie lands, rivers, etc., were physical matters, which no human enactments could annihilate. But the existing Christian elements of our national life run in the sphere of morals,—facts which might cease to be matters of vitality. The former class of material facts did not come within the scope of the principle of his own argument, as it viewed such facts as, if not expressed and authenticated, would sooner or later disappear. And hence the analogy would not hold. He admitted that he had greatly modified his opposition to the movement; when I insisted that he must choose between authenticating our Christian institutions of government in the National Constitution, and letting them be gradually disintegrated and destroyed, he said he might yet be convinced of the necessity of the National Reform Movement. But at present he was content to leave things as they are.

Bishop McLaren, after carefully considering the whole subject, decided to coöperate with the National Reform Association. He had always opposed secularism, but had never before been called upon to decide in regard to the religious amendment of the Constitution. He gave me a copy of a sermon preached by him at the last Commencement at Racine College, which I forward for the readers of the *Statesman*.

In another letter I may refer to points of conversation with lawyers on whom I have called.

DAVID MCALLISTER.

—*Christian Statesman, March 15th.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

TWO PREACHERS.

Two preachers touched my soul one night;
Both woke within me earnest thought;
One charmed by Fancy's airy flight,
One bitter anguish wrought.

The first, 'neath frescoed, fretted roof,
With flowers making sweet the air,
On ornate dais stood aloof,
And uttered praiseful prayer.

He thanked his God, in mankind's name,
For light, for life, for home, and friends,
For all that through our sensuous frame
A thrill of gladness sends.

And then he spoke, in choicest phrase,
Of fruitful earth and glorious heaven,
Of love that guardeth all our ways,
Of pardon freely given.

And, listening in a cushioned pew,
Wrapped in a dreamful, dazy mist
Of music, lights, and warmth, I grew
A sudden optimist.

Wealth, beauty, grace, and culture rare,
Proud faces fashioned fair by fate,
Filled up the pews—no hint was there
Of misery, want, or hate.

The world *was* fair—and God *did* reign,—
So ran my musings glad and sweet,
As at the organ's grand refrain
We surged into the street.

Into the street! 'Twas here I found
The preacher who spoke words of woe;
The stars shone fierce above—around
All things were draped in snow.

And bitter was the north wind's rage,
Yet thin-clad forms went hurrying on,—
Forms bent with toil, disease, and age,
From whom all joy seemed gone.

And baby-voices begged for bread,
And voices rude made night more drear,
With oaths enforcing words of dread;
I wondered—was God near?

And maddened men went reeling by
To homes where wives, with inward moan,
Hushed childhood's quick, impatient cry
And hunger's fretful tone.

And by the street-lamp's flickering glare
I glimpses caught of faces bold,—
Girl-faces, whose defiant stare
Their dismal story told.

From sights and sounds like these—not creeds—
Did this strange preacher preach to me,
His sermon was on human needs;
His name—Humanity!

And this the moral that he drew:
That man for men in larger sense
Become—what Heaven fails to do—
A loving Providence.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 12.

A. Bauman, $2; J. Dixon, 10 cents; G. M. Tuttle, 35 cents; James Eddy, $20; A. C. Edmands, $5; D. M. Bennett, 45 cents; C. Bonsall, Jr., $10; G. Chatterton, $1.75; Martha White, $1; J. W. Graffam, $1.60; Miss L. M. Child, $3.20; J. B. Bassett, $6.65; Mrs. S. A. Woods, $5; J. D. Maxfield, $3.20; L. T. Ives, $3.25; W. A. Abbot, $3.25; L. G. Bardwell, $75 cents; George Stickney, $2; Dr. J. Harmon, $6.40; Mrs. M. M. Ballou, $25; Miss E. J. Leonard, $3; Dr. E. B. Foote, $3; Dr. E. H. Bradford, $1; D. B. Sparks, $3.25; Jane E. Curtis, $1.60; H. J. Chase, $3.20; Mrs. Dr. J. Hogeboom, $3.20; Dr. D. K. Boutelle, $3.20; George W. Fletcher, $3.20; D. Lyman, $10; Dr. C. H. Horsch, $5; J. W. Bartlett, $5; Delano Patrick, $3.20; Cash, 50 cents; J. S. Cox, $3.20.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 17, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FENY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

THE ADJOURNED MEETING of May 12, referred to a fortnight ago, was held in this city as announced. The committee appointed on April 28 made their report. The result of the meeting was that THE INDEX will be continued another year under its present management, while a vigorous attempt will be made to carry out the suggestions of the original circular calling the meeting.

THE INVETERACY of superstition is amusingly illustrated in these rather astonishing remarks which we cut from a copy of the New Zealand *Christian Record*, published at Dunedin, Feb. 17, 1877: "Professor Huxley has been lecturing in America on Evolution. The lectures did not excite much interest. [!] Two of our newspapers refer to him in the following terms: 'Professor Huxley has come and seen, lectured and gone. To build so revolutionary a theory, in the name of science, upon the 'toes' and 'shinbones' of four or five geological horses, which did unquestionably resemble each other, but with certain curious differences, demonstrates, first of all, an ease of credulity to which the Christian belief in miracles bears no comparison. Really, from this foremost popular advocate of the materialistic evolutionism we had looked for something stronger. Even the alarmed Dr. Blauvelt ought to breathe more freely.' Another paper says: 'It seems to be pretty clearly established that the visit of the great scientist to our country was a failure. We are really no wiser than before his coming; our favorite doctrines are no less dear to us; our confidence in the Word of God, and the Divine plan for the salvation of lost man, is no less than when Professor Huxley set foot upon our shores.'"

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held at No. 35 Monroe Street, Toledo, Ohio, on Saturday, June 2, 1877, at half-past two o'clock, in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 31st, at 7.45 P. M., business session in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and consideration of the practical work of the Association. A special discussion is also invited on the proper interpretation of the word "scientific" in the first article of the Constitution of the Association.

Friday, June 1st, at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for Essays and Addresses. Morning subject: "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom." Essayist—Rev. Wm. R. Alger, of New York. Afternoon subject: "Internal Dangers of Free Thought." Essayist—C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, N.Y. Among the speakers invited whose attendance we have reason to expect are Prof. Felix Adler, of New York; Rabbi Lasker, of Boston; Wm. Henry Channing, of England; Rev. Dr. Dudley, of Boston; and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois. Further announcements hereafter, especially in the Boston dailies.

A Social Festival is to be held Friday evening at Horticultural Hall. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. There will be brief speeches, music, conversation, refreshments, and a chance to contribute to the Treasury of the Association.

W. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

THE "AUTHORITY" OF SCIENCE.

The disintegrating influence of science upon Christianity has been tremendous, and appears nowhere more conspicuously than in the ground-and-lofty-tumbling of such anomalous acrobats as Joseph Cook, who presents a somewhat curious phenomenon to the student of the times. What with his tomahawk and his skin-tights, it is a difficult problem to decide whether he should be classed with theological braves on the war-path, or perhaps more scientifically referred to the species of circus-clown. It is at least patent that the belligerent and the ridiculous enter into his composition in about equal proportions. Bustling before the public as the champion of Orthodoxy, he yet pretends to plant himself squarely upon the "scientific method" and the "nature of things"! Notwithstanding the noise he makes, there is very little importance in his inflated and obstreperous Philistinism. He will yet be found out to be a more dangerous enemy to Orthodoxy than anybody outside its lines, because, while he vociferates the old doctrines with a bluster that fairly stuns, he has learned just enough science to know that he can no longer do it in the name of the old authorities, and has not the sense or art to keep this perilous secret to himself. For a time it may dazzle and delight his not overbright audiences to see Orthodoxy tricked out, like the jackdaw in the fable, with the peacock's plumes; but when the peacocks appear to strip the pretender, and the misbehaving old bird is pecked to death by her new associates, the poor blunderer who got her into the scrape will need to be rescued from his own backers. The only permanent lesson of the whole farce is that Orthodoxy, if Joseph Cook is voted Orthodox, gives up the Bible as her ultimate ground of certitude, and professes to plant herself on the "scientific method." The mischief, once consummated, can never be repaired. The "scientific method" will not be hurt in the least; but Orthodoxy, striving to steal its prestige in violation of her own organic necessities, is simply cutting her own throat.

The impossibility of reëstablishing the tottering dogmas of the Church on a scientific basis, which will prove to be the only final or lasting result of such desperate experiments as the Monday lectureship, raises a natural question whether the scientific method will in the end show itself equally incompatible with religious ideas in general. On this point no wise thinker will dogmatize. We are fully persuaded in our own mind that the methods and principles of scientific investigation, modified as they always are by the nature of the subjects investigated, constitute the only means we possess of arriving at objective truth in any direction; that this means must yet, in the progress of knowledge, be applied to the highest problems of human thought; and that no opinions can ultimately hold their place in human belief, unless authenticated in this manner. Nor is this all. There is a *spirit of the ages*, no less than a *spirit of the age*—a certain general drift and tendency of human thought manifested in human history as a whole, and independent of the temporary fluctuations or oscillations of it which characterize special periods in this general history. While we admit unreservedly that the spirit of this age, as represented by its most advanced scientific men, exhibits a certain bias towards materialism,—while we see a sufficient reason for this bias in the fact that science is still so young, and has not yet fairly entered upon the study of other than purely physical phenomena,—we discern in human history on the whole a profound and ever-growing emphasis of *purely moral values*, which points to a counter-movement in the future, when science shall have finally established the supremacy of her own method in the higher departments of human inquiry. Nay, even in the present, there are most significant signs that a reaction against excessive materialism is setting in already—notably the gradual changes that are coming over the materialistic theory itself. The materialism of the nineteenth century differs widely from that of the eighteenth, and the change is all in the direction of a spiritual philosophy of the universe. The destruction of the old Christian distinction between "natural" and "supernatural" leaves man, *mind and all*, an integral part of Nature; it begins to be seen and acknowledged that more cannot be evolved out of a thing than it originally contained; and man's moral and spiritual consciousness, for which in vain is an explanation sought in molecular motions, has got to be accounted for *on cosmical grounds*.

It is therefore no lurking remnant of inherited dogmatism, but at least an honest tentative application of the scientific method to the subject-matter of religious ideas, that leads us to look hopefully on the extension of the scientific method to all possible problems. This extension is inevitable at last—of that fact no doubt remains to us; but all apprehension as to the ultimate effect of it upon religious belief disappears in the certainty that it can bring only a profounder, intenser, and more intelligent appreciation of *man's moral consciousness as a cosmical, and not merely an individual, fact.* In other words, the scientific method, bringing all verified phenomena into relation with each other as parts of one omnicoherent system, must in due time relate man's moral or spiritual being to the universe as a whole, and lay the foundation of a new philosophy in which moral consciousness shall hold the central place,—not as an unrelated fact of merely human significance, but rather as a fact related to every other in the universe, and presenting the only position-point whence the universe can be apprehended as a unit. Science cannot stop short of such a philosophy as that, however little inclined physicists may be at present to recognize the legitimacy of an extension of her method to regions with which they are not familiar. Fortunately, nobody is able to direct the progress of human knowledge in the path of his own preconceptions; the human mind is greater than any man, moves by laws which no generation fully illustrates, and cannot be even measurably understood except by those whose vision sweeps over the whole of its recorded past. If this wide survey teaches anything, it would seem to be the fact that religious ideas, transient in form, have been permanent in substance, and that science with her careful method, instead of destroying them altogether, is likely to bring out the truth they contain all the more clearly and beautifully by disengaging it from the superstitions that have so long enwrapped it.

This line of thought is sure to be welcomed by those who look eagerly and anxiously into the future to discern what changes science is yet to work upon the venerable religious beliefs of the past. It is easy to decide off-hand that religion itself is superstition; it is difficult to make the exact discriminations which truth and genuine culture require. Knowing that mankind have no real or permanent interest in the perpetuation of error, it is well for those who love truth supremely to scrutinize the tendencies of the age in the light of still larger tendencies, to keep an open mind, and to cherish a fearless confidence that in religion, as in everything else, science is only accurate knowledge, and that knowledge bears only a blessing in its bosom. The ancient authorities on which the world has leaned, as every penetrating mind perceives, are melting away; it is certain that the reign of pure individualism, which is nothing but intellectual anarchy and confusion, is to be a brief one. What is the great, new authority that is destined to govern the religious thinking of the instructed and emancipated human mind? Eccentricities and idiosyncrasies will not meet the demands of the situation; merely subjective faiths, hopes, fears, intuitions, valid for the individual alone and incommunicable to others, will not redeem human society from the reproach and pain of a general mental lawlessness, or permanently satisfy even the individual himself. There must yet be developed a new and universally recognized authority which shall at once guarantee the absolute freedom of individual thought, and yet establish and preserve the conditions of a true spiritual solidarity of the race. Where shall it be found?

If it can be found anywhere but in the scientific method, we long to learn where. This method has been proved adequate in most important matters to create *unity of thought on the ground of ascertained truth* throughout the civilized world. In many other matters, even more important, no such unity has as yet been reached; but it should be expected that new questions will always continue to arise, as answers to preceding questions take one by one their place in science as undisputed verities. It is no diminution of the glory of Science to confess that she has not yet mastered infinite truth. The fact remains that a vast body of acquired truths has been organized under the name of science, and that no one who patiently studies them can doubt their validity; they force themselves on credence whenever the grounds on which they rest are once understood. It is the method of science, then, which alone offers *unity of thought on the basis of perfect freedom.* To include religion under this method is only to say in other words that religion offers truth to be known; while to refuse to include it is to confess that religion deals only with phantoms and unrealities. No greater service could possibly be rendered to mankind than to persuade them to discard all the old,

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cramping, arbitrary, tyrannical authorities, and to accept this beneficent new authority of science as the common appeal in religious controversies. Oceans of human blood would have been spared, if the world had only learned this transcendent lesson two thousand years ago. How often has THE INDEX been blamed for being "destructive," and not "constructive"! And what a satire on the intelligence of those who made it has this criticism been! To establish the method of science as the common appeal in all questions of religious truth has been our unremitted effort from the very beginning of this paper,—aye, and years before. No constructive work in religion, surely no creed-building, can be compared to it one instant in world-wide importance. Yet this work of construction has been going on under the very eyes and noses of the critics, and scarce one of them has seen anything but "destruction" in it! The most thoroughly positive and constructive work that is possible in this age has been the never-forgotten object of THE INDEX from its birth; and the stale complaint has gone up all the while, "Why don't you construct?" "Why don't you construct?" "Why don't you construct?" O blind generation, what could one do more in beneficent construction than he who toils faithfully to build a new and better highway to religious truth?

That, and no less, is the authority of the scientific method in religion.

A charmingly ingenuous letter on "The Scientific Method not the Sole Authority in Religion," by Rev. S. P. Putnam, will be found on a succeeding page of this paper. Mr. Putnam has often contributed to these columns, and always with the same candor, earnestness, and courtesy which characterize this communication. What we have written above has more or less relation to the same general subject; but it is due to Mr. Putnam to notice the special points of his letter.

1. It is perfectly true that, in all questions of objective truth, we acknowledge the "authority of science" as superior to that of any individual conclusion. But before there is any "new protestantism to protest against the new claim," it will be necessary to understand this claim fully, and thereby avoid a mortifying blunder. The authority of science is simply *reason;* not the individual reason of A or of B or of C, not the aggregate reason of A + B + C, but the authority of reason itself, as the supreme prerogative of universal mind. That is to say, the FACTS OF THE UNIVERSE AND THE LAWS OF THOUGHT are the ultimate tribunal on all questions of truth or error; and any man or body of men claiming to represent these must, in order to establish the claim, prove it to the satisfaction of the world's intelligence. The "authority of science" is not that of any conclave of *savans*—much less that of any individual *savant*, however eminent or renowned. The decisions of all such have been often overruled by their better instructed successors; and the one far-seeing mind which proclaims truths in advance of its own generation suffers no repression or discouragement from the "authority of science," which is as certainly on the side of the strongest arguments as Providence is on the side of the heaviest battalions. It is impossible to "protest against the authority of science" except in profound ignorance of what it is; for it is only the authority of knowledge. Surely no man protests against that. If he does, no external power of any sort will interfere with him in the slightest degree; but he will literally "make a fool of himself"—that is, set up his own mere ignorant whim or caprice or superstition against the known truth of things. When Pastor Knaak protests against the authority of science by denying the Copernican theory in the broad daylight of this age, the world only laughs; it does not domineer or persecute. Mr. Putnam is very courageous, and means to avow his allegiance to truth as he sees it; he surely cannot mean, however, to set this *truth as he sees it* above the *truth as it is*, or to affirm that the latter must necessarily agree with the former. The only possible way to protest against the authority of science is to set up a claim of absolute infallibility somewhere, either in other men or in oneself. Science substitutes the simple authority of truth for that of all imagined infallible tribunals, and nobody who understands the difference will dream of disputing the propriety of the substitution—nay, its necessity for all who are reasonable and instructed. The only "protestantism" against her authority appears already in the infallibilists of all sorts. To run away from Reason is simply to run back to Rome.

2. Art and poetry have their own special standards, which are not involved in the least in this discussion. Their function is not like that of science, to determine objective truth, but rather to clothe imagination with beauty of form and expression. Nevertheless, just so far as objective truth is involved in their creations, art and poetry are subject to the authority of science. Rubens, for instance, made his lion pictures utter artistic failures by his gross ignorance of the lion's form. The same is true of religion. Just so far as this is feeling or sentiment only, it has no direct relation to truth as such; but just so far as objective truth is involved, it cannot escape the rightful jurisdiction of science. Religious ideas claim to interpret the highest truth of things, do they not? Would they possess value in any one's estimation, if they made no such claim? It is only at this point that science asserts her jurisdiction; and the discussion will escape confusion if this is carefully borne in mind.

No—there is and can be no "civil war in science," though unsettled questions among scientific men will doubtless continue to exist until they become gradually settled. The discarded title of an old lecture—discarded because found to be liable to misconstruction—does not need to be here considered. But Mr. Putnam very properly inquires how unsettled questions are settled by scientific men themselves,—what tribunal they appeal to in case of difference. Briefly, they appeal to further experiment, continued investigation, prolonged discussion; they treat no question as finally closed so long as two sides are left to it. When one side convinces all the well-informed, and the other side is fairly silenced by argument and evidence, the question closes itself. There is no *arbitrary* authority in science; and there is no sort of compulsion in it but that of facts—which any one is at liberty to dispute if he pleases, though with small prospect of an audience. The question—"Can there be a philosophy of the infinite?"—is simply one of the questions which remain still open; that is all. The fact of its openness proves nothing against the scientific method, by which it will probably be closed at last. "Individual sentiment" [opinion?] has full play and free sweep; nobody is obliged to sacrifice a jot of his own conviction, but may hold to his own position as tenaciously as he pleases, and argue for it as long as he can or can find listeners. This absolute freedom of individual thought is the great safeguard of truth, and the scientific method is wholly built upon it as its first principle. No scientific man is ever "shut up" except by manifest facts against which he cannot contend. But, however stubborn individuals may be in pleading lost causes in science, they cannot keep questions open after enough is evidently known to close them; reasonable minds become convinced of reason's decision in the case, and turn their attention to other problems. That is the way in which all "civil war in science" is made impossible; freedom of discussion at last elicits manifest truth, and manifest truth compels all intelligent minds to bow before it. This objective standard—reference to the truth of things outside of one's own "individual sentiment"—is that which gives her immeasurable superiority to science, as compared with the individualist's "sentiment" or "intuition."

4. It is not necessary to postpone all opinion on the unsettled questions of science—notably this one touching the possibility of a philosophy of the infinite,—until all scientific men are agreed about them. Each mind has an undoubted right to judge the case for itself, and come to its own independent conclusions, and plead for them as earnestly as it pleases. There is nothing in the scientific method to forbid this. But so long as intelligent men are divided in opinion on any widely debated question, the dogmatic spirit should be conspicuous only by its absence. Let each apply the scientific method as best he can, and form his own conclusions. But then let him hold them as the conclusions of a fallible mortal, not as those of an infallible Pope. Mr. Putnam says: "Faith has been too imperious, and overstepped its bounds. Let not science commit the same mistake. You object to the Lordship of Christ; I object equally to the Lordship of the scientific method." Faith is still too imperious, if it drives so honest a mind to protest against the authority of science, which is only the authority of reason and truth and knowledge. Does he really mean to shut his eyes desperately to *any facts*, in order to cling to what he himself suspects to be *dreams?* Millions do this, it must be confessed. There are some, however, who do better than that, and follow truth with steadfast loyalty. Science asks nothing but this alone.

5. We admit that most persons at the present day follow the method of theology and the method of science with vacillating, irresolute, alternate allegiance. That accounts fully for the existing chaos of religious belief. Such riding of two horses, however, is perilous for most, and not admirable in any. Greater courage and greater clearness enable one to choose which king they will follow, Tradition or Truth.

6. Any "kind of a reason" is "scientific," if it is a real reason. We should not say, however, that the fact of the mere existence of a belief is any evidence at all of its truth. Life has been made "happy and beautiful" by many delusions; and this subjective effect of a belief is no test whatever of its correspondence with reality. Alas, it is not without sacrifices, inward and outward alike, that any one can even in this age follow the ideal of the True with inexorable and unseducible fidelity. Nevertheless, our unbought reverence goes out to all who can thus live by the highest law in the midst of thousands who despise it.

"THE PRESIDENTIAL POLICY."

This term appears just now to be coming into use again. It is one that does not fall altogether pleasantly upon the ears of those who retain vivid recollections of its association with Andrew Johnson's administration. Indeed it is already affirmed by some that an analogy exists, in respect to its employment, in the two instances. But is not this a premature conclusion? And after all, when it comes to the question whether the President is entitled to a purpose or views of his own as to shaping the course of the government, or should be without any and at the mercy of the politicians who may chance to environ him and wheedle him this way and that at their pleasure, as has been sometimes done, there are few reasonable persons who would hesitate to decide which is better. But with the distinguished historic example before them, referred to, it is not easy to assure every one that this is all which the term at present implies.

The difference between the policy of Andrew Johnson and Rutherford B. Hayes consists in this, apparently, that the former lent the influence and support of his position to the men who aimed to denationalize the country, while the latter strives to bring his administration into accord with an enlightened spirit of nationalism. The one was the ally of the acrimonious prejudices and senseless antipathies of Southern sectionalism; the other is the conservator of freedom and the united interests of the country.

The charge is made that President Hayes has proved recreant to his party; that he has betrayed the lately emancipated race and their friends into the hands of their enemies. It is true that some circumstances in connection with the case assume a rather questionable appearance. We confess we do not sympathize very heartily with the bargaining mode of effecting political adjustments. It looks as if there had been more of this procedure in securing the succession to the Presidential office in this last instance than one inclined to scrupulousness of conscience is prepared readily to commend. How far President Hayes should be held accountable for this procedure, if such there was,—how far the course of his administration is simply the fulfilment of a promise to pay for goods delivered, the stipulated return for the purchase negotiated by his agents of certain electoral votes,—is not obvious. It is announced as a rebuttal to such prejudicial insinuations in respect to the new President that he is only striving to put into effect long-cherished convictions with reference to Southern affairs; and the probabilities of the case render this plausible, to say the least.

The administration of President Grant opened with the exclamation, "Let us have peace!" But progress in that direction has neither been rapid nor assuring. It has been becoming more and more apparent that, untrustworthy and ill-deserving as were those who formerly held the reins of power, things were no better than they ought to be in the hands of those to whom they had newly fallen. Republicanism at the South has shown itself as dexterous as Democracy at the North in the arts through which the latter has won its worst distinction. Two irreconcilable parties at the South, with distinctly antagonistic purposes and antecedents, were arrayed against each other. On the one side were those who had been the dominant class, including for the most part the wealth, education, and social influence of the locality; on the other, a class of new-comers whom the changes of the war had drifted thither through the inducements offered of extraordinary opportunities for emolument and political distinction, and the recently emancipated race as their dupes and allies, constituting in most instances together a pre-

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ponderating political power. In two of the States there were rival governors and legislatures, each strenuously seeking 'to displace the other with no prospect on either side of an abandonment of their claims. United States troops were already on the spot ostensibly for the maintenance of law and order, but practically to give countenance and strength to the party of the National Executive. But neither party superiority nor law and order can be permanently sustained by force in a country in which the people have been educated as ours have been; the policy, therefore, of President Grant, or his administration, offered but little promise of success. Indeed it had effected nothing in the way of reconciliation, but seemed rather to be widening the existing division at the South. It was evident that the exigencies of the case demanded a new departure, a bold, decisive, and judicious mode of dealing with the difficulties involved, unlike any that had hitherto been adopted. The one which President Hayes has resorted to may not be the one which our predispositions would have inclined us to for the settlement of affairs. It may seem like a too summary and easy wiping out of the memories of past offences, or like too much dilution of justice with mercy. But nevertheless, if it succeeds in giving us prosperous order for anarchy and the general derangement of society, we must be willing to surrender our cherished abstractions and punctilios, and shall rejoice at last in the results of a wisdom that was superior to our own.

We believe that the years which have passed since the close of the Southern rebellion have not been wholly in vain to the people of that section; that, like the rest of us, they have been learning a good many things; that, while much of the barbarous effect of the old institution still survives there, and will inhere in the character of the people for a long time to come, they are gradually coming to a knowledge and clear perception of the inevitable, and are willing to act accordingly; that the negro is henceforth to be an important factor in their social and political life, and that it is their interest, no less than his, to protect him in his natural rights and educate him for the duties of citizenship. To encourage, develop, and assist this spirit, which we believe to be beginning to manifest itself at the South with increasing clearness and positiveness, is the aim, if we rightly apprehend it, of President Hayes' policy. Whatever may be our judgment or views of the means employed, it is our conviction that his intentions will compare favorably with those of the worthiest that have occupied his position. Since the auspices are so favorable, let us not hesitate to sanction his experiment. D. H. C.

Communications.

THE "SCIENTIFIC METHOD" NOT THE SOLE AUTHORITY IN RELIGION.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Rejecting the scientific method as the *sole* authority in religion, I write to state some objections as they lie in my mind. I am in thorough agreement with yourself in rejecting the other authorities you mention; and would labor to strip them of the power over human thought and action which has been so strenuously claimed for them.

1. But it strikes me that you substitute another authority: and so there must be a new protestantism to protest against the new claim. I can no more submit my whole belief to science than to Church or Intuition; that is, so far as these are *outside* of me. I am willing to submit to my own individual science or reasoning about things. But, as I understand it, the science you speak of is not this or that man's science, but universal science, to which I cannot submit all my faith and hope, and I would protest as strongly against its authority in religion as against that of the Pope. I have that within which cannot be verified by science any more than by the Church. It is an indefinable light and glory which cannot be transferred into another's mind for examination. It cannot be made sensible to universal science. It cannot be compared, analyzed, or classified. Nothing outside of me can pass upon its validity. Only my own being can judge of its inexpressible reality.

2. As the artist's and poet's soul cannot submit altogether to critical canons, though one may acknowledge their value and follow them to a certain extent, so man's religious impulse cannot flow altogether in the channels of the scientific method, though the vast importance of that method may be acknowledged. Who would read a poet whose verses were moulded altogether by the voice of criticism? Would not his books remain on the dusty shelves of libraries? If the soul of poetry and art will not be confined by outward rules, neither will the soul of religion. It may ask the help of science, but it will not plead with science for leave to exist. Its life is original with itself, and its claim to fundamental reality is as valid as that of science.

3. You affirmed a "civil war" in free religion. Is there not a "civil war" in science itself? Is there not a vast conflict going on among those who adopt the scientific method as the sole authority, as to what shall be the *sweep* of that method; a conflict as impossible to close as that between Science and Intuition? Does not this question confront science: "Can there be a philosophy of the Infinite?" Has a united answer been given? Do not the keenest scientific intellects differ? You come to one conclusion, Spencer to another. Both adopt the scientific method as the sole authority, yet one answers "yes," the other "no." *How is this question to be finally settled, seeing that the scientific method is at war with itself?* What tribunal is to decide? What is it that induces one to carry the sweep of the scientific method into the consideration of the Infinite. Not that method itself, for many who adopt that method, of the first order of intellect, refuse so to carry it. *Is it not one's individual sentiment?* I ask you to consider this question, Why is it that you affirm a philosophy of the Infinite and Spencer denies it, when both are thoroughly committed to the same method? Is not the difference founded upon difference of original sentiment? Here, therefore, is a question of the first importance, decided not by science but by sentiment. I do not see how you can help admitting this. At least I am curious to know how you will reply, and how you will settle this "civil war" in the very ranks of those who adopt the scientific method.

4. While science is dubious, and likely to be for ages to come, on so vast a subject, not giving a clear, united answer to our longing cry, "Is there a philosophy of the Infinite?" are we not justified in refusing to put into its hands the fate of our best thought and hope? I accept science as a helper; I am willing to submit all questions of pure relation to its tribunal. In these it must have a far ampler play than heretofore, and you do not overrate its benefits; but I cannot accept it as decisive of my attitude towards the Infinite and absolute. Faith has been too imperious, and overstepped its bounds. Let not science commit the same mistake. You object to the Lordship of Christ; I object equally to the lordship of the scientific method.

5. I have read your answer to Mr. Mills, and agree with you in your estimate of the Transcendental method, and am glad that you have dealt it such vigorous blows; for it is certainly dogmatism to assume that one's individual interpretation of consciousness is a universal law of mind. Still I do not wish to adopt any method as *sole* authority. I think that religion is somewhat, though not altogether, *individual*. There is a belief in one's soul absolutely *incommunicable*. Now science, as I understand it, deals with what is *universally cognizable*,—with what can be compared, analyzed, and classified by *different* minds. If, then, I have in my mind a belief that cannot be "bodied forth" to another, how can science judge of that belief? Do you mean to say that, if I have an individual belief that cannot be brought before the tribunal of science, therefore I must reject it? Then I should differ, for I claim the right to hold an *unverifiable* belief; and so long as I do not insist on others holding it, and do not the less respect their moral and intellectual worth for not holding it, I think I am in accord with Free Religion.

6. In your article on "Freedom and Faith," you say that scientific faith is that which can opine a reason for itself. But you do not say what *kind* of a reason is scientific. Now I have in my mind a belief which cannot be proved or disapproved by science. I hold it because it makes life happy and beautiful, full of meaning and power; this is my only reason for holding it,—that it comes into my life with such unutterable joy. This is not a *theological* faith. Is it scientific? Is the fact that a belief makes life immeasurably grand to me individually, a good and sufficient reason for clinging to it, though I cannot demonstrate it by the scientific method?

Yours inquiringly, S. P. PUTNAM.

DID LIFE ORIGINATE IN THE TROPICS?

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Evidence, as is well known, is a thing of degrees. While it is true that a proposition cannot be considered as properly an acquired scientific truth until it has been demonstrated by existing facts, by experiment, or at least by a chain of reasoning so satisfactory to the logical mind as to exclude the possibility or the probability of antagonistic theories, yet science recognizes hypotheses about the causes of existing conditions in Nature as a valuable means of ascertaining these causes. It is mainly by reasoning from the known to the unknown that man is enabled to unfold the causes of unexplained phenomena. He uses the ascertained and demonstrated as foundations and stepping-stones to further discovery. In this light hypotheses, if not absolutely belonging to exact science until all the facts bearing upon them agree with them, must yet be recognized as a scientific process,—the only process, sometimes, by which the human mind is enabled to work out the solution of knotty questions, or explain apparent anomalies. I say apparent anomalies, because I do not think that there can be such a thing as a real anomaly, all existing conditions being produced by natural causes only. An anomaly would be the same thing as a miracle. Now, while everything in the natural world is in one sense miraculous or admirable, yet science does not recognize what is understood by the word miracle; that is to say, an effect produced by any other agency than the ever-acting, invariable laws which govern the universe.

The aim of science is to ascertain and apply those laws to all the facts and conditions which claim its observation and study. It is quite certain that to look for the explanation of phenomena to causes independent of or contrary to the laws of Nature, is time absolutely wasted. As it is quite impossible that an effect could be produced without a cause, so it is likewise impossible that the cause could be found outside of the inexorable and invariable laws of Nature; in other words, that the cause could have a miraculous origin. No point is better established than that Nature is never capricious and never tries experiments, but unerringly, unhesitatingly, works out all results in accordance with her laws. Therefore, anomalies are only apparent, not real. When we meet with them, we can only say that their causes are still undiscovered. The object of science is to discover causes and confirm the discovery, whenever possible, by practical experiment. The unravelling of mysteries in Nature is perhaps the noblest ambition of man; he wants to find out the WHY of everything. The world is a sublime puzzle which the highest minds endeavor to solve, and the famous verse of Virgil,—

"Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas!"—

still finds an echo in the human breast.

Trusting that your pages are open to the exposition of all ideas bearing upon the past history of the earth, I send you a few thoughts, as they have occurred to me, about the probable locality of original life on our planet. By the word life, as used in this paper, it is meant to include all living existences, whether animal or vegetable.

The generally accepted belief is that life, having originated in the warmer or tropical regions of the earth, gradually spread on either side of the equator in the direction of the poles. This view, for reasons hereafter given, I conceive to be a mistaken one, and believe that the process must have been precisely the reverse of this; that is to say, that life must have originated toward the poles, and from these, as starting-points, must have gradually spread itself until it met at the equator. This proposition, which may possibly appear to many readers as startling and perhaps wild, I will proceed to elucidate, simply saying that I invite criticism and am ready to yield the point to any course of reasoning founded on natural laws or geological records or evidences disproving its probability or truth. I hope that no one will try to controvert by reasonings resting upon scriptural or traditionary writings,—it being quite clear that no human records are sufficiently ancient to elucidate a process which, if it ever took place at all, must have taken place millions of years ago. It is evident that in discussing this question, geological records and arguments resting upon the laws of Nature must be of greater weight than those founded upon human writings or testimony.

Remains of plants and animals, some of them belonging to species long since extinct, others having their present habitat in tropical climates only, have been found disseminated over parts of the higher latitudes of our planet, showing conclusively that in the long by-gone ages there has been a time when these latitudes enjoyed a tropical climate; that those countries now so barren and inhospitable, covered over their whole extent with perpetual snow and ice, were once the scene of busy tropical life. How came it there?

It does not seem probable or even possible that life, tropical life, could have spread itself into those regions from the regions of the tropics; the difference of mean temperature between the two sections is too great to permit such a supposition. Either the polar regions were too cold for tropical life, or the equatorial zones must have been too hot for any living beings whatever. There are limits, both of heat and cold, beyond which life is destroyed, and is burned out or frozen out.

Various suppositions have been made in the endeavor to account for this apparently inexplicable state in the northern zones, so different from that which prevails there at the present day. The silent witnesses are scattered over the polar regions, telling unmistakably that a torrid climate prevailed at some period of the earth's history in those sections, which are now the seat of intense cold.

Among others, the most generally accepted idea, if I mistake not, is this: that, as a consequence of the active evaporation at the tropics, large quantities of vapor are constantly floated, through the upper atmospheric strata, to the northern zones, and there deposited in steadily-accumulating masses of snow; that this accumulation may, after the lapse of many ages, become sufficient to displace the centre of gravity of the earth, thus causing a gradual change in the direction of its rotation, by which it may eventually revolve in the direction of the poles instead of around its present axis, the poles thus becoming included in the new equatorial line of revolution; and that this change of motion, having already taken place several times during the long successions of ages, might account for the evidences left in the polar regions of a former tropical climate in those regions.

This theory, not entirely devoid of plausibility, appears to be exposed to insuperable objections. It is hard to conceive how accumulations of snow could become sufficiently vast to produce such a result, if we take into consideration the flattened shape of the earth at the poles as one of the elements of the problem. If the difference between the larger and the shorter diameters of the earth be accepted as twenty-six and one-half miles, then a deposit of one-half, or thirteen and one-fourth miles in depth, of glacial masses at each pole would be required to make the earth spherical. This is about three times the height of the loftiest mountains on our globe. But this would be but a small proportion of what would be required to displace the centre of rotation of the earth, that rotation being dependent upon the specific gravity of the mass. Now the density of the earth is five and five-eighths times greater than that of water, and water itself has a somewhat greater specific gravity than ice; therefore, in order to bring the polar regions, by means of snow depos-

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its, to the point at which their weight might be equal to the task of counterbalancing the gravity at the equator, we must suppose a coating over those vast regions equal in depth to seventeen or eighteen times the altitude of the highest mountains on our globe! Even then, the centre of gravity would still continue as at present; there being an equilibrium between the two diameters, a still greater accumulation would be required in order to overcome the original rotary impulse. Nor is this all; another and seemingly fatal objection to this theory lies in the fact that, as ascertained by the barometer, the atmosphere of the earth does not attain a greater altitude than forty miles, and that clouds scarcely reach a greater elevation than one-tenth of this, let us say, in order to be quite liberal, five or six miles, or from twenty-six thousand to thirty-two thousand feet. How can we, then, admit the truth of a theory the main postulate of which would require the floating and deposition of moisture at an elevation above the sea-level of seventy-five or eighty miles, nearly twice as high as any atmosphere is known to exist? It would also seem rational to presume that the centrifugal force would produce a greater depth of atmospheric air over the equatorial than over the polar zones.

It appears to be a universal law, ruling the shapes of the planets we are enabled to observe and study, that they are swelled in the direction of their equators, in a degree proportionate to the rapidity of their revolutions around their axes and their density. The planet Jupiter, whose rapidity of rotation is about twenty-seven times as great as that of the earth, is much more oblate than the latter, the difference being about one-seventeenth of its mean diameter. All the planets appear to rotate perpendicularly to their shortest diameters, the oblateness at their equators being undoubtedly due to the centrifugal force resulting from their rotation at a time when their bodies were in an incandescent or fluid state. If the centre of gravity and the direction of rotation of the earth have ever been different from what we find them to be at the present time, it seems remarkable that the rotation and oblateness should happen to be in such perfect accord as they are now, and as they appear to have been from remote antiquity. The wells of Assuan undoubtedly tell the same tale as in the time of the Pharaohs; the sun continues to strike the bottom at the time of the summer solstice as it did four thousand years ago. There does not seem to be any satisfactory evidence that the earth ever changed its axis of rotation in any important degree. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, the probabilities are in favor of its permanence, with possible unimportant irregularities, from the earliest times when the earth assumed her present shape.

The natural desire of men to ascertain causes has led them to speculate about the origin of our solar system, and about the probable processes through which it assumed its present form and intricate motions. Many speculations have been the consequence of this desire. The most plausible, and therefore the most generally accepted by scientists, is that of Laplace, which supposes that in the vastly remote past matter was disseminated in a vaporous condition throughout space; that, by reason of the attraction of matter for matter, vast portions became detached from the general mass and were left to concentrate; that they assumed a slow rotary motion; that during this process the planets became in their turn detached from the central mass by the action of centrifugal force and were left to revolve in necessarily illiptical orbits around it at various distances, assuming rotations of their own around axes in the direction of the rotation of the original mass from which they were parted or ejected, as well as orbital revolutions; and that this process of concentration of the central mass, now represented by our sun, is still going on; that the original rotary motion of the general mass of detached vapor can alone account for the remarkable fact that all the planets revolve within a narrow zone, more or less perpendicularly to the equator of the central mass and in the same general direction, thus showing a common original force of impulse; that the planets thus left on the way were in a state of intense heat or incandescence, and that on this supposition alone can their spheroidal, instead of spherical, form be accounted for, because, if they had been cold and rigid as the crust of the earth is at the present age, the centrifugal force of rotation would not have been able to cause oblateness; they would be perfectly spherical.

This theory, of which only some points are here quoted from memory, is perhaps the most plausible that has ever been devised. There does not appear to be anything in Nature to clash or conflict with it, and we may consequently assume it to be true. The large number of *nebulæ* disseminated through space which the telescope discloses to our view, some of them, like the great *nebula* in Orion, sufficiently vast to be equal to the production of many scores of such solar systems as our own, seems a corroboration of this view; many of those *nebulæ* appear to be actually in a stage of formation and concentration more or less advanced, leading us to the almost irresistible belief that such is the way of Nature in evolving new worlds from chaotic matter.

The planet Jupiter has already been mentioned as to its oblateness. But there is another fact connected with it that seems further confirmatory of the truth of the theory of Laplace: astronomers tell us that Jupiter is yet so hot as to be unfit for any animal or vegetable existence; this result might be expected on account of its enormous size, even if we grant the probable fact that it was left detached from the solar mass of matter many ages before our earth; its volume being about twelve hundred and fifty times greater than that of our planet, it would probably require many millions of ages before it would arrive at the same thermal conditions as the latter.

Assuming, then, that such was the way in which the planets were left to revolve around the central mass of matter which composes our sun, and that they were left in an incandescent state, what would be the probable course of events in the case of the earth? For an inconceivably long period her whole surface would be too hot for any life whatever. But what portions of that surface would first assume a sufficient degree of coolness to permit the evolution of plants and the subsequent existence of animal life? Evidently the poles and the adjacent regions, for the fierce heat derived from the still receding central mass would strike those regions with more slanting and far less intense rays, and for periods of six months every year each pole would be entirely free from them; they would be cooling in the shade, quietly radiating their inherent heat through space. Consequently life would be possible at the poles long before it would be possible for anything to exist in the equatorial zones. As the same refrigerating process would continue without interruption, the latter would, after a long succession of ages, assume conditions more and more favorable to the development of life; while, by reason of the more rapid cooling, the polar regions would become less and less adapted for it, until a time would arrive when, having undergone all the vicissitudes of incandescent, torrid, tropical, temperate, cold, and finally glacial states, they would at last arrive at the condition in which we now find them.

If the theory of Laplace be true, this seems to be the only course that could have been followed, and life, therefore, must have had its incipience at and around the poles of the earth. If life, as seems probable (might we not say certain?), does exist in other planets besides our own, not in our solar system only, but in the unknown and unseen planets revolving around the countless central suns scattered through space, then such must have been the succession of events in those orbs also. The abundant fossil remains of plants and animals that could only have existed in hot climates, as found in Siberia, and indeed, in many countries within the polar circle, are a strong corroboration of that theory. If that theory be true, the development and spread of life could scarcely have proceeded in any different order from that indicated: not from the equator to the poles, but from the latter to the former; and this in all the planetary systems.

The conviction is fast gaining strength with reflecting minds that original life was *evolved;* that it is one of the properties of Nature's forces that, wherever conditions favorable to the support and development of life exist, then life will be evolved by slow processes from the lower to higher orders; that life, in fact, exists in a latent or dormant condition in matter like electricity, etc., ready to be evolved with all its possibilities of motion, mind, variety, and constant modifications of form, modes, and conditions of existence, combinations, and recombinations according to infinite proportions and differences of compound elements, whenever conditions favorable to its evolution occur; that it is one—and so far as we know, the highest—result of Nature's forces and inherent properties. That life exists is undeniable. The fact that life exists is proof sufficient that its *principle* also exists in Nature. Had the life-principle, the element of life evolution been wanting, been absent as one of Nature's inherent properties, it could never have been evolved as an actuality. Whatever is not *in* a thing cannot be evolved *out* of that thing.

Now life *is;* therefore its original principle likewise *is*. However this may be (and it is not within the scope of this paper to consider the mode of origination of life), in whatever way implanted or evolved, it seems clear that the polar regions must have been its first scene, for the necessary conditions to its existence must have been present in those regions many ages before they could have prevailed in the temperate or tropical zones.

If the theory of Laplace be correct, it follows that our planet, which, by the volcanoes scattered over its surface, is shown to be in a state of intense internal heat, is gradually cooling; that it is slowly radiating its original heat into the depths of space; that a time must arrive in the far distant future when, like the polar regions and the moon, it shall have returned to the desolation of death. But since matter and its forces are imperishable, who knows what new transformations or regenerations may yet await it in the eternal flow of time? GUSTAVE DE NEVEU.

FOND DU LAC, Wis.

FREAKS OF A CRAZY FANATIC.

WORCESTER, May 3, 1877.

EDITOR OF INDEX:—

Enclosed you will find a communication from the town of Phillipston which was published in the *Gardner News*. It well illustrates the fanaticism which is the direct result of the present "religious" excitement now running over the country, being the fruit of Moody's teachings. A few comments by you will be welcomed by A READER OF THE INDEX.

[No comment seems necessary on the extract enclosed as above. It speaks for itself, and we append it as a curiosity.—ED.]

Meetings have been held night after night in a school-house in the west part of the town, and among those who have been influenced by the meetings is Luther Newton. Mr. Newton is a middle-aged farmer, has been an industrious, temperate, and respectable man, and has taken great pains with his stock for years past, especially his horses. He attended the meetings and became crazed with excitement. He seized his father, a man nearly seventy years of age, threw him on his back, and told him he should never get up until he forgave his enemies. He went on to the railroad track and ordered the engine to stop; but as it would not obey his modest request, he said God took him by the hand and twitched him off the track just before the engine reached him. His most notable freak, however, was his "anointing" process, as he termed it. He seized his wife and anointed her from head to feet with butter, claiming that it was a religious duty so to do. His friends report that he is improving in mental condition. This Newton, and a middle-aged man, a poor cripple, but who has always borne an excellent character, H. L. Upham by name, are recognized as the leaders in this religious crusade.

CONSECRATION OF A NEW CATHOLIC BISHOP.

The Rev. John Lancaster Spalding was consecrated as Bishop of Peoria, Ill., at St. Patrick's Cathedral, in Mott Street, yesterday morning. Fully an hour before the services began every seat in the church was occupied, and the two side aisles were crowded from the altar-rail to the doors. It was with great difficulty that the middle aisle was kept clear for the accommodation of the priests. The decorations of the church were not profuse but elegant. The altar on the epistle side of the sanctuary was prepared for the Bishop-elect. Near by was a large and handsome collection of flowers, presented by the teachers of St. Michael's School. From the reredos and all parts of the sanctuary wax candles and gas jets shone brilliantly, which, with golden-colored vestments arranged in different parts of the chancel, made a scene at once striking and impressive.

At 10 o'clock those who were to take part in the ceremonies marched from the sacristy to the sanctuary through the front of the church. The procession was led by the Rev. Father Hurley of St. Michael's Church; then came thirty altar boys, some in red and others in black cassocks with white surplices, followed by nearly one hundred priests, eleven prelates from different parts of the country, and the assistants at the mass. Lastly came the Bishop-elect in purple robes, and Cardinal McCloskey, attended by the assistant consecrators, Bishops Foley of Chicago, and Gibbons of Richmond. Two boys, in white cassocks with scarlet trimmings, holding the long scarlet train of the Cardinal's robes, followed by several boys similarly dressed, who were to act as crosier, mitre, candle, book, and apron-bearers, closed the procession. The officiating priests were Father Ducey of St. Michael's Church, deacon of the mass, Father Benedict Spalding, brother of the Bishop, sub-deacon, the Rev. A. J. Donnelly, pastor of St. Michael's Church, and Father Hurley of Peoria, deacons of honor to the Cardinal, Vicar-General Quinn, archdeacon. The bishops present were Rosecrans of Columbus, Ohio, the preacher of the day, Lynch of Charleston, Corrigan of Newark, Dwenger of Fort Wayne, Loughlin of Brooklyn, Conroy of Albany, Beckes of Wilmington, Galberry of Hartford, Healy of Portland, and Monsignors Chatard, rector of the American College at Rome, and Seton of New Jersey, all dressed in their full purple episcopal robes.

The Cardinal went to his throne and dressed in full pontifical robes. At the same time Father Spalding, attended by the two assistant consecrators, was vested with the amice, alb, cincture, and stole crossed upon his breast as a priest, and the cope. Bishop Foley presented the Bishop-elect to the Cardinal, after which the Papal bull appointing Father Spalding Bishop of Peoria was read. The oath of fidelity and duty was then administered. Then followed an examination of the Bishop-elect, which being finished, the Cardinal began the celebration of mass at the high altar, Father Spalding at the same time beginning it at the side altar, having been vested with the tunic, dalmatic, and chasuble, the sandals having been placed on his feet and the pectoral cross around his neck. After the singing of the epistle the Bishop-elect prostrated himself at the foot of the altar while the Litany of the Saints was chanted. The Book of the Gospels was placed upon his neck and shoulders, and the Cardinal and the assistant consecrators laid their hands upon his head, saying, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost." His head was next bound with a linen fillet to prevent the oil with which the crown of the head is anointed from dripping to the ground. The sign of the cross was first made with the chrism, and then the whole crown was anointed. This was followed by the anointing of the hands. The blessing and presentation of the crosier, the ring, and the Book of the Gospels, with the commission to preach to all people, followed. The mass was then proceeded with, the Cardinal being at the high altar and the Bishop-elect at the side chapel. At the part known as the offertory the Bishop presented the cardinal with two large lighted tapers, two ornamented loaves, and two miniature gold barrels of wine as the perquisites of the consecration. They continued the mass together at the high altar, two missals being used. The blessing of the mitre followed, the Cardinal placing it on the head of the elect with the admonition that it was "the helmet of protection and salvation." After the white silken gloves were placed on his hands and the ceremony of placing him in the episcopal chair was gone through, Bishop Spalding, attended by his assistant consecrators, marched down the centre aisle blessing the congregation; but the throng of people and priests did not permit him to proceed more than half way. The ceremony was concluded by the new Bishop giving the regular episcopal blessing with mitre and crosier, for the first time.—*N. Y. Tribune, May* 2.

A BRIGHT little three-year-old in Hartford, Conn., having become a little mixed between her religious instruction and her nursery rhymes, gravely recites: "The Lord is the shepherd, and he lost his sheep, and don't know where to find him."

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ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

Address NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

ORGANIZE!

CHARTERS

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LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient coöperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1877. WHOLE NO. 387.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

IT IS ONLY JUST to say that Mr. Luther Newton, of Phillipston, who was mentioned in last week's INDEX in a communication headed "Freaks of a Crazy Fanatic," disclaims the whole story, and attributes its origin to malice.

ON THE vexed seas of modern thought, Rev. Joseph Cook sails about magnificently, with pennants flying and band playing, as the Great Evangelical Tin-clad. Benevolent spectators hope that he will not rashly approach the shore; for boyish bean-blowers are about, and a single bean that should strike his craft beneath the water-line would send it precipitately to the bottom.

THE Y. M. C. A. of Indianapolis have undertaken to break up theatrical entertainments in that city on Sunday. They recently arrested twenty-five managers of the "Matt Morgan Art Combination" on a Sunday evening, in the presence of an audience of twelve hundred persons, at the Metropolitan Theatre. The arrested parties were prosecuted, not for disorderly or immoral exhibitions (that is not alleged), but for "desecration of the Sabbath." As the sects unite, they grow evidently more disposed to use their increasing power for the pushing of their common interests. We believe that things will be very much worse in this respect before they are better. But the reaction against the violators of equal religious rights is sure to come at last; bigotry is not destined to rule America forever.

IT IS the well-known object of the Ultramontanes, with Father Beckx at their head, to restore the Pope's temporal power; and President MacMahon, by his abrupt break with the Republicans, has thrown himself into the power of the Ultramontanes. What if the President's letter to M. Simon and the consequent grave cabinet crisis in France were secretly instigated by the Jesuits, for purposes deeper than the honest but irritable and not clear-sighted Marshal comprehends? Now that the election of a new Pope is not far off, it will be very convenient for them to hold France well in hand. The letters of the Bishop of Nevers to the Marshal-President and to all the Mayors in his diocese forbid the supposition that such conjectures are groundless. Rome never sleeps, and her power for mischief is still incalculable.

HERE IS a new outbreak of the irrepressible Bible-in-schools question, and Evangelicalism gets the victory—we quote from the New York *Tribune* of May 14: "Judge Pillsbury of Pontiac, Ill., decided on May 9 that the directors of a public school have a right to dictate what books shall be studied and used, and hence can order the Bible to be read as a text-book in connection with other studies. The decision was rendered in a suit brought by a Roman Catholic, who had instructed his son to pay no attention when the Bible was read in the school, but to go on studying his lessons without making any unnecessary disturbance. Attendance during the religious exercises was not rendered compulsory; any pupil whose parents objected to the Bible-reading could stay away; but the regulations required all who were present to lay aside their books and pay attention. This boy was suspended from the school in consequence of his behavior, and the judge justifies the action of the school-mistress."

THE METHODISTS are trying to unite the many sects of that general name into a single body. At the same time they are manifesting a strong disposition to exert a collective influence in politics. The political resolutions of the late Lynn Conference in this State made quite a breeze throughout the country; and now the Baltimore and Washington Conference is making itself equally conspicuous for a similar reason. A Washington dispatch of May 19 gives the report of a committee of that body on the political situation which recommends the bishop and Conference to make certain suggestions to President Hayes about the appointment of officers and the proposed removal of Marshal Douglass. It matters little what particular measures are recommended; the important fact to note is the growing purpose of Evangelical bodies to makes themselves *felt as such* in strictly political affairs. This purpose will certainly strengthen as the sects become more effectively consolidated, and the time is not far distant when all the Protestant sects, organized in some General Protestant Union, will assert themselves as a practical political power which will make all the self-seeking politicians of the country its own obedient slaves. Liberals may shut their eyes to all this as tightly as they please; but the time is approaching when they must organize to protect secular government or see it gradually lost in a practical union of Church and State.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE has been formed at Denver, Colorado, auxiliary to the National Liberal League. Mr. B. F. Underwood, to whose influence and exertions the formation of the new League is largely due, has kindly transmitted information on the subject. The first meeting was held on March 4 at Männerchor Hall, in response to the call of Mr. John G. Jenkins, and organized temporarily by the election of Mr. Orson Brooks as chairman, and Mr. John H. Cotton as secretary. The "Patriotic Address of the National Liberal League" was read, and the objects of the movement explained (we suspect that Mr. Underwood's modesty deprives us of knowing by whom), when about fifty persons of both sexes signified their willingness to join the new society. An adjourned meeting was held on March 18, resulting in a permanent organization with the following officers: President, Orson Brooks; Vice-Presidents, Peter Gottesleben, J. S. McCool, Hyatt Hussey, M. Fisher; Secretary, John H. Cotton; Treasurer, John G. Jenkins; Councilmen, Henry C. Dillon, A. L. Reichard, D. M. Richards, A. W. Smith. Committees on Public Work, Public Discussion, Finance, and Social Affairs, were also formed. The new League have secured comfortable rooms at 338 Lorimer Street, where a Free Reading Room is kept open daily from 8 A.M. till 9 P.M. All donations of books, papers, periodicals, etc., will be gladly received, promptly acknowledged, and kept constantly on the tables. When such Leagues as this are sufficiently multiplied to enter into active coöperation, the liberal movement will receive an impetus of which few dream to-day.

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

Transcendentalism and Intellectual Liberty.

DEAR FRIEND ABBOT:—

I very gladly avail myself now, at the first leisure moment I have been able to command, of the privilege of a response to your very able and suggestive article in THE INDEX of April 19. The force of some of the things you urge I more than willingly concede; and yet from the general conclusions you seek to establish and commend, I am sure that I dissent deeply and emphatically. It is doubtful that any words of mine may avail for setting the points of difference in clearer light, or contributing at all to the just solution; but, accepting your kind invitation, I will try to speak of two or three things that most arrest my attention.

1. I begin by stating what seems to me a source of error in your discussion of this Transcendental question, as indeed I have thought myself to notice the like before and in other connections; namely, a partial confusion in the mind, or the lack of a clear and well-determined conception in regard to *liberty*, what it is in its just scope and true limitation. It is from this cause, as I deem, that you make against Transcendentalism the charge that it infringes upon the rights of freedom of thought in religion: "He," you say, speaking of the Intuitionist or Transcendentalist, "if not willing to submit it [his intuition] to the test of scientific verification, makes the refusal of complete intellectual liberty which necessitates the protest of Free Religion against Transcendentalism."

Liberty has, as you will agree with me in recognizing, its laws, and there are some things so fundamental, so necessary to be held inviolable, that no supposed rights of freedom can be permitted to call them in question. We cannot attempt to impugn their authority, without making ourselves unreasonable, absurd, monstrous. "The freedom of science," you declare, "is the freedom of the scientific intellect to question and test *all things whatsoever*." (The italics are mine.) May it question and test that fundamental basis, the primal postulates on whose admission alone science is possible? Some ardent friend of science, we will suppose, anxious and eager to vindicate to the utmost the liberty of the intellect, begins by calling in question or denying the validity of the impressions we receive—this not in a particular case, but in the large *in toto*—of the outer world; our senses, he will have it, are not trustworthy, not veracious; at any rate they must be tested, the report verified. He insists that, as a scientist, you shall not proceed a single step, must not affirm anything in way of knowledge, until you have known your organs of knowledge. You must not assume to have any knowledge, not even of the trustworthiness of your senses, your powers of knowledge, until you have, starting utterly without knowledge, made them a matter of knowledge. Otherwise you infringe upon the rights of intellectual liberty, and he interposes with his protest.

You would say, would you not, and very properly: "My dear sir, what you propose is unscientific and absurd; you are ruled out of court at the outset, for what you demand is irrational and flatly impossible. You must assume a postulate, a datum somewhere, in order to arrive at any thing. You must take for granted, must affirm, call your authority by the name knowledge or faith or what you will, the trustworthiness of your powers, your organs of knowledge, or you can by no possibility make a beginning. You have no organ whereby you can go back of the organs of sense, in dealing with objects of sense, and to attempt to deny the validity here is to non-suit and annihilate yourself." If now, in the interests of free investigation and inquiry, he should charge you with making a refusal to him of complete intellectual liberty, and so on his part declare himself necessitated to utter a protest in this behalf against the dogmatism of science, I think you would very justly dismiss the charge as flagrantly irrational and absurd.

Now, I do not for a moment intimate that you are guilty of the same obliquity and unreason towards Transcendentalism as this man in the case I have supposed would be towards Science; but I think, if the ground of Transcendentalism can be maintained, the protest of Free Religion against it would be equally gratuitous and unjust. I think in your own case there is a subtle self-deception in the mind, or lack, perhaps, of finely-just and clearly-determined conception of liberty, that makes your position an equivocal one, makes you at times to seem to do a thing analagous to what I have supposed in the other province, in relation to Transcendentalism. I speak of the thing, of course, as it appears to me.

2. There are laws of thought in the realm of the supersensuous and unseen. The Transcendentalist would aver that, by the very necessity of the being within us, there are affirmed certain facts or realities, realities that transcend the sense, that transcend observation, transcend empirical knowledge. These facts or ideas (spoken of as they stand present in the soul) are, for one, say of *immensity*, the infinitude of space, a reach on and beyond all suns and stars and realms, without limit. If there is this as a fact affirmed in the soul, the Transcendentalist would say it never came there as the product of observation; for observation never went, never can go so far as to cover, to embrace it. It is transcendent, and therefore not reported by the world of sight and sensation without. They are, for another, idea of *eternity*, infinitude of time, and this also is unborn from the outer world, or the sensuous experience, or any empirical knowledge, since no mind of man has ever traversed and known the measureless of duration. They are, for another, *substance*, an essential reality within, that no eye ever saw, no sense ever grasped. There are other things, of course, in the sphere of practical expression and application, of the interpretation or appropriation of this thought or consciousness,—getting it, so to speak, incarnated and brought to the plane of the practical apprehension,—verities of the ideal,—to which I have not time specially to refer here.

3. The Transcendentalist cannot submit his intuition, a veritable intuition, to the test of scientific verification, as Mr. Potter seems to suppose he ought, since Science has no instruments wherewith to deal with it; it is out of the sphere, beyond the arithmetic entirely of empiric, observational knowledge. You will not take a line and plummet, will you, expecting to sound the depths of infinite space? Your metre here will not measure. These powers must carry their certificate with them, or their affirmation is by no possibility verifiable. If this cognition, or whatever may be the proper term for it (language is lame and inadequate here), comes by the inevitable laws of the mind, and furnishes, as the Transcendentalist believes, the postulate upon which religion alone is possible, the only ground upon which you can build it, then how does he by this affirmation infringe upon the rights of intellectual liberty, and necessitate for the Free Religionist a new protest? If the Transcendentalist has imported something not in the intuitional thought, if he has affirmed and imposed as fact in his consciousness something that belongs not there, but comes of his own subjective imagination merely, his fancy or his prepossession, then indeed has he laid himself open to grave charge, and a new protest in the very name and interest of Transcendentalism itself is needed.

4. This, as I understand it, is the essential position of Transcendentalism; and if it may be shown that these cognitions or intuitions do not belong to the very laws of the soul,—shown that they are fictions of the fancy, or dreams of the highly wrought imaginations of these withdrawn, abstracted speculators who dwell and go "burrowing" in the dim depths of their own consciousness, or that, being veracious, Science can take them out of the hands of the intuitional, can demonstrate them, can legitimate them by its instruments,—it is a task that awaits the hand of the doer.

5. It is denied, as I understand you to say, in the name and interest of Science, that such affirmations do belong to the necessary laws of thought; it is declared that there is no datum, nothing *a priori*, nothing that may be assumed in the mind. But let us look for a moment to some of the things that you would affirm, I suppose, as among the great facts established or reached by Science,—the universality of Law, the eternity or indestructibility of Force, etc. How has Science learned and come *to know* the fact of this universality, since the universe in its length and breadth has not yet been traversed? The indestructibility of Force,—how is that known, since the scientific, observing mind has not yet passed through the range of the eternities to see? You would affirm, I believe, the omnipotence, at least the power and final triumph of Truth in the world, Truth as incarnated and radiant in Justice, Virtue, Right. On what ground can you base your affirmation, not yet having seen it tried through? If you say that this even is not a thing that any one knows, or is entitled to hold as assured at all, that at most the mind makes here "a sublime *guess*," I would inquire how comes it about that it *so* guesses, so and not otherwise, and by what measure or amount of scientific observation may the guess be verified, so as to be exalted to knowledge; or, if you please, by what array of adverse facts might it be refuted, so that the mind in obedience to the laws of evidence or the verification of Science, should have to throw it aside as a fearful, fatal illusion? If the idea of God is an "attempt of the intellect to conceive self and the environment in an all-embracing unity" (a very partial and defective definition, as I think), then why does the intellect so attempt, and persist in so attempting; why not as well do the opposite, or make no attempt in this regard whatever? If there is no datum, nothing given within, I cannot at all see.

6. In brief, it appears there is a Transcendental element subtly present in the mind of Science, in all its researches and conclusions. Science cannot proceed a step without using it. Spinoza said, if I rightly remember, that "substance is that which it is impossible not to think of." These realities of thought assert themselves in all investigations, and those who attempt to deny them are held firmly and irresistibly within their grasp. How does it involve any restriction or infringement of intellectual liberty that this element should be so held, and Science have to make the acknowledgment of its presence and authoritative power?

7. You ask the question, "*How* can Infinite Spirit be contained in a finite consciousness?" It is a very old question, runs through all the ages, and has never yet received, so far as I know, an answer. I frankly own I cannot tell, nor do I see how any one can know. I cannot comprehend, and I cannot describe *how* finite is in infinite; or how eternity dwells incarnated in the world of time. Nor do I see that you have relieved the embarrassments of thought in getting Infinite Spirit objectified, making it a matter of finite objective experience. How can infinite be in that finite? Or how did Science climb up from her finite experiences, her empirical knowledge, to knowledge of the Infinite Fact? She is involved in as grave embarrassments in the attempt to get from finite to infinite, or to escape her objective limitations and reach infinitude, is as hopelessly shut up in the objective, as Transcendentalism with her subjective element under your strongest representations can be. How is she, thus imprisoned, in her turn to "make headway against the scientific materialism of to-day?"

8. The difficulties are not, by any means, all on

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one side. The embarrassments of thought are not relieved by shifting the ground from inner to outer. Unless Science can legitimate in the court of scientific observation, the step from a finite objective experience to knowledge of Infinite Spirit, she has no ground for vaunt. If she professes to have gotten the key whereby the mystery is solved, and all is elucidated,—cleared up for the understanding,—there are some of us who will be a trifle curious to see how that solution may be wrought out.

Carlyle well and strikingly said, many years ago, that, what with the wondrous advances made nowadays in Science, every nook, cranny, or dog-hole in Nature or art fast getting illuminated, geology and geognosy so advanced, the labors of our Werners and Huttons so productive and complete, "it has come about now that to many a Royal Society the creation of a world is little more mysterious than the cooking of a dumpling; concerning which last, indeed, there have been minds to whom the question, *How the apples were got in*, presented difficulties." There are other like puzzles in the world of thought.

9. You deem that Transcendentalism, in declaring the inward self-revelation of God, "takes for granted the objective existence of Infinite Spirit." "If it is infinite," you say, "it must necessarily be objective to a finite consciousness." No sober, thoughtful man will deny the difficulty of articulation and expression here. Language has its embarrassments, as speculative thought has. In objective and subjective the categories of our conceptions, as of our speech, seem exhausted; and, as we speak of God or Infinite Spirit, we have to speak of Him or It as objective in relation to what may belong to us in the character of subjective. But it cannot be objective to us in the sense in which we know objectivity; it negates the conditions under which objectivity exists. If objective, it would be determinate, and, if determinate, not infinite. We here transcend, in coming into presence of a reality not subject to the conditions of finitude, the sphere both of objective and subjective as we know these in our experience. In beholding, in contemplating God, I am dealing with being the most abstract and ethereal that can be thought. Language is lame, is impotent to describe the experience, the consciousness of the soul. I subscribe here to the declaration of the Hindu sage: "One cannot attain to it through the word, through the mind [*i. e.*, the sensuous understanding], or through the eye. It is only reached by him who says, 'It is! It is!' He perceives it in its essence." [*Katha Upanishad.*]

10. You characterize the method of Transcendentalism as relying "on intuition as an interior phenomenon of the consciousness *which has no relation to the outer.*" I think you are in this matter under positive misapprehension. No Transcendentalist that I know or ever heard of, would affirm that. There is, as is well known, a close and very subtle relation ever present of the outer to the inner. What Transcendentalism would hold, as I suppose, is this: that the relation, whatever it may be, is not such that the thought in the mind, the intuitional consciousness, *has its sufficient ground, or can be accounted for and explained from the objective experience.* We cannot find for it any adequate genesis in such experience. It transcends that content. I judge that here may be involved the gist of the whole question that lies at issue between the champions and apostles of Science and the advocates of Transcendentalism.

There are other points upon which I would like well to touch, but my paper is already too long, and I must bring it quickly to a close. I will only say that God, as I conceive, is not only present in the consciousness within, a pervasive, overshadowing reality, but he gives himself to us also in the world without, addressing us in the expressive language of symbol. The soul shall find,—if indeed it shall feel itself bereft at all,in the withdrawal of Him from its apprehension as an object of outer knowledge, a reality of the objective experience,—find itself more than indemnified in the possession of His presence in those sublime hints and intimations, veil at once and revelation, eye-beam of the Infinite, the pregnant and all-impressive symbolism of this world of time.

11. I do not at all see how the "authority of the moral ideal" can be maintained, except on the basis of the intuitional. If the intuitional cannot be held, that authority, I believe, must fall to the ground. God is to me the ideal of the soul, as also the substance and innermost being of the universe. For any deliverances upon God and Immortality coming in the character, if not in the form, of determinate dogmas, albeit propounded sometimes in the name of Transcendentalism,—for these in themselves I care little. The question, "Does man live after death?" may be solved, may, by possibility, be answered in the affirmative, by most unexceptionable and conclusive scientific proofs, and yet the problem of Immortality, in my view, remain essentially untouched. The metre, here again, does not measure. The proofs do not reach to the case, the ladder falls short of the sky.

I hope we may understand each other and our question the better for this free, frank, and careful comparison of views. You, I am sure, count nothing dear or aught worth beside the possession of truth, let it bear as it may upon any doctrine of your cherished Science; for myself, I hope I am willing, yes, more than that, to surrender and offer up all else for that pearl of inestimable price.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., May 2, 1877.

"HARK! I hear an angel sing," sang a young man in an outside township school exhibition. "No, 'tain't," shouted an old farmer in one of the back seats, "it's only my old mule that's hitched outside." The young man broke down and quit.—*Terre Haute Express.*

A BLIGHTED BOOK.

THE JESUIT MUTILATIONS AND CORRUPTIONS IN APPLETONS' NEW CYCLOPÆDIA.

More than three years ago we criticised the revised edition of Appletons' American Cyclopædia for its sly and unfair coloring in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church. We showed, according to a circular issued by the publishers, that a special editor, who had been a teacher in a Jesuit college, named Dr. Bernard O'Reilly, was employed "to supervise the articles touching in any way on the Catholic religion," and that he had "the eye of authority" to help him in no less a personage than Archbishop McCloskey of New York, since promoted to be a Cardinal.

From time to time we published quotations from the old edition of this cyclopædia, issued in 1860–3, contrasting them with articles under the same heading in the new cyclopædia, of which the first volume was issued in 1873 and the last in 1876. The editors and publishers made a lame reply to the first batch of quotations; but they have never since wrestled with the subject, so far as we know, although our columns have been open to them, and we would gladly publish any defence that anybody might make of the book.

Up to the close of volume eight of the new cyclopædia, we enumerated over fifty important changes made in different articles having more or less bearing on Romanism; and *every* change from the old cyclopædia was of a whitewashing nature. Every one showed the hand of a practised Jesuit. Every one poisoned the wells of literature from which the rising generation are invited by D. Appleton & Co. to drink in a knowledge of theology, history, and biography. We trust the invitation will be respectfully declined by Protestants and liberal thinkers. Let the Romanists support their own publications.

The only newspapers in the country which (so far as we can learn) have thoroughly rebuked this poisoning of American literature,—this putting of falsehood in the place of truth on the shelves of our educational institutions, professional and private libraries, etc., so as to wet the powder of Protestants against the approaching battle with the Jesuits on the school question,—are the New York *Christian Intelligencer*, the New York *Witness*, the *Christian at Work*, the *Baptist Weekly*, and (rather tamely) the New York *Observer* and the New York *Methodist*. The Protestant press of the country in general will pour out columns of wailing and cause its readers to weep barrels of tears over the dreadful sufferings of a few "heretics" in Spain or Mexico; but when they see, right under their noses, a professedly American cyclopædia poisoned by the cunning of a Roman priest, through the subserviency of a Protestant publishing-house, they are silent! They stand just where a vast majority of the religious newspapers stood on the slavery question before the great rebellion; their bread and butter are in danger, and so they whine, "Give us peace and pelf, no matter what becomes of liberty."

We have paid careful and minute attention to the articles touching the Roman Catholic Church in volume thirteen of the new cyclopædia, by the side of similar articles in the old cyclopædia; and the results are briefly stated below. We challenge an examination of these extracts.

The agent of the work, in delivering to us the last volume, said he was aware that "something had been done by the *Republican* to advertise it." We have neither asked nor received anything for the advertising done. It has been a pastime for our leisure hours; but we hope the community, which is deeply affected by any cyclopædia to which references are constantly made, will not pass over our criticisms hastily.

PASSAGLIA AND PERRONE.

These Jesuit theologians, who have come into prominence in connection with the dogmas of immaculate conception and papal infallibility, have each pretty full biographies in the new cyclopædia (vol. xiii., pp. 148, 310). They are not mentioned in the old cyclopædia. Sixteen years ago the above dogmas were not much heard of in this country, in connection with the unchangeable Church.

PORT ROYAL.

The old cyclopædia has nothing under this heading.

The new cyclopædia devotes nearly two and a half pages to the Cistercian monasteries which, it is said, "during the civil wars of the Fronde and subsequent seasons of distress displayed the most unbounded charity and hospitality toward the suffering population." This was more than two centuries ago. Port Royal and the Jansenists were wiped out. But the record of these heroic and zealous foes of the Jesuits is worth preserving, even if it is done to shed a little lustre on a branch of the Roman Church.

PAULICIANS.

The old cyclopædia (p. 48) says of this ancient sect of Christians that "they made no scruple of using falsehood in dealing with other sects, and were ready to deny their faith when interest served."

The new cyclopædia (p. 178) omits the charge of falsehood and infidelity against these early Christians, as it is now the fashion to smooth over the sins of professedly pious men in olden times, in order to exalt the ancient Church, and show that all godliness was preserved within her inclosure.

ETIENNE PASQUIER.

The old cyclopædia (p. 22) says that this French jurist and author "in 1564 was counsel for the university in its lawsuit with the Society of Jesuits. His pleadings made him popular and clients flocked to him." After 1588 "he found himself involved in new quarrels with the Jesuits, who were expelled from France in consequence of the attempt of Jean Châtel on the life of the king," Henry IV.

The new cyclopædia (p. 147) expunges the "popularity" of Pasquier, owing to his pleadings in a law suit against the Jesuits, and also expunges the fact that the Jesuits were "expelled from France" because of assassination plots against the liberal-hearted king, Henry IV. Nothing must appear in the "revised" cyclopædia, reflecting on that unscrupulous order which now holds the helm of the Roman Church, although it was suppressed by an infallible Pope only one century ago.

PASQUIN.

The old cyclopædia (p. 22) describes the mutilated statue in Rome from which the word "pasquinade" was derived, saying that "in the lampoons upon persons in high station, the pope and cardinals were favorite objects of attack." One of these satirical epigrams, directed against Alexander VI. (Roderick Borgia) is unsurpassed by any utterance of Pasquin: "*Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum; emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.*" [Alexander sells the keys, the altars, Christ. He bought them first, and has a right to sell.]

The new cyclopædia (p. 148) devotes only half as much space to Pasquin as the old one, and the satirical epigram against Alexander VI. is "revised" out by the Roman Catholic editor, as is the fact that Pope Adrian VI. proposed to throw the mutilated statue into the river Tiber, because such formidable verses were affixed to the battered marble.

SAINT PATRICK.

The old cyclopædia (p. 38) says that the patron saint of Ireland "perhaps visited Italy," and refers to the "popular legend of his having banished all the venomous creatures from Ireland by means of his crosier or staff."

The new cyclopædia (p. 168) is certain that the great saint was once "in Rome, and had the name of Patricius bestowed on him by Pope Celestine, his original name having been Succath." It also states that "Patrick devoted the lands bestowed on him to the foundation of churches, or cloisters for both sexes, and of numerous monastic schools which flourished during the next three centuries. He was also zealous for the suppression of slavery."

During the sixteen years that elapsed between the publication of the old and the new cyclopædia, St. Patrick's followers have vastly multiplied in America. This makes it an object to give the saint a longer and better sketch, to claim new merits for him, and especially to honor him as an early abolitionist; for, now that American slavery is abolished, the Roman Church—which in solid mass opposed the anti-slavery reform—asserts itself and its saints to be the only true friends of human freedom. As St. Patrick died thirteen hundred and eighty-two years ago, the discovery of such important new facts about him shows the enterprise bestowed on this "revised" cyclopædia.

PAULINUS.

The old cyclopædia has nothing under this heading.

The new cyclopædia (p. 178) contains elaborate sketches of four different Roman saints named Paulinus, the last of whom died over one thousand years ago. It is of immense importance to Americans to know all about those ancient personages; and in securing their history it is of no consequence that the new cyclopædia omits to mention such men as John M. Palmer of Illinois, Amasa J. Parker of New York, Joel Parker of New Jersey, the war governor, George H. Pendleton of Ohio, Gen. John W. Phelps of Vermont, Edwards Pierrepont, United States minister to England, and many others.

PERU.

The old cyclopædia (p. 180) states that "the education of the lower orders is almost completly neglected, and in the interior of the country it is sometimes difficult to procure men qualified for a public office by being merely able to read and write." "The established religion is the Roman Catholic, and but little toleration is extended to other creeds. The Church is immensely rich."

The new cyclopædia (p. 341) announces a great change in Peru within sixteen years. It says that "public instruction has been the object of sedulous care, and is compulsory and gratuitous." There are about one hundred thousand pupils in the various educational establishments of the republic,—primary and grammar schools for both sexes, normal schools, schools of arts and trades, agriculture, commerce, fine arts, a naval and military school, and six universities. We hope this is all true, although doubts will arise, on reading further that "the religion of the State is the Roman Catholic, the public exercise of no other being lawful."

CORNELIUS DE PAUW.

Relative to this Dutch author the new cyclopædia (p. 191) omits the statement in the old (p. 54) that in a certain work "relating to Paraguay he bitterly assailed the Jesuits, and his attacks on them made him unpopular with the Catholic clergy." Everywhere the Jesuits are screened in the new cyclopædia, even if it has to be done by garbling.

PEASANTS' WAR.

This revolutionary movement in Germany, in 1524–5, is said in the new cyclopædia (p. 216) to have been fiercely condemned by Martin Luthur in a pamphlet which he published, calling on the princes to kill the insurgents "like mad dogs," and declaring that "none could die in a way more pleasing to God than fighting against such miscreants." In the old cyclopædia (p. 73) Luther's harsh language is not referred to. The revising editor has got in a thrust at the great Protestant reformer.

ST. RAYMOND DE PENNAFORT,

who died just six hundred years ago, was not deemed worthy of mention in the old cyclopædia; but in the new (p. 253) he receives a complimentary sketch, for the reason probably that he "was instru-

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mental in establishing the inquisition in Aragon and Southern France."

ROBERT PERSONS,

an English Jesuit, who died in 1610, is not mentioned in the old cyclopædia; but in the new (p. 330) a biography of him is given, his labors and travels are described, and among the books published by him one is mentioned which "claims for the pope power to dethrone sovereigns and absolve subjects from their allegiance." The American people need to be familiarized with such sentiments, we suppose.

SAINT PETER.

The old cyclopædia (p. 190) casts some doubt on this apostle's ever being at Rome, and makes no allusion to his apocryphal writings or his burial-place.

The new cyclopædia (p. 353) argues strongly that St. Peter lived for several years at Rome, and that his body and skull are enshrined there, while his "revelation" was read once a year in the churches of Palestine, and his "preaching" was quoted by Clement of Alexandria.

St. Peter is the favorite apostle of the editors of the revised cyclopædia, and they are determined to have their preference known where it will do them the most good.

PETER CLAVER,

a Jesuit missionary, not mentioned in the old cyclopædia, receives a flattering notice in the new (p. 353). He is said to have labored with zeal and self-denial to convert the slave population of New Granada. Every Jesuit gets a "first-rate notice" in the revised American cyclopædia, at this very time when every European government is restraining or expelling the Jesuits as the enemies of human liberty and progress.

PHILIP II. OF SPAIN.

The new cyclopædia (p. 411) omits an important and characteristic act of this cruel, treacherous king, which is told in the old cyclopædia (p. 242). He gave minute directions in writing for the secret murder of the lord of Montigny, who, although a devout Catholic, had opposed the persecution of the Protestants. Philip caused it to be given out that Montigny had died of a fever. The portraiture of the Spanish bigot and tyrant is not so black in the new cyclopædia as in the old one.

JOSEPH MARIE PORTALIS.

The old cyclopædia (p. 498) speaks of "trouble between Napoleon I. and the pope," and the banishment of Portalis for his relations with a certain Abbé.

The new cyclopædia (p. 722) says nothing of any "trouble" in which the pope was implicated.

PREMONSTRATENSIANS.

The old cyclopædia (p. 551) says that "this religious order at the time of the Reformation had about two thousand convents, of which five hundred were for women. The female convents were at first contiguous to the monks, and separated from them only by a wall; but later this arrangement was given up. The order suffered great losses in consequence of the success of the Reformation."

The new cyclopædia (p. 807) omits the statements that the separation of the two sexes was given up, and that the order "suffered great losses" by means of the Reformation.

ANTOINE FRANCOIS PREVOST D'EXILES.

The old cyclopædia (p. 574) says that this French novelist, popularly known as Abbé Prévost, "was intended for the Church and educated by the Jesuits, but ran away and for four or five years led a very dissipated life." He was afterwards "ordained as priest of the Benedictines and proved a very successful preacher"; but, unable to bear "the austerities of a convent," he abandoned the order and went to Holland, where he supported himself by his pen.

The new cyclopædia (p. 828) says nothing of the Abbé Prévost being educated by the Jesuits, or of his early dissipated life, or of his being ordained as a Benedictine monk.

PRIMATE.

The new cyclopædia (p. 834) devotes about thrice as much space to this ecclesiastical title of honor as the old cyclopædia (p. 580); and the assertion is made in the new cyclopædia that in early times in the countries of Western Europe "the first rank, *primatus*, was conceded universally to the Roman bishop."

This bold statement is not found in the old cyclopædia, for the very good reasons that it is untrue, and that the publishers of the American cyclopædia of sixteen years ago were *not* fishing in St. Peter's pond. Upon such false yarns, woven slily into historical books, does Romanism base its claims to spiritual and temporal dominion. Seldom, however, can the trick be detected, as in this case, and still more seldom can it be fastened on a professedly Protestant publishing house.—*Lansing (Mich.) Republican, May 2.*

PROF. WILLARD FISKE ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

SOME FALLACIES REGARDING THE PUBLIC SERVICE—HOW TO GET THE BEST MEN—EDUCATIONAL TESTS—SOLDIERS' CLAIMS.

There seems to be a good deal of mistiness in the public mind in reference to the methods which ought to be pursued in order to purify our civil service and to render it efficient. Numberless plans and theories, often of the crudest sort, have been propounded. Suggestions and hints, wise and otherwise, abound in all the journals. A peculiar source of perplexity is that each new political doctor seeks to attack only some special evil of the service, without much consideration for its relation to the rest of the system. One wishes to remove the inefficiency of the service, another its corruption, another its partisanship, another the favoritism through which its positions are bestowed. The remedies proposed are equally various. One recommends a very simple nostrum; namely, "to put the best men into office"; another wants to make the heads of bureaus personally responsible for the character of their subordinates; another sees the cure-all in permanence of service, with or without pensions; another fancies that if the offices could be fairly portioned among all the States corruption would cease. It is time that some of these cobwebs were brushed away, and the task of doing it ought not to be very difficult. Other nations have, in the past, been through trials not unlike our own, and have succeeded, often after many efforts, in freeing their administrative service from corruption and incapacity. Guided by the light of their experience, we may be able to clear up a good deal of the obscurity which surrounds the subject, and to point out a few of the fallacies which most frequently find utterance through the mouths of politicians, or the columns of the press. Some of these fallacies are:—

1. *That you can "put the best men into office" without first determining by what process you are to find the best men.* It is indeed a very simple matter to "put the best men into office" when you know who they are. But how are you to know them? Can the President designate them? He cannot possibly have a personal acquaintance with one in a thousand of those required to fill all the public positions, nor, with his other duties, can he afford the hours and days necessary to inform himself of their character and capacity. Can he depend on his friends, or his advisers, or the party leaders, or Congressmen, to indicate them to him? Experience has shown, with sad certainty, that he cannot; and Congressmen, too, have other functions, proper to them, which, if rightly performed, will leave them no time for such business. Can he allow the people to select collectors and assessors and postmasters and light-house-keepers and clerks by election? Such a scheme is impossible of execution, and, if possible, would result in a service even worse than the existing one. Some general test of fitness, applicable to all candidates, must, therefore, be found.

2. *That there is any better test of the capability and fitness of the candidate than the educational one.* This test is not perfect; no one, which human ingenuity can devise, will be. But it is far better than any other which has yet been proposed, and is consequently adopted by all the principal civilized nations. It, at least, excludes ignorance from the public service, and it is easy to see that by excluding ignorance we go far toward excluding corruption. If anybody know a better test, available for all branches of a vast and complete service, let him name it.

3. *That candidates for office should be examined solely with a view to ascertain their fitness for the special duties to which they are to be assigned.* The civil services of the foremost contemporary nations are based upon the theory that, if education be of any value at all, it ought to develop better men than ignorance. In other words, the methods of selecting government *employés* in vogue elsewhere are founded upon the advantages which a high culture is supposed to confer. It is taken for granted that a young man, with a thorough general education, can, by virtue of the training he has undergone, speedily qualify himself for any special service. Why demand that a candidate for a clerkship in the Custom House shall repeat the dynasties of the German Emperors, or explain the formula of algebra? Why not be content with the assurance that he understands book-keeping and can write a good hand? Because the prime object is to learn whether he be a man of sufficiently complete mental training to be able to readily adapt himself to any ordinary position, and to any ordinary routine of duties.

4. *That a mere "pass" examination can secure the best public servants.* Years ago John Stuart Mill, in his work on "Representative Government," exploded the theory that an examination which simply requires candidates for the civil service to evince a certain proficiency, or to come up to a certain standard of excellence, is all-sufficient; and the history of the efforts to reform the English service amply confirms the truth of the conclusions at which Mr. Mill arrived. Competition is a necessary element in examinations for the public service.

5. *That those who have served in the nation's armies have any special claim to positions in the nation's civil service.* They have just as great a claim as other classes of citizens, and no greater. The object to be steadily kept in view is the admittance of no man into the service who has not fairly won the place by proving himself the most capable of all competing candidates. If an ex-soldier have done this, then give him the place. But between a more capable citizen and a less capable ex-soldier there can be no choice. The citizen must have the position. That the nation should provide for those who have fought in its defence is altogether proper, but it has no right to do this by foisting incapables upon its public service. Let such be pensioned. It is far cheaper in the end.

6. *That just so many positions in the service, and no more, should be filled by individuals from one State, or from one section of the country.* This is the most absurd of fallacies. A great nation should secure, for the execution of its administrative business, the best men, let them come from what quarter of the land they may. If more of these best men come from the East than from the West, how are you to induce the candidates from the West to qualify themselves more thoroughly, if you continue to give them just such a number of offices, whether they be qualified or not? Geographical locality ought to have no influence in the matter. The young men of the whole country should be admitted to precisely the same competition. If fewer from one State succeed, and more from another, it will simply encourage the former to prepare themselves with greater thoroughness for the next trial.

7. *That any patchwork attempt to reform this or that department can be of any avail.* The general principles adopted should be applied to every branch of the National service, commencing at the lower grades, and gradually, by means of proper promotion, effecting the purification of the whole service. So long as any department is at the mercy of the party leaders we shall still suffer from the existing evils. Its control will afford them a foothold by means of which they can prolong the struggle against a better system. The entire aristocracy of selfish office-mongers, the entire army of ignorant office-seekers, should be made to understand that their time is past.

8. *That any reform can be successful which does not interdict the members of the civil service from engaging in partisan acts.* It is absolutely essential that the *employés* of the government should fully comprehend that they are in the service of the government and not in that of a party,—that their wages are paid by the whole people and not by any partisan fraction of the people. Participation in party caucuses; the contribution of funds in aid of any partisan object; the acceptance of an office in any partisan convention or of a place upon any party committee; the effort to obtain promotion through the influence of any party leader; the editorship or ownership of a partisan journal,—all these should be considered as sufficient causes for instant dismissal. The rules for the military and civil services should be alike in this respect.

The crude notions which have here been briefly considered are by no means the only ones afloat upon this subject; there are various other opinions which are frequently expressed but which certainly seem equally erroneous. Among them is the all-prevailing idea that there is something political in a government position. The actual truth is that only the very highest places, those filled by members of the Cabinet and by Foreign Ministers, are at all political in their character. Members of the Cabinet do aid in directing and deciding the policy of the Administration; but below them hardly a single appointed official can be named who properly has anything to do with what may be styled the high affairs of State. The whole multitude of *employés*, from heads of bureaus and collectors down to the lowest grade of clerks, are simply administrative functionaries, and are no more authorized to interfere with the policy of government than a clerk in a mercantile establishment is authorized to interfere officiously with the direction of his employer's affairs. They have no interest, beyond that of the ordinary citizen, in the matter; and the very fact that they are the servants of the government should impel them to keep rigidly aloof alike from politics and partisanship.

WILLARD FISKE.

ITHACA, N. Y., April 26, 1877.

—*N. Y. Tribune, Apr. 28.*

HOW SUFFRAGE WORKS IN GERMANY.

BY JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, LL.D.

The Germans are beginning to discover that in experimenting with free institutions they are playing with edged tools. Since the last election for the Imperial Parliament has revealed the activity and strength of the social Democrats and the persistency of the Ultramontanes, one often hears it said: "Better a quiet servitude than this rampant liberty." This is the feeling especially of those old-line Prussians who to this day ignore the empire, and refuse to know their sovereign by any other title than "our dear good king." In Prussia the parliamentary system, introduced only a quarter of a century ago, has always moved haltingly, the government remaining practically with the king and his ministers. The Prussian Parliament (*Landtag*) continues to be elected—that is, the House of Deputies—by a system of class suffrage, working through intermediary boards of electors (*Wahlmänner*). This plan serves to balance the various interests of society upon the basis of taxation, and secures in the Parliament a more substantial element than our American system of direct voting is apt to supply to Congress or the State legislature. But the Prussian Parliament—which legislates only for the internal affairs of the kingdom, and has now nothing more to do with army, navy, postoffice, customs, currency, nor with any foreign policy—is quite overshadowed by the Imperial Parliament (*Reichstag*), which represents all Germany, and is chosen by direct and universal or manhood suffrage.

In framing a constitution for the empire that was formed after the conquest of France by the united armies of Germany, Bismarck had to conciliate or appease two widely opposite interests,—the popular and liberal, and the hereditary and monarchical. To the first he gave universal suffrage and a Parliament of a single house; for the other he provided a Confederate Council (*Bundesrath*), made up of the personal representatives of the several sovereignties that combine to form the empire. In this Council are represented the four kingdoms—Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg; the six grand-duchies—Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Saxon-Weimar-Eisenach, Mecklenburg-Strelitz; the five duchies—Brunswick, Saxon-Meinigen, Saxon-Altenburg, Saxon-Coburg-Gotha, Anhalt; also seven minor principalities and the free Hanse cities—Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg. This Council of sovereign States prepares the measures to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, and no act of Parliament can have validity as law unless subsequently ratified by the Council and signed by the emperor. Hence, the

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conservative interests have a powerful check upon universal suffrage, and perhaps it was in the thought of Bismarck to play off one against the other. But suffrage has freaks of its own and refuses to be managed.

The unity of Germany was sought by three classes,—by statesmen, who saw in this political unity a means of strength and progress for the Germanic race; by idealists, to whom national unity was a lofty sentiment; and by revolutionists and socialists, to whose vague aspirations the union of Germany would be but another experiment toward their unattainable ends. Neither statesmen nor idealists made much account of suffrage as an agency or an expression of unity; and when unity came—not as a normal development, but as an accident of foreign war and victory,—and universal suffrage was adopted as a solvent by which the conglomerated elements of the empire should be made to coalesce, the great body of sober-minded Germans hardly knew what to do with their new function of imperial voters.

The actual working of suffrage in Germany is a curious and instructive study for Americans. Having been accustomed to be governed from above, the Germans are slow in learning political action from beneath, with the people as the moving force. They know little of public opinion, and still less of party drill, as these are felt in American politics. They are not yet accustomed to public meetings, as a means of political action, and their press is much wanting in coöperation and in force. A young man of a noble house was put in nomination for Parliament in a Rhine district, upon the testimony of his older brother (a staunch liberal member) that he was worthy of the place. No rival candidate was brought forward openly, and he was returned over all secret opposition; but the poll was light. Many Germans were from the first indifferent about suffrage, and to this day maintain their inaction in affairs of the empire. Others looked upon it with disgust, and, taking it for granted that the rabble would rule, held themselves aloof from politics. Too many of the better sort of people acted with that individual independence which educated Germans carry to an extreme rarely known in political action in the United States. These refused to enter into party combinations, or entered into so many smaller combinations, upon minor crotchets of their own, that harmony of movement in the nation or in Parliament upon great public interests is made extremely difficult. Bismarck first gave his influence toward the creation of a National Liberal party; but this, though numerically the strongest, is far from commanding a majority in Parliament, and in the recent election has lost over twenty members.

But while so large a body of the people were thus indifferent or disunited, the socialistic and revolutionary agitators, chiefly of the working classes, seized upon suffrage as their efficient weapon, and by organized agitation these are now becoming a formidable power. They are not at all satisfied with things as they are. They would gladly see the overthrow of monarchy and the dissolution of the empire as at present constituted. The unity of Germany has saddled upon them heavier taxes and a larger army; and the financial and commercial perturbations that followed the war have crippled industry and overturned the very foundations of trade. Hence the socialists are agitating for "a change," though with no definite notions of what a change should accomplish. They do not as yet throw many members into Parliament; but they gain ground steadily by their organization.

The Ultramontanes or clericals are much more largely represented in Parliament, and keep up their organization by compact and constant drill. The old Conservatives, too, keep well together and hold substantially their own. Add to these the Poles, the Hanoverians, and a portion of the Alsatians, and if all these elements of hostility to the imperial policy of Bismarck should chance to combine, the opposition would be formidable indeed. The government could not count upon carrying any measure.

The hope of orderly and peaceable progress lies with the Liberal Conservatives and the National Liberals; but the power of these is much hindered by the Progressionists—who are at heart opposed to Bismarck's policy—who really serve to keep the Socialists in countenance. If ever a people were entitled to universal suffrage, that people is the Germans, since all are taxed roundly for the support of the government, and every man may be summoned to lay down his life for the nation. And if any people could be safely trusted with universal suffrage, it is a people among whom education is so largely and so equally diffused by force of compulsory laws. Here all voters must read, pay, and fight. The freaks of suffrage as shown in Radicalism, Ultramontanism, and Particularism are likely to work the cure of indifferentism. They are arousing thoughtful men to the duty of caring for the State and of widening their own horizon, to embrace all who will act together for the public good. The conflicts to be anticipated in the present Parliament may prepare the way for a higher and broader patriotism, that shall secure the stable advance of liberty over all the discord of factions.

BERLIN, Prussia.

—*New York Independent, May 3.*

"WELL, uncle, how is the cause of religion getting on in your neighborhood?" "Mighty poor, mighty poor." "No new converts, eh?" "Not a single one—not de sign of one." "What seems to be the matter?" asked the citizen, after a long pause. "De matter is dat some one hez stolen four big watermelons out o' my cart dis afternoon, an' I feel in my bones dat religion is gwine down hill all froo dis locality."—*Raleigh News.*

THE NEW LAW FOR ANNUAL RETURNS OF PROPERTY EXEMPTED FROM TAXATION.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN SENATE, April 3, 1877.

The committee on Just and Equal Taxation, to whom were directed the Orders to consider the expediency of limiting the amount of property to be exempted from taxation in the possession of religious, literary, and charitable associations, and to whom also were referred sundry petitions setting forth that the property owned by the churches in this Commonwealth amounts to $30,000,000, and the property held by charitable institutions exceeds $6,000,000, and that of literary, benevolent, and scientific institutions $21,000,000, and asking that said property may not be exempted from taxation, respectfully submit the following Report:—

Several public hearings on the matters embraced in said Orders and petitions were held by the Committee and were attended by a large number of people. Scarcely any who addressed the Committee advised taxing the property of benevolent and charitable associations, and but few expressed a wish to have the property of educational institutions taxed, while upon the question of exempting church property there was more division of opinion.

It was evident that religious and charitable, or charitable and educational purposes, were often combined in the same society, and that there is a lack of statistics and exact information concerning these associations on which to base judicious and discriminating legislation, either for the correction of abuses or making material changes, if such changes shall be demanded by the people of the Commonwealth. The Committee, therefore, came to the conclusion that, it would be unwise, at the present session of the Legislature, to recommend any important alterations of the law which now exempts from taxation this class of property.

It was suggested by a distinguished gentleman who came before the Committee, that, as these institutions held public trusts, greater publicity might be desirable in regard to their administrations, and that it would be well to provide for annual published returns concerning them. This suggestion met the unanimous approval of the Committee. For the purpose, therefore, of securing such returns and thereby gaining the statistics and information which the public, and especially the Legislature, ought to possess for future guidance, the Committee report the accompanying Bill.

For the Committee, A. B. COFFIN.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-seven.

AN ACT

To provide for Annual Returns from Literary, Educational, Benevolent, Charitable, Scientific, and Religious Societies.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

SECT. 1. Every literary, educational, benevolent, charitable, or scientific institution within this Commonwealth, having any property therein exempt from taxation, and every religious society or body, whether corporate or unincorporate, having property so exempt, shall annually, on or before the fifteenth day of May, make a return to the assessors of the city or town where the same is established or located, in such detail as may be herein provided, attested by its treasurer or other financial officer or officers, setting forth the quantity and the fair cash value of all real and personal estate owned by it on the first day of said month of May, the amount of incumbrance thereon, the amount of mortgage on its untaxed property, the amount of trust funds held by it, or for its benefit, and also the amount of money raised or received from all sources during its next preceding financial year ending prior to the time herein fixed for making such return, and the disposition made of such income for expenses, for its specific literary, educational, benevolent, charitable, scientific, or religious purposes, or otherwise. In case any institution, society, or body above mentioned neglects to make the annual return as aforesaid, its real estate for such year shall not be exempt from taxation.

SECT. 2. Every institution, society, or body mentioned in the preceding section shall make a duplicate of said return to the tax commissioner of the Commonwealth; and in case it shall omit to make such return to the tax commissioner at the time fixed in the foregoing section for making returns, it shall forfeit therefor the sum of one hundred dollars, and its treasurer or other financial officer or officers, for the time being, whose duty it is to make such return, shall in addition be liable in a like sum for such omission; said sums to be recovered to the use of the Commonwealth, separately or jointly, upon information brought in the County of Suffolk, or in the county where such institution, society, or body is established or located, in the name of the Commonwealth at the relation of said tax commissioner.

SECT. 3. Said tax commissioner shall prescribe and furnish the blank forms for the returns required by this act, and shall distribute the same before the first day of May in each year, and shall also annually prepare, cause to be printed, and on the first Wednesday of January submit to the legislature a true abstract of said returns received by him.

SECT. 4. This act shall take effect on the first day of June next.

THE GRASSHOPPER FAST.

EDITORS SENTINEL:—

Gov. Pillsbury's day of "fasting and prayer" for the extermination of grasshoppers has come and gone. We must now wait results,—the Lord only knows how long.

In Lake City the four Evangelical churches held a union prayer-meeting in the morning, of which due notice had been given. At the time appointed the meeting was opened with just twenty-nine persons present, counting in your correspondent. Only two of the pastors of these churches were present. A few more persons came in, and at the close there were thirty-six all told.

There was little that was noticeable about the meeting. There was no enthusiasm, and scarcely earnestness. The prayers were mostly of a commonplace character for various objects. One man made a prayer of reasonable length, but in which there was not the slightest allusion to the grasshopper scourge. Doubtless he forgot it. The most prominent feature of the prayers offered was the necessity of our humbling ourselves before God. The most earnest prayer put up was by Elder Moon. It was directly to the point and for the object of the day, and in a manner that indicated that he felt conscious that God heard him.

Several short speeches were made, but in none of them, as far as could be seen, was there any information given to facilitate the extermination of grasshoppers. Mr. Door, in his remarks, claimed to give a quotation from the sermon of presiding Elder Chaffee, preached last Sunday evening; *viz.*, "That God *can* kill a grasshopper." Elder Chaffee presented it in this way. He was "going for" the Free Thinkers a little, and said, "The scientists conceive of this universe as a great grinding-mill run by law, with God so hedged in with law that he *cannot* specially kill a grasshopper." We take it that no rationalist will wish to dispute the Elder on this statement. He has put it very well. I thank him for it, the more because we do not always get treated as fairly. We have before heard the Elder speak of the rationalists in the same handsome manner. He went on to state his views to the effect that God "*can* kill a grasshopper." He said "this world is run by God, and God is moved by prayer." If this be true, then the rational conclusion is that the world is really run by prayer. And, again, if this too be true, then the next rational conclusion is that the grasshoppers are in Minnesota in answer to somebody's prayers. Last year the Governor of Missouri got up prayers to get the grasshoppers out of that State; and it is claimed that he did it. If so, they probably came to Minnesota. Now, if God really answers prayer, and the praying people of each of the States pray him to send the hoppers out of their State, then it would seem that God must either keep them on the wing and starve them out, or else let them light down here and there and eat out somebody who does not pray.

Now, Mr. Editor, all this seems too absurd to really treat seriously. However truly God may be behind the existence of all law, all cause, yet it would seem that all phenomena in the universe are simply *cause and effect.* It seems clear that every physical effect must necessarily have a physical cause. Some of these are within the influence of man to effect, while others are seen to be beyond any control of his. It is simply egotistic selfishness for man to conclude that all things are made for his use. There are some things that man must take as he finds them, and either get out of their way or accept the situation,—the consequences.—*D. K. B., in the Lake City (Minn.) Sentinel.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.

Midland ocean, round whose margin
Towered the city-states of old,
To their arms your surges wafted
Power and riches as they rolled.
All your depths with bones are whitened—
Bones of mariners of yore,
Wrecked and drowned by myriad tempests,
Through the ages strew your floor.

'Neath your waters they are lying
Thicker than the waves o'erhead,—
Buried nations, Tyrians, Grecians
Numberless, the ancient dead.
Gold and gems among them glisten,
Sword and helmet glimmer there,
While the shades of the unburied
Swarm above the haunted air.

Every billow has its shadow,
Tyrian, Grecian, Roman ghost;
O'er the waters, which submerged them,
Hovers still the countless host.
Thus, through shadowy armies ploughing,
Sail the ships which traverse thee;
Not a channel, but a charnel
Is thy floor, O Midland sea!

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 19.

Mrs. M. J. Peabody, 25 cents; John Wiley & Sons, $2; Robert Davis, $10.80; Charles Mead, $3.20; E. P. Hassinger, $4.50; J. S. Howes, $1; M. S. Wetmore, $3.20; J. T. Thornton, $3.20; T. C. Leland, $2; Joseph S. Hill, $3.20; Miss E. Swan, 25 cents; A. C. Woodruff, 10 cents; Dr. M. Houghton, $2; H. M. Cross, $2; C. S. Wilkins, $6.40; D. B. Harris, $3.20; Luke C. Childs, $3.20; Sarah D. Hawes, $3.20; A. Arnold, $11.44; S. B. Brillhart, $5; T. Lee, $5; Charles A. Sweet, $1.60; C. G. Clark, M.D., $3.20; Grove Bros., $6.40; A. W. Kelsey, 50 cents; Dr. J. E. Jones, $1; J. W. Marchant, $3.25; T. P. Watkins, $3.20; Cash, $1.80.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 24, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, *Editorial Contributors.*

REV. L. K. WASHBURN, minister of the Unitarian society at Revere, in this State, has been preaching sermons lately in which he has made such very true statements as that "this world deserves a better religion than Christianity," etc. We do not know that he is charged with any other offence than simply asserting his independence of the Christian theology. A statement by Mr. Washburn of his own position, and of the extraordinary steps taken by the conservatives to prove the genuineness of their Unitarian Christianity, will be found among the "Communications" on another page. The final result will probably be either that Mr. Washburn will be forced to leave his society, or that the society itself will be cut off from the Unitarian fellowship. We do not believe that any society which desires to retain this fellowship will be able to maintain at the same time the degree of pulpit freedom which Mr. Washburn bravely demands. It is to be hoped that the Revere society, a majority of which are evidently more radical than Unitarianism permits, will take steps to complete the victory they have gained for free-thought by explicitly terminating all connection with sectarian organizations. There is no other mode of preventing an ultimate wasting away of the present radical majority. It is not enough for the minister to declare his own freedom; if the society are unwilling to declare theirs too, failure is certain in the long run. But there is reason to expect no little nerve from a society which by a vote of four to one sustains a non-Christian preacher. A smaller fellowship must sometimes be sacrificed to secure a larger one; and it is well to remember that humanity is more than Unitarianism.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held at No. 35 Monroe Street, Toledo, Ohio, on Saturday, June 2, 1877, at half-past two o'clock, in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 31st, at 7.45 P. M., business session in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and consideration of the practical work of the Association. A special discussion is also invited on the proper interpretation of the word "scientific" in the first article of the Constitution of the Association.

Friday, June 1st, at 10.30 A.M. and 3 P.M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for Essays and Addresses. Morning subject: "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom." Essayist—Rev. Wm. R. Alger, of New York. Afternoon subject: "Internal Dangers of Free Thought." Essayist—C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, N.Y. Among the speakers invited whose attendance we have reason to expect are O. B. Frothingham and Prof. Felix Adler, of New York; Rabbi Lasker, of Boston; Wm. Henry Channing, of England; Rev. Dr. Dudley, of Boston; and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois. Further announcements hereafter, especially in the Boston dailies.

A Social Festival is to be held Friday evening at Horticultural Hall. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. There will be brief speeches, music, conversation, refreshments, and a chance to contribute to the Treasury of the Association.

W. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

"TRANSCENDENTALISM AND INTELLECTUAL LIBERTY."

Under the above caption, Mr. Mills contributes another letter to THE INDEX, for which we desire to express our sincere and cordial gratitude. It is only by the frank speech of those who take unlike views of great subjects that new truth can be elicited or made known to mankind; and Mr. Mills renders a very noble service to truth by an unflinching directness of criticism whose evident root is deep and powerful convictions of his own. It is precisely such writers as he whose coöperation we have always most earnestly coveted in these columns,—writers who hold convictions too precious in their own eyes to be covered up or withheld out of a mistaken deference or courtesy to other people's opinions, yet who know how to defend them without stooping to misrepresentation or incivility or unworthy tactics of any sort. No matter how much at variance with our own ideas or conclusions, we welcome most heartily all articles of this high quality; and if they should prove our own ideas or conclusions to be erroneous, so much the better for the interests of truth. When every strong thinker on religious subjects shall be willing to bring out his thought in its full strength side by side with the perhaps opposing thought of others, as Mr. Mills has done, the world will grow rapidly in spiritual wisdom. We wish that the discussion might lead to a similar expression of opinion by others, and thereby to a more thorough sifting of the true from the erroneous in the general mind. But meanwhile we must try to explain more satisfactorily the views which Mr. Mills so ably criticises.

1. It may be true, as he suggests, that our conception of "intellectual liberty" is confused; and, if so, we desire sincerely to be enlightened. He says that "liberty has its laws"; by which he probably means that the intellect must exercise its liberty in accordance with the natural laws of thought. To this we certainly assent; and we have never denied it. Mr. Mills, however, argues that some "primal postulate" must be taken for granted as the very condition of all knowledge, and instances the "validity of the impressions we receive of the outer world"—"the trustworthiness of your powers, your organs of knowledge." This is opening a very profound question, on which we briefly touched in our reply to Mr. Longfellow a fortnight ago. We hold that any assumed "postulate" must be submitted to verification by experience before it can be admitted as a necessary condition of knowledge. All that is really assumed by science is the *reality*, not the *validity*, of our sense-impressions; and science not only insists on her right to test these impressions (that is, to doubt their validity), but also on her right to correct them by comparison and reasoning, which are strictly intellectual processes. We are not aware that science rests on any "postulate" as an absolute truth independent of experience; and we think it by no means "absurd" to submit any such alleged "postulate" to the test of verification by experience. It is upon *experience as a fact*, not upon *any postulate as an abstract proposition*, that the slowly-built fabric of verified knowledge has been reared. "Intellectual liberty" is, of course, neither more nor less than the liberty of the intellect, which is the liberty of science; and we are obliged to believe that it is a violation of this liberty to deny to the scientific intellect the right of submitting all abstract propositions whatever to the test of verification by experience. Perhaps there is "confusion" and "subtile self-deception" in this position; but we really do not see where it is.

The protest of Free Religion against Transcendentalism, however, does not depend upon this position at all. It is the assumption of Transcendentalism that God, Immortality, and Duty are absolute truths "given in the constitution of the human mind," and absolutely certain independently of all experience,—the assumption that these are "intuitions" or "primal postulates" not subject to the test of scientific verification,—which seems to us to curtail unjustifiably the freedom of scientific investigation. It may be true that science must make some abstract fundamental postulate to start with, though we doubt it; but it would not follow that the Transcendental "intuitions" come properly under that head. This is the real assumption against which the protest of Free Religion lies. It is the function of the thinking faculty, the scientific intellect, to determine what is true; and it appears to us a very arbitrary limitation of intellectual liberty to say that the intellect must not exercise itself on those questions of solemn and all-surpassing moment: "Does God exist? Does man survive the grave? Is virtue nothing but a dream?"

What we would vindicate for human thought is the right to ask and to answer these weighty questions in utter freedom, and to seek the truth in these directions by the same method which has led to truth in so many others. That is the "head and front of our offending."

2. Mr. Mills would have us "affirm certain facts or realities" which transcend our own consciousness, not on the ground of any verifiable perception of the objective universe, but "by the very necessity of the being within us"; and he instances the infinitude of space, the infinitude of time, and substance. The implication, we presume, is that God, Immortality, and Duty are realities of the same order and known in the same way. But, to take the first of his own instances, it is very manifest to us that the belief in the infinitude of space is due solely to the scientific intellect, acting on the commonest data of experience. What space is we learn through our contact with the world about us; and what its infinitude is we learn by a simple analysis of the fact. That is, we learn by constant experience that everything we touch or handle exists in space, but that nothing can limit it—that space necessarily extends on all sides of all objects; hence, if we try to imagine any sort of a limit to space, no matter how far off, we infer instantly that space must still be on all sides of it, and cannot, therefore, be limited by it after all. The impossibility of a limit to space, even beyond the remotest nebula, is a short but necessary inference from our immediate experience; every wall, fence, enclosure, no matter what its nature, presupposes space on both sides of itself, and the very idea of a limit to space is a self-contradiction. In other words, the infinitude of space is no *à priori* intuition, but an irresistible conclusion of the scientific intellect. The inability of the imagination to form a *picture* of infinite space has nothing to do with this conclusion, which it can neither strengthen nor weaken, and which rests on no Transcendental "necessity" whatever.

A similar result could be explained in the case of the other given instances, but one must suffice.

3. Mr. Mills says frankly: "The Transcendentalist cannot submit his intuition, a veritable intuition, to the test of scientific verification, as Mr. Potter seems to suppose he ought, since," etc. This we have considered to be the necessary logical position of Transcendentalism; but all doubt on the point is removed by this explicit statement. It is plain that a real and radical difference exists between this philosophy and the scientific method; and a general recognition of it will conduce to clearness of thought and a good mutual understanding. But we ought in turn to admit that science has no "instruments," no "line and plummet," to apply in such great questions as these. The tests which science applies are always adapted to the nature of each special inquiry; but they can all be classed under the general head of Experience. Microscope, telescope, spectroscope are worthless in political economy, or sociology, or any other science which deals with moral forces and phenomena; yet all these anthropological sciences have their own appropriate modes of appealing to human experience as their general test of truth. So also the science of religion will develop its own peculiar forms of appeal to the same ultimate test; and we think that those who now dread the extension of the scientific method to religion will lose their apprehensions in this respect as time goes on. Science dignifies all it touches, and never degrades; it enlarges the bounds of thought, and never contracts them; it reveals new wonders and glories to the human soul, and never robs it of those it now beholds. Does not the universe appear more awfully magnificent, more vast and sublime, in proportion as the march of human thought discovers more and more of the marvellous secrets hidden from the less favored eyes of the past? Be it what it may, the majesty of truth surpasses forever the dreams of those who know it not, and superstition alone would arrest its slowly-rising veil. "Intellectual liberty," we repeat, is the liberty of the intellect, the liberty of thought, the liberty of science; and who or what shall dare to set bounds to its gradual but resistless expansion?

4. It may possibly be shown by advancing science that God, Immortality, and Duty (which, it must be borne in mind, are the only "intuitions" of Transcendentalism that are properly concerned in this discussion) are not *à priori* "laws of the soul," without reducing them on that account to mere "fictions of the fancy." If they should be shown to be something more and greater than "laws of the soul," which, say what you will, can never establish a claim

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to more than a merely subjective certainty,—if they should be shown to be *truths of the universe*, and clothed in all eyes with the majesty of the Eternal Nature of Things,—what Transcendentalist would not confess that the little taper of his philosophy could well be spared in the sunlight of science? It is not for us to announce beforehand the achievements of the enfranchised universal mind of humanity; yet we look for that splendid consummation with steadfast hope. Though the skies are but reddening with the early dawn, what one solitary watcher has beheld may be found in "The God of Science" and in "Darwin's Theory of Conscience"—lectures which may not be conclusive, yet which must be understood and refuted before we can be persuaded to despair of science.

5. In this section of his letter, Mr. Mills raises the abstruse question of *necessary truths*—the question which Kant undertook to answer in the world-famous *Critique of Pure Reason*. It will scarcely be considered proof of a wish to evade, if we forbear to undertake the settlement of such a question in a brief paragraph. But Mr. Mills will find our answers to some of the questions he here puts, if he will take the trouble to read patiently the lectures above mentioned.

6. We fail to see that "there is a Transcendental element subtly present in the mind of Science." That the ideas of space, time, and substance belong in science, we certainly admit, though we believe that they rest on the basis of verifiable experience. But we are obliged again to enter a mild protest against classing these ideas with the alleged "intuitions" of God, Immortality, and Duty,—the theological ideas which the scientific method insists on its right to submit to its own test of verification. It is the denial of this right in these particular instances, and in no others, that contains the infringement of intellectual liberty we find in Transcendentalism. We think it not improper to ask Transcendentalists to show sufficient cause why this denial should be made.

7. Possibly by our own lack of clearness, Mr. Mills misunderstands the purport of the question he quotes. We meant to inquire *how it can possibly be true* that Infinite Spirit is contained in a merely finite consciousness; we did not mean to take the fact for granted, for it is self-evidently not a fact at all. A finite consciousness may be in immediate relation to the infinite (*e. g.*, infinite space, as we have above clearly explained), but it cannot possibly contain it. The object of our question was to point out the necessity of considering Infinite Spirit a *universal and objective* fact, if it is a fact at all, and not an *individual and subjective* one, as Transcendentalism makes it by reducing it to a mere "idea given in the constitution of the human mind." That is, if educated humanity is to retain belief in Infinite Spirit at all, it can do so only on the ground that Infinite Spirit is a *truth of the universe*, and not a mere constitutive or regulative principle of thought. We are sorry that Mr. Mills fails to appreciate this point in its full force, for it involves the whole question at issue. Transcendentalism gives no warrant for believing in God at all otherwise than as a beautiful dream; it fails to afford any rational ground for considering universal Nature the self-expression of Infinite Spirit. If science shall (and we see strong reasons for believing it will) prove to be utterly unable to account for man as a cosmical fact except through a spiritual philosophy of the cosmos itself, theism will be established on a basis of reason and not of blind, irrational faith. But we cannot see how Transcendentalism with its fatal subjectivity can rescue theism from the influences of modern science, which insists more and more on viewing the universe as a unit. Surely this is no trivial or captious criticism; it deserves to be considered most seriously and fairly and fully.

8. It is true that "difficulties" will always remain to human thought, but thought exists to clear them up one by one. When the argument advanced in "The God of Science" has been discussed and set aside, we shall do our best to meet the demand for another "solution"; but until then, the demand is not in order. We have there pointed out that science itself has discovered in the cosmos an all-pervading unity of force, unity of action, unity of plan; that these things are the characteristics of intelligence as it works under our direct observation; and that this analogy points to scientific theism as the true cosmical philosophy. We wait still for a refutation of this argument. It may, perhaps, be easily refuted, but we are also "a trifle curious" in this matter.

9. Mr. Mills says of Infinite Spirit: "If objective, it would be determinate, and, if determinate, not infinite." Apply the same reasoning to infinite space, and it would reduce this to what Kant considered it, a merely subjective "form of the sensibility." But the outcome of this position is idealism, which, if logical, ends in absolute egoism—the doctrine that the thinker's consciousness is the sole existence, and that the whole universe is a mere phase or inward phenomenon of it. Transcendentalism cannot help travelling the same path; it ends, as we have pointed out, in a hopeless subjectivity. Such a philosophy seems to us thoroughly unhealthy, and we turn with relief to the wholesome atmosphere of science.

10. We do not think it legitimate to treat intuition now as a merely subjective experience, and now as both subjective and objective. But we cannot pause to dwell further on this point at present.

11. The manner in which we vindicate the "authority of the moral ideal" is stated at great length in the lecture on "Darwin's Theory of Conscience," to which we must simply refer. But we see how nobly Mr. Mills vindicates it in his own earnest, scrupulous, devoted pursuance of truth, and we acknowledge with admiration that it is impossible for science to offer a finer illustration of obedience to the high ethics of philosophical discussion than Transcendentalism offers to us all in the writings of this brave and single-minded man.

THE POINT.

The present writer received, a few days ago, a visit from a well-known French man of letters and reformer who was under concern in regard to the prospect of religious trouble in this country. He was, himself, a man of extremely radical views, had taken part in the social agitations of France, and suffered exile on account of his words and actions. He is still an exile, seeking employment for his pen. So strong is his antipathy to organized and State religion that, though a man of cultivated feeling, he would be willing to see the Church of Notre Dame in Paris destroyed, and in its place a great central railway-station built. It was his mature conviction that, sooner or later, there must be a religious war in Europe, which, he believed, would extend over England, and reach America. "Why should it not?" he asked; "has human nature changed its character by crossing the Atlantic Ocean? Has Romanism renounced here any of its old pretensions? Has ecclesiasticism abandoned its pride or its policy? Does not religion still, in the New World as in the Old, claim to be of supernatural origin, and therefore supreme over the State? Is not the Church of Rome making prodigious gains in this land? Has it not already gained a foothold in society? Is it not becoming rich with public plunder?"

Some of these questions were easily answered to the inquirer's perfect satisfaction. The numbers and apparent wealth of the Roman Church were explained on simple principles. But the only consideration that acted as a sedative on this excited mind, was that of the *separation between religion and politics*. In Europe, Church and State are so closely associated as to be identified; what disturbs the one unsettles the other. The political reformer confronts the Church as soon as he stirs. The priest is his immediate foe. The radical leaders of the first French Revolution went so far as to meditate the complete abolition of Christianity, the eradication of its tradition. Their failure to do this implied their failure to alter the political institutions of France. *As yet*, my French friend was assured that no such alliance was formed in America; *at present*, no such alliance seemed possible. In many parts of the country, particularly the West and South-west, there is a vehement determination to keep religion entirely out of politics; there is a strong anti-religious spirit, atheistical, materialistic, which detests religion under all forms, and will make no terms with it in case it intrudes into the province of practical affairs. The Europeans there associate religion with despotism, and regard it with distrust even in its mildest form. The Church, unless its reputation for sagacity has been greatly overrated, will be careful how it arouses the lion from its slumber, and will in common prudence, for its own sake, be contented with what it can acquire in the way of spiritual influence and wealth. The wise among its own members will counsel prudence, even though they may desire political sway. Their best men will sincerely resist any plans of encroachment contemplated by priestly or clerical fanatics, being honestly attached to republican institutions, and sufficiently well-read in history to dread every form of alliance between Church and State. The best men of our acquaintance in the Orthodox sects, editors, conductors of journals, lawyers, men of business, men of society, are, so we told M. Reclus, heartily and resolutely friends of democratic institutions, and in the event of an issue between the secular and the ecclesiastical systems would without hesitation hold to the former. Indeed, our only fear was from the over-confidence of *these men*, their scorn of the very suspicion of an ecclesiastical plot, their contempt of the movements initiated, and their indignation at the implied danger to free institutions in America from unecclesiastical religion. Romanism they do distrust and fear. But Protestant episcopacy is a harmless simulacrum, the real life whereof consists in the Protestant idea that lies at its centre; and evangelicalism in its various forms is, in their opinion, too much concerned with "spiritual" matters to engage in politics.

M. Reclus listened attentively and was much relieved at our presentation of the case. Still, there remained the ugly fact of *over-confidence* which had so many times in Europe wrecked disastrously the liberal cause. He had learned to dread over-confidence on the part of wise and good men as the most alarming indication of weakness and the surest presage of defeat. All might, and probably would, be safe, he admitted, if they who had eyes used them to see with; otherwise, the wily fiend of supernaturalism would, he felt sure, take advantage of the opportunity which free institutions offer, and work in America the same evils that had cursed Europe. There is no magic spell in republicanism to avert the calamity which supineness, aiding credulity, may bring down. The shadow was still on his countenance, therefore, when he went from the door.

O. B. F.

Communications.

THE FUNERAL OF MRS. STILES.

CHICAGO, May 7, 1877.

A recent event of interest, and one which may very properly form the subject of a letter to THE INDEX, is found in the death and funeral services of Mrs. Stiles, wife of Gen. I. N. Stiles, of this city, a prominent lawyer, and one of our most uncompromising radicals. Mrs. Stiles was a woman of rare mental ability; and when during the past few years her attention became directed to those life-questions of gravest import, the shadow of whose presence broods lovingly, though darkly, over us all, it was not surprising that one of her peculiar intellectual intrepidity should follow the line of investigation therein marked out to its farthest, and what seems to many its only legitimate, conclusion. Mrs. Stiles came therefore to share the opinion of her husband, that of complete uncertainty as to the beginning and end of things; and when she died, it was without any expression either of hope or dismay. As bravely and frankly as she had always stated her convictions, so bravely and serenely did she yield to the inevitable.

After her death, when the question was raised as to the character of the services to follow, Gen. Stiles, remembering that the coming of death is not only an occasion for mourning, but one for the justification of the life preceding it, wisely concluded to dispense with the customary funeral ceremonies, and substitute some brief and simple exercises more in accordance with the belief and practice of himself and his now dead wife. These exercises were conducted by himself and the members of the Athena, a small literary society of ladies, many of whose members were personal friends of the deceased. In a voice which only occasionally faltered, Gen. Stiles told the story of his wife's life, prefacing the account with a few explanatory remarks, the gist of which was that, if either Mrs. Stiles or himself had claimed among the clergy of the city a personal friend, there would have been no objection to such a one being present and publicly expressing his sympathy, not as a minister but as a friend. As such did not happen to be the case, there seemed no more reason for inviting a clergyman, as such, than a member of any other profession. The feeling on the part of the family and friends was, that those who knew Mrs. Stiles best were the ones to properly administer the last rites of love and respect.

For the past winter the principal work of the Athena has been a thorough study of Spencer's *Synthetic Philosophy*, a work which they were led to adopt as much through Mrs. Styles' influence as that of any other one member. The President, Miss Richards, said in her address: "As a society we owe her a debt of gratitude, which we cannot now estimate, for the active influence which she exerted in leading us to adopt a course of modern philosophy and original thought in our work. The study of Spencer's *First Principles* this year has been more fruitful in interest and substantial results than that of any previous year of our organization. The mental grasp and reverent attitude of Herbert Spencer in the presence of universal law has been to many of us a new revelation, and our weekly reunions have furnished inspiration for grand conceptions of life. No one of our members brought to this study more enthusiasm, or a more just appreciation, and no member was more instructive than she." After the address followed music, and the reading of a few

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verses from Mrs. Browning's "De Profundis" by one of the members of the class.

The conventional funeral of the present day, with its publicity and stately gloom, is a feature of our civilization so horribly discordant with modern progressive thought, that rational people gladly welcome any innovation which, setting aside bare, comfortless ceremonies, shall reveal more plainly the sweet sacredness of the time and place. Gen. Stiles did what seemed to him the most and the only fitting thing to do; but so pointed a disregard of established customs did not of course pass without comment. The city press, for the most part, spoke of the affair respectfully, though with decorously expressed surprise. The *Tribune* dwelt at some length and rather plaintively on the anomaly always presented by faithlessness in women; but possibly the opinions of the *Tribune* and the world in general are destined to undergo some modification concerning the essential nature of both women and religion. Religion needs to be reinvigorated by the introduction of a more manly element, and the prevailing type of womanliness would not be injured by a slight infusion of scepticism.

Prof. Swing, in a late sermon on "Public Morals," referred to the circumstances of Mrs. Stiles' death in illustration of the principle he wished to establish, that atheism in belief tended inevitably towards immortality in conduct. Where an exception was manifest, as in the case of Mrs. Stiles, whose rigorous truthfulness and upright life none questioned, the cause was due to the age in which she lived, and no special merit need be given to the principles she professed. A noble character, in short, when accompanied by what the Church calls atheistic views, is to be accredited, not to the nearer, but the remoter influences which have surrounded it. Prof. Swing can see only disproportion and inharmony between infidelity and morality; and if it were possible in these days of intelligent disbelief to narrow one's conceptions of infidelity to that blatant self-conceit which distinguishes itself by that name, and of which history has furnished us an example in the French Revolution, then we might share his wonder, and join with him in a plaint of pity over a distorted life. We have to remember that the majority of those irreconcilables we call atheists are such chiefly by our implication. "Atheist" is a term which the religious world applies to one who does not accept its dogmas; but it is not therefore one which the irreligious world accepts. The *professed* atheist, the man who construes a creed out of his unbelief, is too hopelessly imbecile to represent anything but his own folly; and with such a one it is vain to look for the blossom of a wise and gracious spirit to spring out of the refuse-heap of old and cast-off opinions. But the atheism which is so-called because it refuses to utter convictions concerning things it knows nothing about, is precisely that mental state which leads to and produces the purest and highest morals. Atheism frequently means nothing worse than modesty in arriving at conclusions, and strict truthfulness in the utterance of them. To dogmatize is to tyrannize; and a devout expression of ignorance is as good a sign as we need require of that meek and lowly spirit which our Christian friends are ever beseeching us to cultivate.

It is to be hoped that the lesson contained in this little episode I have so poorly described will not be lost, and that all liberals especially will lay it to heart. Not that all liberals need follow the example of Gen. Stiles and dispense with all religious exercises, but that each should resort to them as a final consolation, in exact proportion as he has depended on them for support in life. The Orthodox seize upon the funeral as the occasion to emphasize the meaning of their creeds and tenets, and the liberal and radical should be no less anxious to improve that grand and final opportunity wherein they may testify in life's supremest trial what life's supremest joy has been.

CELIA P. WOOLLEY.

REV. MR. WASHBURN ON THE REVERE CHURCH CASE.

REVERE, May 14, 1877.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Mr. ——— told me that you would like to know the facts in regard to the controversy in our Unitarian Church here. You have passed through a similar trial, and therefore can appreciate the situation. . . . The truth is, I am no more radical now than when I began preaching here in 1874. I have always been independent, never joining any religious body or organization. I did not unite with the Unitarian Church or with the American Unitarian Association when I was admitted to the Unitairan denomination by ordination. I was ordained *without council*, refusing to answer questions in regard to my theological belief. I was accepted without my religious faith being known. But in Ipswich I was as radical as I have ever been. I may express my thoughts differently, but I have essentially the same belief, theologically, that I had when ordained in Ipswich in 1870. The words which are printed and circulated here and elsewhere in order to "*expose*" me are as follows:—

"*I believe that the Christian doctrines are false and injurious, and that they should be disproved and cut from our civilization. They deform it. Let us rid the world of worship of Jesus; of worship of the Bible; of the silly and nonsensical performances witnessed in Christian churches.*"

You will agree with me that there is nothing that deserves special criticism in the above from a radical stand-point; but *Unitarians* care more for the *Christian name* than for the *Christian doctrines*, and I must take the penalty decreed for all those who touch this sacred (?) name.

On Sunday, April 1st, our annual parish-meeting was held. A standing committee was chosen by a vote of four to one in favor of me. The minority withdrew, and petitioned a Justice of the Peace to call a *legal* meeting for April 15th, at which meeting another set of parish officers was elected. The following Sabbath this committee voted to close the church for repairs, which was accordingly done. We made no attempt to enter Sunday, April 22d; but the next Sunday services were held, we gaining admittance to the church by means of a duplicate key. When I entered the church, there were fourteen or fifteen persons in the vestibule, four being ladies. I crossed to one of the fly-doors, where I was seized by the coat-collar by the *Justice of the Peace*—who called the spurious meeting,—who attempted to put me out of the building. I was holding on to the handle of the fly-door when he assaulted me, and in the struggle the door was pulled down. I had a book, my sermon, and an umbrella in my left hand and under my left arm, and kept hold of the handle of the door with my right hand. I did not touch the man who assaulted me. I had him brought before the Police Court of Chelsea a week ago Friday. He continued the case one week, and last Friday Judge Bates sentenced him to pay $10 and costs for assault. So much for that.

Tuesday, May 1st, we had a hearing before Judge Gray of the Supreme Court, who ruled that *neither* Parish Committee was legally chosen (we neglected to have our call for a meeting signed by the standing committee), and that the old committee held over from the last valid election, ten members of which are in my favor. On Sunday, May 5, we found the church windows barred, the doors and scuttles barricaded, and the key-hole filled with chips; but we surmounted these slight obstacles and preached at the usual hour. Yesterday the church was not fastened, so I guess the battle is about over.

The feelings of the people here can only be imagined. Insults and abuse are freely given, but, as we are in the right, we can afford to submit to such things.

It is a persecution which every man has to bear who tries to help the world forward. So far, the radicals are victorious, and we "*hold the fort.*" . . .

Yours truly, L. K. WASHBURN.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

No. XI.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

Before dismissing the consideration of the God-idea, let me observe that the seeming contradictoriness of the equality, in a sense, and of the inequality, in another sense, of the pivotal or central point and the circum-stantial or environing points of a group, makes it a difficult conception; or a complex idea, such as simplicity of mental constitution is apt to find difficult. Hence an illustration is needed. We have a similar complexity in the American theory of the political constitution of society, in which it is held that *inherently* every citizen is the equal of every other citizen, while yet the man elected to any office is recognized as *officially* the superiot of the others. The President of the United States is the pivotal man, the highest in rank, the supreme man in this sphere of affairs, and is duly and spontaneously honored as such, in the face of the opposite theory that all men are equal. The Catholic Church makes a similar discrimination between the official infallibility of the Pope, and his fallibility, in common with all other men, as an individual; and so of the official and the merely personal conduct, morally, of the priesthood.

The idea which was propounded in the preceding article, then, is that the theology of Jesus was, and that the true scientific theology is, that there is *inherent* equality, and even identity of character between God and Man; with an official difference of rank merely, resulting from the central position assigned to that which is inmost—the God-position—in the ideal constitution of universal things.

We may now take a step farther on, and affirm that there is still a third sense, in which it is alike philosophically legitimate to affirm the superiority and supremacy of Man over God, of the Human over the Divine. It is a bold proposition, considering existing theological prejudices, to affirm that God and Man are in any sense equal; and a bolder one to affirm that the true Man-idea is higher than the God-idea. Yet this is distinctly what I mean—but only in a given sense which shall be presently defined. It is distinctive of the scientific method that it discriminates different points of view; and adjusts whole ranges of thought to the given point of view from which they take their departure, countervailing oftentimes whole ranges of thought which are equally legitimate, from another and opposite point of view. In this manner the whole heavens may be viewed as we naturally (naturismally) view them from our standing-point on the earth; or we may view them along with the astronomer—inverting the whole order—from the sun, as the sciento-ideal standing-point of observation.

In what sense then can it be said that Man is higher than God? Legitimately, scientifically, demonstrably, and undeniably so said? In that sense—whatever it may come to mean, when the analogies shall all be carried out—in which the Diverse is higher than the Unitive; in which the Perispheric is higher than the Centric; in which Heterogeneity is higher than Homogeneity; in which Two is higher than One.

God is the eternal unchangeable one, τὸ ἓν of the old Greek philosophy; him in whom "there is no variableness nor shadow of turning"—in the Hebrew conception. Man, as the contrasted pole of the conception, is the Many, essential Variableness, infinite Diversity—and that Infinite Variety in Unity which is the higher and the highest conception, embraces God and Man in their joint relationship; and "the scientific method in theology" authorizes us to inquire into and establish *all the phases of that relationship*.

To recur to the American theory of the political constitution of society. There is here also this third idea, announced and made distinctly emphatic; that the common citizen, or rather the many-headed public, is the superior, the true sovereign in relation to all so-called governors whatsoever; the true source of power, the supreme lodgment of authority. *Per contra*, the governor or officer of whatsoever rank is, from this point of view, the servant of the people. *Government exists only for the people.* This is the American doctrine, the Occidental doctrine, the modern doctrine, the advanced or progressive doctrine, technically, the scientismal doctrine. *The people exist only for the government.* That was and is the Asiatic doctrine, the Oriental doctrine, the ancient doctrine, the retrogressive or conservative doctrine; technically, the naturismal doctrine.

Let me repeat then, that we have in America (and in a less pronounced way in Europe also) a mixed condition of affairs, an Asiatic and traditional theology, with an Occidental and partially scientized system of politics.

We have never heretofore had *the American system of theology*. Theology is merely *the theoretical, political system of the universe.* It is the theory of God's government of mankind (in the enlarged sense, including all "subordinate" rational existences). Theology and politics are therefore identical in essence, differing only in the sphere or domain of their application. They should, therefore, be in some sort of theoretical harmony with each other. But by the Asiatic and despotic conception, which as yet absolutely dominates all theological conceptions, Man exists solely "for the glory of God"; whereas, if the analogy of our Western political conceptions holds good, then God exists only for the well-being and happiness of the rational universe.

There is, however, a fourth aspect of the analogy which restores to God his supremacy; only, however, still, in a modified sense. It is again Jesus who furnishes the key-word to this new aspect of the great subject of personal relationships in these beautiful words: "He that would be greatest among you let him *serve*." In the *sphere* of *service* or uses, the official and governmental function is magnified; and so the American finds the way of honoring and glorifying the presidential function, while at the same time boasting of "the sovereign people," and proclaiming that "the governors are merely the servants of the people." There is nothing shocking from this point of view, in the idea of the *duties of God*.

In all this treatment of the subject, I have made no unauthorized or surreptitious assumption of the existence of God. As I have defined the God-idea, God must exist, and inevitably, therefore, does exist: first as an abstractable aspect of Universal Being; and afterwards, personally, in all pivotal personality, whether as manifested in Buddha, in Jesus, or elsewhere. The concreting or incarnation of abstract aspects or principles of being in the real, and so of the God-idea in actual personality is as philosophical as it is Orthodox.

But the worship of a personal God, or of incarnated God-hood, is merely an enlarged hero-worship. It is the worship or worthship, or the recognition of the worthship of superior and pivotal manhood. In this transitional and emphatically *scientismal* age (incipiently so), the tonic or key-note of opinion is the more and more absolute denial of hero-worship. Hence the idea of the personality of God suffers likewise,—an idea which dominated without question during the naturismus of the evolution of human life on the planet. When abstract principles shall have been fully vindicated as fundamental, and more governing than personality, another revulsion will occur; and in and during the artismus, the long stretch of the "Paradise Regained," or of the "High Harmony" of the human career on the planet, hero-worship, in a modified sense, on the higher, critical, and discriminating plane, will return, and will, more thoroughly than ever, permeate the whole social structure. Every kind and variety of merit will be sought out, distinctified and honored, as embodying some abstract principle already abstractly recognized and appreciated. Gods many and lords many will constitute the true and truly divine aristocracy of that more blessed day; because in that day the only title to honorable office will be the greater capacity and willingness truly to serve. The necessity in us to worship, is merely the spontaneous urge in us, first to divine and then to discriminate the genuine superiorities of individual being.

The intuition divines and the reflective or scientific intellect discriminates. Allow me for a moment to intervene in the very able, lucid, and important discussion just now occurring between Mr. Gannett and Mr. Abbot on this matter of the intuition and the scientific intellect. The intuition (so it seems to me from the analogies) coincides with and repeats the senses. The etymology of the word indicates this. It means perception by the eye, but, representatively, direct perception by all the senses. We should have the word extuition for the use of the outer senses, and intuition for that of the inner senses. What the testimony of the intuition is good for may therefore best be inquired about by inquiring what the use of the senses amounts to, and in how far they are to be relied upon. Undoubtedly they go for something. They give us, except in cases of disease, a true testimony as to appearances, from that, whatever it is, which is the object of them; and for ordinary purposes we accept their testimony. But we learn by reflection on our farther experiences, that there is (at least often) a truth of appearance, and a truth of inherence which are exactly opposite

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to each other; as expressed in the universological formula: ANTITHETICAL REFLECTION OF INHERENCE AND APPEARANCE.

For example, in running along a coast in a boat, the coast seems to fly back from us, while we seem to be at rest; while yet precisely the opposite is the inherency of the truth of the subject. So we seem to see the sun rise, whereas we learn by astronomical study that just the contrary has happened; namely, that the eastern horizon has sunk to precisely the extent to which the sun seemed to have risen. We may now discriminate three stages of knowledge in respect to these facts. First, there is the naturismal stage, in which the simple, childlike, trusting mind accepts in good faith the testimony of the senses; or, internally, of the intuition. Second, there is the scientismal stage, in which the primal testimony of the senses, having become *suspect*, is submitted to tests and convicted of fallacy, and the opposite statement is enthroned. And finally, there is the third or artismal stage, in which it is perceived that there is a kind and portion of truth contained in the primitive testimony of the senses, and another and counterparting kind and portion of truth contained in the revisional verdict of the scientific intellect, and that the totality of the truth embraces and reconciles them both, while yet discriminating them most sharply, and assigning to each only that kind and degree of validity to which its true nature entitles it.

But—*and herein is the supreme or governing character of the Scientific Method*—this work of discrimination, and assignment of relative values (its own included) is exerted *by the revisionary action of scientism*. It is as certain as that our heads are at the tops of our bodies, and not worn under our arms, that the intellect is the supreme faculty in man; and the sooner the world wakes up to the full recognition of this *great* truth, the sooner humanity will graduate out of its non-age and enter upon its adult and manly and final development. The case is not cited here as a mere rhetorical illustration, but as a true scientific analogy, and as an instance of that which will guide us into the totality of solutions, or in the words of Jesus, "into the knowledge of all truth."

Some startling results arise out of these views. First, it would seem that the special and awe-struck worship of God, as the back-lying source of things, the undifferentiated mental unity, the protoplasmal stage of mental evolution, the ideal one person out of whose generative loins came all the visible creations, and preëminently man or the rational universe,—that the supreme and continuous special worship of this undifferentiated unitive being belongs characteristically and specially to the infancy or primitive stage of mental evolution,—quite as children appreciate personality before they can recognize principles; and that it falls, therefore, legitimately, at a certain period into relative unimportance. It would then seem that in a second stage of mental evolution the category of Plurality (and the inter-relationship of parts) becomes, in an orderly way, paramount over the category of mere primal indiscriminated Unity, and that the business of the race for a term of time is to become acquainted with Laws and Principles; to lay aside its childish veneration of paramount personality; to discover, announce, and celebrate its own individual and distributed values, and to proclaim the equality of man with man, and logically of man with God also,—an atheistic age from the point of view of the old theology,—a religion in its own eyes, of the abstract truth, lead where it may. It would then again seem, that in a third stage of the same grand career of rational unfoldment, the pivotal personality idea will be again called in, under modification; *principles* will be recognized as *embodied in persons*, in an ascending hierarchy of diverse excellence; society will gather around some supreme pivot or group of pivots themselves pivoted: and the grand orchestral harmony of all human affairs will be evolved, with the cordial and devout readoption of so much of the primitive God idea and mystical worship, as the intuitions chastened and sifted by the intellect may then retain.

The God-idea is the pivot idea of universal being, or the rational pivotation of the universe; but, primally, it is, still, *indefinite* pivot. It is the general, or rather universalized idea of *centre*, which may still be any or everywhere; for God, while inmost and central relatively to the totality of being, is, at the same instant, and in contradiction of that idea, endowed with the attribute of omnipresence. The God-idea is not, therefore, the idea of any *determinate* or *fixed* centre.

The idea is, hence the *homogenismus*, and the *indeterminate homogenismus* of the universal rational conception. Man, on the other hand, that is to say, the multiplicity of individual beings, is the *heterogenismus* and the *determinate heterogenismus* of this same universal rational conception. Man is mathematically definite. A census of mankind is among the practical possibilities; but the census of the God-idea has proved to be impossible; hence Polytheism, Trinitarianism, Unitarianism, as different aspects of the *homogenoid* and indefinite truth in this behalf. The higher development of the God-idea tends, however, towards and ends upon the unit; as the higher development of the Man-idea tends toward multiplicity, or rich abundance of population, culminating in "the innumerable hosts of heaven." Fewness is the Divine, and Manyness is the Human pole of the Numerismus (the universal domain of number). The struggle between the Triune and the Unit is the finality, as yet attained to, of the theological contest.

Now nothing is more familiar at our day among thinkers, than the Spencerian generalization of evolution, which I abridge, for the moment, into the formula of: *A change from an indefinite homogeneity to a definite heterogeneity.* We have only to glance at the connections to perceive that the true and necessary order of the evolution of the universal rational conception is from the predominance of the God-idea to the predominance of the Human idea in the unfoldment of social opinion and affairs. Another glance at the actual state of the world will show the same thing. There is, however, the Ulterior third stage of reconvergency and reconciliation unnoted by Spencer, unless we find it implicitly contained in the meaning of the word "coherent" which I have omitted from the formula.

THE MOTTO "IN GOD WE TRUST."

BOSTON, May 9, 1877.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Can you tell who is responsible for the "In God we trust" found on our coins from the nickel five-cent piece, upwards? It is even found on the copper two-cent pieces.

Was it ordered by act of Congress, or is it the work of some Evangelical Secretary? "No Trust" used to be a good motto for monetary matters. Why is this thus?

ANXIOUS INQUIRER.

[The *Christian Statesman* of July 22, 1876, is our authority for stating that Rev. Dr. H. A. Boardman, of Philadelphia, preached a sermon in that city on Sept. 14, 1862, in which he lamented that "the coinage of the United States is without a God"; that soon after Director Pollock, of the United States Mint, with the help of Secretary Chase, procured the passage of an act of Congress declaring that "the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may cause the motto 'In God we trust' to be inscribed upon such coins as shall admit of such motto"; and that this clause remains in the revised Mint laws of 1873. We are sorry to say that the Centennial Congress of Liberals, not being aware of these facts, passed a resolution condemning the Director of the Mint for exceeding his legal authority in this matter, and that its condemnation was so far unjust. It is due to the Congress to add that we are personally responsible for the presentation of this unjust resolution, which was founded on erroneous information sent to us from Washington by a government *employé*. It is needless to state that we greatly regret the injustice which we thus unwittingly helped to commit, but which we hope at some time to be able to repair at least to some extent. The danger of trusting to second-hand statements has been painfully illustrated in this matter, but we should be ashamed not to retract a charge which proves to have been unjust.—ED.]

A HINT.

Already Mr. Cook has spoken many times against Theodore Parker in his Monday course of lectures. He has an inalienable right, which no radical is likely to dispute, to choose his own subjects, and *dead* antagonists; but he forcibly reminds me of the old story of a man who was found vehemently beating a dead dog, and who, being asked why he was doing so, paused with the sweat rolling down his face and replied: "I want to let him know there's a punishment after death!"

Now Parker is dead, and cannot profit by or defend himself against Mr. Cook's criticisms; and moreover, he has left many friends and relatives who may be "deeply pained" by Mr. Cook's utterances, which seem therefore hardly magnanimous. But there is in this city an astute little editor who has some reputation in metaphysics—Mr. Cook's own *forte*,—and who, in spite of the hard winter, I believe, is not yet quite dead. Few care for him! Why could not a public controversy be arranged to be held between these two for the holy sake of truth? The writer (who takes on himself the sole responsibility of this hint) would be glad to subscribe according to his means.

X.

HOW TO HELP.

PASSAIC, N. J., May 9, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—May I suggest to the subscribers of THE INDEX, and especially to those who desire to see it constantly improved, that each one take sufficient interest in the matter to cut out and send to you any and all newspaper articles which he or she, if editor, would make use of, in whole or in part, in making up the paper from week to week? In this way all may help to keep the editor fully-informed about passing events interesting to freethinkers.

Yours truly, F. A. ANGELL.

[This is a suggestion directly in the line of our own wishes. It is always a great favor to receive such extracts, especially when accompanied with the *name* and *date* of the paper. Mr. Angell himself has often rendered us the kind service he recommends, for which we seize this opportunity of cordially thanking him.—ED.]

A WELL-KNOWN bank president of Worcester, according to the *Gazette*, remarked on hearing of the bank robbery at Northampton: "I'm sick of this rascally world. Don't want to see or do business with anybody. I'd rather be an old farmer, living on a cross road, four miles from the sight of everybody, with a barrel of cider and two hogs, than to have anything to do with banks, money, or men."

EXTRACTS FROM "GERM THOUGHTS."*

1. Whatever pain there may be in the performance of a duty, there will be more in the neglect of it.
2. When our interests lie in a certain direction, how ingenious we are in making our reasoning follow it!
3. Intemperance is alike injurious to the health, the understanding, and the fortune.
4. If half the pains and expense were bestowed to keep men out of jail that are bestowed to get and keep them in, what would society be?
5. In teaching, pay the most attention to the worst pupils. Then you will have *no bad* ones.
6. Knowledge is useful, because we cannot do without knowledge.
7. Think, know, and act.
8. Since women are the friends and companions of men, their education ought to be as similar as possible. Educate women and men in the same manner.
9. Whether is it better to estimate a man's merit by the number of his friends or enemies?
10. It is of the utmost consequence to educate children in simplicity of food. Early tastes can never be eradicated.
11. No man is qualified for an occupation when he commences it.
12. The *secret* of education is to know how children feel and think.
13. Is it not better that a nation should stand high in prudence, morals, courage, and honor, than that it should be eminent in sciences, arts, and letters.
14. We always think pleasure short, and pain long.
15. A good education is the sure and infallible step to happiness. A bad one must lead to misery.
16. Wisdom and virtue are habits, and folly and vice are nothing more.
17. Ignorant virtue is better than knowing vice.
18. I am convinced that many idiots are idiots by education, or rather by non-education, just as the use of many a limb is lost for want of exercise, or by improper treatment.
19. "An idiot," says Helvetius, "is a person without memory." And "the art of memory," says Johnson, "is the art of attention." Therefore to give a person observation is to make him not an idiot.
20. Can it be just to condemn an individual to death for a crime which is the certain result of a bad education?
21. A good education means good learning, good knowledge, good power of both body and mind.
22. I would not allow any man to teach my son who would not acknowledge that every cause produces an effect, which few school-masters do allow.
23. The resources of the nation, if the nation knew how to employ them, are sufficient to check crime, empty the jails, give employment to the poor, and put all things to rights in a few years. Our wiseacres have been told and believe that all this crime and punishment are the necessary results of the "original depravity of human nature." They are the results of nothing but ignorance and apathy.
24. War is better than slavery.
25. The legislature is to the nation what a parent is to his family,—bound to protect, feed, and instruct every member of it.
26. We think our education begins only when we are sent to school. A fatal mistake this! But it saves a world of trouble to lazy parents.
27. A fop dresses as if the whole of his merit was in his outside.
28. Most men are such slaves to habit and circumstance, that they are compelled to remain in the road to misery. It is the philosopher alone who emancipates himself, turns round, and takes the direct road to happiness.
29. The science of morals is as exact as the science of geometry; otherwise it were a pity.
30. A man's real wants, like his real magnitude, are but little. Why should his desires be so boundless?
31. Man has no power over his birth nor over his death. Has he any over his life? But little.
32. The human mind is so constituted that it can make reasonable and pleasant progress with reasonable and pleasant instruction.
33. How can men who have passed their time in schools and colleges know the human mind, or institute judicious modes of discipline?
34. Teach your pupils obedience in action, and freedom in thought.
35. If an important truth is advanced, it is of no consequence to society who is the advancer.
36. Theologians maintain that the virtuous are miserable in this world in order to be happy in the next, and that the vicious are happy in this world to be punished in the next. These men are certainly very profound, but there is neither sense nor utility in this. Why not permit the virtuous to be rewarded *here* as well as hereafter? This life is at least as certain as the next. Besides, the whole doctrine is absurd,—an encouragement to knaves, and a discouragement to honest men.
37. Some men are merely reflective; others are merely exertive. The perfect character is both.
38. Wars are the lawsuits of nations; kings and statesmen are the lawyers, who always take care to exact large fees.
39. Men in every age have known more than they have practised.
40. The whole system of some theologians is a scheme of selfishness and injustice. An infinite reward for a finite merit, and for a finite offence, an infinite punishment.
41. Mind can no more be said to exist without body than motion can exist independent of matter.
42. Truth is a moral pressure to which error must yield, if the pressure be long enough continued.

* *Germ Thoughts:* in Morals, Politics, Education, and Philosophy. By Joseph Hine. Aylott & Co., 8 Paternoster Row. Price 1s. 6d. May be had from Willis Knowles, Hyde, England.

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3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

"AN OBSCURE INFIDEL SHEET" demurely suggests to His Lectureship that he petition the Legislature for a change of name, and hereafter advertise himself as the Rev. Joseph Cock; for of all the chanticleers that ever crowed, none croweth so "cockily" as he.

GAIL HAMILTON declares that Mrs. Grant was "as innocent of crimps" as Mrs. Hayes is, but "nobody ever founded a Young Women's Christian Association on it." Gail is saucy but shrewd. She sees the greedy avidity of the Evangelicals to turn Mrs. Hayes' weak fanaticisms to their own account.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT pays to the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergy salaries amounting to over $10,000,000 annually. But the Ultramontanes take their orders from the Pope, and now threaten the destruction of the French Republic to gratify Jesuit ambition. No wonder that Gambetta has warned the nation against the "clerical policy."

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment Petition have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Mr. Karl Schemann, Detroit, Mich., 217; from Mr. Werner Opes, Morrow, O., 74; from Mr. Seth N. Allen, Maple Rapids, Mich., 30; Dr. I. Kanla, New Ulm, Minn., 88; Mr. Almond Owen, Milwaukee, Wis., 68; Mr. Edw. Aschermann, Milwaukee, Wis., 114. Total thus far received—5,935.

THE ATTITUDE of the Russian government on the question of the freedom of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles strikingly resembles that of our own government on the emancipation question at the outbreak of the Civil war. Congress and President at first disavowed all intention of interfering with slavery, but ended by abolishing it; Russia disavows all intention of meddling with Constantinople, but (if she conquers) will end probably by seizing it.

LIBERALISM is evidently not unknown in Australia, since Brisbane has a "Freethought Association." Mr. Gavin Pettigrew not long since read before this society a very thoughtful and radical lecture on "The Divine Being"; but the Brisbane *Telegraph*, which published it in its issue of March 17, could not give it to the public except as an "advertisement," whence it may safely be inferred that Orthodoxy is so strong in Australia as to require propitiation.

THE PRESBYTERIAN General Assembly at Chicago has ventured to grapple with destiny so far as to condemn Sunday newspapers. But there is food for thought in the spectacle of Orthodoxy deliberately following the Pope in an aggressive warfare against modern civilization. Civilization will win in the end, but only because Evangelicalism is plotting a political *Syllabus* which will at last force Liberalism into organized political opposition. It is the bull and the locomotive over again.

CARDINAL MCCLOSKEY recently confirmed 650 children at the New York Catholic Protectory,—to which, by the way, we believe the New York courts are in the habit of consigning vagrant or shelterless children, and where the fate that awaits them is sufficiently indicated by the above "650." After the confirmation, there was a dinner; and Colonel Frederick A. Conkling made a speech. Here it is, unabridged: "Born and bred in the Protestant faith, Mr. President, I wish to tender you my sincere thanks for the honor you have conferred upon me in inviting me to witness the solemn and beautiful rite which has just taken place in the chapel. I esteem it an especial honor to be present on an occasion graced by the ecclesiastical Prince. It has always seemed to me that Protestants and Roman Catholics ought to live together in perfect amity, especially in this country, built up by the blood and sweat of all races of men, belonging to no one and to all. It has always seemed to me that the great mission of our country was to teach the world that all men are brothers. The present seems a proper occasion for recalling the fact that in the organic law of our country the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without distinction shall be forever allowed to all mankind. It is not religious toleration, but religious equality. And this leads me to say that the first law ever enacted in America to confer religious freedom was enacted in the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland. And now, sir, Protestant as I am, I must say that this law was enacted when the Puritans were hanging or banishing Quakers and Baptists, or selling them into slavery in the West India islands. It was enacted in 1634 that 'no one in the province professing belief in Jesus Christ shall be in any way troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof.' It seems to me, sir, that the time has arrived in this world's history when all men professing the name of Jesus Christ should unite in one great effort to put down infidelity. The danger is not from Protestantism or Romanism, but from infidelity. It has one class of philosophers teaching that God has no cognizance of us, and others that the highest state of spiritual and intellectual development interferes with the natural ties, or that we are half brothers to the monkeys and gorillas. I thank the Roman Catholic Church for setting its seal of condemnation upon these shameful utterances. Confessing one law, one baptism, and one faith, I stand here and will stand everywhere ready to extend the right hand of fellowship to every man of the Roman Catholic Church." The born-and-bred "Protestant" swells with pride at dining with an "ecclesiastical Prince," the legitimacy of whose title he recognizes and salutes; he concedes to Catholicism the glory of conferring religious freedom on his native land, and virtuously punishes the Puritans for their tyranny over men's consciences; he proclaims "not toleration, but religious equality," and straightway urges a combined crusade of Catholics and Protestants to "put down infidelity"! The utter absence of all toadyism, inconsistency, and cunning side-glances at Catholic votes, is a beautiful trait of this eloquent speech; it exhibits the Colonel's character in a most charming light, and shows us all how impossible it is for a politician to pay the least heed to ecclesiastical influences of a dangerous character.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The "Modern Symposium."

BY AN ENGLISH LADY.

"When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war."

In this "Modern Symposium," presented to us in the *Nineteenth Century*, Sir James Fitz-James Stephen leads the debate on "The Influence upon Morality of a Decline in Religious Belief." As the champion of the Aristotelian philosophy, "that virtue is the law of our nature under which we are born," Sir James proceeds to combat the theological view of morality,—the view held and expressed by Canon Farrar in his *Life of Christ*, that "atheism in belief is followed, as it always has been, by degradation of morals." With all due deference to the editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, "The Influence upon Morality of a Decline in Religious Belief" is a misleading basis on which to argue the question of the hour; namely, what Mr. W. H. Greg has called "the police influence of Christianity."

Religious belief is a very chameleon amongst nations; and, in order to prove its influence on morality, we must necessarily extend our researches far beyond what strikes us as the stand-point in this modern symposium; that is to say, "the influence upon morality of a decline in *Christian* belief." The influence upon morality exercised by religious belief can only be brought to the bar where a universal system of morality prevails, influenced by a universal religious belief. Judaism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Pantheism, Deism, Theism, Atheism, have each severally influenced the moral training of such as held these beliefs; hence they have moral codes as diverse as the creeds or theologies that influence them. Were we able to judge of the effect on the morality of mankind, say of the universal belief in demon worship, on its decline we should be able to pronounce as to the influence such decline exercised on morality.

Sir James Stephen opens the debate thus: "Many persons regard anything which tends to discredit theology with disapprobation because they think all such speculations must endanger morality as well. Others assert that morality has a basis of its own in human nature, and that, even if all theological belief were exploded, morality would remain unaffected." This is the Aristotelian theory, "that we are endowed with a moral sense or perception of moral beauty" irrespective of religious beliefs.

As a proof that different theological beliefs variously affect moral codes, Sir James Stephen instances the Hindoo and Christian variety of belief in the future fate of humanity,—"annihilation as the highest good; or that the earth is the Lord's and all that therein is,—the round world, and they that dwell therein."

Theology is, properly speaking, the scholasticism of religion,—religion which *per se* is a sentiment, a feeling, an inspiration,—as M. Renan calls it "the ideal." Under the influence of schoolmen, priests, and what are termed Christian philosophers, this aspiration of the soul towards an unknown *perfection* has been hardened into a set of dogmas, creeds, and rituals called theology, or the science of religion. But as religion is not a fact, but a feeling, it is not capable of being formulated into a science. It is the attempt so to formulate it which has resulted in this dreadful incubus, dogmatic theology, pressing down the glorious free instincts of the soul for liberty,—liberty to rise unfettered towards what M. Paul Janet calls "*ce but suprême que nous devons toujours nous efforcer d' attendre, en un mot La Perfection.*" This is also the key-note of the great Confucian code of morality, summed up in the "King of Books" as "the whole duty of man."

And on this understanding religion must influence morality; but only under this aspect can it worthily do so. In his fine eulogium on Spinoza, at the unveiling of his statue at the Hague, M. Renan thus addressed the Hollanders: "Here we have religion producing freethought as part of piety; religion in a system such as this is not a portion of life,—it is life itself. That which is seen to matter here is not the being in possession of some metaphysical phrases more or less correct; it is the giving to one's life a sure pole, a supreme direction,—the ideal." No doubt to all this there is a transcendental side, as when M. Renan says, "The *ideal* remains the soul of the world, the permanent God, the primordial, efficient, and final cause of this universe," we know he is *Platonizing*. This was the Greek Transcendentalism; but in such a mind as that of Spinoza extremes may safely meet; and this so-called "prince of atheists" was entirely Aristotelian when he said, "Whatever accords with reason is in my belief most favorable to the practice of virtue."

Sir James Stephen says, "Morality is good, if it is founded on a true estimate of the consequences of human action; but, if it is founded on a false theology, it is founded on a false estimate of the consequences of human action; and so far as that is the case it cannot be good; and the circumstance that it is supported by the theology to which it refers is an argument against and not in favor of that theology." It is on this account that all who are interested in the progress of the race launch the dart of criticism, keen and unflinching, against those beliefs and theologies which are likely to lead to a false estimate concerning morality, and so, in place of raising and strengthening the human soul, debase it, reduce its morale to that vacillating state of despicable cowardice described by the unscrupulous Lady Macbeth, when she likens her hesitating partner in guilt to "the poor cat i' the adage, that lets I dare not wait upon I would."

To prove how dangerous a factor theology is as the groundwork of morality, we would point to *The Bible and its Interpreters*, by the Rev. Prebendary Irons, who thus refers to the tenet of "universalism" *contra* everlasting damnation. "This possibility of endless ruin for some is undeniable by a rational believer in God; the deniers of this doctrine must in reason and consistency deny the possibility of both virtue and vice, and overthrow the foundations of all morals." As "universalism" is a prevalent doctrine of the day, both with the Church and non-conformity, those who hold it will see how Prebendary Trous considers them as "irrational believers in God or in any morality, as those who would deny the possibility of virtue and overthrow the foundations of morality." All we can say is to the teaching of this *religion of fear*, so much the worse for the *rational* believer in God; though, with Dr. Irons, we quite maintain that Orthodox Christians cannot escape the necessity of accepting this gospel assertion of "endless ruin for some," which to set aside is, he says, "to affect very vitally all our interests in religious matters." Dr. Trous points out "that if the promise is for endless joy, the penalty must be endless misery." He quotes as "the great body of our teachers who consent to this doctrine, St. Paul to Augustine, Gregory, Anselm, Bernard, Bossuet, and Irons." All these were great and good men, with noble intellects much nobler than their creed, of whom Spinoza says, "that this manner of seeking heaven is contrary to reason, and that there is an absurdity in pretending to gain God's favor by avowing to him, that did one not dread him, one would not love him."

Lord Selborne follows our modern Aristotle; and though we cannot take him entirely as the Plato of the "symposium," still his philosophy is decidedly more Platonic than that of his adversary. He begins his paper with a postulate that at once challenges criticism; namely, "that morality has not flourished amongst civilized or uncivilized men when their religious belief has been generally lost or utterly debased." Lord Selborne cites the modern Hindoos and Chinese as races who are civilized but not moral,—not moral according to the Selbornian creed,—that is all. And here again is evidence that our philosophers are examining this question from the stand-point of Christian morals, not morality in the abstract. We need only refer to Sir John Lubbock to learn that the ethics of morality vary as much amongst nations as their outer man varies, as Africans from Saxons.

Hindoo morality is certainly not based on Christian theology, any more than is Lord Selborne's on Confucianism. If, as Aristotle holds, "virtue is based on the natural capacities of the human soul acting under the guidance of deliberate preference or moral principle, it is this power that should guide us in our religious beliefs rather than be guided by them. Lord Selborne claims as due to Christianity the principles of love, benevolence, humility, self-abnegation. Then how comes it that these so-called Christian virtues flourished in high perfection (to go no further back) more than four hundred years before Christ was heard of? How is it that amongst the philosophers of the Greek Symposium of that era we find amongst others Zeno inculcating such tenets as these?—"That virtue was the chief good of man and its own reward; that men should exercise the greatest kindness and benevolence to each other; that riches were not to be put in comparison with the attainments of the mind; like Aristotle, Zeno taught the necessity of entire command over the passions and feelings." This teaching was not the result of Christianity, any more than was that of Plato when he discoursed on the immutability of Providence, the necessity of piety, and the immortality of the soul. To what more sublime height of self-abnegation has any one ever attained than Plato's master, the immortal Socrates, who, with no hope of heavenly rewards, no assured glimpses of Paradise beyond, calmly accepted death at the hands of his countrymen as the reward for turning men from evil to good; and not only accepted death with resignation, but could thus reconcile to it his indignant and sorrowful friends and disciples,—"It may be that God through his goodness hath appointed for me not only that my life should terminate at a time which seems most seasonable, but the manner in which it seems most eligible"? In this humility and self-abnegation of Socrates, not urged thereto by gospel promises of "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord,"—we have surely a case in point of the result of high moral training by the light of "that involuntary impulse of the soul,—virtue."

Lord Selborne, doubtless recalling to mind a remarkable article of last spring in the *Fortnightly*, "Agnosticism,"—refers to the "Agnostic Epicurean Materialism" as inducing a state of morals "described by St. Paul in the first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, and which also prevailed all along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea where religion had equally lost its influence." Lord Selborne thinks this Epicurean Agnostic Materialism "hardly distinguishable from that sort of philosophy some people think designed to supplant religious belief in the present day." Now, though *Epicurean* has degenerated into a term for pleasure not of the highest order, Epicurus himself, the founder of the sect, was one of the Stoic philosophers of whom we read: "His sweetness of manner and great assiduity procured general reception for his philosophy, the principle of which was, that happiness or the sovereign good consisted in the pleasures of virtue and in health of body." So Mr. Leslie Stephen may take heart of grace that *his* "Agnosticism," low, if Epicurean, as Lord Selborne implies, is none the worse for that.

Spanheim mentions that "in his life Epicurus was truly exemplary, and that his disciples lived in great concord." What is there debasing, may we ask Lord Selborne, in the morality that teaches "happi-

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ness or the sovereign good consists in the pleasures of virtue"? This is the Aristotelian and also Socratic doctrine. Our modern utilitarian philosophers may be said to have made a step in advance of this, who consider as the chief good to be sought, "the happiness of the greatest number." But we cannot expect the champions of Christian theology to accept these Pagan views on "happiness," either as an individual good or a public good; for one evil amongst many resulting from its unnatural philosophy has been transcendental asceticism, stifling the natural healthy instincts of life under the cowl of the monk or the solemn garb of the Puritan.

All that is good in Christian ethics is borrowed and adapted from older and worthier sources; but for practical morality, the morality that shall conduce to the well-being and well-doing of the State and of the people, there is none. It is not the happiness but the misery of the greatest number, that has resulted from the propagation of a "religious belief," which, as its author said, would break up all social ties, would set children against parents, and brothers against sisters; a "religious belief" the very essence of which is selfishness, and its highest impulses prompted by the slavish fear of hell-fire, or the possible joys of an insipid heaven.

Nothing, we think, can better illustrate the contrasted effects of natural morality and theological morality than the pages of Miss Martineau's autobiography, lately given to the world. There we see the painful results of the morality of fear, not "founded on a true estimate of the consequences of human actions," which wrought upon her disposition like a malevolent influence, a morality founded on the religious belief which "represents God the predestinator of man to sin and perdition, and Christ as the rescuer from that doom, in which scheme perdition is made out to be justice, and redemption mercy," and that other moral light which came to her when, to use her own words, "casting off all the trammels of teaching and association, I went out a free rover on the breezy common of the universe."

Prof. Clifford is certainly the Lucretius of this modern Symposium. He boldly ignores all *isms*, and, indorsing the Aristotelian maxim that "virtue is a habit of the soul" and to be cultivated by the light of right reason, contends "that what really affects morality is not religious belief, but a practice which in some times and places is thought to be religious; namely, the practice of submitting human life to clerical control." Our Lucretius takes all religious beliefs as theories, and on the ground that no historical proof exists for the truth of any, surely theory is the only correct word to apply to these *ignes fatui* of the mind.

Dr. Martineau's theistic theory, to which Prof. Clifford replies, is "that the genesis of conscience, be it what it may, speaks with a voice before which our whole personality bows, and which equally gives laws to other men, and that it issues from a source transcending human life and infusing into it a moral order from a more comprehensive sphere. It postulates a will in common with ours, and administers this world as a school of character." Further we are told in support of the theistic theory, "that to believe in an ever-living and perfect mind supreme over the universe is to invest moral distinctions with immensity and eternity, and lift them from the provincial stage of human society to the imperishable theatre of all being."

Prof. Clifford, while cordially assenting that "the sense of duty in man, or what Dr. Martineau terms ('the genesis of conscience') is the prompting of a self other than his own," maintains "that the great majority of mankind, while acknowledging the existence of divine beings and their influence in the government of the world, have yet sought the spring and sanction of duty in something above and beyond the gods." Referring to "that vast body of dissent, Brahminism, Buddhism, and the moral system of Confucianism," Lucretius asks, "If such a fact as this may not give us just reason to inquire if there is anything unsatisfactory in the theory which represents the voice of conscience as the voice of God?" According to Dr. Martineau, "though the decay of religious belief may leave the institutes of morality intact, it would draw off their inward power." In this case, the "inward power" of morality must, in direct opposition to the Aristotelian philosophy, depend on religious belief, and not on the natural capacity of the human soul for following the dictates of its best energy, virtue. To say, adds Prof. Clifford, "that theistic belief is a comfort and a solace, and to say it is the crown or coping-stone of morality, these are different things. For in what way shall belief in God strengthen my sense of duty? *He is a great one, working for the right.* But I already know so many, and I know these so well. The essence of their goodness is the losing of the individual self in another and a wider self." Yes, those other great ones, working for the right under other conditions than this all-powerful, all-knowing, self-centred Deity; those who, wanting in perfect righteousness, perfect knowledge, and perfect power, yet leap into the dim but glorious arena of perpetual strife against those unseen powers of darkness whose chief is Ignorance, there to combat not for the perfecting of self, but for that more noble and righteous end, the progress of humanity, on whose banner is inscribed, "Nature's sacred watchwords, Truth, Liberty, and Love,"—this view is expressed in the paper contributed by Mr. Frederick Harrison, the disciple of Comte, the believer in humanitarianism *versus* theologism. In opposition to the modern theistic and certainly transcendental school, Mr. Harrison acknowledges a religion "of which the creed shall be science, of which the faith, hope, and charity shall be real and not transcendental, earthly and not heavenly,—a religion in a word which is entirely human in its evidences, in its sanctions, and appeals." This is Mr. Harrison's view of the *practical* working out, for the good of humanity, of the religious sentiment or aspiration towards perfection with which he credits human nature, as opposed to the theory we are combating, that theology or religious belief is the root of morality. He says, "There is a spirit within us which will not believe that to know and to do the right we must wait until the mysteries of existence and the universe are solved,—its origin, its government, its future. To make right conduct a corollary of theological creed is not only contrary to fact, but shocking to our self-respect." As we are reminded by Mr. Holbeach, "there never was a time when the worm-like dread of punishment began to wriggle upwards into something like conscience. By no fire of the imagination can you lift that celestial jewel out of the crucible into which you have dropped only the fear of pain or desire of pleasure." That Christianity does make right conduct a corollary of its theology is evidently Lord Selborne's opinion when he says, "Notwithstanding all its drawbacks, Christianity is the great moral power of the world"; and Dr. Martineau, while arguing for the power of theism as the source of morality, declares that "on a decay of belief in the Christian religion, morality would lose not its base but its summit." Theism then, or belief in one God, is the basis of morality; and we have to seek its summit or perfect exposition in Christianity or belief in three Gods! For to this must the logic of *Christian Unitarianism* come; it may be possible to this transcendental school to explain their ideal of Christianity as "the casket of all that is precious in our religious antecedents"; but if the casket does not contain the gem it is only a worthless deception, and valueless.

So far does Dr. Martineau idealize Christianity from his inner consciousness of what he would have it, that he tells us, "Christian ethics are true to human life and the expression of right reason; that the moral code that would emerge from the labors of a mere philosopher need not consequently differ from that recognized by a Christian. Perhaps not, if we take the Greek philosophy of Christianity, which we need not say is by Orthodox Christians totally ignored, and for having been tainted with which the learned Fathers of the Church, Origen, Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, were cited for heresy. No; that noble band of philosophical speculators even so theistical as Zenophanes, who said, "There is one mightiest God among gods and men, like to mortals neither in body nor in mind," with his successors, Parmenides and Zeno, down to the later school we have been considering, the Socratic, are once and all spoken of by Orthodox Christians as "godless heathen."

It is from its most logical and consistent exponent, the Church of Rome, that Christianity must be judged of as a moral power for good or evil. Dr. Martineau, who brackets the moral code of the philosopher with the Christian code, is surely doing injustice to both! When we read, "The moral characteristics of the Christian temper are nothing but the natural posture of the mind, standing face to face with the highest ideals of its conscience and its love," then occurs the question, What need of a revelation from God to induce mankind to adopt "the *natural posture of the mind*"? Prof. Clifford says, "If men learn the nature of God from the moral sense of man, they cannot long go on believing the doctrines of popular theology." Consequently, popular theology and the moral sense of man must to his thinking be strangely at variance on this vital point, "the highest ideals of its conscience and its love!"

Man's moral sense must be antagonistic to the nature of God, or popular theology is. That Prof. Clifford estimates to the full the moral power for good or evil of Orthodox sacerdotal Christianity is evident from his concluding remarks: "The system which sapped the foundation of patriotism in the Old World; which well nigh eradicated the sense of intellectual honesty, and seriously weakened the habit of truth-telling; which lowered men's reverence for the marriage bond, by placing its sanctities in a realm outside of Nature instead of in the common life of men, and by the institution of monasticism and a celibate clergy stunted the moral sense of the nations, by putting a priest between every man and his conscience,—this system, if it should ever return (and we may say in part it has always been with us), must be expected to produce worse evils than those which it has worked in the past."

We challenge those who hold that Christianity is "the highest moral power for good in the world" to demonstrate that the state here depicted as the outcome of Christian belief, is not founded on fact; that it is not the inevitable result of having given up what Aristotle and his school term the "highest faculty of the soul" in bondage to the supernatural; namely, our reason and our intellect, through which alone can moral excellence be perfected. In his "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty," Shelley says,—

"No voice from some sublimer world hath ever
To sage or poet these responses given;
Therefore the names of demon, ghost, and heaven
Remain the records of their vain endeavor;
Frail spells, whose uttered charm might not avail to sever
From all we hear and all we see
Doubt, chance, and mutability.
Thy light alone, like mist o'er mountain driven,
Or music by the night wind sent
Through strings of some old instrument,
Or moonlight on a midnight stream,
Gives grace and truth to life's unquiet dream."

And not in vain does Shelley deify "Intellect" as our guide to those higher truths which religion fails to acquaint us with.

Prof. Ferrier, in his dissertation on "Truth Relative and Truth Absolute," maintains that, "in virtue of the faculty common to man, *intelligence*, he is capable of apprehending absolute truth; and that in virtue of the bond between supreme intelligence and human intelligence, if there is absolute truth, it is to be attained by human intelligence." According to this, what better can we do than cultivate this antagonist of creeds, our intellect? Who more likely to lead us in the right way than those bright intelligences of old, the sages of Greece and Rome, who made the search for "absolute truth" the rule of life, in pursuing that philosophy which has for its aim and end "truth as it exists for *all* intelligence"?

We are constantly reminded by religious teachers that the human mind and the supreme mind have nothing in common; that to attempt to find out the truth about God is impious. We cannot understand it; therefore we must be content to believe by faith all we are told,—faith, the essence of which consists in saying we believe something about which we know nothing. But Prof. Ferrier says that "even on religious grounds, this unity between supreme and human intelligence might be much more largely insisted on as constituting the very bond, the only bond between the Creator and the creature."

Moreover, *Messieurs les philosophes Chrétiens*, "deny the connection between the divine and human reason, and you destroy the very possibility of religion."

One of the chief of our transcendental philosophers of the day, Matthew Arnold, recognizes the perilous divorce between religious teaching and "the scientific sense in man,—that sense which seeks exact knowledge, and which has never asserted its claims so strongly as at the present time."

Whether Christianity, viewed by the light of "that sense in man which seeks exact knowledge," could bear the test of all truth, "philosophic research," is not to Christians only the most important of problems. By this test must it stand or fall as a revelation from supreme intelligence to the human intelligence; upon the result of that crucial question—Is Christianity the outcome of supreme intelligence?—rests man's belief in God as he is there represented. Whether it be the Christianity of Rome or England, *au fond*, both claim that it is the last, best revelation from God to man, a revelation that we have in these pages dared to question as having its source in divinity, or the "supreme intelligence," and to dispute with its champions its claim to be the "greatest moral power for good in the world."

[For The Index.]

MORALS AND FREETHOUGHT.

BY J. L. STODDARD.

Has it never been your experience, fellow Radical, to find yourself or others exposed to the charge of *immorality*, for the simple reason that you and they are not believers in many of the Orthodox dogmas? Have you never been pained to hear breathed against the moral character of some noble man insinuations, the cause of which has proved upon inquiry to be nothing more than his disbelief in Jesus or in the inspiration of the Bible? If so, you have been more fortunate than I. This irrational style of speaking is, it is true, not commonly indulged in by the most intelligent and liberal of the Orthodox party; but among the majority of believers in Evangelical dogmas there certainly exists a strong prejudice against Freethinkers to the effect that they are actuated by no lofty, moral principles. The absurdity of this prejudice, when applied to the men and women who compose the Radicals of this and other countries, is seen from the fact that the facility with which the stigma of immorality is attached to their names, usually varies inversely as does the personal acquaintance between the maligners and maligned. That is to say, the less the private life and character of a Rationalist are known to his defamer, the more readily are they pronounced to be vicious. An upright Atheist may number among his acquaintances many Christian believers; but it will not be from these that a charge against his character will emanate. They know, love, and revere his purity of life. If such an accusation be made, it will ordinarily arise from those who are far less capable of estimating his moral qualities. There is certainly some comfort in this thought for those Radicals who have smarted under the insinuations of comparative strangers. But how can we explain the existence of this unfounded prejudice against Liberals which is shared by so many well-meaning Christians? The solution of the problem is not difficult to find. As a rule, people of Orthodox training identify church-membership with goodness; they think that belief in their particular creed is a guarantee of salvation; they cannot understand how a man can be strictly moral, unless he be at the same time a believer in the great tenets of Christian theology. Not a few members of Orthodox churches refuse to believe that a man can admire and obey the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount and at the same time disbelieve in the deity of Jesus. They think that the root of all scepticism is to be found in secret immorality. They smile incredulously when you speak of the noble and exemplary character of a Freethinker. Their thought, expressed in the form of a syllogism, is this: No man can be pure and upright without the aid of Jesus; the Radical has not the aid of Jesus; therefore the Radcal is *not* a pure and upright man.

The flimsiness of this argument is apparent, on the one hand, from the unquestionable nobility of character shown by many disbelievers in Christian doctrine, and, on the other, from the glaring inconsistencies frequently seen in the lives of the believers themselves. The fact is that men *can* live and *have* lived the best of lives who have never heard of Jesus, or who, if his name has reached their ears, neither offer prayer to him nor supplicate his spiritual aid. What a pitiful and narrow view is that which restricts the possibility of true virtue to those

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who believe in, and rely upon, Jesus as a divine Redeemer! What! are there no sweet, noble, self-renunciating lives led to-day among the followers of Confucius, Buddha, and Mohammed, or among the Radicals of the Occident? Or were there no such lives led before the Christian era in the Imperial city, within the shadow of the Acropolis, or on the banks of the old Nile? The race, it is true, owes much to Jesus of Nazareth as a teacher of morals, but the debt is far from being so great as is commonly imagined. The moral precepts of mankind have been drawn from more than one source. There have been many contributors to the science of ethics. *One* light, but not *all* the light of the world flashed from the hills of Palestine.

Now among the members of our Orthodox churches and those who come strongly under their influence, there is a large class of persons who believe that their "salvation" will depend not upon their conduct in life, but upon their intellectual acceptance of certain theological tenets. They have been taught that their eternal welfare is to be decided by their belief or disbelief in Jesus and the dogmas of his Church. As a practical consequence they lay great stress upon a man's *creed*, but comparatively little upon his *life*. Provided that they glibly give assent to the doctrines which are currently deemed Evangelical, they feel themselves entitled to sit in judgment upon disbelievers in those doctrines, no matter how superior the latter may be to them in the common moralities of daily life. That I may not seem to be making here unfounded statements, let me cite an example out of many which have come under my observation. Here is an individual (I am drawing no fancy sketch) who is constantly breaking more than one universally accepted principle of morality. Although an active member of the church, he yet daily violates his church covenant, and thus apparently plays the part of a hypocrite. But this same person, while in the very pursuance of unquestionable immorality, can bewail with evident sincerity the scepticism of a lady of irreproachable character, and urge her to "come to Jesus"! Now how shall we explain the conduct of this person whom I have selected as the type of many nominal Christians?

We see clearly that the doctrines to which he clings with superstitious fondness, do not in the least *affect his practical life*. They do not make him more honest, more truthful, or more chaste. They are cherished by him blindly like the mystic words, "Open sesame," in virtue of which he fondly dreams the doors of Paradise will one day fly open to receive him. Perhaps he has been told so often that "Jesus paid it all, all the debt he owes," that he suspects it makes little difference whether he keeps his moral account-books carefully or not. It has, perchance, been so frequently impressed upon his mind that all his righteousness is but "filthy rags," that he hardly considers his poor scraps worth washing and mending. Not that he would *say* in so many words: "I do not believe in the absolute necessity of a moral life. Jesus will save me in spite of any amount of backsliding"; but I fancy that something very akin to this is the secret spring of action which (often unconsciously) regulates his life and the lives of the large number whom he represents. Just here we see the evil result of one of the fatal weaknesses of the Orthodox system; *viz.*, the doctrine of Vicarious Atonement and Imputed Righteousness. On account of the sufferings and death of an innocent man nineteen hundred years ago, the sinner of to-day is pronounced forgiven, provided he confesses his guilt and accepts the victim of Judea as his substitute. By believing in him as a divine Savior, the righteousness of the crucified Jesus is imputed to the transgressor, and he is regarded as holy in the sight of God. In the words of the wild chorus of the Tabernacle:—

> "Ha'lelujah! 'tis done!
> I believe on the Son,
> And am saved by the blood
> Of the crucified One!"

But this system of substitution of the innocent for the guilty, whatever names or rank we may give to the martyr Jesus, is in itself *unjust*, and the imputed righteousness to which it gives rise is a *fiction*. Whether the victim be a god or a man, innocence cannot really atone for guilt,—nor can any man be clothed in a character not his own. An awful individuality enwraps us all, which neither God nor man can infringe upon without destroying our free agency.

But what is the effect of a hearty acceptance of this doctrine in the case of the individual referred to? "Saved" by the blood of Jesus, assured by a rapture of excitement that he is in the way of life, and holding *unbelief* to be the deadliest of sins, it is most easy for him to lose sight of the paramount necessity of moral uprightness, and to commiserate the doom of the sceptic, no matter how sincere and moral the latter may be. Although he himself falls into sin, even deliberately and repeatedly, he yet does not intend to "wander far away from Jesus," and, above all, "will never be guilty of unbelief"! He is certain that Jesus will forgive him every time that he returns repenting; and therefore, *with an under consciousness of having his talisman of salvation beyond the possibility of loss*, he allows himself to drift into a moral laxity, which is nourished by the very system of which he is a victim. The Orthodox Protestants frequently object to the Catholic confessional as encouraging moral obtuseness and a too great facility of obtaining forgiveness. But does not their own constant prayer to Jesus take the place of the convenient confessional? Jesus becomes their high priest, their confessor, their absolver. Having him constantly at hand to resort to, they are almost wholly deprived of the opportunity to develop that independent firmness of character, which stands erect in its integrity, takes upon itself the results of its miss-steps, and learns thus (by an experience not to be emotionally rolled off at an imaginary conference with Jesus) how to avoid such errors in the future. Indeed, in more than one respect the Catholic mode of confession seems to have some advantages over that of the Protestants. No doubt, the dread of subsequently confessing sin to the priest deters the Catholic from many a transgression. The Protestant, however, kneels before no human eye, his confession falls upon no ear save his own, and his shame is known only to himself. Then, too, the Catholic receives his absolution from a priest who is certainly in some measure qualified to pronounce his repentance sincere or hypocritical, and to absolve or to condemn him. But the Protestant must determine by his own state of feeling whether he has been absolved or not. No voice proclaims him forgiven.

The natural relief at having spoken out long pent-up feelings is thus no doubt frequently mistaken for the direct comfort of Jesus, and with a "solar look" upon his countenance the sinner drops his burden and is once more on good terms with his master. There may be times when he rises from his knees with a half-defined sense that all is not well, and a doubt whether Jesus has forgiven him; but this impression is soon removed by other more engrossing thoughts, and the affair speedily becomes forgotten, since "Jesus has paid it all"!

It is not my intention to draw here any general comparisons in point of morality between the Orthodox and Freethinkers. Both of these great parties number in their ranks individuals of very varied characters. Some very good men, some very bad men, and a large number of persons of average morality are to be found on either side. Men must be judged to be moral or immoral as individuals, not in masses. To stigmatize any body of men as *immoral*, because their intellectual opinions differ from ours, is to commit an act as contemptible as it is unjust. Moreover, to insinuate, *without proper proof*, that immorality is the source of their scepticism is a most flagrant violation of the rule of common charity and fairmindedness. It is the *life*, the LIFE, not the creed nor religion, which tells the story of a man's character! *The great principles of morality would continue to exist, from the very needs of society, if every creed and every form of religion were to-morrow banished from the earth.* Morality, however much it may be enhanced and beautified by religious aspirations, must always find its *raison d' être* not in religion, but in the need of society to protect itself and secure equal rights to all its members. Our characters are what *we* make them, not what Jesus makes them. The primitive meaning of the word, *character*—(derived from the Greek verb signifying to carve or engrave), gives an added significance to the lines:—

> "Sculptors of life are we, as we stand
> With our souls uncarved before us!"

Chiselling out thus, as it were, our characters by constantly repeated choices of good or evil, we gradually determine the decided lineaments of the soul, and make or mar our natures. If the Orthodox Christian thinks that he possesses influences which will enable him to form a more perfect character than those who do not believe with him, he has an undoubted right to that opinion, and I for one shall rejoice if he succeeds in his attempt. But let him not assert that no such character can be formed by the more independent and manlier course of the moral Freethinker. The test of a work is its fruit, and the opportunities for such testing are abundant. Above all, let no man, who cares little for the development of a noble character, but bases his expectations of "salvation" upon the blind acceptance of a Church-wrought creed, fling the charge of immorality at upright disbelievers in that creed, whether they be called Buddhists, Freethinkers, or Atheists.

PHYSICAL FORCE IN POLITICS.

The late discussion on the possibility or expediency of maintaining governments at the South which had no physical force at their disposal has not failed to attract the attention of the friends of woman's suffrage. They see readily what, indeed, most outsiders have seen all along, that the failure of the numerical majority in certain Southern States to hold the power to which the law entitled them simply because they were unable or unwilling to fight, has a very important bearing on the fitness of women to participate in the practical work of government, and a well-known writer, "T. W. H.," in a late number of the *Woman's Journal*, endeavors to show, partly by comment on our recent article on "Majority Government," that what has happened at the South is full of encouragement for the woman suffragists. His argument is in substance this: You (the opponents) have always maintained as the great objection to the admission of women to the franchise, that, if women voted, cases might arise in which the physical force of the community would be in the hands of one party and the legal authority in those of the other, and we should then witness the great scandal of a majority government unable to execute the laws. We have just seen at the South, however, that the possession of physical force is not always sufficient to put the majority, even of the male voters, in possession of the government. In South Carolina and Louisiana the government has been seized and successfully held by a minority, in virtue of their greater intelligence and self-confidence. To use his own language:—

"The present result in South Carolina is not a triumph of bodily strength over weakness, but, on the contrary, of brains over bodily strength. And however this reasoning affects the condition of South Carolina—which is not here my immediate question,—it certainly affects, in a very important degree, the argument for woman suffrage. If the ultimate source of political power is muscle, as is often maintained, then woman suffrage is illogical; but if the ultimate source of political power is, as the *Nation* implies, 'the intelligence, sagacity, and the social and political experience of the population,' then the claims of women are not impaired. For we rest our case on the ground that women equal men on these points, except in regard to political experience, which is a thing only to be acquired by practice.

"So the showing of the *Nation* is, on the whole, favorable to women. It looks in the direction of Mr. Bagehot's theory that brains now outweigh muscle in government. Just in proportion as man becomes civilized and comes to recognize laws as habitually binding, does the power of mere brute force weaken. In a savage state the ruler of a people must be physically as well as mentally the strongest; in a civilized state the commander-in-chief may be physically the weakest person in the army. The English military power is no less powerful for obeying the orders of a queen. The experience of South Carolina does not vindicate, but refutes, the theory that muscle is the ruling power. It shows that an educated minority is more than a match for an ignorant majority, even though this be physically stronger. Whether this forbodes good or evil to South Carolina is not now the question; but so far as woman suffrage is concerned, the moral is rather in its favor than against it."

What is singular in all this is, that the writer is evidently under the impression that the term "physical force" in politics means muscle; or, to put the matter plainly, that the fact that the South Carolina negroes, who unquestionably surpass the whites in lifting power, could not hold their own against them, shows that government has become a mere question of brains, and that as women have plenty of brains, though they can lift very little, they could perfectly well carry on, or help to carry on, a government which had only moral force on its side.

Now, as a matter of fact, there has been no recent change in the meaning attached to "physical force" in political nomenclature. It does not mean muscle or weight now, as we see in South Carolina; and it has never meant muscle or weight since the dawn of civilization. The races and nations which have made civilization and ruled the world have done so by virtue of their possessing the very superiority, in a greater or less degree, which the Carolina whites have shown in their late struggle with the blacks. The Greeks, the Romans, the Turks, the English, the French, and the Germans have all succeeded in government—that is, in seizing and keeping power,—not through superiority of physical force which consists in muscle, but through the superiority which consists in the ability to organize and bring into the field and reënforce large bodies of men, with the resolution to kill and be killed in order to have their own way in disputes. No matter how much intelligence a people may have, unless they are able and willing to apply their intelligence to the art of war, and have the personal courage necessary to carry out in action the plans of their leaders, they cannot succeed in politics. Brains are necessary for political success without doubt; but it must be brains applied, among other things, to the organization of physical force in fleets and armies. An "educated minority," as such, is no more a match for a "physically stronger ignorant majority" than a delicate minister for a pugilist in "condition," unless it can furnish well equipped and well led troops. The Greeks were better educated than the Romans, but this did not help them. The Romans of the Empire were vastly more intelligent and thoughtful than the Barbarians, but they could not save the Empire. The Italians of the Middle Ages were the superiors of the French and Germans in every branch of culture, and yet this did not prevent Italy being made the shuttlecock of Northern politicians and freebooters. The French overran Germany in the beginning of the present century, and the Germans have overrun France within the last ten years, not in either case owing to superiority in lifting or boxing, or in literary "culture," but to superiority in the art of fighting,—that is, of bringing together large bodies of armed men who will not flinch, and will advance when ordered on the battle-field.

It is skill in this art which is meant by the term "physical force" in politics, and it is this physical force which lies behind all successful government. The superiority of the North in numbers and wealth and machinery and literature and common schools would have profited it nothing, and the American Republic would have disappeared from the map if it had not been possible, fifteen years ago, to apply a vast amount of intelligence to the purposes of destruction, and to find large numbers of men willing to fight under orders. In quiet times, under a government in which the numerical majority and the intelligence and property of the community are on the same side, and take substantially the same views of public polity, and the display of coercive force, except for ordinary police purposes, is not called for, we not unnaturally slide readily into the pleasant belief that government is purely a moral agency, and that people obey the law through admiration of intellectual power and the dread of being "cornered" in argument, or of being exposed as selfish or lawless. Such occurrences as the late civil war and the recent dead-lock at the South are very useful in uncovering the secret springs of society, and reminding people of the tremendous uncertainties and responsibilities by which national as well as individual life is surrounded, reminding the voter, in short, that he may not always be able to discharge his duty to the country by depositing his ballot in the box; that he may have to make the result sure by putting everything he values in the world at stake. The poor negroes in South Carolina have not been deposed simply because they are ignorant; the Russian peasants who fought at Borodino were grossly ignorant. How many of the English hinds who stood rooted in

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the soil at Waterloo could read and write? The Carolinian majority failed because it did not contain men willing to fight or leaders capable of organization for military purposes; or, in other words, did not possess what has, since the dawn of civilization, been the first and greatest title to political power. The Carolinian minority did not drive their opponents out of the offices by simply offering the spectacle of superior intelligence or self-confidence, but by the creation of a moral certainty that, if driven to extremities, they would outdo the republicans in the marshalling, marching, provisioning, and manœuvring of riflemen.

If this be true, it will be readily seen that the lesson of the South Carolina troubles, far from containing encouragement for the friends of female suffrage, is full of doubt and difficulty. Those who believe that women voters would constitute a new and valuable force in politics must recognize the possibility that they would at some time or other constitute the bulk of a majority claiming the government, and they must also recognize the probability that the male portion of this majority would be composed of the milder and less energetic class of men, people with much brains and but little physical courage, ready to go to the stake for a conviction, but not ready to shoulder a musket or assault a redoubt. If, under these circumstances, the minority, composed exclusively of men, inferior, if you will, to the majority in the purity of their motives, the breadth of their culture, and in capacity for drawing constitutions and laws and administering charities, should refuse to obey the majority, and should say that its government was a ridiculous "fancy" government, administered by crack-brained people, and likely to endanger property and the public credit, and that it must be abolished, what would the women and their "gentlemen friends" do? They would doubtless remonstrate with the recusants and show them the wickedness of their course; but then the recusants would be no more moved by this than Wade Hampton and his people by Mr. Chamberlain's eloquent and affecting inaugural address. They would tell the ladies that their intelligence was doubtless of a high order, and their aims noble; but that as they were apparently unable to supply policemen to arrest the persons who disobeyed their laws, their administration was a farce, and its disappearance called for in the interest of public safety. Accordingly it would be removed to the great garret of history, to lie side by side with innumerable other disused plans for human improvement. The cause of much of the misconception about the part played by physical force in modern society now current in reformatory circles is doubtless to be found in the disappearance of sporadic and lawless displays of it, such as, down to a very recent period, seriously disturbed even the most civilized communities. The change that has taken place, however, consists not in the total disuse of force as a social agency, but in the absorption of all force by the government, making it so plainly irresistible that the occasions are rare when anything approaching to organized resistance or defiance of it is attempted. When it lays its commands on a man he knows that obedience will, if necessary, be enforced by an agency of such tremendous power that he does not think of revolt. But it is not the high intelligence of those who carry it on that he bows to; it is to their ability to crush him like an egg-shell. Of course, it is not surprising that his submissiveness should at meetings of philanthropists be ascribed to the establishment of a consensus between his mind and the mind of the law-giver; or, in other words, the subjection of society to purely moral influences; but it is perhaps well that complications like those of South Carolina should now and then occur to infuse sobriety into speculation and explain the machinery of civilization.—*New York Nation, May* 17.

THE JEWS AND THE TURKS.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN TURKEY AND RUSSIA.

Referring to the subjoined letter, the New York *World* of May 8 said: "Those of our readers who really desire to make up their minds intelligently about the 'humanitarian aspects' of the Eastern war will do well to read attentively the letter we print in another column, from a Hebrew gentleman of standing and character, about the treatment received by people of his faith from the Russian and the Turkish governments respectively. This letter is but one of many things which go to show that the questions at issue now in the East are much too complicated to be settled off-hand by dashing generalities about the Cross and the Crescent." The letter is as follows:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORLD:

Sir,—I observe in the papers this evening a communication from the Turkish Minister denying the truth of the reports which have been circulated regarding the persecution of Jews in Turkey. I take the opportunity which is afforded by this repudiation of the charge of Ottoman ill-treatment of my co-religionists in the East to address you a few words on the subject. As I have passed much of my life in the countries which are now the scene of warfare, and as the real merits of the question are very much misunderstood in America, I venture to think that the remarks I have to make may be of service in correcting erroneous impressions and placing matters in their true light. The Jews, as you are aware, are scattered in very large numbers throughout Turkey, the Danubian principalities, and Russia, and we have been surprised and pained to find that in the present struggle the sympathies of this free country are given largely to the despotism which is more oppressive and intolerant to the Jews than any other government in Europe. I shall not now discuss the question of what civilization may or may not be. For my own part, I would rather live in a country where the administration was just and tolerant to all races and religions, and where there were no railroads or operas, than in one which used the appliances of modern civilization more effectually to crush and grind to powder an alien and despised section of the population.

In order the more clearly to explain what I mean, I will endeavor to contrast the position of the Jews in Turkey with the treatment they receive from those Christian governments which are now, on the ground of a common religion, receiving the sympathy of the American people. In the communication which appears in the papers to which I have alluded, it is announced that the Sultan has named Davidchon Effendi a Senator of the empire. This fact alone speaks volumes. Davidchon Effendi is a highly respected member of the Hebrew persuasion, of Salonica, and his elevation to this high dignity is not only a striking evidence of the consideration in which he is personally held, but is a marked recognition of the claims of the people to whom he belongs, which it would be quite impossible to expect or hope for in Russia, or any country under the influence of the Greek Church. Bohor Effendi, also a Jew, has been for many years a Councillor of State; he is the youngest member of that council, and is celebrated for his learning, and more especially his literary talents in the Turkish language. I also observe the names of many Jews who have been elected as Deputies to the new Chamber. Excepting in England and France, I know of no country where such toleration is shown; indeed, it is not many years since Jews were excluded from the English House of Commons. But here we have Turkey manifesting a spirit of liberality which most of the civilized and Christian governments of Europe might well imitate. It is only natural that enjoying these political privileges the Jews in Constantinople should occupy a corresponding social position. Such men as Alatini, Fernandez, and, above all, Camondo, live in the best society. And the Grand Vizier, the Ministers, and other high functionaries of the empire are frequent visitors at their houses, dining with them and attending their receptions. In religious matters they are treated upon a footing of perfect equality with the other sects, the chief rabbis or Hacham Bashis of Constantinople, Salonica, and other localities receiving every respect and consideration. Thus the Porte corresponds directly with them; they are invited to all the assemblies which are attended by the heads of other religious sects; they assist at all ceremonies which take place at the Imperial Palace; they are the recipients of the highest grades of civil decorations, and in every respect are made to feel that no invidious distinction is allowed to exist between them and the members of other religions. When we turn to the position which the Jews occupy in the Christian countries adjacent to Turkey, how great is the contrast. Here they at once find themselves a people, despised, trampled upon, and subjected to the most odious persecutions. In Roumania their condition is so deplorable that it has been made the subject of frequent representations in the British House of Commons. From time to time there are uprisings of the population against them in Bucharest, Jassy, and other towns; their warehouses are plundered, their goods and money stolen; they are themselves scourged, driven out of house and home, with their beggared wives and families, thankful to escape with their lives. When, as occasionally happens, they fall victims to the blind fury of the populace, and murders take place, the assassins are never punished,—it suffices that the murdered man is a Jew to excuse the murderer. There is no use in appealing to the law, for there is no justice for the hated race; they enjoy no civil rights, and are denied many commercial privileges possessed by the Christians, on the ground that they would become too rich if they were permitted to have them. This is, indeed, their sole fault. They are peaceable, industrious traders, harming no one, and only desiring to be allowed to pursue their avocations in peace. No sooner are they suspected of amassing too much wealth than they are brutally and violently robbed. Your excellent Consul-General at Bucharest, M. Peixotto, can confirm the truth of this statement, for he on several occasions made energetic representations on the subject. The only effect was that the Roumanian government demanded his recall. Sir Moses Montefiore, the Messrs. Rothschild, Sergeant Simon, and many eminent gentlemen, together with the Jewish Alliance, are constantly working for an amelioration of their lot, and the result has been that the governments of England, France, Austria, and Italy have occasionally remonstrated diplomatically, but in vain; for the secret power at the back of these persecuting governments is Russia, which also denies to the Jews all civil rights, places them under commercial disabilities, and loses no opportunity of tyrannizing over and oppressing them. As a proof of this I would instance the late negotiation between Servia and the Porte, when the latter put forward as one of the conditions of peace toleration for the Jews and their admission to the enjoyment of civil rights. This was peremptorily refused by Servia at the instance of Russia, for she would never have dared to refuse it otherwise; and the Porte, for the sake of peace, reluctantly abandoned the point. I fear, sir, I have already trespassed upon your space at too great length; otherwise I could multiply special instances in proof of what I say. I refrain from doing so, however, in the hope that I have said enough to induce the American people to pause before pouring out so much of their generous sympathy in behalf of a government which does not deserve it, which is the greatest enemy to liberty in Europe, and whose rule wherever it is extended is synonymous with all that is corrupt, cruel, and intolerant. I am glad to see that some influential journals have already shown a tendency to resist the mistaken sentiment in regard to Russia which I regret to find so prevalent in America, and I can only assure my friends here that if they knew what the tinsel civilization of that country was worth as well as I do, they would not be so eloquent in extolling its advantages. I enclose my card, and am, sir, yours respectfully,

A. B.

NEW YORK, May 7, 1877.

THE GRASSHOPPER PRAYER TEST IN MINNESOTA.

LETTER FROM HON. JOHN W. NORTH.

RIVERSIDE, Bernardino Co., Cal., May 6, 1877.

The proclamation of Governor Pillsbury, appointing the 26th of April last as a day of "humiliation, fasting, and prayer," to avert the grasshopper scourge, has been noticed here with interest. We have grasshoppers in this locality, and very naturally feel desirous of learning how they can best be disposed of. As the day of "fasting and prayer" is past, we are anxiously looking for results. The Governor will, of course, publish them as soon as reports come in. If it should be found that prayer is, after all, the most deadly weapon that can be employed for the destruction of grasshoppers, it will be a most interesting fact.

After the severe denunciations of Prof. Wyville Thompson and Prof. Tyndall, for the bare suggestion of a trial of prayer in certain afflicted localities, we had despaired of seeing the experiment fairly tried in a test case. But Governor Pillsbury has proved himself equal to the occasion, and has tried the experiment under circumstances exceptionally favorable. Three distinguished scientists were appointed by the United States government just in time to witness the trial and to note results. It is gratifying to know that Prof. Thomas was in St. Paul on the day appointed. He and the other professors who have the grasshopper question in charge, will not fail to notice an instrumentality publicly announced by the Governor of the State and the Bishop of the Diocese. We trust they will investigate the subject by "scientific methods," and publish at an early day the results of prayer in this case, as they find them.

The Bishop complicates the matter somewhat in his proclamation, but perhaps the professors can unravel it. He speaks of the "locusts" as "the Lord's great army" (as the prophet Joel spoke in his day), and leaves us in doubt whether it is admissible for Christians to seek to destroy the "army of the Lord." He also speaks of them as "a heavy judgment." Now, if the good Bishop would really have us believe that the Lord has raised up a "great army" of grasshoppers in the Rocky Mountains, and that he brings them down in "judgment" upon the poor farmers of the frontier, causing innocent women and children, as well as good men, to starve, he thinks much worse of the Heavenly Father than we are inclined to. But if his view be correct, is it not time the professors should stay their hand, and cease fighting the grasshoppers, "lest haply they be found fighting against God"? It is sad to think of the condition of the poor settlers, with the Lord and his "great army" against them, and only a Governor, a Bishop, and three professors, with a moderate amount of "science and religion," on their side. But let us hope that the case is not as desperate as the Bishop would make it.

We have found, here in Southern California, that the castor-oil bean is a very good defence against grasshoppers. The bean grows to a tree, and when the grasshoppers eat the leaves they soon die. The ground under these plants is sometimes covered with dead grasshoppers.

If the Governor's experiment should fail, and the good Bishop should conclude that it would not be sacrilege to attack the Lord's "great army," permit me to recommend a trial of the castor-oil bean. But if it should be found that the "little red ants" had really "sucked all the grasshopper eggs," some time before the day of "prayer" fixed by the Governor, I trust you will see to it that he does not claim the credit that belongs to the ants.

Yours very respectfully, J. W. NORTH.

—*St. Paul Pioneer Press.*

FROM THE moment a man desires to find the truth on one side rather than another, it is all over with him as a philosopher.—*Harriet Martineau.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 26.

F. E. Abbot, $300; J. Gothard, $10; P. P. Klock, $1.60; C. H. Gledhill, $1.10; A. G. Wilson, $1.25; Dr. E. Wigglesworth, $100; Wm. E. Darling, $5; W. Wilson, $3.20; Mrs. L. B. Sayles, $25; L. A. Duhring, $3.20; E. O. Avery, $5; American News Co., $9.35; Mrs. E. G. Williams, $3.80; W. E. Darwin, $5.80; J. T. Brady, $1.60; R. J. Rogers, $1.25; James W. Bartlett, $3.25; Mrs. Ella St. John, 50 cents; E. C. Westlake, $4.25; John G. Jenkins, $3; E. Ersing, $3; Miss Albertina Von Arnim, $10; W. R. Morgan, $10; Free Religious Association, $75; Warren Emerson, $1.20; H. F. Marshall, $3; Mrs. Emma Winkworth, $3.89; A. J. S. Weise, $3; C. B. Hoffman, 50 cents; D. R. Sparks, $1.75; G. K. Withington, $3.20; Geo. Stickney, 25 cents; Celia E. Hopkins, $3.20; J. W. Burchard, $1; Prof. A. P. Lyon, $3.20; A. J. Ellis, $3.89; E. C. Stedman, $10.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

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The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 31, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FERY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, *Editorial Contributors.*

IN ORDER to attend the meeting of June 2 at Toledo, we shall necessarily be absent from Boston a week or so; and correspondents will please take notice.

THE DIVINE who shrewdly averred that "between the Scylla of affirmation and the Charybdis of negation the truth may perhaps be found in the mid-channel of no meaning at all," told the secret of more than one attempt to restate Christian theology in a modern form.

ONE OF THE most noticeable indications of the great break-up of Protestant Evangelical faith now going on (not permanently to be stayed by any conceivable increase of organized power) is a pamphlet entitled "Catholicity and Methodism: or the Relation of John Wesley to Modern Thought," by Rev. James Roy, of Montreal. It is a brave, noble, and able plea for modern ideas, albeit not reconcilable with Methodism in any form, as Mr. Roy fondly conceives. There is something pathetic in seeing a faithful, truthful mind forced away from the solid and stolid Orthodoxy in which alone social acceptance can be found, and yet disabled by inherited or acquired prejudices for the task of striking out boldly for absolute freedom. Rev. John Miller's fate, we fear, prefigures that of Mr. Roy. Persecution is already gathering blackly over his head. How long, how long will mankind keep spiritual tyranny in power?

IT IS with great pleasure that we are permitted to announce the name of Mr. J. L. Stoddard, whose occasional articles and poems in THE INDEX have attracted so much attention during the past year, as that of a future editorial contributor to these columns. Mr. Stoddard is a graduate of Williams College, has enjoyed great advantages of travel in Europe and the Orient, and had been pursuing his studies for some time in preparation for the Evangelical ministry, when he found himself obliged by his changing religious convictions to abandon this purpose in order to preserve his intellectual integrity and independence. Few young men of equally brilliant social prospects prove themselves capable of sacrificing so much as Mr. Stoddard has done through simple loyalty to truth; and we venture to add that from very few could we anticipate so much of brave, efficient, and unselfish service to its cause in the future. An article from his own pen on a preceding page will do him better justice than any remarks which we feel at liberty to make here.

THE *Radical Review* is out with its first number, and an excellent one it is. Mr. Potter's leading article on "The Two Traditions, Ecclesiastic and Scientific," is an extremely valuable addition to the discussion which has been carried on in these columns the past two months, and ought to be studied carefully by all whom this discussion has interested. Mr. Ernst's paper on "Practical Socialism in Germany" is full of instruction, especially for some who propagate ignorance in the name of labor-reform. Mr. Wasson's lecture on "Theodore Parker as Religious Reformer" is able and eloquent, as was to be expected. Mr. Ball's verses "To Benedict Spinoza," and Mr. Stedman's "The Discoverer," are artistically faultless. Further we have had no time to read—only to turn the pages. But the new quarterly is certainly very promising, and Mr. Tucker deserves great credit for it—though we trust the black-and-red cover is not to be permanent, as if the *Radical Review* were a pirate. Single copies, $1.50; per year $5.00. Address Benj. R. Tucker, New Bedford, Mass.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held at No. 35 Monroe Street, Toledo, Ohio, on Saturday, June 2, 1877, at half-past two o'clock, in accordance with the articles of incorporation.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 31st, at 7.45 P. M., business session in Horticultural Hall, for the election of officers, reading of reports, and consideration of the practical work of the Association. A special discussion is also invited on the proper interpretation of the word "scientific" in the first article of the Constitution of the Association.

Friday, June 1st, at 10.30 A.M. and 3 P.M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for Essays and Addresses. Morning subject: "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom." Essayist—Rev. Wm. R. Alger, of New York. Afternoon subject: "Internal Dangers of Free Thought." Essayist—C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, N.Y. Among the speakers invited whose attendance we have reason to expect are O. B. Frothingham and Prof. Felix Adler, of New York; Rabbi Lasker, of Boston; Wm. Henry Channing, of England; Rev. Dr. Dudley, of Boston; and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois. Further announcements hereafter, especially in the Boston dailies.

A Social Festival is to be held Friday evening at Horticultural Hall. Col. T. W. Higginson will preside. There will be brief speeches, music, conversation, refreshments, and a chance to contribute to the Treasury of the Association.

W. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

A LETTER FROM DR. BARTOL.

Just as we go to press, the following welcome letter, which needs no comment, comes to hand, and we insert it at once with thanks:—

The Free Religious Association.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

My dear Abbot,—My silence under your summons has arisen not from disrespect, nor even so much from aversion to strife, as from unconsciousness of crime or wrong. Against the *Free Religious Association* I have never made or meant to make any charge. Such a thought was not in my heart, or word on my tongue. If I do not, therefore, feel the tight logical box or coffer-dam hold me in prison, keep me out or in, or limit any way my motion, it is because I cannot, try all I may, quite get or be put into it. So I will not argue a case which I perceive is not my own. If anybody think consistency requires the incarceration, let him judge me inconsistent, or consider me actually confined.

To be clear of all doubt or dispute in this matter, shall I state the case positively thus? The *Free Religious Association*, as such, or as a body, has nowise, in the smallest degree, on any occasion, hindered or attempted to hinder my liberty of speech. I am glad it should exist. I sympathize with its object, admire its active method, and wish it well in every right effort, while in its organization I have no share; and it has, with every other corporation, the happiness of not being at all responsible for me. But I am, nevertheless, cordially your and its

C. A. BARTOL.

ARMIES AND ARGUMENTS.

A telegraphic dispatch from Washington, dated May 19, was as follows: "The recent speech of General Sherman in New York, in which he is reported as saying that 'without an army the American people would be a mob; that a government cannot subsist without an army, and a good one too,' etc., has caused a good deal of unfavorable comment here. There is a growing impression here that the military gentlemen in this country are placing entirely too high an estimate on their own importance. There is the best authority for saying that the President, although once a soldier himself, is not afflicted with any nonsense on the subject of a standing army. The *Evening Star* says of Sherman's speech: 'These utterances are so offensively disparaging to the American people and, in point of fact, so absurdly unfounded in view of the trifling figure made by our Lilliputian regular army in proportion to the great bulk of American citizenship, that it would seem scarcely possible that they could be made by an official of the standing of General Sherman. At the same time it is only an open expression of the opinions held in army circles and expressed in a thousand ways quite as effectively as if voice were given to them in the frank effusiveness of an after-dinner speech. If it has really come to this, that our army aristocracy hold that they occupy the same position in the United States that the French army holds in France, as the force to be conciliated by any Government that wants to retain power over the mobocracy of the people, then it is, seriously, time for us to consider whether on the whole it is worth while for the American people to allow themselves to be further taxed for the support of an institution like West Point to educate a privileged class in such unrepublican ideas.'"

The meaning of General Sherman is very evidently misunderstood or misrepresented in the above comments upon it. Even the brief extract quoted from his letter (which has not chanced to come under our notice) shows on its face that the veteran commander did not intend to say that this American nation of forty-odd millions are actually governed by their "Lilliputian army" of only twenty or twenty-five thousands; or that these justly honored defenders of the flag constitute a social or political "aristocracy"; or that they must be "conciliated" like the enormous standing-armies of Europe, in order to prevent the establishment of a military despotism on the ruins of constitutional liberty. General Sherman is certainly not a fool. What he evidently meant to say is that all government rests at last on physical force, and that, in order to give the national government the degree of physical force necessary to maintain its just authority, a regular army must be sustained, as the school of practical training for a corps of thoroughly educated military officers and the nucleus of the vast army of volunteer citizen-soldiers which a great public emergency is certain to call into existence. There is altogether too much truth in this view of the matter to be met by the silly vaporing of the *Evening Star*. Have we so soon forgot the terrible experience of the civil war? War is in these days a science and an art, and requires a peculiar education in those who are to be intrusted with the direction of its operations. Thousands and thousands of the best lives in the nation were sacrificed fifteen years ago by the incompetency of "political generals"; and until war is outgrown with other inherited habits of primeval barbarism, not only are institutions like the military academy at West Point and the naval academy at Annapolis indispensable to the national security, but also a regular army and navy, as the only means of disciplining and keeping together the educated soldiers who are willing, in this age of greedy money-making, to devote their lives in honorable poverty to the military defence of the country. General Sherman's assertion of the practical necessity of a small regular army will be approved by the common sense of the American people notwithstanding the buncombe objections paraded above.

It is possible, however, to approve this assertion of a practical necessity without also approving the political thesis that all government rests at last on physical force. General Sherman is not alone in this opinion (if he indeed holds it), as will appear from an article on "Physical Force in Politics" which we copy on another page from the New York *Nation*. Col. Higginson had argued that the success of the Hampton party should not be considered as "a triumph of bodily strength over weakness," but "of brains over bodily strength"; and that the final preponderance of an educated minority over an uneducated majority in South Carolina "refuted the theory that muscle is the ruling power." The writer in the *Nation*, on the other hand, argues that the educated minority triumphed over the uneducated majority, not because it was educated merely, but because it knew how to convert education into organization, and consolidate an otherwise inferior physical force into "fleets and armies,"—which is to make muscle, after all, the ruling power. Thus we find Col. Higginson seconding Mr. Bagehot's proposition that "mind without muscle has far greater force than muscle without mind" [*Physics and Politics*, p. 79], and the *Nation* writer seconding General Sherman's seemingly implied proposition that all government rests at last on muscle or physical force.

Now we are unable fully to agree with either of these views. We should say, on the one hand, that neither "mind without muscle" nor "muscle without mind" is a force at all; that it takes a conjunction of the two to constitute force in the political sense; and that, as a matter of fact, the two are never separated when political changes of magnitude are wrought. In the South Carolina case, the *Nation* is right in maintaining that both the mind and the muscle were on the side of the Hampton party, for

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organization is quite sufficient to throw the preponderance of physical power on the side of the minority. On the other hand, the *Nation* is wrong in inferring that *all* government rests on muscle or physical force at last; for there are different kinds of government. Any government which does indeed rest on physical force as its *ultima ratio*, no matter by what name it calls itself, is simply barbarous government; it has no right to call itself civilized. That is the trouble with the Hampton party; they were not civilized enough to achieve their ends by patient respect for equal rights, by frank fidelity to majority rule, by peaceful methods of converting their present minority into a future majority. They had both the mind and the muscle, and they used both, like the barbarians they are, to establish a barbarian government on the foundation of Hamburg and Ellenton massacres.

We deny emphatically, therefore, that *all* government rests on physical force. All *barbarian* governments, truly, rests on physical force, and tends to barbarize all who support or approve it; it may rest on combined mind and muscle, but it remains dyed in barbarism until it learns to combine them both with conscience. All *civilized* government rests, not on physical force, not on intelligence backed by physical force, but on conscience backed by both; it rests on moral principles and moral ideals, in defect of which there are neither personal nor property *rights* to defend; it is not possible anywhere, until the community has become sufficiently educated to reverence, as one man, the equal rights of the poorest, feeblest, blackest of its citizens, and to make his wrongs its own. Such government may never yet have been established anywhere on the face of the round globe; nevertheless, mankind will remain political barbarians until they can climb up to this low-water mark of civilization. When they have at last, in the far future perhaps, founded a civilized government in fact as well as in name, it will be discovered not to rest ultimately on physical force, but rather on a general knowledge of and obedience to those moral principles which are now so slightly regarded. When that distant day arrives, women will vote, the government will be secularized, and the *Nation* will no longer undertake to "explain the machinery" of a "civilization" which has not yet risen above the level of political barbarism.

THE "CHRISTIAN AMENDMENT" PLATFORM.

The following resolutions, adopted at the Convention of the National Reform Association at Chicago, April 10 and 11, furnish the latest statement of the principles and objects of that mischievous and indefatigable movement, as published in the *Christian Statesman* of April 26:—

Resolved, 1. That it is of the utmost importance, in the present stage of our national history, to emphasize the fact that this country was settled by Christians, who came hither with a free and open Bible, and founded free institutions of government on the basis of the principles of the Christian religion, and that we are unquestionably a Christian nation.

2. That the most vital national issues of to-day involve the relations of Christianity and the State; and that the truth which Christianity teaches concerning these relations never demanded clearer assertion than now; *viz.*, That Almighty God is the ultimate source of all authority in civil government; that Jesus Christ as Ruler of Nations, has given a moral standard for their conduct; and that the standard of his Word is their supreme law.

3. That we perceive with grave apprehension, the determined and often successful attempts which are made to expel the Bible from our public schools, to abolish the oath, prayer in our National and State Legislatures, days of fasting and thanksgiving, and other Christian institutions of our States and nation, and so divorce the American government from all connection with Christianity.

4. That a written Constitution, as fundamental law, ought to provide an explicit and undeniable basis for the vital institutions of the nation for which it is framed; and the fact that the Constitution of the United States may be and is used against the existing institutions of our government constitutes the best of reasons for its religious amendment.

5. That such an amendment of our National Constitution, harmonizing as it would with all the precedents of our early history, and with religious acknowledgments in many of our State Constitutions, could not conflict with any individual rights of conscience, just as the establishment of State education does not conflict with the rights of citizens who believe that education belongs only to the family and the Church, or the constitutional authentication of the war-power does not conflict with the rights of those who denounce even defensive war as sin; and further, if there be any plea for rights of conscience, it must be entered against the Christian laws and institutions themselves rather than against a constitutional basis on which they might rest.

6. That the indifference of many professing Christians, as well as the assaults of open enemies, calls imperatively on all who discern the dangers that threaten our Christian institutions of government to unite and labor earnestly for their maintenance; and that, taking courage from a review of the past, and pledging ourselves to God and to one another, we shall use all means in our power to uphold, perfect, and hand down to posterity the inheritance bequeathed to us by our fathers.

That the future of such a movement as this cannot be augured from the number of its professed adherents, or the size of its public meetings at the present time, is unhappily too evident from the nature of the case. These resolutions illustrate how the "Christian consciousness" of the Church is deliberately arraying itself against the secular consciousness of the Republic; and now, as ever, the Church demands political power in the name of its creed. Here is the "cloud no bigger than a man's hand" which is destined to cover the land with darkness. The issue now raised has never been consciously decided by the American people; but the hour of decision is steadily approaching, and the people still sleep.

THE SCHOOL AMENDMENT.

Reader, are you one of the few liberals who understand that the perpetuation of religious liberty in the United States depends upon the preservation of the absolutely secular character of the national Constitution? If so, you will need no hint of ours to appreciate the significance of the subjoined article from one of the most influential organs of the Republican party in New England, the Boston *Journal* of May 26:—

What does it Mean?

An Associated Press dispatch from Cleveland, Ohio, says:—

"The German Catholic Central Association adopted the report of the Committee on the School System. It does not actually oppose the system now in existence, but urges the establishment of free Catholic school funds therefor, to be provided by school societies, to be started in all Catholic communities."

A few days since we noticed in an exchange that the Catholics of a Western city had established a free school on the plan above suggested, and elsewhere commendations thereof by Catholic journals.

Under ordinary circumstances it would be scarcely worth while to call attention to such action on the part of any religious body. On general principles there can be little objection to religious denominations establishing free schools. If they choose to spend their money in supporting schools in cities and towns where the State system affords ample opportunities for the free education of all children, they can only be accused of defective judgment, unless they have some motive which is not disclosed, and which would apparently justify them in such an expenditure of money. The Church which has taken this action is not one whose communicants can afford to waste money in unnecessary schemes.

But in this case we apprehend that those who are engineering the scheme of organizing rival free schools have an ulterior purpose. They may refrain from expressing their opposition to the free school system of the several States of the Union, but the Catholic clergy, as a whole, are either unfriendly or hostile to the system. Within a brief period the highest authority in that Church has declared against the public schools of the United States, and has, in direct terms, declared that no Catholic can well maintain his standing in the Church who sends his children to the public schools where Church schools are in the vicinity. We are informed that Catholic communicants have been refused the Sacrament by priests in New England because they have insisted in sending their children to the public schools in cities where there were denominational schools. In spite, however, of the hostility of Church leaders, a large number of young and able men in the Catholic Church are friendly to the public school system because they have been educated therein. In many respects these men are more liberal in their views, and less willing to be controlled in matters of a political and public nature than suits the clergy.

The leaders of the Catholic Church have evidently become convinced that they cannot overthrow the free school policy of the States by direct assault. So far as their experience goes in attempting the vigorous policy, they have not only met with defeat, but have strengthened the cause of popular education. Of late they have advocated a division of the school funds among religious denominations, according to their respective numbers. They have also maintained that it is unjust to require the communicants of a Church, which relieves the State of the cost of educating their children by maintaining schools of their own, to pay taxes for the support of schools from which they receive no benefit, and to which they are, by conviction, hostile. The action of the association referred to, then, is simply an indication of the purpose of the Catholic leaders to put themselves in a position to demand, as a matter of justice, either a division of the school funds, or exemption from taxation for public schools, assured that the accomplishment of either object would result in the destruction of a system of non-sectarian schools supported by the State.

It is not our purpose to agitate this topic, but being convinced that this seemingly harmless action has its origin in a deep-seated hostility to the free school system of the country, it is our duty to call public attention to the designs of Church-leaders who would destroy the system upon which depends the stability of the Republic. The question need not be made a political one, and it may be settled at once and for all time by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, requiring the States to provide for an adequate system of free schools, and prohibiting any division of school revenues among religious sects, or direct or indirect appropriation of money raised by taxation to sectarian schools or educational institutions.

Once more read the last sentence of the above article. It is "seemingly harmless." But the reflective reader will certainly repeat the *Journal's* question: "What does it Mean?"

1. It means that the Republican party intend to secure a school amendment of the United States Constitution.

2. It means that the Republican party intend by Constitutional provisions to make the public school system "unsectarian"—that is, as they construe the word, *neither Catholic nor secular, but Protestant Evangelical Christian.*

3. It means that the amendment they design to secure will forbid the exclusion of the Bible from the public schools, and thereby, indirectly but effectually, recognize the Bible's inherent Divine Authority as the Word of God.

4. It means that the Republican party are about to take a step which will destroy the absolute secularity of the Constitution, and begin a religious strife in this nation which, if human nature remains human nature twenty-five years longer, will grow into a religious war, as certainly as the sun will rise to-morrow.

5. It means that the only way to prevent this beginning of measureless mischief is for those who know the necessity of secular government to religious liberty to disregard the cunning and deprecatory suggestion of the *Journal* that this question "need not be made a political one," and to insist on making it a "political one" without further delay.

In default of a public opinion which shall assert itself in organized form, at the polls if necessary, the Protestant Evangelical school amendment will be carried through Congress successfully, and probably next winter. If the liberals of this country possess brains and courage, they will act, and act promptly. We counsel them earnestly to form Liberal Leagues in every city and town without delay, that the first Annual Congress of the National Liberal League next autumn may give such emphasis to the demand for a secular school system as shall prevent a premature, and therefore most dangerous, settlement of this momentous question. If only a hundred local Leagues shall send delegates to that meeting, the National League can take such bold action as will defeat the secret attempt to revolutionize this government in the interest of Orthodoxy. There is no more time to waste, unless the American people have grown tired of religious freedom and pine for a practical restoration of ecclesiastical government.

PROFESSORSHIP FOR WOMEN.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE BOSTON JOURNAL:—

The attention of some of the authorities of Boston University having been called to the number of young women already studying in the College of Liberal Arts, and to the desirableness of securing to them, as also to the other members of the College, the influence of mature and cultivated women as instructors, assurances have been received that the trustees are disposed to appoint a woman to a professorship as soon as the means for its endowment shall be provided. It is also understood that all members of the faculty are in sympathy with the proposition, and ready to welcome such a colleague.

The importance of this opportunity must be apparent to all friends of the higher education of women. It appeals as strongly to those who with us believe that young ladies during no period of their education should be deprived of womanly counsel and care, as to those who merely seek for women ever new and more influential positions in society.

Hoping that among your many readers there may be some person who, under the circumstances, will esteem it a privilege to endow the first professorship for women in Boston University, the Executive Committee of the "Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women" venture to ask you to insert this note. Any parties inclined personally to consider the proposition, and any friends who have information likely to be helpful to us in securing the object contemplated, are invited to address "The Executive Committee M. S. U. E. W., care Hannah E. Stevenson, Secretary *pro tem.*, 32 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass."

THE LAST.—"What on earth am I do with that incorrigible son of mine?" inquired an anxious father of a friend. "Dress him in a suit of shepherd's plaid," was the reply. "Why, what possible benefit would that be?" demanded the wondering parent. "It would, at least, be a way of keeping him in check."

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Communications.

A WORD FROM MINNESOTA—GRASSHOPPERS AND COL. INGERSOLL.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

The Governor of this State (John S. Pillsbury) is a resident of this city. I am personally acquainted with him, and happen to know that he is not so consummate an imbecile as his now famous "Grasshopper Proclamation" would seem to indicate. But if Eastern (especially New England) culture desires to laugh in its dignified and eminently respectable manner at this idiosyncrasy of a "Western Governor," let it first remember that Governor Pillsbury is an importation direct from the world-famous educational institutions of that same New England. The general, every-day education and experience of the Western-born and reared man is against asking God to do anything that he has not exhausted every means in striving to do himself.

But I started, not to institute "odious comparisons," but to offer a few words in defence of our very worthy Governor. He is a New Englander by birth and education, took the advice of Horace Greeley and came West some years ago, acquired wealth slowly by shrewd and careful business management, still possesses the one talent of culture that he brought with him from the granite hills of New Hampshire, and has had greatness thrust upon him by an admiring constituency. Unlike Dogberry, he does not desire to be "writ down as an ass" by the intellectual critics of his native New England. Here was the trouble. He has a private secretary, and that unworthy official is, like Dickens' "wicked partner," entirely responsible for his remarkable *faux pas*. You know the kind of material of which private secretaries are usually made,—that is, you would know if you had ever mingled in Western politics to any great extent. In this locality it is the sworn duty of that official to sit in his Excellency's private sanctuary, prune and trim and mould and model the annual and occasional message, smile with ineffable benignity and sweetness,—a sweetness which concentrates all the benevolence of the entire Commonwealth into one focus, and beams it with prodigal extravagance upon the fortunate citizen who may have business with the Executive department.

That was what ailed our chief magistrate. A committee of the Young Men's Christian Association visited the Governor's office in St. Paul, while his Excellency was at home in this city (nine miles away), dutifully engaged in matters of domestic concern. This committee made known its business to the beaming, gushing, private secretary, and the work was done. Visions of the fall campaign and a re-election (followed by a re-appointment of the P. S., of course) pictured themselves upon the imagination of the happy official, while on the dim horizon of his hopes arose the exquisite mirage of an approaching United States Senatorship for his Excellency, with (Oh, joy unspeakable!) a possible past office—maybe a consulship—for the private secretary.

Thus it was that our very worthy Governor ceased to be the Chief Magistrate of Minnesota, and became only the Governor of the Evangelical Christians of the State. Thus it was that he ignored Catholics, Jews, Freethinkers, and Free Religionists, and set himself and the Commonwealth he governs before the world of thought and progress as a laughing-stock. But it was not he,—no, it was the wicked private secretary. It *could not* have been he, for was he not born, reared, and educated in New England,—New England, with Boston for a focus that never bows its "intellectual head"?

Now one word in truth and soberness. When will our civil rulers learn that the hour has arrived, as pointed by the clock of progress, when in republican America they rule by and with the consent of the whole people, Jew and Gentile, Christian and Atheist? When, in other words, will they learn that it is against the spirit of the age to insult the intelligence of one class of citizens by pandering to the silly superstitions of another? I give it on information and belief that Governor Pillsbury is not, at heart, a Christian; and if the rationalistic thought of Minnesota was a mass as compact as the Evangelical, no one believes for a moment that he would dare hold the entire Commonwealth up to the contempt of that portion of the enlightened world which has stricken from the limbs of its intellect the shackles of creeds and deposited them as a curiosity in the museum of history. But he is a politician. That he does not adorn his high position, all of us can see; but the position does adorn him. And so he loves it, and takes the politician's way of holding it, by pandering to the grossest superstition,—a superstition which makes the seventeeth century contemptible to the nineteenth, and will make the nineteenth ridiculous in the eyes of the twentieth. But enough for this time of Governor Pillsbury. Let me turn my attention for a brief moment to a full-grown man,—so entirely grown that he will never be governor (probably), and so will never have an opportunity of calling on the churches to fast and pray a comet away from the earth.

Col. Robert G. Ingersoll delivered his lecture on "The Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child," at three places in this State recently, including Minneapolis. I do not know whether or not he delivered this lecture in the Eastern cities. If not, then you have something yet in store for you. Any puny tribute of mine to Col. Ingersoll would be superfluous, when the united voice of America, press and people, regardless of creed or party, has pronounced him the greatest popular orator in the land.

But I want to point out to the rationalists of America the Herculean labor this one man is doing while they sleep. The thought came to me while I sat beneath the matchless witchery of his eloquence, that if young men could only see, as I thought I could see, the processes of growth through which he had reached his present eminence, the world would not long be in need of missionaries preaching the gospel of growth to every creature. And the process is very simple. He has only been true to himself. Like Socrates and Jesus and Shakspeare, he speaks his own inner thought regardless of praise or blame. That is true greatness wherever it exists; and any man who wears a seven and three-quarters hat, has good health, a conscience, courage, and square-toed honesty, can achieve greatness and make the next century remember him if he only says "I will." Col. Ingersoll will be remembered as one of the representative men of our time, if he lives twenty years longer,—and he will live more than that, or else all signs fail.

I am not a hero-worshipper. I hate any man who accepts ready-made opinions and wears them, like cheap clothing, whether they fit or not. But I love the memory of Thomas Paine and Voltaire and Martin Luther; and it seems to me that Nature would have dropped a stitch somewhere if Col. Ingersoll, John Weiss, R. W. Emerson, and Charles Bradlaugh had not been given to this generation. And we must have men to fill their places in a few years. Will not freethought mothers and fathers take this lesson home? First conscience, then courage, then absolute truth and honesty,—Nature will provide the brains. What a harvest, it seems to me, must be ripening for the twentieth century! Pardon length, and "scatter"!

Very truly your friend,

FRANK J. MEAD.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., May 13, 1877.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND POWERS OF WOMEN AND OTHER PEOPLE.

The existing socialism is a multimodal dynamism resultant from the interaction of a definite number of those detached groups of forces called persons. Every man, woman, and child fatally, inevitably, and fully exerts his or her due and proper influence in shaping the laws, creeds, social usages, art, literature, and science of the land. Each person is a greater or lesser power that has no choice but to operate,—modify, limit, and be modified and limited by other powers; the result, moulded in the embrace of environing Nature, is all human facts that we see or do not see. Our greatest liability to err, in estimating the relations of individual energies, is in forgetting that the more bulky and obtrusive social phenomena are not always the weightiest.

If the number of those unitary sources of influence which we call persons remained the same, and if the degree and mode of power inherent in each remained the same, from the cradle to the grave, and from generation to generation, all our institutions might petrify and remain eternally unchanged save from natural or extra-human causes. But as the life of the individual consists wholly in movements of growth and decay, so the social organism exists only in continual change. The old are waning in energy and authority; the young are pouring into the grand current their novel disturbing personalities,—preparing to become in their turn the effete conservatism that must give way. These new factors that are continually thrusting themselves into the problem, are, it must be remembered, in some degree unlike all who have gone before; the latest generation has a more numerous ancestry than the generations before it, and differs from them necessarily in the sum and quality of its inheritance.

All, therefore, is a perpetual never-finished process of adjustment and readjustment of forces. The notion of a complete, lasting equilibrium of personal rights and powers is impracticable, for the rights and powers of persons are continually changing with their physical, intellectual, or moral growth or decay. The term "state" is much of a misnomer; although it may be for short periods static in form, yet its essential source is ever dynamic. The state exists not by any validity of its own, but by the continued operation of the forces that found through it their expression. Although civil stability is in some degree the interest of all, and although there is a powerful party who oppose all change, and would gladly see the state remain a cast-iron imprint of the charter of their peculiar privileges and advantages over their fellows, still the man or party that forgets that there is going on a continuous evolution of new forces, will sooner or later be found fighting against fate.

To the scientific view all human affairs are as completely the product of the play of necessitated forces as were the tremendous phenomena of plant and animal life that preceded man on this planet. This may seem a hard, cruel way of looking at things, as implying that we are but so many scaleless, discaudate dragons tearing each other with genuine dragonish intent only in a more conventional, refined, and covert manner than our honester prototypes. This implication has weight, but less than we might infer if we looked only at those self-constituted apostles of diabolism who disdain to speak to the people save with bayonet, or starvation wages, or lying promise of priest or politician. For it must be remembered that personal weight does not consist alone in physical and intellectual capacity for attack and defence. The most precious part of our possessions is the place we hold in the hearts of all good people. The universal good-will can be bought only with its like; assuredly not with any display of brutal athletism; nor can the most tremendous physical and intellectual despotism compel it. The weakest have the strongest hold on our sympathies. The powerful, unscrupulous, cruel man shall be destroyed, root and branch, for he has isolated himself in his own selfish might, and repudiated the kinship of his fellows.

Fear not, weakest, obscurest, toiler, martyr, that thy inmost significance can in any wise be suppressed; imagine not, thou most aggressive, unpitying, fighter with whatever weapon—sword of soldier, cunning of priest, trader, or politician, artist's sense, or philosopher's thought—that thy hand can clutch more than thy desert can hold; achievements, repute, wealth, empire, may be the most unsatisfactory and impotent of shams. The universe is unity and firm integrity of force; all thievish attempts to overbrim a selfish cup from the great ocean of human life and happiness are defeated and punished,—and the worst possible penal doom that befalls over-personalized aims may be in their fullest apparent success. This is the supreme irony of the world; all is granted to man save the knowledge to rightly apportion his desires.

> "Satiric Nature, lawless, willing,
> Chastens by its behests fulfilling;
> 'Tis past thy power to miss thy aim,
> Or make it seem, when won, the same."

The experience of the African members of our Commonwealth is a good illustration of the truth that personal validity is a cause that cannot be detached from its effect, and that the despised left wing in the house of human relations always votes and cannot be ignored. On their advent into this country their individual and collective worth was rated little higher than that of the beasts of the field. But forced toil bred pain, pain bred thought, and thought is power; a stimulating climate and association with a superior race developed them fast. It became evident at last that the destiny of the greatest nation in the world hinged on the fact of the existence in its midst of those four million inoffensive non-voting blackamoors. The day came when, although unable to free themselves directly, they were able to do it indirectly, by their hold on political needs and popular sympathies. If any one thinks the negroes as slaves possessed no political rights or powers, let him suppose them—anywhere from 1840 to 1870—to have been in the twinkling of an eye annihilated, or in any way at once and entirely taken out of the game,—is it not plain how vastly different the problem of American civilization would have been? Without voice in the national councils; with little articulate voice of any sort; lying there dimly apprehended in the hopeless, silent darkness of oppression, nevertheless they were a tremendous force which made itself felt. The hour which brought them nominal freedom and the ballot created in them no new quality, but merely recognized and gave a name to that already existing; it was a tide-mark in the current of their development, that uncreated fatality which nothing can materially retard.

The negroes attained equal civil rights as soon as the great body of them earnestly desired them. Where there is a will there is a way; the main point is to be fully persuaded of what we want, even to the degree of being willing to fight for it,—or, what is harder, endure ridicule. Women will vote as soon as they unitedly wish to. A certain stage of progress is unavoidably accompanied by full republican citizenship. The ballot is not a finality nor a limit to the degree of influence which one may exert upon political and social affairs. If given into the hands of those who are not up to it, it confers on them no new power; it is a weapon, and is naught only to those who can use it. Like the use of gunpowder, it is an instrumentality through which the growing equalization of human rights and powers operates. All will come in time to the skilful wielding of the ballot; but many ere then will have passed onward to a stage where the counting of noses, the use of weapons of every sort, and the policy and necessity of balancing one class interest against another, will be obsolete ideas.

If woman desires equal civil rights and powers with man, she must accept even as man has done (?) the lesson that all experience teaches; namely, that freedom and priestly rule cannot consist together. In proportion as she relieves herself from priestly incubus—the voice of unreasoned authority in any and every shape,—in like proportion will she find herself becoming possessed of political rights and powers.

When we move altogether, leaving no weakest or most unfortunate one behind to be trampled under by the great host, then only can be revealed to us the full meaning of humanity and Nature; then shall the man-made wall between good and evil fall to the ground; then shall the self-luminous power in all being, eclipsed before by the dulness of our vision, burst forth and scatter from their last lurking-places the bloody shadows that self now casts.

G. E. TUFTS.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

ROBERT COLLYER recently said concerning the Methodists: "When a great church, whose power has been felt in every corner of the land, finds that her ministers have given up the noble austerity which made her great and good, and the self-sacrifice for the souls of men, which would send them gladly where the need was, and have taken to log-rolling for the choicest places as the time comes round for change, and can afford to let a bishop and a brotherhood pray for a third term with one eye on heaven and the other on traveling consulships, and other delectable pickings, and—I will not use the other word—you can make up your mind that there is a drift in that church from inwardness to outwardness, and from that again to selfishness, and that her days are numbered for any noble use except she repent and do her first works."—*Liberal Christian.*

A SCOTCHMAN asked an Irishman, "Why were half-farthings coined in England?" Pat's answer was, "To give Scotchmen an opportunity of subscribing to charitable institutions."

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THE LONDON PULPIT.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

LONDON, April 5, 1877.

The conferences which Dr. Parker, of the City Temple, has been calling together to discuss the subject of preaching excite various criticism. The convener himself is regarded by nearly everybody outside of his denomination, except Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cowper-Temple, as an ambitious and somewhat vapid orator. He aspires to be the Beecher of London, but he has by no means the talent of Beecher. Nevertheless, he has an endless flow of language and a congregation too uncultured to recognize his borrowings. His ordinary sensations are effected by startling and strained inventions of situations and incidents between the lines of Scripture. I do not think very highly of the London pulpit, but it might easily become worse by taking its cue from the fidgety Congregationalist of the City Temple. His own denomination—called here "Independents," a sort of de-Calvinized Presbyterians—have in London far better representatives of real pulpit eloquence. The Rev. J. Allanson Picton, for instance, is at once a scholar and an orator. He is, however, the latitudinarian of his denomination, as Dean Stanley is of the Church, though he finds far fewer supporters than the Dean, and has nearly preached his congregation away. Another very liberal and able minister of the same persuasion is the Rev. Dr. Raleigh, who is, however, more cautious in his utterances, and has his reward in having been recently called to the most aristocratic congregation which belongs to his connection. The Rev. Mark Wilkes is also latitudinarian, and preaches very interesting sermons. The Wesleyans are without any very eminent preachers in London. The Established Church gets hold of most of its talented youths when they become educated. The old Presbyterians are very thin, and their pulpits are chiefly occupied by Scotchmen, the Rev. Donald Fraser being, perhaps, their oldest man. There are some preachers whom it is hard to classify. For example, the Rev. Newman Hall has a service which allies him with the Established Church, while in doctrine he is all things to all men,—that is to say, he is nothing in particular. He is a rather windy and sensational man, somewhat of the City Temple type, though rather more Pecksniffian. The Baptists have no man of much power, and none of eminence, except Spurgeon. If he were to die I don't know where the Baptist Church could be found.

In the great swarming world of the tradespeople and the uneducated, Spurgeon appears to me the most effective preacher in London. He is more solidly in earnest, more simple and sympathetic than any man I have named, unless it be Picton; and yet his celebrity is largely due to his being in himself virtually the whole Baptist Church. The old Presbyterian churches have been mainly inherited by the Unitarians. Puritanism here, as in New England, became ultimately represented by negation and rationalism. But the Unitarian pulpit is certainly feeble in London. Its preachers are generally amiable and scholarly, but they lack the power of getting hold of the people. Even Martineau, who was so long their leading preacher, did not manage to reach the people, and his impressive discourses were delivered to a handful of cultivated gentlemen and ladies, who had to make up with their loving admiration for the paucity of their numbers. The most effective Unitarian preacher about London has for some years been an ex-Catholic priest, the Rev. R. Rodolphe Suffield, who brought into his new religious relations that fire which, it must be admitted, is characteristic of many English Catholic preachers, and which makes Cardinal Manning the successful rival of any man the sects around him can produce. "Father" Suffield is a Christian Theist. The Rev. Charles Voysey attracts still a good congregation from those who are emerging from the Church of England, and he is always popular and interesting. With Rabbi Marks and Dr. Adler the Jewish pulpit is well represented. However, the Broad Church of the Established Religion still holds its own in the London pulpit against all rivals, and, no doubt will continue to exceed the rest so long as the Church is so well able to outbid all others in the advantages that can be offered to young men with a turn for the ministry. The Broad Church offers the youth a freedom which he can hardly find elsewhere along with pecuniary support and social rank. The clergyman not only belongs to the upper classes *ex officio*, and however humble his birth, but he is appointed to his place by the individual owner of his "living," and so occupies an independent position towards his congregation. They may complain of his doctrines or his ways, but unless they can get a Bishop to interfere—and a Bishop's normal condition is to be motionless—they are helpless. They indulge in a large range of subjects,—these clergymen. The Rev. Mr. Haweis, for instance, recently preached a discourse on Mr. Whistler's decoration of Mr. Leyland's grand-room with picturesque peacocks, and a fine sermon it was, too. Mr. Haweis is an eloquent man, and it is wonderful after his tiny figure has limped into the pulpit to see how his stature rises, and how stately he becomes under his inspiration. Stopford Brooke has all the copious flow of metaphor and all the fire which his Irish blood can bestow, and he is bold and heretical; many a Unitarian sail flaps because of the breeze that fills his own. He preaches of the poets and philosophers, and pours invective on Orthodox dogmas—especially those of hell and damnation,—and is himself a poet. He has the advantage of a handsome face and form, too, and a flexible, pleasing voice. The Rev. Llewellyn Davies, on whom the mantle of Dr. Maurice has fallen; the Rev. Canon Farrar, who more than sustains the traditions of Canon Kingsley's ministrations; the Rev. Abbott Smith, of the city; the Dean of Westminster, of whom I have so often written, and others that might be named, give the Church of England a power which no other denomination can hope to attain so long as a State Church exists. I speak now only of London. Yet from outside of London, and especially from the great universities, there are continually coming reënforcements of the Church pulpit. There is one eminent preacher in particular whose occasional visits to London are welcomed by a large circle of admirers,—namely, Dr. Jowett, Head Master of Baliol College, Oxford. Dr. Jowett almost tops Dean Stanley in his independence. He doesn't owe the magnates of his Church much deference, and he doesn't pay them much; in fact, the gray-headed philosopher ignores the men who for so many years forced him to give his labors at Oxford for a pittance that could not support him for much more than a month in the year. He is now boss, so to speak, and follows his own mind. Some dismay was caused, as you may imagine, by his having Mr. and Mrs. Lewes (George Eliot) as his guests at Oxford; but dismay would be a feeble word to express the feeling aroused by an incident which occurred on the Sunday during which the two famous heretics staid there. On that Sunday Lewes and his wife went to hear their host preach. Jowett had gone on before them, and he was just ascending to the pulpit when he saw his guests enter the door. The church was crowded, and the guests were vainly looking for seats. Jowett beckoned them to advance, and they did so very timidly, not being much used to churches. They supposed seats would be found among the dons and solemn folk, but there were none; meanwhile Jowett still beckoned, they shyly advancing, when they were presently established on each side of the communion-table, in the large high-backed chairs usually reserved for Bishops, where they sat fronting the amazed congregation, and hardly able to conceal their sense of the novelty of the situation, until absorbed in the magnificent sermon. This may be safely regarded as the boldest thing ever done by an English clergyman.

I have mentioned all the specially able preachers I can think of in London, and there cannot be many more which could be included in the most liberal list of our pulpit powers. But what are these among these four millions? It would require a miracle equal to that of the loaves and fishes to feed this multitude with these few brains, and all the more since it is notorious that the great mass of ministers here are insupportably dull. There are not many, indeed, who can be called illiterate; but no one can pass many Sundays in London without seeing whence Charles Dickens drew his Stigginses and Chadbands. I feel quite certain that if other professions and the various branches of work in London had in them no higher average of ability than the pulpit has, "Ichabod" (the glory has departed) might be written on all the walls. The stupidities passively endured on Sunday would not be tolerated in the secular affairs of Monday. For the majority religion—in that narrow sense which excludes from it vast realms of nature and human interest—has a monopoly on Sunday. On Good Friday, when a Vicar complained that his church was emptied by the superior attractions of a neighboring circus, it might have occurred to him that it was a better plan than trying to suppress the circus to get up something in his church superior to the circus. If, on Sunday, every preacher in London had to compete with open art-galleries, museums, and scientific lectures, it would be the best thing possible for the pulpits. Monopoly means mediocrity. However, I do not intend to ascribe the phenomenon of clerical dulness to this cause, solely or even chiefly. The power of the pulpit has declined because the age of convictions has declined. The old sanctions are weakened or gone. The old dogmas that once filled men with terror and hope seem to survive only in perpetual apologies for their existence. Not one of them can awaken our most popular clergyman to so much enthusiasm as a room cunningly ornamented with peacocks.—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

PROTECT THE CHILDREN.

FORMATION OF A SOCIETY TO CARE FOR THE UNPROTECTED.

A well attended meeting of ladies and gentlemen interested in the formation of a Society for the Protection of Children was held last evening in the parlors of the Woman's Club, 4 Park Street, under a call signed by a large number of the prominent residents of the city. The meeting was called to order by the Rev. M. J. Savage.

The Rev. Geo. H. Vibbert was chosen to preside, and Mr. Loring Moody to serve as Secretary. Mr. Moody presented the report of the committee appointed at a previous meeting to consider the need of such a society. The report considered the questions whether or not the work proposed to be done ought to be, whether it is done by existing societies, and whether the new society would or could perform the work. The report considered, further, the scope of existing societies, and reached the conclusion that the new society was a necessity. In conclusion, the report recommended the appointment of another committee to draft a constitution and nominate a board of officers for the "Massachusetts Children's Protective Society," the committee to report at an adjourned meeting, which meeting Mr. John D. Wright, President of a similar society in New York, and Mrs. Mary A. Livermore should be invited to address.

Mr. Savage said it was proper to state that one member of the committee had not agreed that the new society was a necessity, and had not voted in favor of the report, though he made no opposition.

Mr. Moody stated further that it was the intention to organize this spring, make a codification of the laws under which the society could act, and then next winter secure any additional needed legislation. He said it was designed to make the society wholly secular in character, and to keep it free from political influences.

Mr. Crosby of the Children's Mission opposed the organization of the society, on the ground that the work was attended to by the societies already in existence.

Mr. Moody thought there was a pressing need for the new organization, and would say that it appeared to him that some of the existing societies for children's care had a cheap way of doing their work. The speaker had suggested the new project to Chief of Police Savage, and that official thanked God that the scheme was contemplated.

Mr. John Wetherbee said that the fact that so many poor and destitute children were on the street was an indication that there was something wanting in the present societies. They had been existing for years, and had not attended to their whole duty.

Dr. Wellington gave a sketch of the rise of similar movements in New York, and was certain that in Boston the work was not wholly done by the existing societies. He did not think legislative action was necessary so much as the influences of the loving heart and the energetic mind in this humanitarian work.

Mr. R. P. Hallowell moved that the report of the committee be adopted.

Col. Tufts thought that the difficulty in the way of the new undertaking would be in getting a legal enactment to enable the society to do the work. He thought going into the homes of the poor and taking their children away from them, no matter how wretched the home or how vicious the surrounding influences, would be an invasion of personal liberty which would not be tolerated. Children, too, would cling to their homes and need punishment to reform them. In concluding, the speaker said the Westboro Reform School was a kind and benevolent institution, notwithstanding what has been said of it. The reform he would advocate would take root in the family home and not elsewhere.

Mr. Savage said he had looked carefully over the ground, and, though reluctant to indorse new projects of this kind, had become thoroughly convinced of the necessity of a secular society for the protection of children in the city. The work had not been done, and it called for some one to do it, though the present societies had been in existence many years. Moreover, all the societies already flourishing were tinged with sectarianism, which seriously impeded their advance in thoroughly open and humanitarian work, and this surely was a calling in which creed should be ignored. He was fully in accord with the desire to make a secular society which would be controlled by no religious or irreligious body, but be devoted to the alleviation of miseries and dangers of the city youth. He was willing to give his own hearty efforts in forwarding this plan.

Mr. Savage then retired, and the question was put and the report of the committee unanimously adopted.

Mr. Moody then moved the appointment of a Committee of Five on Organization. The motion prevailed, and Messrs. R. P. Hallowell, Alfred Childs, and Loring Moody, and Mrs. William Thorndike and Mrs. Sarah B. Otis were chosen. The committee retired at once.

Dr. Wellington again adressed the meeting, telling several sad circumstances in his experience in which children had suffered for want of such a society as the one proposed. He was sure he did not underrate the difficulties attending the formation, however.

Mr. Chase Cole, chief of the truant officers, said there was a law in the State which enabled the authorities to take children from their parents under certain circumstances, and he told several instances in which children had suffered for want of better protection.

The Committee on Organization then reported, through Mr. Loring Moody, as follows:—

President, Abbott Lawrence, Boston. *Vice-Presidents*, Martin Brimmer, Boston; Amos A. Lawrence, Boston; Henry W. Longfellow, Cambridge; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; Samuel E. Sewall, Boston; Phillips Brooks, Boston; James Freeman Clarke, Boston; Sarah S. Russell, Boston; Anna C. Lodge, Boston; Mary Hemmenway, Boston; S. Griffith Morgan, New Bedford; Rachel Howland, New Bedford; Isaac Davis, Warrenton; Mrs. P. S. Canfield, Warrenton. *Secretary*, Loring Moody. *Treasurer*, Charles F. Shimmin. *Directors*, Abbott Lawrence, Mrs. Fenno Tudor, Mrs. G. Howland Shaw, Theodore Lyman, Nathan Appleton, Mrs. Wm. Thorndike, Mrs. Sarah B. Otis, Mrs. James K. Mills, M. J. Savage, Charles F. Shimmin, R. P. Hallowell, Miss M. L. Putnam, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw, Frederic Robbins, Loring Moody.

All of the above were elected subject to their acceptance, and the directors were voted the power to fill any vacancies. The constitution was also submitted by Mr. Moody, and the entire report of the committee was adopted. The meeting then adjourned, subject to the call of the officers.—*Boston Journal, May* 23.

TWO LITERARY LADIES were lately witnesses in a trial. One of them, upon hearing the usual questions asked, "What is your name?" and "How old are you?" turned to her companion and said, "I do not like to tell my age; not that I have any objection to its being known, but I don't want it published in all the newspapers." "Well," said the witty Mrs. ——, "I will tell you how you can avoid it. You have heard the objection to all hearsay evidence; tell them you don't remember when you were born, and all you know of it is by hearsay." The *ruse* took, and the question was not pressed.

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2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE FOLLOWING statistics of the Catholic Church in the United States are given in Sadlier's *Catholic Directory* for 1877: "A cardinal archbishop, 10 other archbishops, 58 bishops, 2297 priests, 5292 churches, 1587 parochial schools, and an estimated Catholic population of 5,541,000, without including the dioceses of Baltimore, Brooklyn, Portland, Allegheny, Pittsburgh, Nashville, Charleston, or Monterey, to which, taking the number of priests as a basis of calculation, we must apparently assign 750,000 more, making the whole Catholic population 6,200,000."

CHIEF-JUSTICE COOLEY, of Michigan, in a recent lecture at Baltimore on "Legal Wrongs or Torts," declared that the more cultivated and advanced a people become in the arts and modes of life, the greater is the number and varieties of legal wrongs and remedies. "Every new invention involves and develops new rights and more varied invasions of rights." These statements are extremely suggestive. Intuitional or *à priori* morality can only be perplexed by the mention of "new rights," while evolutional or scientific morality expects them as a matter of course. New rights necessarily result from new relationships, and they are none the less "natural" for being also derivative.

THE BOSTON *Commonwealth* sometime since mentioned a fact which is, to say the least, significant. Either Orthodoxy in Connecticut is getting rheumatic, or else Dr. Dudley was merciful to his old associates in the quality of the sermons he sent as samples: "It is a singular fact that Rev. Dr. Dudley, who was settled last Sunday over Theodore Parker's society, is still a member in good standing of the Hartford (Conn.) South Association of Congregational Ministers. Mr. Dudley lately sent the Association a number of his more recent sermons, with a request that they might be perused, and such action taken in regard to him as the circumstances warranted. The reply came last week that nothing was found calling for Congregational discipline; that he still stood in good repute with the body; and inviting him to be present at the convocation this month!"

THE QUINCY (Mass.) *Patriot* of May 6, not long after a copy of Shakspeare had been given to a pupil in one of the public schools of that town as a prize for excellence in reading, published the following letter, which well illustrates the beautiful influence in favor of literary culture which revivalism naturally exerts: "INCONSISTENCY.—It seems to me very much like hypocrisy for a person to ask God's blessing on anything they are going to do, and then do a thing which one day they may have reason to bitterly repent of. I felt almost shocked on Tuesday evening to hear a person pray, and then aid in presenting a book like Shakspeare's plays to a boy soon to start out into this wide world. What a book to put into a boy's library! Preaching temperance to children and yet holding up plays, so that they may become lovers of theatre-going. How often play-going and drinking go together! What is there in that book to exalt our Maker, or to teach us one word about him to whom we shall all have to give an account at the last day of every idle word, much less of wasted time spent in reading such a worthless book. Let those who profess to be Christians let their light shine, that they may be epistles known and read of all men. M. A. THRALL."

AN ENGLISH friend sends us the following amusing extract from a last autumn's paper, which may possibly be turned to account in the grasshopper controversy out West: "At the meeting of the Established Synod of Angus, on Wednesday, an overture was presented praying the Synod to appoint a day on which the thoughts of the congregation might be directed to the dealings of God with the harvest, which has now been on hand for nearly three months, and is not yet completed. The Rev. Mr. Anderson, in supporting the overture, said it would be well for ministers to call the attention of their people to indications of dissatisfaction with their conduct shown by the Ruler of the seasons. The Rev. Mr. Young said it was a very difficult subject indeed to try and read the decrees of Divine Providence as expressed by prosperity and adversity. On the east coast of Scotland the harvest had been almost a failure, while on the west coast fine weather had prevailed and the harvest was a good one. Were they to infer from this that the Almighty was dissatisfied with the inhabitants on the east coast and pleased with those on the west? It was ultimately agreed to fix the first Sabbath in November on which ministers shall call the attention of congregations to the dealings of God with the bad harvest."

THE LATE Henry A. Wise, in one of his three messages as Governor of Virginia, expressed views as to the propriety of Executive appointments of days of thanksgiving which are worthy to be classed with the similar views of Thomas Jefferson. Gov. Wise was a Christian and a Democrat, the destroyer of Old John Brown of Ossawatomie, and later a vehement secessionist and rebel; yet none the less noble was the example he set in maintaining the principle of equal rights in the passage here quoted: "It has not been for the want of reverence for religion, or that I have been unmindful of God's providence to our people, that I have omitted to observe the mere form and fashion of the Executive messages to acknowledge divine goodness. I have purposely omitted to do so, for the same reason that I have, on every occasion when called on by the clergy or others, declined to recommend or appoint a day of thanksgiving. There ought to be no meddling of the State with matters of religion and faith, except to protect and defend the freedom of conscience and voluntary worship, and to enforce sound morality and common decency. This hinders us not, but rather sets us free to praise God in our own way. Any recommendation of worship from the State or its officers, in any form, is to some extent a constraint upon the people, who have forbidden by their Constitution the intermeddling with such matters by political power. Politics and religion ought not, in any way, to be brought into contact. They pollute and destroy each other. Two of the worst evils of the times are political religion and religious politics. I am not constituted and appointed to handle God's holy things, and I will not dare, hypocritically and cantingly, to huckster them to the market of popularity among men."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

The Many Encouragements, and the Few Discouragements,

THE PROSPECT OF THE LIBERAL CAUSE.

BY REV. A. B. BRADFORD.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I was brought up on the banks of the Susquehanna River just below the junction of the two branches where the stream is a mile wide. In the month of *Maeah, grata mea sonis, ut Favoni, as we were wont* to sing from old Horace, it was very interesting to see the ice break up and go; and oftentimes the shore would be crowded with persons from the town—Sunberry—to see the flow of the river bulging up and loosening from the rocks around which it had frozen when the water was low; and how defiantly and conservatively the ice would plant itself against the bottom, and pile up in little hills, until the swelling flood above would break it in pieces and sweep it all away. After the ice, there came the drift-wood, made up of old stumps of trees, pieces of the broken timbers of bridges, boards, rails, and logs of all sizes. My juvenile mind was very much struck with this phenomenon which I did not then understand, that, while the water was swift in the channel of the river, some of the drift-wood that had been shot out by the current made its way to the eddies and back-water along the shore, and would go up stream! I well remember on one occasion the body of a tree about thirty feet long, blackened by fire, after circling about in an eddy below, came cavorting past in a wonderful manner, seeming to defy the laws of Nature that water shall run down hill instead of up hill; and I followed it along for a considerable distance till it reached a little cape or headland on the river, where it got within the force of the current, and away it went down to Chesapeake Bay.

Very often through life have I paused and compared the course of human events called history, and especially so much of it as was enacted before my eyes, to this spring scene on the Susquehanna. There is a stream—a *current*—in human affairs; and there is also a counter-current, or back water, produced by the very force of the current itself: and at no period in the history of the world of mind was this fact more clearly visible than it is now. Free-thought, or a breaking loose from the trammels of mere human authority in all the departments of knowledge; a love of truth for truth's sake; secular ideas of political government, and of popular education; science as the natural religion of mankind, which, unlike the Church religion, never persecutes, and never outrages the human intellect by requiring it to believe an absurdity; a disposition to study the laws of Nature as they relate to health and enjoyment, and to take in our passage through life all the happiness we can honestly and innocently get as we go along,—these, with their cognate ideas, form at present the *current* of thought and feeling.

If we study the subject of the Church, both in its constitution and history, we shall find that the most dangerous feature in the whole concern centres in the priesthood. The idea that a class of men are set apart as the divinely authorized teachers of mankind, and are invested by Almighty God with authority to hold in their hands, and to transmit to their successors in office, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, with the divine assurance that whosoever sins they remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins they retain they are retained; that whatsoever they bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever they shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,—this is the most fearful claim of power that was ever made by an organized body of men. In a country like this, where the State is independent of the Church, this claim would be as laughable as the Pope's bull against the comet, were it not for the fact that the *people* who compose the churches, and support the clergy by their money, silently concede the claim. Catholics and Protestants alike call their clergy "ambassadors of Jesus Christ," and regard them as commissioned by the Sovereign of heaven to treat with his revolted subjects on earth. No protest has ever been made, either by the Catholic or Protestant membership of the Church, against this claim; and it is held to-day as sincerely, and would be enforced as rigidly, as when the Pope's nuncio laid whole kingdoms under an interdict, and forbade even the burial of the dead. It is the nature of a thing called a *claim* to live forever unless it is completely disproved or made null by the stipulations of a treaty of peace after war. This claim of the clergy is a constant menace against the liberties of mankind. While it is put forth, society is not, and cannot be, safe; for political complications may arise when the clerical order may take advantage of circumstances, and enforce their divine prerogative.

Now, whatever tends by way of argument to weaken this audacious claim of the priesthood to be the divinely authorized and exclusive teachers of the people in morals and religion; whatever tends to diminish the superstitious reverence which the people feel for them as a class; whatever tends to destroy in the popular mind the sense of the divine *authority* of the Church, and to make it merely a voluntary institution, is a good thing for society, and brightens the hopes of the future. And the object of this communication is to point out some of the ways in which this has been, and is now being, done; and, that notwithstanding the eddies and counter-currents observable along the shores of our times, the *current* in its overwhelming force is moving in the right direction.

1. The organization of the United States Government was the first direct blow ever given to clerical and ecclesiastical assumption; for, unlike any other government that has ever existed, or now exists, the Constitution recognizes neither priesthood nor Church, but ignores the very existence of both. The government drafts clergymen into the army in time of war, and appoints them to civil and military office, but only as citizens. The appointment of chaplains for army and navy, and the two Houses of Congress, is not enjoined, nor provided for, in the Constitution; for the convention that framed the Constitution in Philadelphia never had a chaplain, nor an official prayer, during all its numerous sessions, which would not have been the case, had the framers of the Constitution considered such things of any kind of importance in political affairs. The equality of all men before the law, which was the fundamental doctrine of the Declaration, for which the war was waged, destroyed in its very terms all adventitious distinctions between human beings, and placed them on a perfect level in point of rights, making the government merely the means of promoting this grand end. Every foreigner who travels among us is struck with the fact that the clergy, *as such*, are of no more account than any other citizens; but that, if any member of the class is respected at all, it is because he is a well-behaved man, and not as a clergyman. *This is the national sentiment as produced by the Constitution and laws.* If the clergy are exempted from sitting on juries, and from militia duties, and if their ecclesiastical property is exempted from taxation, it is done by the States; and, although a clear violation of the spirit of the national Constitution, the national government is not responsible for the anomaly. For it must be remembered that the government of the United States was originally organized out of States previously existing as such, and that these, and the rest which have been added since the Union was formed, have their State Constitutions and laws, and have functions independent of the general government. Each State gives, or refuses to give, the right of suffrage to any of its inhabitants,—taxes, or exempts from taxation, what property it pleases. Yet the national Constitution exerts a subordinating and perceptible moral influence on the States; and that influence is clearly against the pretensions of the Church and priesthood.

2. The Young Men's Christian Association, which is an affiliated institution, evincing great zeal and commanding great wealth in carrying out its plans, gave a second blow to the idea of an authoritative priesthood. This organization grew out of the fact, which was thrown into the teeth of the clergy without mercy, and wounded them in the tenderest and most vital spot, that they were a drag on the chariot-wheels of salvation; that at the poor, dying rate of their zeal for the conversion of souls, hell and the penitentiaries and jails are filling up with victims much faster than heaven and the Church were peopled with saints; that therefore they should resign the driver's seat on the gospel chariot to the young men who were in earnest, and not paralyzed by professionalism, and that themselves should take back seats as passengers, and be content with the enjoyment of their official dignity. One keen-eyed old parson in a city I wot of, seeing at the first that the young men, if not checked in their aspiring zeal for converting sinners, would inevitably and practically take away his double commission of ambassador of Jesus Christ and brigadier-general in the sacramental host of God's elect, turned upon the ambitious youth, and had influence enough to crush the viper while it was yet in the shell. But elsewhere, and generally, the clergy, grateful for anything that was likely to bring grists to their little mills, fell in with the movement. The effect has been to disparage the clergy as a class in the popular esteem, and to lead thousands to feel that the Young Men's Christian Associations are more comfortable and safer places for a man to be in than the chilling atmosphere of the churches. And this shearing of the clerical locks, this serious abridgment of their functions, has caused young men of superior ability to seek vocations in other fields of effort than the priesthood. John Wanamaker, the Philadelphia tailor, probably does more positive good in redeeming people from vice and misery than all the clergy of that city put together. The upshot of the Young Men's Christian Association is to compel the educational societies, whose province is to hunt up and educate men for the ministry, to go to the rural districts and rake up an indifferent class of youth—"poor but pious,"—and who are so humble and poor in spirit as to be willing to be educated, fed, and clothed on charity funds; and who, after four or five years of such wet-nursing, are sent out as licensed Micahs, going up and down among the vacancies, saying, "Put me, I pray thee, in the priest's office, that I may have a piece of bread." To such an extent have the educational boards gone in filling the ministry with fourth and fifth rate men, that open war is now being made in church courts and papers against the baleful policy. If, then, the Young Men's Christian Associations in their great zeal have done some harm in meddling with matters which do not concern them, we can pardon their faults in consideration of the two facts, that they have snatched many unfortunate young persons from the maelstrom of vice in our large cities whom the churches entirely neglected, and especially by unintentionally, yet really, weakening the people's respect for the clerical office.

3. On the heels of the Young Men's Christian Association came Moody and Sankeyism, which for a few years past has been riding the waves of religious excitement, and attracting the attention of thinking men. This was a third blow given to priestly assumption. The clergy, as already observed, claim that their preëminent function in the great scheme of redemption is to hold in their hands, and exclusively, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and to open and shut the gates as they please, the Head of

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the Church being bound by solemn promise to confirm and ratify in heaven whatever they did on th earth. Hence, they are previously put through stated course of theological education, then license to try their powers, and in due time "ordained," o set apart in the most solemn manner, consecrated invested formally with the keys, and authorized to teach all nations, enforce discipline, secure obedience, and especially to administer the "saving ordinances" of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

But in this tide of time, and out of our prolific American hot-bed which produces individuality of character, as a compost heap produces weeds, arise these two upstarts, Moody and Sankey, men of no education at all, men who were never licensed, nor ordained, nor authorized, nor commissioned by any presbytery, association, consociation, bishop, or conference,—emphatically running on the Lord's errand without being sent,—pushing aside contemptuously the regular, divinely authorized teachers of the people and professional savers of souls, and telling the whole of them, from Pope down to Deacon, that they don't understand the business, and must give way to those who do! In their revival meetings the clergy are condescendingly allowed to say over a prayer now and then, provided it be very short and to the point, but they are practically told that their vocation as soul-savers is gone, and that they should be content with the glory of revolving as satellites round their primaries "the Evangelists," and register the converts which they make. If any of the clergy dressed up in their canonicals, and with the shepherd's official crook in their hands, advise these gentlemen to be modest, reminding them that they have not been entrusted by Jesus Christ with the power of the keys, and cannot administer the "saving ordinances," the upstarts smile contemptuously, and are ready with the words of Paul: "I thank God I did not baptize any of you but Crispus and Gaius, for the Lord did not send me to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." As any old granny in a poultry-yard can coop the chickens when they are hatched, so any dried-up anatomy of a clergyman can dip or sprinkle a convert in baptism, and give him bread and wine at the Lord's Supper. But, to hatch out the chickens of the covenant in scores by a patent method of short incubation,—it takes such dabsters as we are to do that!

Now, if you could get the confidence of a clergyman,—not one of those lachrymose, gushing, short-sighted men who are so full of faith and water, but a long-headed, reflecting, judicious old stager who understands the causes of things,—if you could get him away up in the third story of his house where his study is, and ask him what he candidly thinks will be the inevitable consequences of Moody and Sankeyism, he would look cautiously to see if the study-door were shut, and then, *sotto voce*, would confess that, with all its fine seeming and present gain to the Church, the next generation would see that it did infinitely more harm than good, by disparaging the ministerial office before the world, and by preparing the way for a reaction in feeling that will be more dangerous to the Church than the previous deadness complained of. The English Church people, when the revivalists were among them, started the question, which they are now solving,—'If Moody and Sankey, uneducated, volunteer preachers, can convert more sinners in one year than the whole Church of England, bishops, clergy, and all, do at the yearly cost of a score of millions of dollars, what is the *use* of supporting twenty thousand of this class who do *nothing* comparatively to earn the money in the way of saving souls? Are they not leeches, or if you please, parasites—lice—upon the body politic, which would be cast off if that body were in a good state of health and cleanliness?"

4. The next adverse interest that now sets itself against a priesthood by divine right is the Temperance movement, which, like a June freshet, is surging over some sections of country, carrying all before it. Murphy began this work at Pittsburgh, and the two striking peculiarities in it were, first, that he did not denounce the retailers of liquor as abominable, and to be put down by prohibition laws, since they only supplied a demand created by the drinking habits of the people; and *secondly*, that the clergy were not to take the lead in the movement, but to occupy subordinate places in the ranks. It was boldly alleged by some, and they pointed to past experience for proof, that clerical forwardness would paralyze the movement; since the masses, seeing the cold indifference of the churches to their interests, had no faith in their sympathy or elevating power. If it were announced that the Rev. Dr. Creamcheese would address the public on Temperance on a given evening, and prove from Scripture that drunkenness was a sin against God, and that no drunkard, unwashed by the blood of Jesus Christ, could inherit the kingdom of heaven, he would scarcely have a score of people to hear him. But if it were on the cards that two or three reformed drunkards would tell their experience, and urge all to sign the pledge, the house would be too small to hold the audience. Murphy *began* the movement on broad *humanitarian* grounds only, and it went like wildfire among the masses. But he has yielded to the overwhelming kindness and flattery of the church people, and now agrees to call it the "*Christian*" Temperance Union. This, whether he understood it or not, was a stroke of policy of the clergy, who wished to get for Christianity, by which they meant the religion of the Church, the credit of the movement. Many of the temperance converts have already joined the churches. But it is no wonder. Instead of urging them to stand up to their pledge like *men*, and respect themselves too much hereafter to tamper with the evil habit of drinking, they are surrounded by the zealous myrmidons of the Church, and told in public and private that they have no power in themselves to stand firm to their vow, but that they must come to Jesus, join the Church, and thus get the strength to be sober and decent.

Now contemplate the fact. By the clear teachings of the New Testament, and by the common consent of Christendom, the clergy are the mediators between God and man, being ambassadors of Christ, sent out to beseech men to be reconciled to God. They are the authorized fishers of men; and their exclusive province is skilfully to cast the Gospel net into the sea on the right side of the ship, so as to secure a large draught of fishes. They, with their church members, constitute "the salt of the earth," to keep the mass of society from corruption by their antiseptic influence. They are divinely constituted the "light of the world," to illuminate the path of duty and safety to erring mortals, so that they will not wander on the mountains of sin and folly. They command abundant wealth. Their church machine is well arranged, and they pay no church taxes. They number sixty thousand clergymen, with creeds of all complexions to suit all comers. Yet with all these claims, and all this wealth, and all the appliances for reforming men from their evil ways, drunkenness had advanced to such a pitch in this country that nearly a thousand millions of dollars were expended every year for intoxicating liquors! The courts of justice in our large cities were kept in session all the time deciding criminal cases, four-fifths of which originate in drunkenness; and the jails, penitentiaries, and poor-houses were crowded with the victims of strong drink. The "salt" of the Church had so completely lost its savor that it had become, as Jesus said would be the case, "good for nothing" except to be cast out, and be made roads for rascals to walk on. Society everywhere had the whiskey and tobacco smell, and things generally were getting nearer to perdition every day. While this deterioration was going on, threatening our civilization, the clergy were regularly in their pulpits, expounding and defending their creeds, officially remitting or retaining sins, and binding and loosing the chains of the sinner's condemnation. Murphy, a reformed saloon-keeper, was moved by the situation of things, and seeing that the Church and clergy were utterly powerless to remedy the evil, proposed the new plan, which has always served to keep individuals sober, of appealing to the *manhood* of the drunkard, and to the *humanity* of all beside, to carry out this work of personal redemption. In this grand army of reform, the Church, as she did in the anti-slavery struggle, acts the part of a *camp-follower*, to pick up the broken victuals and to utilize as church-members the weak-legged stragglers in the rear who have not manhood and courage enough to keep in the front. The clergy, ashamed and mortified that a reformed drunkard will persuade more men to be reconciled to God and His laws in one month than they could in ten years, by dint of kindness and flattery, have induced the Murphy men to baptize the movement, and call it "*Christian*," so that they can stand up before their congregations, and draw their salaries statedly, without blushing so much! For the American church people are beginning to start the question now debated in England, whether it "pays" to keep up such an expensive establishment as the Church, when the clergy are mere figure-heads and sinecures, following in the wake, instead of taking the lead in practical reforms which reduce the poor and criminal rates of the country, and make men better.

5. But the most crushing blow given to the idea of an authoritative priesthood is in the spread of *spiritualism*. Without discussing the question of the truthfulness of the theory, it is a fact that hundreds of thousands believe it. And all over the country the very first effect of showing that there is a telegraphic communication between the world of the departed and the world of the living is to push the clergy to one side as an excrescence, drawing their useless life from the body of society. Their claims are all treated with contempt since spiritualism makes every man his own prophet, priest, and king. The Bible, while spiritualism illuminates many of its pages, and explains many of its enigmas which defied solution under the old system, takes its place in point of authority with the sacred books of all oth er religions, and is judged, as they are, by its merits or demerits. As to the *Church*, it sinks in their esteem to the dead level of the world. Spiritualism is peculiar in this, that it leavens up the whole mass of society except the Sadducees. Having so much of Scripture on its side, it insinuates itself into the churches, and captivates many of the clergy who, for prudential reasons, conceal their real sentiments from the knowledge of their flocks. But the very moment spiritualism convinces a layman, his old faith in a mediatorial priesthood, and in the Church as the ark of safety, gives way like flax at the touch of fire. This faith is not limited to those of Cæsar's household; but multitudes of persons of the highest moral character, and the best minds, are its converts. It has the elements of popularity, because it appeals to the feelings and hopes of mankind; and, if half as well-manned and organized as the Church is, would soon outnumber her adherents. But even in its unorganized condition, by which it loses four-fifths of its power, it exercises a controlling influence in many sections of the country.

Now, while the current of public opinion and feeling all over the world sets in deeply and strongly against the assumptions of the clergy as a divinely authorized class; while the Protestant Church herself complains that her power over the people is waning, and that her ministry is in danger of being cursed with imbecility and fourth-rate talent which commands no respect in the pulpit; while the Catholic priesthood finds it necessary to cut off and isolate their people in Church schools and other societies, and even by forbidding marriage with non-Catholics, in order to keep them safe from the enervating spirit of the times; while the Catholics and all the numerous sects of Protestantism are making herculean efforts, by Sunday-schools and spasmodic revival efforts, to avert destiny by keeping the rising generation out of the current,—we see, in the complication of affairs, drift-wood actually running up stream, and some of it remarkably and fearfully fast. The cowardly refusal of the City Councils of Philadelphia to accept the bust of Thomas Paine in the Centennial year, and to give it a place in Independence Hall among the memorials of the other founders of the Republic; the hypocritical closing of the gates of the Centennial Exhibition against the masses on Sunday because it was a sin, while they were thrown wide enough open to others who ranked themselves above the common people; the efforts of the so-called Reform Party to secure a religious amendment by which they would put the Bible and Christ and their own anthropomorphic conceptions of God into the Constitution of the United States, thus effectually revolutionizing and Europeanizing the government, and making it an organ for defining, disseminating, and enforcing a theological creed; the shameful vote of the United States Senate last year in regard to a Constitutional recognition and allowance of the Protestant Bible as a school book; the astonishing power of the Catholic priesthood over their people and the politicians, and the fact that every priest in this country is a Jesuit, and a devoted missionary *in partibus infidelium*; the insane policy of the bibliomaniacs in unwittingly playing into the hands of the Jesuits, by forcing our English Bible into the common schools in defiance of the convictions of the majority of tax-payers; the exemption of the owners of hundreds of millions of ecclesiastical property from taxation, while the poor man's house and lot are taxed to make up the deficit,—all these are the drift-wood, forced out of the current, and by the current, into the eddies and back water along shore, where it is swirling around, and heading up stream in the most anomalous manner.

In the cause of free thought and free speech all these discouragements in the outlook are to me just enough to act as incentives to organized effort on the part of the Radicals. They are the product and the *sequelæ* of past ages of ignorance, and its twin sister superstition, and can only be made to disappear by the gradual process of evolution and the general law of progress.

There is no danger of the radical cause ever losing ground as it did a hundred years ago on the decease of the fathers of the republic, who were nearly all what the Church now calls "infidels." To prevent any such back-set again, we have, what they had not, an extensive freethought literature. We have newspapers and magazines devoted to the discipline and spread of such sentiment, to say nothing of able and judicious lecturers, who address the people didactically, and discuss controversially these great topics so interesting to us all. And especially we have the suggestions and demonstrations of science in all departments of inquiry. A century ago geology was in its infancy, and chemistry was not a science, but a system of mere empiricism. The great law of the persistence of force was unknown, and the doctrine of evolution was flitting in its outlines in the minds of philosophers as a vagrant thought. Archæology and Biblical criticism were scarcely dreamed of; for the critics of those days were mere commentators who entirely took for granted the previous question. Only astronomy, of all the sciences then known, had discredited the teachings of the Church concerning the cosmogony of our planet, as set forth in the book of Genesis. All these bear heavily, cumulatively, and fatally on the Church and her fundamental dogmas; for, being popularized, they come within the range of the common mind; and Americans are becoming more and more a reading people. A century ago scepticism, as to the teachings of the Church, was confined to the higher classes of society who had education and wealth. The only books calling these claims in question were the writings of Paine, Voltaire, Volney, and some few English authors of the same character; and these were read secretly, "for fear of the Jews in those quarters." Now on the centre-tables of church-members are to be found the writings of Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, and others, which are at least a hundred times more dangerous to the religion of the Church than ever Paine's *Age of Reason* was. For Paine was a devout believer in the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul, while some of these late philosophers seem to be materialists and atheists. Of those who control the press and literature of the country, three-fourths, men and women, disbelieve in the popular religion, and worship God in the great temple of science. The radical cause does not advance by those moral thunder-storms where, if the thermometer of religious feeling runs up above "temperate" to fever heat, it is bound to experience a reaction, and to come down towards the chilling regions of zero. It is a slow and silent *growth*, such as the oak makes, that can only be measured by comparison. I see no sign that this growth can be again arrested. Every arrow of argument the Church can use in its war upon freethought has been shot and broken, and her quiver is empty; while Science in her workshops forges every day new and more deadly weapons for the radical. The only weapon the bigots can now use is what the priests of Baal, their illustrious predecessors, used in their controversy with the prophet Elijah, when, from morning even to the time of the offering up of the evening sacrifice, they called upon their god to appear in their behalf by miracle; and, when there was no sign, they leaped frantically on the altar, and cut themselves with knives to inflame their zeal and to compel a divine recognition. Let

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the radicals stick to the work of popular enlightenment, and be content to labor on for the future, and to die in the harness; for I am sure that heaven has decreed the ultimate redemption of the human family from the degrading bondage of superstition.

ENON VALLEY, Pa., May, 1877.

CHAUNCEY WRIGHT'S PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSIONS.*

This volume contains, we suppose, the only remains of its remarkable author which will ever be given to the public. Mr. Wright was so much fonder of thinking than of writing, of working out a vein of thought than of convincing others, and he was so indifferent to reward of fame or money, that he left little except the scattered essays which Mr. Norton has collected. He was not widely known; and we suspect that the generality of readers read with surprise the exalted estimate of his powers that his death called forth, attributing it largely to the fondness of sorrowing friends. And yet the reader who makes his own the vast amount of thought concentrated in the four hundred and odd pages of these discussions is not likely to dispute the truth of Mr. Norton's estimate "that they form the most important contribution made in America to the discussion and investigation of the questions which now chiefly engage the attention of the students of philosophy." He will recall with appreciation Mr. Fiske's saying in the *Harvard Advocate*, that it was only Mr. Wright's neglect to preserve his thoughts in writing that prevented him "from taking rank among the foremost philosophers of the nineteenth century. An intellect more powerful for its union of acuteness with sobriety has not yet been seen in our country. In these respects he reminds one of Mr. Mill, whom he so warmly admired. But while hardly inferior to Mill in penetrating and fertile ingenuity, we think he unquestionably surpassed the latter in native soberness or balance of mind. A thinker more rigidly loyal to Baconian principles we do not know where to seek."

Mr. Norton's introductory account of Mr. Wright is certainly very good, with its nice analysis and delicate intellectual appreciation; and his long friendship with Mr. Wright gave him both the knowledge and the authority to speak of him fully. To Mr. Wright's friends it will seem cold; but it is not so much addressed to them as to the general public, to whom it will perhaps be none the less impressive on that account. The acute penetration of Mr. Norton's insight, and the calmly balanced justice of his judgment, those who knew Mr. Wright best will best appreciate; but they may wish to add to it Mr. Fiske's warmer words: "To have known such a man was an experience one cannot forget or outlive. To have had him pass away, leaving so scanty a record of what he had it in him to utter, is nothing else than a great public calamity."

To give our readers an adequate account of the matter contained in this volume is quite beyond the limits of our columns. Most of the great questions of modern philosophy are touched upon, and Mr. Wright's touch was with the hand of a master. His contributions to botany, zoölogy, and astronomy are as important as his more purely philosophical discussions; his essay on the law of the arrangement of leaves (published in an unfortunately mutilated form in this volume) was especially valuable, and attracted attention both here and abroad, Mr. Darwin in particular being greatly pleased with it. Mr. Wright was a very fertile thinker within certain well-defined limits, his object being the marshalling of known facts and the marking out of paths for the discovery of new ones rather than the establishing of the dogmas of any school. He was an empiricist and a positivist of the English school; but the latter name has been so often misapplied that he preferred to call his method "scientific," as merely extending to philosophy the principles which characterize modern science. He firmly believed in the never-failing operation of natural laws in this world of ours, regarding the law of causation as the condition of scientific study. There were to him everywhere inviolate "laws that underlie our sentiments and our desires as well as all that these can rationally regard in the outer world." But it was strictly phenomenal causation that he sought,—the sequence of antecedent and consequent; not abstractions of primal or infinite being. Questions as to noumena or absolute substance he held quite insoluble. His position was more unusual than the reader might suppose, especially in this country. He had little in common with our old-school transcendentalism, for intuitions were to him puzzles whose origin was to be guessed rather than oracles whose authority was to be obeyed; and with that modern school which, under the disguise of brilliant physical illustration and pretended scientific method, smuggles back as unavoidable belief the dicta which it excludes as inspiration, he had little more sympathy. He appreciated the ardent "moral idealism" which underlies the system of Mr. Spencer; but the manner in which it transforms the definite laws of special phenomena into vague cosmic evolutions of the laws of thought, was very distasteful to him. To deduce from instinctive belief the exact physical law of the conservation of force, and formulate it in terms so broad as to apply to social relations and atomic motions, seemed to him not only bad philosophy but bad language,—a dangerously unscientific confusion of fundamental conceptions none too easy to understand at the best; and speculations of rhythmic flow of integration and disintegration seemed to him merely to conceal the ignorance they could not remove. And he as unsparingly criticised Mr. Wallace's notion that force is a product of the mind, "a sort of molecular leakage of energy from an absolute source into the nervous system of . . . man." On the other hand, he had no taste for purely destructive philosophy. The subtle paradoxes of Mr. Lewes attracted him no more than the narrow dogmatism of ordinary materialism. He confined science to fact; but he held that "theories, if true, were facts,—a particular class of facts, indeed, generally complex ones, but still facts," and facts sometimes to be assumed in advance of verification; for provisional hypotheses were the only means of handling the masses of detail and of intelligently seeking the unknown, by showing the probable relations of the known. Accordingly, he gave great attention to the fundamental theories of astronomy, zoölogy, and botany.

Yet, while he valued the function of hypotheses so highly, he did not lose sight of their tentative character, or seek in the laboratory of science for tendencies of the cosmos or purposes of Providence, found only in the fancy of the poet or the faith of the churchman. Although he did so much to establish the Darwinian theory, he nowhere found proof of persistent progress. To him, as to Aristotle, whom he so esteemed, there was no discoverable development of the cosmos; nature was "an endless succession of changes, simple and constant in their elements, though infinite in their combinations, which constitute order without beginning and without termination." An eternal counter-movement of action and equal reaction he saw, and further than that he did not see. Thus, in his physical theory of the universe, he adopted without limitation the fundamental assumption that the solar system is a natural product, but rejected the nebular progress of which that system has been regarded as the result. From his point of view, our system is not the solidifying remains of a nebula that once reached far out into space, whose successive stages of contraction the successive planets mark, slowly cooling, and doomed from its nature to final extinction. He saw in it rather a never-ending round of changes, a complete circle of existence. The universe was an unbroken continuity of matter in its various forms, solid, liquid, and gaseous, reaching to the farthest interstellar spaces that heat can reach, "a highly-rarefied continuous gaseous mass, constantly evaporated and expanded from its solid centre, but constantly condensed and consolidated near its outer limits, constantly heated at its centre by the fall of solid bodies from its outer limits, and constantly cooled and condensed at these limits by the conversion of heat into motion." From this point of view the planets are not the fossil remains of long-perished nebulous rings: they are the still growing accretions of meteors whose orbit is determined by their mass, heat, and the resistance of interplanetary matter. The sun is not a body whose shrinking volume keeps up its heat (a hardly admissible hypothesis in view of the dependence of volume upon temperature). It is rather to be considered as a planet whose central position causes it to be enormously increased and heated by the fall of meteoric rain, and which is constantly radiating the heat thus generated and evaporating the matter thus received into space, its volume expanding with each accession of heat and diminishing with its loss, and acting in fact as a fly-wheel to convert the violent and irregular shocks into equable force. And the corresponding reverse to these phenomena will take place on the outer verge of the universe, expanded to the farthest limit that heat can reach before absorption, and fluctuating as each accession of heat expands, or fall of condensing matter contracts, it. There is thus an endless action and reaction, a movement of expanding vapor outward and of cosmic rain inward, and similarly of heat or force; while occasional fluctuations on a grand scale may take place as a mass of extraordinary size ends its journey in the sun, or, per contra, takes up an orbit nearly permanent around it. Our earth is not the dying brand from a former conflagration whose molten core still attests its former incandescence. At some nodal point of pressure and cold at the outer bounds of space it was born, to rush spirally inward toward the sun, until its accelerating direct motion balanced the attraction that created it, and its orbit was reached, where, increasing irregularly in heat under meteoric shocks, solar radiation, tidal and ethereal friction, and other causes, at last the present operations of Nature became possible. It is hardly necessary to point out how different all this is from the slowly cooling universe of the nebular hypothesis. The conservation of force is its key-stone, as the loss of it was in the older theory. Dealing with the same elements its tone is entirely dissimilar. And it may be worth remarking that the spectroscopic proof of the existence of true nebulæ discovered since Mr. Wright's essay was written, and frequently referred to as reëstablishing the old nebular hypothesis, is equally consistent with Mr. Wright's theory.

He carried into organic science the same principles that he used in inorganic investigation. Never doubting the invariability of the law of causation, and doing much to establish one of its most important forms—the theory of evolution of species by natural selection (or, as he preferred to call it, to avoid all misleading connotation, the theory of "descent with modification"),—he yet saw no regular movement upwards, no presumption that an intermediate form was derived from a lower rather than a higher in the scale of being. He found only the action and reaction of organism and environment; no law of special creation or providentially-directed variations, or of selection operating along preordained paths,—hypotheses which he held unnecessary and therefore inadmissible now that Mr. Darwin has shown the operation of the struggle for existence. Although the specific branches of the tree of life have been constantly dying out, they have been as constantly springing afresh, and their number seems to have always been equal to the life-supporting capacities of the globe. The succession of our fossils may be deceptive. If we could go back to the ages before the convulsion of heat in which our earliest record ends, we might find a race the equal of our own; and even in the known geologic periods continents now buried in the ocean may have early supported races of a high degree of development which left no traces in the mud records of lands unfit for their habitation. These were, of course, mere speculations, and we only refer to them as showing the habit of thought in which he worked. Not that it was strictly novel or original to him,—it has been shared more or less by all the great critical thinkers; but it is, nevertheless, rare even in this critical age; and when we consider the delicacy and profoundness of his analytical power, the calm strength of his judgment, the fertility of his conception, and the wide range of his well-ordered knowledge, the combination becomes remarkable enough.

The four longest essays in the volume are on the Darwinian theory, and of these the last one, on the "Evolution of Self-Consciousness," treating as it does of one of the most important questions alike of science and philosophy, is at once the most complete and the most powerful. Even those who differ most widely from its author will find it full of passages to admire, like the short note on dreams. One of the most notable essays is that on the arrangement of leaves, to which we have already referred, which carries one step farther Goethe's analogy of every part of the flower to the leaf by bringing the leaves themselves, as a whole, into the plan, with stalk as rib, and leaves as serrated lobe. Then there are philosophical reviews of Spencer, Mansell, Lewes, Mill, and others, the first of which is quite full; and there are several shorter articles, one or two of which, like the "Speculative Dynamics" and "Cause and Effect," the student will find, notwithstanding their fragmentariness, positively unsurpassed. Studied, however, they must be. More than one passage will appear at first reading obscure, and only when carefully reëxamined will yield up its exact meaning. But the obscurity is only in the expression. There is no confusion in the thought. Mr. Wright carried conciseness too far; too often he left the point of a paragraph in an inconspicuous adjective. His style, we should say, was too frequently condensed without being crystallized. The modesty with which he anticipated from the reader an insight equal to his own was excessive. And he was so much fonder of establishing truth than of attacking error that he could not be an effective disputant; for "the strategy of science," he said, "is not the same as that of rhetorical disputation, and aims at cornering facts, not antagonists." Indeed, he always preferred discussion to debate, and even in conversation liked better to dwell upon the truths that he found in the minor corollaries of opinions he thought mistaken than to contradict point-blank the main theorem whose fallacies he sometimes too contemptuously slighted. And in his writings he was so interested in examining all the bearings of a topic that he was apt to dwell too little on the telling points that concentrate the wandering attention and focus the hazy thoughts. In conversation this was little apparent, and he was always ready with illustration or experiment, "while the pleasant play of his suggestive humor often added a happy and unexpected stroke wherewith to clinch the point of an argument"; but in the volume by which he will be known we have too often to remember that it lacks the revision of its author.

We have little to add, except that Mr. Wright never spared a bad argument because it supported a good cause, and sharpened no weapons for polemical warfare. No logic might demonstrate to him the plans of the designer of the heavens and the earth; but "there is nothing in philosophy," he said, "which can legitimately rebuke his enthusiasm [that of the Christian], nothing unless it be the dogmatism which would presumptuously interpret as science what is only manifest as faith, or would require of faith that it shall justify itself by proofs."—*The Nation, May* 17.

* *Philosophical Discussions.* By Chauncey Wright. With a Biographical Sketch of the author by Charles Eliot Norton. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877. pp. 434.

DEAN STANLEY ON "THE ROCK AHEAD."

EDINBURGH.

The Very Rev., the Dean of Westminster, whose three years' term of office as Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews has now come to a close, delivered a valedictory address to the students to-day. The topic with which he proposed to deal, Dean Stanley said, was the religious or theological "rock ahead" which had been pointed out by a prophet of ill (Mr. Rathbone Greg); *viz.*, the danger arising to religion from the apparently increasing divergence between intelligence and the faith of our time. He asked permission, as the successor of the Abbot of Westminster, to follow the example of the enterprising Abbot of Aberbrothock, and to "bell this rock"; and to speak of the grounds of hope for the religion and theology of the future continuing, the Very Rev. Dean said: I do not deny that the forebodings of Mr. Greg have some foundation. There has been an increasing suspicion between the fiercer factions of the ecclesiastical and the scientific world, each rejoicing to push the statements of its rival to the extremest consequences, and to place on them the worst possible construction. There have arisen new questions which ancient theology has, for the most part, not even considered. There is an impetuosity on both sides which, to the sober sense of the preceding century, was unknown, and which threatens to precipitate conflicts once cautiously avoided or quickly surmounted. There are also indications that we are passing through one of those periods of partial eclipse which from time to time retard the healthy progress of mankind, and this calamity has overtaken us in the presence of the vast, perhaps disproportionate, advance of scientific knowledge which falls most

keenly and presses most heavily on the weaknesses of a credulous or ceremonial form of belief. It is no doubt conceivable that these dreadful forms and "fiery forces" might portend for England the same overthrow of faith that has overtaken other countries; but behind those natural manifestations there is a higher Christianity which neither assailants nor defenders can fully exhaust. We cannot believe that the inexorable hour has struck. There is good ground for hoping that the difficulties of religion—rational religion, Christian religion—are the results of passing maladies either in its professed friends or supposed foes. Having alluded to the essential progressive element in religion, to the gains which theology had made by the process of diving below the surface and discovering the original foundations, the grounds of hope afforded by the study of the doctrines and institutions of the faith, Dean Stanley spoke of the change in the mode of regarding those physical wonders which were called wonders of miracles. There is, he said, no doubt an increasing difficulty on this subject,—the difficulty enhanced by the ever-growing incredulity of the educated section of mankind, and by the ever-growing unbelief of the half-educated. It is a question on which neither science nor religion, I venture to think, has yet spoken the last words. It is a complex argument imperatively demanding careful definition. But the point on which I would desire to fix your attention is this: that whatever view we take of these physical portents or their relative proportion, however valuable the moral of extraordinary incidents may be in other respects, however impressively they may be used to convey the truths of which they are confessedly the symbols, they have, in the eyes of the very men whom we most desire to convince, been stumbling-blocks and not supports. External evidence has, with most theology, receded to the background; internal evidence has come to the front. Let us, then, learn by experience to use with moderation arguments which—at least for the present—have lost their force. Let us acknowledge that there are greater miracles—more convincing miracles—than those which appeal only to our sense of astonishment. Let us recognize that the preternatural is not the supernatural, and that, whether the preternatural is present or absent, the supernatural, the true supersensual, may and will remain unshaken. There was one school of thought which was either passed by altogether as too contemptible for notice, or noticed only to be dismissed; and yet this school or party is one which happily runs across all the others, and contains itself, not indeed all, but many of the most fruitful, finest elements in Christendom,—the backbone of the Christian philosophy, the camp of Christ, the theology we often hear of, the reconciliation of theology and science. It is not reconciliation that is needed, but the recognition that they are one and indivisible. Whatever enlarges our idea of Nature enlarges our ideas of God; whatever gives us a deeper insight into the nature of the author of the universe gives us a deeper insight into the secrets of the universe itself. Whatever is good science is also good theology. In like manner we sometimes hear of the reconciliation of religion and morality. The answer is the same,—they are one and indivisible. Whatever tends to elevate the virtue, the purity, the generosity of the prudent is high religion. Whatever debases the mind, or corrupts the heart, or hardens the conscience, under whatever pretence, however specious, is low religion, is infidelity of the worst sort. What is our duty in this interval of waiting,—of transition? You, no doubt, in this secluded corner of our island, feel the breath of the spirit of the age. How are you to avoid being carried about with every gust of its fitful doctrine? How are you to gather into your sails the bounding breeze of its invincible strength? There is nothing to make you despair of our Church. It may have to pass through many transformations; but a Church which has not only stood so many shocks, but continues to gather into its ranks the most liberal thinkers of the nation, is too great an institution to be sacrificed to the exigencies of party, if only it be true to that fine maxim of Archbishop Leighton, of leaving to others to preach up the times, and claiming for itself to preach up eternity. It is the growing conviction of all reflecting minds that there is no ground in the nature of things, or in the Christian religion, for the sharp division which divines seem to draw between the spiritual and secular,—for the curious fancy which represented all which belonged to ecclesiastical matters as holy, all which belongs to the State as worldly. In proportion as these larger and nobler hopes of religion of which I have been speaking penetrate into all the communions of this country, these provincial and retrograde distinctions will fade away, and the policy of improving and reforming institutions, instead of blindly destroying or blindly pursuing them, will regain the hold which it once had on the intelligence and conscience of the nation. Neither in the retention nor in the abolition of local impediments is the main interest of the ministry of the Church of Scotland in the times that are coming. Confession or no confession, subscription or no subscription, Established Church or Free or United Presbyterian, the profession of a clergyman in these days is not less interesting, but more interesting than it had ever been before. There is enough to occupy your thoughts and hearts in the moral evils which you have to combat,—the barbarism, the intemperance of large numbers of your citizens; and, on the other hand, the high and pure traditions of former times which you have to maintain, and the appropriation of whatever examples of pastoral activity, or keen, intellectual ardor are to be seen in other communions. It was once said, in mournful complaint of the highest ecclesiastic in Christendom, "For the sake of gaining to-day, he has thrown away to-morrow forever." Be our policy the reverse of this. Be it ours to fasten our thoughts, not on the passions and parties of the brief to-day, but on the hopes of the long to-morrow. The day, the year may perchance belong to the destructives, the cynics, and the partisans; but the morrow, the coming century, belongs to the catholic, comprehensive, discriminating, all-embracing Christianity which has the promise, not of the present time, but of the times which are to be.—*London paper, name and date unknown.*

DEAN STANLEY'S ADDRESS.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

LONDON, March 29, 1877.

The desire of sending you full reports concerning Dr. Schliemann's address prevented due attention to the great event of the religious world; namely, the Dean of Westminster's Allocution, as the *Times* calls it. The Valedictory of the Dean at St. Andrews University, as its departing Lord Rector, will no doubt have attracted attention in America. It is premature to estimate its effects here, but it may be confidently said that all parties in the Church, and out of it, feel that it is revolutionary. No one can charge the Dean with not having the courage of his opinions,—the man who invited Max Müller to expatiate in Westminster Abbey on the grandeurs of so-called heathen religion (on Sunday, too, and from the pulpit); who gave the communion to the Unitarian Dr. Vance Smith along with the Bishops; who invited Bishop Colenso, when he was inhibited by a Bishop from preaching at Oxford, to preach in the Abbey; who has set up a monument to the Wesleys in the same venerable place; and has now carried his boldness to the climax of proposing to disburthen the Christian ship of its supercargo: namely, to throw overboard the authority of the Bible and Miracles. It is certain that neither Dr. Martineau nor any recognized Unitarian living has ever taken such high rationalistic ground as Dean Stanley in this address. Not one of them can now be found prepared to declare with the Dean that it is "from the outlaying camps of the so-called heretic or infidel that the champions of the true faith have come"; that it was to Spinoza—the non-Christian pantheist—that was vouchsafed the "clearest glimpse into the nature of the Deity." The mantle of Theodore Parker, declined by the Unitarians, has fallen on the shoulders of the last Abbot of Westminster.

By the favor of a friend, I am able to derive from a minute local report some details of the scene at St. Andrews which are not contained in the reports which have appeared in London. There were about twenty black-gowned and Orthodox eminences who were doomed to sit on the platform while the Dean distributed among the future pastors of Scotland his scholarly and fascinating heresies. Among these were Bishop Wordsworth (whose agonies it is frightful to think of), Principals Tulloch and Sharp, the Earl of Elgin, many professors and clergymen (some of them those who are prosecuting Professor Smith, of Aberdeen, for the the mild offence of doubting the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch), and also Dr. Boyd (the "Country Parson"), who is, however, suspected of being a "pal" of the Dean. When these august dignitaries approached the door of the hall, they heard within a chorus of their students' voices; the theme they were singing with fervor was not from Handel, but as follows:—

"He who kisses a pretty girl,
And goes and tells his mother,
Ought to have his lips cut off,
And never kiss another."

When the black-gowned procession began to file in, the F. P. (future pastors) were stilled for a moment; but when they caught sight of Dean Stanley, emotion again filled their souls and expressed itself in the happy song, "He's a jolly good fellow." When the song was ended, a representative of the Senatus laid the Mace on the table; but when that Royal Symbol was seen, the F. P. called out in Cromwellian tones: "Take away that bauble." When the Dean indulged in his first Latin quotation, the youths cried "translate,"—probably as a satire on his Oxonian Latin,—St. Andrews follows the French pronunciation. When speaking of the passing away into oblivian of all the controversies once thought so important, he alluded to the old Burghers and anti-Burghers of the now United Presbyterians, there was laughter, and this laughter was regularly renewed whenever any Scotch sect or doctrines was alluded to, however solemnly. When the Dean said his own theme referred to theology, the announcement was received with groans. The F. P. had evidently heard enough of theology. The first cheers were brought out by his extolling the discoveries of Schliemann and others, and the advance of science. To science the pastors gave three rounds. The next cheers came when the Dean said he had heard from an Argyllshire minister that "the vehemence of theological controversy had been in proportion to the emptiness of the phrases used." Great amusement was excited by his tracing the troublesome Eastern question back step by step to the old doctrinal dispute about "the double procession." When he trenched on the more vital themes, the mode of appointment to Church livings, diversion revealed itself in cries of "No, no;" for to the F. P. his future living is the immediate jewel for which he finally surrenders his undergraduate right of heresy. But the Dean's attack on miracles brought back the cheers, and encouraged him to go on with that earnest and eloquent tribute to Voltaire, Spinoza, and the naturalists, which did not terminate until he had pronounced science to be the only theology, and morality the only religion.

When, after this, the Dean asked solemnly what was their duty as "future pastors of Scotland," the youths evidently considered it grotesque; they shouted "Oh, oh;" one cried "Question;" and there were such minglings of voices that the Dean had to pause a little. However, the Dean is artistic; he remembered Scottish sensibilities, and alluded to "the Scottish *Nation*,"—which brought out cheers, and then quiet. The F. P. laughed loudly when the Dean alluded respectfully to the Westminster Confession, and also when he spoke solemnly of his own Thirty-nine Articles. But the ovation of the day was for Carlyle. When the Dean mentioned him, the name "Carlyle!" was shouted through the hall amid prolonged cheering. The Dean's peroration, with its felicitous modulation of themes from his old friend, Arthur Clough, and Horace, is one which it would be difficult to find surpassed in the modern annals of clerical oratory.

The London papers have botched it sadly, and so I give it *verbatim*:—

"There are words which often come into my mind when I look at an assemblage like this—words spoken by a gifted poet, endeared to some amongst us, and who loved your country well,—a cry desponding, perhaps, yet also cheering, wrung from him by the dislocations and confusions of his time, which is also ours, when he looked out on the contending forces of the age.—

"'O that the armies indeed were arrayed! O joy of the onset!
Sound thou trumpet of God; come forth, great cause, to array us;
King and leader, appear; thy soldiers sorrowing seek thee.'

We may already hear the distinct notes of that trumpet; we may catch however faintly, the coming of that cause. The kings and leaders will surely appear at last, if their soldiers will follow them on to victory. It was once said in mournful complaint of the highest ecclesiastic in Christendom, 'For the sake of gaining to-day, he has thrown away to-morrow forever.' Be our policy the reverse of this; be it ours to fasten our thoughts, not on the passions and parties of the brief to-day, but on the hopes of the long to-morrow. The day, the year, may perchance belong to the destructives, the cynics, and the partisans; but the morrow, the coming century, belongs to the catholic, constructive, discriminating, all-embracing Christianity, which has the promise, not of this present time, but of the generations which are yet to be.

"'O fortes pejoraque passi
Mecum saepe viri . . .
Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

"'Souls that have taught and thought and wrought with me,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.'"

The Dean did not name his poets,—perhaps it was well enough in the case of Horace, for the F. P. might have hunted out the dangerous advice covered by the above dots (nunc vino pellite curas); but it is a pity he did not name Clough, whose "Bothie" is the sweetest and most classical poem that ever wove into its melodies the lochs and hills of Scotland; and yet is but little known or read by the youth of that country.

If anything were wanting to make this apotheosis of heresy on the grave of John Knox more striking, it has been supplied by a criticism on the Dean's performance by the Rev. Professor Wallace, who recently left his pulpit and professional chair in Edinburgh to become editor of the *Scotsman*. The reverend gentleman was, indeed, never suspected of being excessively Orthodox; but if he had any dogmatic proclivities he has certainly left them in the pulpit and lecture-room. The *Scotsman's* only complaint against the Dean is that he expects to realize his dream of an ideal and rational religion inside the national churches. The ex-minister of a national Church, now editor of the leading Scotch paper, writes in this way:—

"Is there any possibility of this transmutation of national churches into institutes of complete religious freedom? Are there not forces within them that are certain, under penalty of disruption, to prevent them from reaching by their own act more than a comparative and inadequate liberty? And if ever the time came when a full freedom should be given to the Church, would not that be because society had first of all itself grown free and then liberated the Church? It is this apparently inherent element of impotency in the Church that may lead many in the future, as it has done in the past, to believe that a better service to progress may be possible outside its limits; and if the Dean's religion of the future is worthy of its name, it is not unlikely that its advent may be hastened as much, if not more, by extra-ecclesiastical than by intra-ecclesiastical influences."
—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 7, 1877.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, *Editorial Contributors.*

TO THOSE who urge the sacred duty of believing the Bible implicitly and the sinfulness of disbelieving it, these words of Professor Clifford will be startling: "If a man, holding a belief which he was taught in childhood or persuaded of afterwards, keeps down and pushes away any doubts which arise about it in his mind, purposely avoids the reading of books and the company of men that call in question or discuss it, and regards as impious those questions which cannot easily be asked without disturbing it, the life of that man is one long sin against mankind."

MATTHEW ARNOLD, in his *Last Essays*, thinks that "traditional religion" is certain to disappear among educated minds. He says: "One cannot blame the rejection. Things are what they are, and the religion of tradition *is* unsound and untenable. A greater force of religion in favor of tradition is all which now prevents the liberal opinion in this country from following continental opinion." In this tendency of the time Mr. Arnold forsees a danger that, in rejecting what he calls "the religion of tradition," the people will also, on similar grounds, reject Christianity; and to avert this he argues that "the teachings of Christ constitute a true religion without regard to their origin"; that Christianity is a life rather than a belief; and that the precepts of the gospel, if obeyed, will bring the most complete happiness in this world, without any reference to any other state of existence. In this way alone he thinks Christianity will live in the future, even when mankind have abandoned all faith in its supernatural authority. But Mr. Arnold's æsthetic over-sensibility leads him into crudity of thinking here. The world will not stop in its radicalism precisely when he or any other man desires; and it is moving steadily beyond the witcheries of the Christian name.

A BOSTON paper, commenting upon "Panslavism," said recently: "The distinctive characteristic of the Germanic race is that of *self-government*,—the material conquest of the globe, the revelation of man's moral nature, a magnificent part in the civilization of the world! The Slavonic character is genial, sociable, and peculiarly mild, possessed of a certain dreamy mysticism peculiar to the Oriental organization. The idea of brotherhood seems as prominent in the Slavonic as equality in the Germanic mind. The Russian peasant travels from house to house across the Empire, gladly welcomed everywhere as a brother; the German, the Englishman, the American recognize equality rather than fraternity as the fundamental principle of life. Which is best for the world it is hard to say; but the fraternity of the Slavonic race is found exemplified in the 'Mir' or village organization of Russia in the interest of the community rather than of the individual; which makes the advocate of Panslavism claim that in the 'Mir' or communistic socialism the future happiness of the world will find its greatest development, while we of the Germanic race proudly claim that liberty under the law and equality between man and man is the distinctive mark, and has achieved the greatest triumphs of the nineteenth century. Whether fraternity as developed in Panslavism is to make the glory of this century pale before the serener light of the twentieth century remains to be seen. Liberty and equality or fraternity —which of these is the greatest? Time will tell." Is it necessary to decide between these things, as if they were incompatible opposites? Given liberty and equality, fraternity is assured. If it does not, it is dearly bought by sacrificing the former. But Free Religion, laying equal emphasis on "Freedom and Fellowship," believes in both.

TWO VIEWS OF THE RESULTS OF THE REVIVAL.

The New York *Independent* of April 19 had the following article in its editorial columns, taking a very cheerful view of the results of the Moody and Sankey movement:—

Religious Changes in Massachusetts.

The Moody revival in Boston has been the subject of more hostile criticism on the part of the local press and public than has attended the work of the Evangelist in other places. The traditions of Boston have been supposed to be, and to a certain extent are, antagonistic to revivals as at present carried on in Evangelical churches. But Moody and Sankey, as our readers have perceived, have been by no means unsuccessful. On the other hand, a definite and positive good has been done,—quite as much, we believe, as that which had previously followed their work in other cities. First, there was the period of interest and curiosity; then followed a certain stagnation and falling off in congregations; but now the third stage—that of solid and practical and effective labor—has been reached. This stage, we believe, will continue to the end.

The success of the Evangelists affords a new proof of what we have hitherto maintained,—that Massachusetts, and even the eastern part of it, is no longer actively opposed to Orthodox Christianity, but stands by a large majority on the side of Evangelical faith. A large part of its wealth and culture still remains, to be sure, with the Unitarians; and another large part is indifferent in religion. To these should be added the various "free-light" elements, as represented by the Spiritualists, etc. But the Unitarians, whose sole strength in the United States lies in Massachusetts, are not gaining anything even in their stronghold. They are, on the contrary, losing ground, relatively and actually. In Boston the number of their churches hardly exceeds that of the Congregationalists; while their congregations on any given Sunday are surpassed in numbers by those of the Congregationalists, the Methodists, and the Baptists. Their old generation goes to church; but the new is drifting into indifference or a more positive faith. Very seldom is a new congregation formed, and, when one does set up an organization, it no more than makes good the dry-rot of an old one,—like the Brattle Square Society. Dr. Clarke, Mr. Hale, and the other ablest divines of Boston are seeing no promising generation succeed them. The Cambridge Divinity School, like Brutus' army, is but "poor remains of friends," and the better Unitarian pulpits have to depend for recruits upon stray converts from Orthodoxy. We know of no better chance for an Orthodox minister to double his salary and get a city church than for him to espouse Unitarianism. Universalism in all New England, where it is not positively declining, is becoming Orthodox; Spiritualism is stagnant; and Free Religion is finding that its adherents, when they get "above religion," do not see the necessity of propagating negation. Thus at Harvard the tendency is to put all religions on a level. It is no longer a Unitarian college, and its liberality has gone to such an extreme that now it rather takes pride in its semi-attached Episcopal Theological School and its growing Evangelical element. Last week it elected an Orthodox theological professor one of its five governing overseers. [The *Independent* has confounded the Overseers and the Corporation. Its statement is true of the latter.—ED. INDEX.]

Conversely, the Orthodox bodies are gaining. The Episcopal Church, during the last twenty years, has been a great gainer, at Unitarian expense; the Baptists now have in and around Boston many churches of great size, architecturally and numerically; the Methodists are working like beavers, and reaping the reward of their toils; and the Congregationalists long since made good their losses of sixty years ago. In a word, it is an anachronism any longer to call Massachusetts and Boston anything but a stronghold of the Evangelical faith.

But Mr. Moody himself, and the ministers of Boston and its vicinity, do not seem to take so roseate a view of the situation, if one can judge from their statements made at a meeting in this city, on May 21, as reported in the *Herald* of next day:—

Ministers in Council.

The Evangelical ministers vote to keep Mr. Moody in Boston—Severe assault on Unitarianism and the Young Men's Christian Union.

At three o'clock yesterday afternoon, over three hundred ministers from churches of Boston and vicinity assembled in the Meionaon to take counsel with Mr. Moody on the proper course to pursue with reference to a continuation of the Evangelical campaign. Mr. Moody presided, and the meeting opened with prayer on his part. A number of letters were read from various parts of New England, giving the views of ministers as to the necessities and triumphs of the central and local movements, by which it appeared that the religious condition of New England is still an enigma to the holders of the fort. Measures of interest to the reverend fraternity were discussed at length, most of the speakers taking the position that the work was by no means in a condition to be permanently left by Mr. Moody.

After considerable desultory debate, Mr. Durant said that the proposal to keep the Tabernacle open all summer, and to engage somebody to speak in it from time to time, or to have English Evangelists come over in the fall and try to keep the spirit of religion and Evangelism afreah, was one of the greatest blunders that could possibly be made. Much valuable work had been done by Messrs. Moody and Sankey, and it cannot be too highly commended; but there is no doubt that, if Mr. Moody goes away now, he will leave the citadel in a defenceless condition. The work, to be permanent, must be more firmly planted, he believed. New England, not Boston, must be addressed. Let Mr. Moody stay here another year to assemble his forces for a grander and more vigorous effort than he has yet essayed. Let him study his territory, and change the infidelity of New England, and not Boston scepticism alone. Do not you ministers of Boston understand the case? It remains wholly with you whether he shall stay here another year with us, or go to Baltimore and leave the work here uncompleted. Ponder well upon the matter. The salvation of all New England, I believe, rests upon your shoulders; for I think there is no doubt in the world that, if he tarries here, that result must ensue.

Rev. George F. Pentecost indorsed Mr. Durant's suggestion with great heartiness.

Another minister spoke of the danger of the young converts becoming victims to the half-way stuff of Messrs. Clarke and Hale. Mr. Moody should remain, he thought, to preserve a healthy religious tone to these young people.

Rev. Joseph Cook said that, as virtue consisted in choosing the highest good before the next highest, it was incontrovertibly Mr. Moody's absolute duty to remain in Boston.

The question was then put to the house, and it was voted unanimously that Mr. Moody should come here next October, and remain until some time the following spring,—Mr. Cook suggesting that he might spend the summer speaking through New England.

Mr. Moody said he had not asked for this thing, and did not know whether the Lord would lead him here next fall; if he did, he would certainly come, although he had other work in view. He said he hoped they would excuse him, but he really couldn't see how any Evangelical minister could go to such an establishment as the Young Men's Christian Union and preach. He said that such unchristian conduct as that was leading a great many young men astray. The institution in question is already, as a direct result, recruited with large numbers of the young converts of the last three months, who have been enticed there by the arts of the management in getting Evangelical preachers to go and speak at their meetings. It was his earnest desire that this thing might be stopped, and that these deluded young people might be led into healthier religious ways than those of the Young Men's Christian Union. He told of the starting of one of these Unitarian establishments in Chicago, its insidious growth in this manner, and its present great strength. For Evangelical ministers to preach there was a most ill-advised piece of religious business, according to his idea. He could not affiliate with that church, and quoted from the New Testament a passage relative to shunning those who did not believe on the Lord, but refused his gifts and his salvation.

Rev. W. B. Wright, having spoken at the Union on invitation, felt called upon to explain in the face of this statement of Mr. Moody's, which he did. He had delivered a sermon there in perfect good faith and in reply to a Unitarian attack upon Evangelism. He believed he had done his duty as God directed him.

Rev. Henry M. Parsons, who had also preached there on several occasions, on invitation of Mr. Baldwin, attacked the Union quite severely. He said that Mr. Moody's view was quite right. It was the aim and object of the Union to get, by any means in its power, all the Evangelical members it can, and for this purpose its managers are all the time laying snares to entrap the converts the Evangelists labor so hard to make. A church, he said, is even now growing up in it, filled with this kind of captured people. They give out the appearances of Evangelism evidently as a snare, and try to make themselves seem as nearly Evangelical as possible in order to blind these young converts.

Mr. Moody said the Union was killing the Association. A few years ago it had no strength of its own, and now it is a very powerful organization.

It is voted to immediately proceed with the work of stirring up the ministers of New England to a thorough sympathy with the new movement, by committee if necessary.

What is the truth in this matter? Not only the *Independent*, but also all other Evangelical journals so far as we know, have made it a point from the beginning to represent the Boston campaign of the revivalists as highly successful; yet here are Moody and his co-laborers lamenting that the Unitarians artfully "entrap the converts the Evangelists labor so hard to make." And it seems that Chicago is as dangerous a pest-house of Unitarianism, by Mr. Moody's own confession, as wicked and abandoned Boston herself. Certainly there is a half-suppressed wail of despair distinctly audible all through the report of this council of war, and most of all in the utterances of the general-in-chief. Who shall be believed, the jubilant *Independent* or the desponding Moody?

Probably neither the success nor the failure of the revival has been so great as has been imagined. If anything has been evident to those on the spot, it is that the Evangelists, in a really manful style, have been rowing against wind and tide. Their efforts have not been sufficient to reverse either the tide or the wind; and the moment they ceased their exertions, the "ark of safety" began to be carried down the stream again. It will take more than Moody and Sankey, at the head of three hundred or three

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hundred thousand ministers, to put the human mind back into that ignorant, benighted condition in which alone the doctrines they preach can appear either true, beautiful, or sacred. Failed they have, and fail they must, to make the intelligence of Boston pay homage to Orthodoxy in any shape.

Nevertheless, the revivalists have succeeded to a melancholy degree in reaching the unintelligence of Boston. The number of their converts is insignificant, as nobody knows better than they who devote their sanctified ingenuity to "inflating" the figures; and these very converts, it now appears, are slipping out of the hands that caught them. But Orthodoxy has succeeded in making a great public show of its popularity with the "majority"—that Dagon of the average American citizen which is worshipped more sincerely than any divinity of the churches. It is made more fashionable than ever to be, at least outwardly, a friend of Evangelical religion; and all who love popularity have received a very powerful and intelligible hint that, if they want to stand well in the community, they must beware of getting the reputation of being unorthodox. The Moody and Sankey movement is no success as yet, viewed from the fanatical stand-point of its leaders; for very few "souls" have been "saved." But, viewed from the stand-point of the practical managers who have kept out of sight, the disposition of the multitude to contribute to the support of the churches has been sufficiently augmented to make the movement by no means a failure. The churches will find consolation for the very moderate increase of church-members in the large increase of the number of miscellaneous attendants who do not join the church, but whose money is every whit as good as that of the saints. A movement which intimidates all the moral cowards of the community, enlists all the hypocrites, and attracts the immense multitude that care only for appearances, will, whatever its other results, certainly exert a large influence in extending that outward conformity which is all that Orthodoxy amounts to in so many cases to-day. Were it not for these indirect but substantial gains, we believe it would be impossible for the revivalists to carry on their expensive operations on the great scale now exhibited.

It is only in this superficial and misleading way that Massachusetts and Boston are becoming what the *Independent* delightedly calls them, a "stronghold of the Evangelical faith." Looking at the substance of the Evangelical faith—earnest belief in the doctrines of Orthodoxy,—this boast is groundless; for the intellectual disintegration of Orthodoxy is, as is well known, proceeding at an astonishing rate in the very heart of the churches themselves. Its most popular preachers, such as Phillips Brooks, W. H. H. Murray, Henry Ward Beecher, and Joseph Cook, are themselves shattering the Orthodox system. But looking at the mere externals of Evangelicalism,—its church buildings and property, the numbers of its nominal believers and its ecclesiastical organizations,—the boast is justified by facts. Its truth, however, is no proof of the *vitality* of the "Evangelical faith," but rather of an alarmed activity stimulated by dread of the formidable extension of rationalistic thought. It is easy to point out the relative decadence of Unitarianism in Massachusetts (though such radical preachers as Rev. M. J. Savage, who is growing daily in popularity and influence, prove that Unitarianism still has a message for the multitude); and it is also easy to point out the still more striking inefficiency of organized Radicalism. But all this proves nothing. The true vitality of Evangelicalism lies in the strength of "Evangelical *faith*," and this is relatively just as feeble in Boston as ever it was. In fact, Evangelicalism can only flourish in this atmosphere by coquetting with rationalism. It is spreading over the surface of society, but only by losing in depth and strength of conviction. The influence of science in undermining the Orthodox creed increases every day; it extends far outside the limits of existing rationalistic organizations; it is diffusing itself with unexampled rapidity throughout the popular literature of the day,—books, periodicals, the daily press; it is penetrating all centres of social life, and respects not at all the boundaries of the churches. This widely-diffusing knowledge, exposing the antediluvian character of the "Evangelical faith," is the real enemy to be confronted, and not the societies either of Unitarianism or a more radical type of thought. Does the *Independent* flatter itself that such heterodoxy as this is on the decrease in Boston or in Massachusetts? If so, it stuffs its ears with cotton and its eyes with mud.

Nevertheless, we concede the enormous retarding power of organization, when used in the interest even of exploded creeds. Organization is in itself a blind Samson, and does the bidding of whatever master directs its energies. But it is a dangerous servant. The very success of Orthodoxy in its reactionary operations will sooner or later teach intelligent liberalism not to neglect so mighty an agency as organization. To-day Orthodoxy is liberalizing into Unitarianism, while Unitarianism is retrograding into a species of boneless Orthodoxy. But by-and-by Radicalism will acquire a perception of its own duty to the common people, now left unprotected from proselytizing superstition; by-and-by it will become conscious that science is its own life-giving power, and will institute organized means to instruct the multitudes in spirit, method, and results of science. The slow infiltration of knowledge into the popular mind by hap-hazard will eventually be succeeded by systematic educational influences which are impossible without organization. Public institutions are already starting up in Boston which, though not designedly, tend to paralyze all the efforts of the "Evangelical faith" to perpetuate itself in the human mind. Every public library, museum, art gallery, lecture course, scientific institute, is undermining Orthodoxy in its very foundations; and no amount of exhortation or Tabernacle machinery will neutralize its workings. If the *Independent* wishes to study "religious changes in Massachusetts," let it not narrow its gaze to ecclesiastical Year-Books, but look out upon the vast array of educational instrumentalities already active in changing men's minds on religious subjects. Under the influence of enchantment, the Scandinavian god Thor imagined he was only lifting a cat, when he was tugging to raise the great Midgard Serpent that encircled the whole earth: Moody and the *Independent* fancy that they have no antagonist but the wilfulness of the individual sinner's soul, when in truth they are striving to break in pieces the enormous mass of the intellectual acquisitions of the whole human race. The "Evangelical faith" will never witness such "religious changes in Massachusetts" as shall restore its outgrown supremacy, until it shall have first succeeded in pulverizing the solid and slowly upheaved mountain of scientific truth.

A REMARKABLE ORTHODOX CONFESSION.

Mr. Charles Bradlaugh's paper, the *National Reformer*, in its issue of March 11, quotes from the *Inquirer* the following very remarkable confession of the Rev. David Watson in a discourse delivered in the Middle Church, Paisley, Scotland, to the Paisley Young Men's Christian Association:—

"The great, and the wise, and the mighty, are not with us. That I fear we must all own to, however much we may grieve to say so, and the more we read of the history, the poetry, the biography, and the literature of the age, the more will we think so. The best thought, the widest knowledge, and the deepest philosophy have discarded our Church. Not that they have taken up a hostile attitude towards us (some have, but not all), but they have turned their backs upon us with a quiet dislike, an unspoken disapproval, and a practical renunciation, greatly more conclusive than a wordy war would be. I do not mention names, it would be unfair to do so, for there is still a social stigma thrown at the man who ventures to disconnect himself from the common creed. But that does not alter the case one whit,—the great, the wise, and the mighty are not with us.

"The stern fact is, they do not identify themselves with the Orthodox Church we belong to. They are not even nominally with us. They look not for our heaven; they fear not our hell. They detest what they call the inhumanities of our creed, and scorn the systematized spiritualism we believe in. They step out into speculative atheism, for they can breathe freer there; their lungs are not compressed, and their humanities are happier there. But, mark you, they do not pass over into practical atheism, for however they hate the name of Orthodoxy and everything theological, their hearts are too large, and their souls are too religious—instinctively religious—to forget that reverence that is due, that living regard that is meet and fit. Some become practical philanthropists and philosophic friends of man by helping industry, extending knowledge, advocating temperance, inaugurating institutions that incarnate Christianity, furthering society in a thousand ways, reforming the manners, and making the men of time and clime. And if it be so with some, I make bold to say of all, that, more or less naturally pious, more or less consciously moral, they are all instinctively religious, despite their renunciation of our theological creed. They are all big with a faith in the ultimate salvation of man, a faith that inspires them to toil, and shames our whining cant. And yet these men—the master minds and imperial leaders amongst men—the Comtes, the Carlyles, the Goethes, the Emersons, the Humboldts, the Tyndalls, and Huxleys, if you will, are called by us atheists, are outside our most Christian Church, pilloried in our Presbyterian Orthodoxy as 'heretics' before God and man. Why are these and such like men without the pale of the Christian Church? Not that they are unfit—we own that; not that they are too great—we know that. But that we are unworthy of them, and by the mob force of our ignorant numbers have driven them out. They shun us because of our ignorant misconceptions and persistent misrepresentations of heaven, man, and God. They feel our evil communications corrupting their good manners; they feel our limited vision narrowing the infinitude of their horizon, and therefore, as an indispensable condition to the very existence of their souls, they separate themselves from us, and forsake—and greatly unwilling many of them are to do so—the worship with us of our common God."

To this the *Inquirer* adds:—

"We would ask our readers, is not that a remarkable utterance to come from a minister of the Orthodox Church of Scotland?"

Rev. Joseph Cook, who is so busy with the "concessions" of liberal thinkers, might with profit to himself and his audience quote the above extraordinary concessions of Rev. David Watson, from whom he needs to learn a lesson both of honesty and intellectual insight in treating the radicalism which he in part misunderstands and in part is viciously determined to misrepresent.

Communications.

WHEN PROOF FAILS, LOOK AT PROBABILITY.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Of what use is it to offer suggestions or conjectures in regard to a difficulty manifestly insoluble?

On the other hand, since the matter in question is one of the intensest interest, since it must more or less occupy the attention of every thoughtful person, and since, to many minds, the uncertainties attending it are a matter of constant anxiety and suffering, may it not possibly be advantageous for one who is at rest amidst these uncertainties to state, as clearly as may be, how he is enabled thus to rest?

The difficulty in question is the old, old, endless one of reconciling the existence of evil and suffering, as we see them in this world, with the assumption of unlimited power, wisdom, and goodness in God, and particularly with *love*, on his part toward men.

That a vast amount of evil and suffering exists, we *know*; in regard to the attributes of God, nay, in regard even to his existence, for want of knowledge, we are obliged to suppose or to assume.

The professional teachers of the popular theology pretend to *know* in regard to these matters; but when we inquire into the grounds of this assumed knowledge, we find only tradition; they hold as authoritative the opinions entertained and recorded by "them of old time." But recorded opinion is of no more weight than spoken opinion; to give it authority, there must be good and sufficient evidence; and the evidence offered us by the clergy falls far short of demonstration. It plainly appears that they also assume, instead of knowing.

Going to the opposite extreme, a few persons assume to know that there is no God! The pretension is ridiculous. To *know* this, omniscience and omnipresence would be necessary, and the people who announce themselves as atheists do not seem, or even pretend, to possess these attributes.

It looks as if, in this stage of existence in regard to God and immortality, we *must* take assumption of some sort instead of knowledge. The instincts of the human race forbid us to leave unregarded the questions respecting God and immortality. We cannot help thinking about them. It seems most reasonable to think of them in the light of a balance of probabilities.

Here the Orthodox dogmatist wonders, sometimes contemptuously, sometimes with sanctimonious pity, at the folly of those who are willing to trust their eternal destiny to a mere probability, instead of building, as they claim to have done, on "a rock," "a tried corner-stone," "a sure foundation." I mention this for the purpose of saying that their claim, like that of the Jews, of the Mohammedans, of the Brahmans, and of the Buddhists, will not stand critical scrutiny, and is worse instead of better for its tone of confident certainty. Their "rock" crumbles when the test is applied to it. We claim that, where demonstration is unattainable, probability is a very good thing; a far better thing at any rate than such assumption, however confident, as cannot bear impartial examination. We seek among probabilities expressly because their claim of certainty is not only improved but disproved.

The first of the probabilities to be considered, a probability so strong as to fall little short of certainty, is that no amount or carefulness of examination will dispel the mystery which essentially belongs to the two subjects in question. If God and immortality are ever to be comprehended by human beings, it is vain to hope that they will be so in this mortal stage of our existence. Whoever undertakes to circumscribe and map out the Creator, and to give an exhaustive catalogue of his characteristics and attributes, reveals thereby only his own conceit and incompetency. Any theory of God which undertakes thoroughly to explain and elucidate him is, for that very reason, untrustworthy, not to say absurd. The infinite must be beyond the comprehension of the finite; the Creator, of the created. In regard to these subjects it is in the highest degree probable that the evidence attainable now and here cannot amount to demonstration, and must be ranked in the department of probability. We will not fear, then, to confront the fact that the matters in ques-

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tion are, and must remain, unexplained mysteries, and that a balance of probabilities must decide our belief and our consequent action in regard to them.

The existence of a moral nature in human beings—the recognized fact that conscience first points out a difference between right and wrong, and then accuses and torments us when we consciously choose wrong instead of right—intimates very strongly the existence of a spiritual Father of the human race, a provider for progress and advancing welfare in the highest department of our being not less than in the mental and physical departments. History and observation assure us that there have been and are men and women preëminent in goodness. They are so because they have preferred right to wrong, have chosen to occupy themselves with promotion of the welfare of their fellow-beings rather than with personal ease, gain, or self-indulgence of any sort. They have taken this course, not through any endowment or faculty peculiar to themselves, but because they have chosen to use the higher rather than the lower department of those powers with which all human beings are endowed; as we others also might do, if we chose to do it. As a large amount of evil and suffering manifestly flows from the absorption of a majority of mankind in personal and selfish ends, it is plain that much of this evil and suffering might be removed or prevented, if that majority could be led to prefer and labor for the common welfare rather than for personal success or indulgence. On the supposition of a true spiritual Father, a Superintending Power, which, having arranged for man a beginning of education and development on this earth, designs to continue this process by successive stages to the ultimate attainment of permanent welfare for all, the facts above mentioned would be accounted for. Without such a supposition, they are unaccounted for. In taking God for granted, then, we have, so far, very high probability in our favor.

Let us look at what probability indicates in another department.

Our failure to comprehend God results from the difference between finite and infinite. But even among things finite there is abundance of mystery seemingly inexplicable. Science has explained many things about botany, but it does not explain why of three plants similarly green, one bears a white, another a red, and the third a blue flower. The author of *Vestiges of Creation* thought he could construct the solar system, if you would give him a vortex to begin with. But, if you must make a supposition out of whole cloth, why not suppose a God instead of a vortex? It is just as easy, and infinitely more satisfactory. Granting the vortex, and such success in its working as the ingenious author anticipated, you have only a lifeless, soulless system of revolving orbs. You cannot get from it the human being with articulate speech, a mind, and a conscience. Since we must suppose something, let us take a well-working supposition, competent to the function required of it.

But, the facts of evil and suffering on this earth prevent you from supposing God? Wait a little. What light does probability throw on that matter?

Suppose a sub-lieutenant, having caught sight of one corner of a sheet on which his general had sketched an order of battle, should assume that to be the completed plan, and should criticise it from his point of view of what a complete arrangement should be. Of course he would make enormous errors. Yet this parallel but feebly indicates the amount and variety of error into which a man would fall who should assume to sketch God's whole purpose and plan from the portion of it visible to him during half a century's residence on this earth, and should then, from his view of that purpose and plan, presume to dogmatize about the character and attributes of God himself.

Nobody is competent to assert either that there is no God, or that the course of events apparent in this world comprises the whole of God's plan. Then, the supposition is open to us that there is a divine plan actually in operation far more extensive, and far greater, nobler, better, than anything apparent in the minute fraction of it before our eyes now and here. If this were so, if our birth into this world and our progress through it were really only the beginning of an enterprise of vast grandeur and beneficence, our judgment of the enterprise and the Author of it would inevitably be subject to the limitations above suggested. A fragment, especially a small fragment of a great whole, must needs, when viewed by itself, appear partial and imperfect. A beginning, especially a beginning devised by profound wisdom for progressive development through a period indefinitely extended, may well appear unwise or impracticable to an inferior mind which sees only the beginning, and presumes to judge of the whole by that. These things being so, when the Divine character, and purpose, and plan are in question, we cannot be decently rational without bearing in mind that the finite cannot comprehend the Infinite, and that an elaborately complex whole cannot be properly judged by a part.

I find in myself an inclination not only to assume the existence of God, but to think well of him; to expect great and good things of him; to presume him at least equal to the highest and best I can possibly imagine. Seeing here on earth a beginning of mental and moral education which in some cases already produces admirable results, with foregleams of more and better in the future, I please myself with supposing that this process of education is to go on in a progressive series indefinitely extending, in some part of which all human beings will attain, and thenceforth permanently enjoy, the welfare properly belonging to high mental, moral, and spiritual development.

This, if its realization can be accomplished, will be a work truly magnificent, fitly called glorious and divine. Why should I not please myself by supposing the reality of it? Nobody can *know* that it is not real. Though there may be varying suppositions, they are still only suppositions; and mine seems to me reasonable and probable as well as satisfactory, while the two others seem to me wanting both in plausibility and soundness. The atheistic theory is, in my view, unsatisfactory, improbable, and destitute of evidence, gaining such small plausibility as it has from the blunder of assuming that a part accurately and thoroughly represents the whole. The Orthodox theory is repulsive as well as irrational and improbable, and examination shows its foundation to be unsound, because false. Until certainty comes, which seems unlikely to come in this world, I greatly prefer, among possible suppositions, to take the best. And the very most satisfactory supposition possible has, in my judgment, both reason and probability in its favor.

A. N. A.

FAIR HAVEN, Vt., May 21, 1877.

TRUTH-SEEKING.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I cannot withhold an expression of my sympathy with the bold, noble utterances with which you conclude your able article on "The 'Authority' of Science," including your answer to Mr. Putnam. "Not without sacrifices, both inward and outward, can any one follow the ideal of the true." Your position is well illustrated by the story told by Father Hyacinthe, and printed on the first page of the same paper, May 17: "Lovers of truth must be prepared for the scorn of relations and dear old friends."

How few, alas, care for truth as much as they do for the traditions in which they are educated! The mere prevalence of an opinion, right or wrong, carries with it great force in the estimation of masses of people. What *one* thinks may be scientifically true, and come at last to prevail; but what the *many* think, though false, carries with it far more "authority" with common minds, and gets itself established in Church and State. I have been asking myself these questions:—

Is it easier or more rational and consistent to be reconciled and satisfied with the state of the weather in a time of drought—are we any more cheerful and hopeful,—when we believe that the weather *is ordered by arbitrary will*, by personal agency, which has inscrutable reasons for the drought, than when we believe that drought occurs by the coaction of natural, impersonal forces? In other words, are we necessarily happier in theism than we should be in atheism?

Am I any happier or more consoled for believing that my dear child is taken away from me by God, for reasons known only to him, inscrutable to me, than I would be to see and know the exact cause of my child's death in an inexorable and impersonal necessity of Nature?

What help or advantage is the supposition of personality or will-force behind the operations of Nature?

Is it philosophical or scientific to regard with reverence and to worship the operations of machinery, which to the ignorant are mysterious and wonderful, but to the intelligent are the pliant transformations of heat and gravity?

What evidence have we, not derived from consciousness, that there is any personality in the falling rain, or ascending sap, or opening flower?

I confess that I have not the unreasoning "faith" or dogmatic confidence in these things that I once had; and I have been waiting and watching for a number of years for the scientific evidence, if there is such. I have read with some care what you have written, and yet cannot help thinking that religion will get little help from science, and will remain, as it has been, more a matter of instinct, a habit, or feeling of the human personality, than a thing of knowledge. I should be pleased to receive more light, and am ready to follow the light, albeit to a higher theism, or to the much tabooed atheism. I shall not be the poorer for finding the truth.

A. N. A.

FAIR HAVEN, Vt., May 21, 1877.

A PORTION OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF PAINE'S "AGE OF REASON" DISCOVERED IN LOUISIANA.

EDITOR INDEX:—

You will doubtless be surprised to hear, from this remote locality, of the discovery of manuscript, in a fair state of preservation, of such historical interest as attaches to all the writings of Thomas Paine, and especially to that small volume of great thoughts known to the world as the *Age of Reason*. But your surprise will not equal the astonishment of Dr. W. H. Gray and myself, as we sat down together on last Sunday and critically examined it, only to find that for the most part the differences between the manuscript and a printed edition (Calvin Blanchard's, of New York) were in favor of the former. With reference to grammatical construction, additional sentences, one additional note, underscoring of lines for purposes of emphasis, omissions of this emphasis when not required, the manuscript was superior to the printed edition. Taking this as conclusive evidence that it was not a mere copy, the great age of the manuscript, the likeness of the paper to that current at the period Paine wrote, the evident penmanship of a master hand or practised writer, as well as the following letter, enclosed in the package containing it, satisfied us almost beyond a doubt that we were perusing the genuine work of Paine's own hand:—

(LETTER OF JACOB WALTER.)

LOUISVILLE, Sept. 13, 1847.

This day I have spent very agreeably in reviewing some old relics—for which I have a great fondness,—among which I find a part of the original manuscript written by the celebrated Thomas Paine, author of *Common Sense*, *Age of Reason*, *Rights of Man*, etc.

The reader is to understand that this memoir was written by me twenty-five years after receiving the manuscript. I received it in 1822, and wrote this memoir in 1847. It was the best I could do from memory, and is substantially true.

The old manuscript is part of Paine's *Age of Reason*, said to have been written by him while in prison in Paris, France, during the reign of Robespierre. Now, as Paine was one of the great apostles of liberty and humanity, active and persevering in the days that tried men's souls in the great cause of our liberties, I thought some one, like myself, might be curious enough to desire to know how I came by this relic. It was for this purpose I made this note.

In the summer of 1822, I walked out to enjoy the evening breeze. I met one who invited me to go to church, and hear a celebrated lecturer that was to deliver himself that evening. I obeyed, and went to the meeting.

The man in the course of his proceeding took occasion to speak of Thomas Paine, author of the *Age of Reason*, in a most degrading manner. I waited with great patience until the lecture was through. I then rose from my seat and addressed the audience, begging permission to suffer me to set the lecturer right. The request was granted. I then called in a loud but mild tone of voice, requesting the gentleman that he should remember in future to use more benevolence and facts, instead of vindictive assertions, void of truth. I said I hoped the gentleman would be more particular in his next attempt at enlightening the world, and inform himself,—stick to facts, and do Thomas Paine justice.

I spoke for some time warmly and with much feeling on the subject. My course seemed to electrify the audience; this I judged from the seeming high state of excitement,—in the shouts sent forth. Paine's cause seemed greatly in the ascendant, while the poor scamp who had just before been abusing Paine in the most vile and abusive manner slunk from the crowd.

At the close of my appeal, a man came up to me. He grasped my hand, crying aloud, "Oh, how I love you!" He was in tears. Holding me by the hand, he said, "Friend, I have something for you you are worthy of, and should possess; I am not. I will wait on you to-morrow morning, and put it in your possession." And he, in accordance with his promise, did perform. He presented me next morning with this relic. As he placed it in my hands, he shed tears. At this I could not help feeling the warmth of his soul commingling with mine,—his sincerity was so demonstrative of truth.

He told me the relic was given him by his father, who was an intimate friend and boon companion of Paine's. Said he, "Thomas Paine gave it to my father as a keepsake, and (he) requested me always to respect Thomas Paine as one of the fathers of our liberty, and defend his character wherever I went."

At this juncture he sighed deeply, looking me full in the face. Said he, "I was at the church last night, and heard Paine much abused. I did not keep my promise with my father; but a stranger to me was there who did defend him and his sacred character. You, sir, was the man. Friend," said he, "I feel myself unworthy to possess this relic. I have forfeited my promise to my father. I will by this act endeavor to make some restitution to him who left me in charge of it by placing it in the hands of one who is worthy." As he uttered these words, he pressed the manuscript in my hands, and exclaimed, "You are a man, the noblest work of God." So saying, he went away. I did not know him, nor did I ask his name. I was much disconcerted at the time,—not collected enough to have done what I could have wished. It has been a long time, yet it holds a green spot on memory's waste.

JACOB WALTER.

It will be remembered that, when Paine was on his way to the Bastile, he contrived to place in the hands of Joel Barlow, a boon friend, for preservation and publication, the manuscript of the *Age of Reason*. Mr. Barlow was at one time commissioner for the sale of lands for the Ohio Company. To make a connection between Paine's statement of the disposition of his manuscript and its passing into the hands of Mr. Jacob Walter, in Kentucky, as described in his letter, it would only be necessary to infer that a son of Joel Barlow was the transferer. Of course, this is only a suggestion. I have no data at hand to trace the Barlow family, and make the evidence of genuineness complete in every detail; but I hope some interested reader of THE INDEX may throw some additional light upon the subject.

While discussing the Centennial proposition to place the bust of Paine in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Mr. John P. Walter (son of Jacob Walter) remarked that he had at home some of Paine's manuscript. Dr. Gray and myself agreed that, if allowed to examine it, we had better do so. Mr. Walter placed it in Dr. Gray's hands, with the result as heretofore stated. In quantity it comprises near two-thirds of the first part of the *Age of Reason*, about two pages being illegible from age and wear. It must be noted that Jacob Walter was a man of unblemished character; began life as a mechanic, and died possessing a fair fortune. The package of manuscript was found among his effects on his decease, accompanied by the letter given above, as an explanation of the manner in which it came into his possession. His son, John P. Walter, preserved the manuscript along with a number of other relics, such as continental currency, English bank-notes, etc. If it is deemed of sufficient interest by any reader of this to make further inquiries, he will be the proper person to address. Very respectfully,

EMERSON BENTLEY.

MORGAN CITY, La., May 22, 1877.

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GRASSHOPPER RESOLUTIONS.

ENTERPRISE, Kan., May 6, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

There are blasphemous people out here, veritable fighters against God. Last fall God sent swarms of grasshoppers to deposit untold numbers of eggs. This spring, when the young 'hoppers began to come out, the people actually called meetings, *whereas'd* and resolved that, notwithstanding the fact that God Almighty had sent the 'hoppers for purposes of infinite good, they would fight them to extermination. "Oh consistency, thou art a jewel." Carlyle truly remarks: "It is impossible to over-estimate the stupidity of mankind."

For the edification of your readers, who hear so much of "liberal Kansas," I append a few resolutions offered by Mr. C. W. Abbey and adopted at one of the grasshopper-meetings, and published in one of the county papers:—

"WHEREAS, In the infinite goodness of an all-wise Creator the grasshopper has been permitted to deposit vast quantities of eggs in the ground in this our adopted and much beloved country; and

"WHEREAS, Their eggs are hatching by the million, and the young devils (the 'hoppers) will, if unmolested, devastate the face of this fair domain; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That, by the great Jehovah and through the strength he vouchsafes to us, there *shall not* a 'hopper live in this vicinity, if in our power to accomplish the result."

I must yet add that the Being who, according to belief of our Orthodox friends, sent the grasshoppers to punish us for our sins, has changed his mind, and is now taking the 'hoppers off through the agency of birds and cold rains.

Very respectfully, "AMI."

CELEBRITIES AT HOME.

THE POPE AT THE VATICAN.

Since Friday, sixteenth of September, 1870, the white figure of Pius IX. has never been seen in the streets of Rome. On that day, for the last time, he walked along the Corso from end to end to disprove the report that he had secretly escaped from the city. He came as usual down the middle of the road, an attendant cardinal on each side, his chaplain with two other prelates following, and behind them a few of the noble guard, walking at a brisk pace, blessing the people who knelt before him with affectionate reverence, stopping from time to time to put his hand on some child's head who had run forward to kiss his ring. Then he crossed the threshold of the Vatican he has never since repassed.

The "Mount of Myrrh and the Hill of Frankincense" is the name given by the Italian faithful to the Vatican, and thither the tribes of the earth go up to offer homage and bring treasures to the successor of St. Peter, free to admit or exclude as seems good to him. The several entrances to the vast and splendid palace of the Popes are guarded by the celebrated Swiss, clad as of old in their parti-colored uniforms of red, yellow, and black,—save that those keeping the bronze doors of the Scala Regia and the carriage-entrance near the Mint now have their gay garments concealed under long gray overcoats, their helmets replaced by dark-cloth caps, and their halberds by "Remingtons." At the head of the great staircase leading into the court of St. Damasus there is another guard of some dozen of the Papal police, a new feature in the Vatican interior since 1870, and so much out of character with the associations of the place, that people were not surprised when one of the American pilgrims, mistaking them for the jailers by whom the Pope is supposed to be kept in durance, shook his fist in their faces and gave them a piece of his mind in most vernacular Saxon. But having passed the courtyard and entered the door leading to the Papal apartments, one recognizes again the once splendid pontifical pomp. There are the lay chamberlains in their *renaissance* Spanish costumes and ruffs, the Pope's attendants in their crimson-damask liveries, violet-clad monsignore, and monks and friars, who startle one by their resemblance to princes and potentates in disguise, until one remembers they are generals of orders.

Pius IX. sleeps in one of the smallest of the eleven thousand rooms at his command. A narrow, humble bed without curtains or drapery—something similar to those used in seminaries for school-boys,—a sofa, two or three common chairs, and a writing-table are all the articles of furniture; few and simple enough for a Capuchin. There is not even a rug by the bedside to cover the floor of red tiles, not in the best repair. "Take care how you step; there is a brick loose," said the Pope to a Turinese ecclesiastic, who was admitted to his presence the other day when he was confined to bed, and whose eyesight he knew was not as good as his own. Winter and summer alike the Pope gets up soon after five o'clock, seldom or never later than half-past, and after he has finished dressing remains about an hour and a half alone, passing his time in prayer and meditation. At half-past seven exactly he leaves his room, and accompanied by his attendants proceeds to the private chapel near his apartment, where first he celebrates a mass himself and then attends another said by one of his chaplains. At half-past eight he takes a cup of black coffee with some dry bread, and by a quarter to nine, or thereabouts, he has entered his study (a small one-windowed room looking towards the Piazza of St. Peter's, and commanding the view beyond the Janiculum) and commenced the work of the day. The floor is covered with a common carpet; there are some red chairs; and the one principal piece of furniture, the large writing-table, on which, amid a mass of papers, stand a crucifix, a statuette of the Immaculate Conception, a timepiece, and an inkstand. As soon as the Pope has seated himself in his straight-backed chair, the Cardinal-Secretary of State, the ascetic Simeoni, enters with the correspondence of the day, and the oblations, often amounting to thousands of francs, laid the day before at the feet of His Holiness.

Next comes the post-bag, and with it the Pope's two private secretaries, Monsignor Mercurelli, whose duty it is to write the *Brevi ai Principi* (letters addressed to royal personages), and Monsignor Nocella, who has the charge of all the other correspondence included under the name of *Lettere Latine*. As the petitions are read, Pius IX. sits with his quill-pen in hand, and writes his sovereign will on each in turn—"*Qualora la cassa non sia esausta il reverendo Teologo somministrera lire duecento*;" "*Lire* 150, *solito tesoriere, solita cassa*,"—in clear, round, well-formed letters. After this commence the official audiences: with cardinals; ambassadors who have letters of credence or recall to present; bishops or laymen of distinction, whose special qualification for the time is that of leaders of a pilgrimage to the feet of the Holy Father; and with royal personages. If the interview is of the last-named character, a trifling alteration has to be made in the narrow quarters occupied by the owner of eleven thousand rooms. The writing-table has to be removed from the study to give sufficient space, and—as, for instance, when the Prince and Princess of Wales were received—a gilt arm-chair is placed on each side, but somewhat in front, of that occupied by the Pope. But the gilt armchairs have never yet been occupied by the King of Italy or the Prince or Princess of Piedmont. Notwithstanding all their expressions of respect, Pius IX. has never consented to receive His Majesty Victor Emanual or any member of the Royal family of Italy. As midday approaches, the vast antechamber becomes peopled with cardinals, prelates, lay chamberlains, *camerieri segreti di spada e cappa*, and the one or two of the Roman nobles whose daily turn it may be, waiting to attend His Holiness while giving the semi-public audiences which are almost, without exception, daily events.

Pius IX. has never been given to posing; he used to take his snuff and unfold his blue-checked-linen handkerchief with perfect indifference while seated upon his throne, the centre of the grandest ceremonials; but he might almost be conscious of the effect he produces as he pauses in full sight of every one for a moment on entering the Loggia. He stands a venerable figure, clothed entirely in white—no scrap of color save the tips of his red slippers, and the plain gold chain and cross hanging from his neck,—the very picture of a grand, good old man whose heart is overflowing with benevolence, set on a background of scarlet and purple-draped stately cardinals and violet monsignori. It is a tableau once seen never to be forgotten. According to the etiquette of the Papal Court, the visitors kneel as His Holiness approaches. By his side walks the monsignore in attendance, who, armed with a list of names, presents each person in turn. "Santita, Monsieur e Madame *Tela* e Mademoiselle *Avè*, Inglese"; and while Mr. and Mrs. Taylor and Miss Harvey kneel and kiss the ring upon his finger, the Pope says a few kind words. But woe betide those whose hot Protestant prejudices accompany them into the Pontifical presence-chamber! "I perceive we have some new additions here to the Vatican gallery of statues," was the remark made by Pius IX. as, on one occasion, he passed by some ladies whose consciences forbade them to kneel where their curiosity ought never to have taken them; and pungent indeed is the Pope's wit whenever he feels called upon to use it in reproof. Soon after he had issued condemnations of the excesses in female attire, some Italian ladies appeared at an audience with their heads dressed remarkably high. "Santita, le Signorine Guerrieri" (*Anglicè*, Warriors), said Monsignore. "I had already recognized them by the helmets," replied His Holiness. To foreigners he speaks in fluent French. He calls them all his children, even the members of those churches which, at the Reformation, separated themselves from the Roman Communion. "They divorced themselves," he says, "from the successor of St. Peter; but their children are none the less his." When the audience is composed entirely of Italians, his manner becomes more familiar and chatty. A lady came away enchanted at Pio Nono having told her she was more like her daughter's sister than her mother. "Equella," asked the Pope, indicating a remarkably small woman, "e cassa de statura o de età (is she short of years or of inches)?"

After the Pope has passed up one side and down the other of the two lines in which the strangers are ranged, he goes as nearly as possible to the middle, and delivers a brief exhortation. His audience is a mixed one, and he uses words which may be profitable to all and hurtful to the feelings of none. On the very last occasion he reminded them how rapidly their days were passing, while eternity remained immutable. With the audiences the morning's work is ended, and the Pope passes along the Loggia to one of the small rooms adjoining the great hall of the library, and there holds what is called his "circle," to join which he has generally invited some one or other of the more distinguished ecclesiastics or laymen who were received at the special audiences. A chair is placed for the Pope on the middle line of the floor toward the end, the cardinals present sit on each side of him, while all others are ranged at the long reading-desks rising behind each other in two rows. There the conversation becomes more or less general. The topics of the day—the unhappy condition of the times, and the iniquities of modern governments, the Italian and German in particular—are discussed, and the Pope informed of the minor events of the hour. Baron Visconti will give His Holiness an account of the last archæological discovery; the Commendatore Rossi will describe the newest results of his explorations in the catacombs; or Monsignore Nardi set forth the articles of some bill against the Church or clergy just laid before the Italian Parliament. Not unfrequently the conversation leads to the Pope recounting incidents of his early life, as when, not long ago, the presence of the bishops who had come over with a pilgrimage from South America elicited from him a description, first, of the tempestuous voyage he made to Chili in 1823, when, embarking at Leghorn on the fifth of October, on board the good ship "Heloise," he accompanied the Papal Legate Monsignore Muzi; and then the hardships they endured on *terra firma*, where they were almost reduced to live on alms. Or again, when, soon after the battle of Sedan, he told of the political outbreak in 1827, when he was Archbishop of Spoleto, and how one of the revolutionists going to him for shelter, he took him in and aided him to escape. The name of the revolutionist was Louis Napoleon, and that was the only occasion when the two men, one to become Pope of Rome and the other Emperor of the French, ever met.

Pius IX. is Italian to the core, and witty, as in fact are all his clever fellow-countrymen, even when trenching upon the sacred. Many of his witticisms are historical, as when, on being asked by a devout lady, who was tearfully lamenting the misfortunes of the Church, if he did not fear for the "Bark of Peter," he replied that he was under no apprehension on account of the Bark, but he felt some doubts as to what might be the fate of the crew. When Cardinal Antonelli told him on one occasion that he had been recommended to try the Bagni baths for his gout, the Pope, jestingly alluding to the well-known false reports of Antonelli's brigand origin, said he thought his eminence would do well to act upon the advice, for he had heard it said the *Bagni* (which in Italian also signifies "the hulks") had more than once been found efficacious for members of his family. Sometimes His Holiness has got what he has given, as in the case of a yearly visit, some years since, to an asylum for the aged. According to custom the Pope recited the Lord's prayer; and when he came to the petition, "Et ne nos inducas in tentationem," a notably ugly old woman, who saw his eye fixed upon her, immediately took up the response, "Sed libera nos a mal-occhio," there is a vulgar tradition the Pope possesses.

At a few minutes before two the Pope rises, gives his benediction, and those present having kissed his hand he goes to dinner. The dining-room adjoins the study and bedroom, and in small size and plain furniture is in keeping with them. The Pope always dines alone, Monsignore Cenni, private chaplain, or some other prelate being in attendance, standing by the table, and twice a week the Commendatore Filippini, the *segretario segreto*. Having taken his seat—in this room his chair has a small canopy over it,—Pius IX. reads a few prayers silently, and then, punctually at two, is served, the *menu* consisting of soup and three dishes, of which he seldom partakes of more than two, drinking a little Johannisberg cabinet or Cyprus of the Commandery. But these good wines have been prescribed for him; until recently he never took anything but Vino del paese. Fried things he never eats. When the cloth has been removed, the red table-cover replaced, and the prelate in attendance has retired, the Pope places his elbow upon the table, his head upon his hand, and dozes for a quarter of an hour. After this brief *siesta*, he takes a few turns along the Loggia, and about three o'clock goes to his private chapel, where the Holy Sacrament is always kept, and remains half an hour in prayer; and then, according to the season, he either returns to his study, or, if it is very fine, is carried in his portantina down to the garden, which, it must be remembered, is somewhat distant from the Pope's apartments, and spends the time in receiving and conversing with what one may call a few intimate friends, chiefly those officials and prelates residing in the Vatican.

But the business of the day is not yet quite concluded. There are secretaries to be seen—possibly he of the Index Expurgatorius, who reports the opinions of the congregation upon some book to be entered in that bulky volume,—or semi-official audiences have to be given to bishops about to depart, or it may be to Cardinal Manning or Ledochowsky just arrived. When these are over, the *camerieri segreti partecipanti* enter; the Pope reads aloud from his breviary what might well be called family prayers; and then, it being half-past eight, he goes to supper, a frugal meal of one dish and a little wine. Pius IX. then retires to his study, on the table of which four wax candles are burning—no oil, still less the more modern substitutes are ever used in his apartment,—and spends the rest of his waking hours, until ten—his customary time for going to bed,—in strict seclusion and meditation. Then no doubt it is that he thinks over the arguments he shall use, and the biblical parallels he shall employ, in those discourses the consideration of which would be out of place in this sketch of the inner life of this successor of St. Peter, who has been the first to attain and pass those years which all Pontiffs are warned at their coronation they shall not see.—*London World, April* 4.

A GENTLEMAN, one evening, was seated near a lovely woman, when the company around him were proposing conundrums to each other. Turning to his companion, he said, "Why is a lady unlike a mirror?" She "gave it up." "Because," said the rude fellow, "a mirror reflects without speaking, but a lady speaks without reflecting." "And why are you unlike a mirror?" asked the lady. He could not tell. "Because a mirror is smooth and polished, and you are rough and unpolished." The gentleman owned there was one lady who did not speak without both reflecting and casting reflections.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1877. WHOLE NO. 390.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as t is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

A "CITY FATHER" moved to take measures for purifying the lock-up from certain foul odors that proved the place to be unwholesome physically as well as morally. Another "Father" opposed this proposition on the ground of public economy, and sternly exclaimed to his fellow-official, "You are a sentimentalist, sir!" "Yes," was the dignified and crushing retort; "but the scent I meant was not the cent you meant."

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Mr. William Little, Manchester, N. H., 111; from Mr. J. E. Louis, Milwaukee, Wis., 192; from Mr. Carl Doerflinger, Milwaukee, Wis., 20; from Dr. W. H. Gray, Morgan City, La., 25; from Mr. T. J. Atwood, Albion, Wis., 37; from Mr. L. A. Le Mieux, Seymour, Wis., 43 (making 171 in all sent by him). Total thus far received —6,273.

OLIVE LOGAN writes that, when Ralph Waldo Emerson was first in England, people thought he could not be "altogether sane," because he was afflicted with various isms—Unitarianism, Transcendentalism, Parkerism,—of whose dangerousness they stood in vague dread. Now, she says, many English people of position are Unitarians, though the prejudice against Parkerism is still strong enough to keep a certain "brilliant man" out of Parliament. She adds: "The objection most offered to Unitarianism in England is the demoralizing effect it is considered to have among those unblessed with high intellect, the rank and file of humanity. Mr. Emerson, Huxley, Tyndall, Helen Taylor, George Eliot, George Lewes, Stuart Mill (while in the flesh) might search these philosophical rules and believe in their force and yet remain persons of the highest morality and commendable behavior. But how with the ignorant masses who are held in check to such extent as they are by the force of religious beliefs and it may be the fear of corporeal punishments hereafter?" The only parallel to this closing question would be to ask—what would become of the earth, if the old Hindu elephant that supports it should get tired and step off from the tortoise's back?

THE REVERE (Mass.) church case, which was explained in THE INDEX of May 24 by Rev. L. K. Washburn, receives further light from an account of another meeting of the society contained in the Boston *Journal* of June 8, as follows: "Pursuant to a warrant issued by the Parish Committee of the Unitarian church of Revere a meeting was held last evening. The call was signed by G. A. Tapley, Ensign Kimball, and W. S. Janvrin, the regular parish committee; but the opposition, or those opposed to the pastor, Rev. L. K. Washburn, had somehow got the only legible copy of the warrant—that originally posted on the church-door having either faded or been wilfully erased,—took possession of the meeting, Mr. Henry Spavin calling the assembly to order and announcing that only the old members or those who represented the parish a given number of years ago would be entitled to vote. He then called the members to vote for a Moderator, retaining the ballot-box in his own custody and allowing only certain parties to deposit ballots. Of course all this was not without vigorous protest, but a vote was declared, nevertheless, the whole number being 7, of which Ensign Kimball had 6, and he was declared elected and took the chair. The election of Clerk was then proceeded with, only the same members voting, resulting in the choice of W. R. Towle. Without transacting any further business the opposition meeting then adjourned and left the building. The regulars, who numbered about two dozen present, then organized with the choice of Jonathan Stone as Moderator and G. Arthur Tapley as Clerk. G. A. Tapley, W. S. Janvrin, and J. Erving Magee were elected standing committee, and G. Arthur Tapley Treasurer and Collector. A committee consisting of W. B. Eaton, J. E. Adams, and Rev. L. K. Washburn was chosen to draft by-laws. It was voted that all who subscribed and paid for the support of the parish and voted during the last parish year shall be considered members of the Society. The meeting then adjourned to Sunday afternoon next."

MR. CHADWICK'S lecture on "Thomas Paine; the Method and Value of his Religious Teachings" (advertised on the last page of this issue), is a very honest and even anxiously conscientious attempt to do full justice to its subject. In the main it is successful, and should be thoughtfully read by every one desirous to form an accurate estimate of Paine's place in the history of religion. But candor compels us to say that Mr. Chadwick, with all his fine appreciation and liberal encomium, says some harsh things which we regret because we do not think them true. For instance, he says that Paine made against the Bible "charges of obscenity which fly back into the writer's face and brand it with dishonor." We must calmly take our place at Paine's side, and share the "dishonor"; for we believe that the Bible, with all its excellences, contains so much that is obscene and polluting that we have always shrunk from putting it as a whole into the hands of our own children, and have preferred to read to them aloud such portions as may benefit and not deprave their tender minds. "If there is one wilfully immoral word from Genesis to Revelations," says Mr. Chadwick, "I cannot now recall it. Whatever might be called obscenity is as innocent as the unconscious doings of a little child." Apparently the *absence of immoral motives* in the Bible-writers (which we are quite willing to concede) is regarded as decisive against the charge of obscenity in the Bible itself. But the question whether the Bible is or is not an obscene book in many passages must be settled on other grounds. If its contents are anywhere such as cannot be read aloud to women or children in decent society,—if pure-minded parents would indignantly refuse to put into the hands of their innocent child the foul stories which too often defile the Bible's pages, were it not for the partial paralysis of their moral nature by Orthodox superstition,—then Paine's "charges of obscenity" are *true*, and bring no "dishonor" to him—though he himself is not faultless in this very matter. Just discrimination loses itself in overweening partiality to the Bible when his charges are denied.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

The Trial of Galileo.*

BY A. MEZIERES,
OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY.

Many points have been left obscure in the history of the double trial of Galileo, the details of which till lately were but imperfectly known. The important work published by Domenico Berti† fills up some of these gaps, by placing before our eyes a collection of authentic documents taken from the secret archives of the Vatican. We have here no work of partisanship, undertaken in the interest of religious controversy, but an historical work executed with all the scrupulous care that is nowadays exacted in all historical researches. In France the question had already been handled by Libri, Biot, Joseph Bertrand, Trouessart, and Th. Henri Martin, the first two approaching it with preconceived opinions that aided but little in the discovery of the truth, while the others brought to the discussion a remarkable spirit of impartiality. But all of these writers lacked the indispensable elements of information which now, thanks to the labors of Domenico Berti, are at the disposal of the future biographers of Galileo. If we have suffered ourselves to be anticipated by an Italian in the publication of the documents relating to this famous case, we must attribute the fact either to the negligence or to the prudence of the French government, for we were in possession, for nearly half a century, of the valuable manuscript, the full text of which is now published by Berti. Having been taken out of the Vatican archives during the first empire and carried to Paris, this original collection was there seen by the historian Denina, but he thought it to be of no importance. Nevertheless Napoleon I. ordered it to be published, with a translation facing the text; but the publication, though begun, was not continued: only the beginning of the work was then known, and of this Delambre, the astronomer, gave an account to the Italian Venturi.

In December, 1814, according to the Duke de Blacas, the private library of Louis XVIII. received the entire MS. in the same condition in which it had been found by the imperial government in Italy, and thence carried to France. During the early years of the Restoration, active negotiations were carried on by the court of Rome with the French government, to secure the return of these important documents. The government, though it did not positively refuse to comply, nevertheless delayed and procrastinated. It was not until 1846, after thirty-two years of negotiation, that the MS. was sent back to Rome, at the instance, no doubt, of Rossi, who himself presented it to Pius IX., in behalf of Louis Philippe. By the Pope it was restored in December, 1848, to the secret archives of the Vatican, and there it still remains.

All that was known of this MS. before the publication of Berti's work rested upon a selection of documents published at Rome in 1850, with many precautions, by Monsignore Marino Marini, sometime Prefect of the Secret Archives of the Holy See, and upon a larger work, in some respects inexact, and in others imperfect, published in Paris in 1867, by Henri de l'Epinois. Both of these writers take special points of view: they appear to be more intent upon justifying the judges that condemned Galileo than upon laying bare the whole truth with the boldness and freedom of an historian. Hence we can appreciate the motives which led them to publish only a portion of the MS. though the whole of it was in their hands. Did the court of Rome really suppose that these two publications contained all the documents pertaining to the double trial of Galileo, or did it think that the time had come for no longer hiding anything from the public? However that may be, at all events Domenico Berti, in February, 1870, was permitted to examine the MS., and even to copy it at his leisure in the room of Father Theiner, who had been officially authorized to intrust it to him. The present publication, therefore, was not procured by fraud, and, if the Holy See should have any occasion to regret it, at least it could neither dispute its authenticity, nor complain that the work was done without its consent.

I.

The interesting history of the travels of and the final destiny of the Vatican MS. is merely the preface of a far more important history, whose events we will endeavor to record impartially, with the sole purpose of unveiling and bringing to light the truth. Galileo, celebrated from his early years for the value of his discoveries and the brilliancy of his lectures at the University of Padua, loaded with honors at Venice and at Florence, and admired throughout all Italy, was pursuing the course of his great researches with the boldness of a man confident of his strength and of his fame, when certain slight indications no doubt warned him that it would not be disadvantageous, if he would carry on his researches in safety, to win the favor of the Sacred College. Accordingly he set out in 1611 for the Eternal City, without confessed misgiving, but with the ambition and expectation of interesting the most influential personages of the Roman court in his discoveries. He was nearing the decisive moment of his career. He had not as yet been disquieted by the objections of the theologians, though in prosecuting his studies of the constitution of the universe he was touching upon delicate questions which he could not expect to be permitted to discuss freely, without having first gained the sympathy, or at least the neutrality, of the Church. The court of Rome at that time exercised such moral authority in Italy, and especially at Florence, where Galileo resided, that people in some sense waited for her decision before they would accept the best-established conclusions in astronomy. The Grand-duke of Tuscany could not but be pleased at the discovery of Jupiter's satellites, announced in the *Sidereus Nuncius*; and he was all the more ready to believe, because these new heavenly bodies had received his family name; yet his own secretary had to admit that the discovery would never receive the unanimous assent of the learned world until it was approved and verified at Rome. There sat the Roman College, a regular tribunal, scientific as well as theological, whose decrees were law in Catholic countries.

Galileo, who was a man of rare good sense, and perfectly conversant with the ways of the world, had in advance formed at Rome the best and the most powerful of relations. Besides, he came there in a sort of official capacity, at the grand-duke's charges, and he was entertained there by the Tuscan ambassador. Prelates, cardinals, princes, vied with one another for the honor of offering *fetes* and banquets to the most illustrious representative of Italian science. At the palace of Cardinal Bandini, in the beautiful gardens of the Quirinal, in the villa of the Marquis Cesi on the summit of the Janiculan, Galileo delighted a society of *élite* by having them contemplate, during the serene nights of April, the vault of heaven through the telescope which he had recently invented, and which bears his name. He awakened a genuine enthusiasm one day when, after dinner, he pointed his telescope toward St. John of Lateran, three miles distant, and enabled the guests to read the inscription upon the façade of that basilica.

His arguments did not equally convince all of those who were present at his astronomical observations, and who listened to the explanation he gave of the movement of Jupiter's four satellites, the inequalities of the moon's surface, and the phases of Venus and Saturn, and to the discussions he carried on with those who opposed his views. His doctrine implied the confirmation of the system of Copernicus and the demonstration of the earth's motion, which were no longer reserved for mathematicians only, but made intelligible to all by a series of experiments. Here was an innovation calculated to alarm the theologians. A system that might be regarded as inoffensive so long as it was only a mathematical hypothesis, useful to men of science in their researches, became a very different thing on being transformed into a physical truth accessible to the senses, and pregnant with consequences touching the plurality of worlds and the aim of creation. Hence the apparent triumph of Galileo hid from view perils the magnitude of which at first eluded his penetrating mind. While he was giving himself up, with perhaps over-much confidence, to the pleasure of success, and was yielding too easily to his habitual temptation to answer objections with sarcasm, the ecclesiastical authority quietly set on foot an inquiry into the Orthodoxy of his opinions. Cardinal Bellarmin, probably in the name of his colleagues of the Inquisition, asked of the members of the Roman College (without mentioning Galileo's name) what was to be thought of the astronomical observations that had recently been promulgated by a distinguished mathematician.

This is the first symptom that we have been able to discover of the intervention of theology in the examination of Galileo's scientific opinions. The response of the Roman College was favorable to him; but, from that moment forward, the alarm was sounded, and the Inquisition never lost sight of him. Though the sovereign pontiff, to whom he was presented by the Tuscan ambassador, received him with great courtesy, not allowing him to utter even a word on bended knees, yet the Holy Office, even before he had quitted Rome, inquired of the tribunal at Padua whether, in the action brought against Cesare Cremonini for certain philosophical indiscretions, there might not be something to compromise Galileo. A direct personal attack, inspired by an overweening zeal, quickly followed these early suspicions. On his return to Florence, Galileo took up his labors afresh in the pleasant solitudes of the Belvedere, placed at his service by the kind hospitality of the grand-duke; there he received his friends and pupils, who, on departing from these *conversaziones*, propagated his doctrines. At this a Dominican friar, Thomas Caccini, took umbrage, and, in a sermon delivered at Santa Maria Nuova, on the miracle of Joshua, he suddenly exclaimed, "*Viri Galilæi, quid statis aspicientes in cœlum?*" The friar doubtless had heard of a conversation held at the court in presence of the Grand-duchess dowager Christine of Lorraine, and the Archduchess Madeleine of Austria, in the course of which Father Castelli, a pupil of Galileo, had endeavored to prove, to the great satisfaction of his hearers, that one might believe in the earth's motion without questioning the authenticity of Joshua's miracle. Upon this subject Galileo addressed to his pupil a famous letter, in which he precisely set forth the rights of science, at the same time asserting for religion its own. Here, according to him, are two separate domains, which are not rashly to be confounded.

"The Holy Scripture," said he, "can neither lie nor err, but it needs to be interpreted; for, were we to insist upon the literal sense of the words, we should find not only contradictions, but heresies and blasphemies; we should have to give to God hands, feet, ears, to suppose him subject to like passions with men,—to anger, remorse, hatred; and, again, to hold that he forgets the past and is ignorant of the future. . . . Inasmuch as the Bible constantly requires interpretation to explain how very different the true sense of the words is from their apparent signification, it appears to me that it should be quoted in scientific discussions only as the last resort. In truth, Holy Scripture and Nature both come from the Divine

*Translated from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* by J. Fitzgerald, A.M.

†*Il Processo Originale di Galileo Galilei, pubblicato per la prima volta*, Roma, 1876.

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Word, the one being the dictation of the Holy Ghost, while the other is the executor of God's decrees; but it was fitting that, in the Scriptures, the language should be adapted to the people's understanding in many things where the appearance differs widely from the reality. Nature, on the other hand, is inexorable and immutable; she is not at all concerned whether the hidden reasons and means through which she works are or are not intelligible to man, because she never oversteps the limit of the laws imposed upon her. Hence it appears that when we have to do with natural effects brought under our eyes by the experience of our senses, or deduced from absolute demonstrations, these can in no wise be called in question on the strength of Scripture-texts that are susceptible of a thousand different interpretations, for the words of Scripture are not so strictly limited in their significance as the phenomena of Nature. . . . I therefore think it would be wise to forbid persons from using texts of Holy Scripture, and from forcing them, as it were, to support as true certain propositions in natural science, whereof the contrary may to-morrow be demonstrated by the senses or by mathematical reasoning."

This noble letter, the moderation of which would nowadays be admitted by every theologian, but which then gave out a dangerous odor of novelty, no doubt passed from hand to hand, was read by ill-disposed persons, perhaps fomented the agitation produced by Caccini's vehement assault, and furnished to another Dominican, Niccola Lorini, an opportunity of denouncing Galileo to the congregation of the Holy Office. "Here," said the informer, "are propositions that seem to be suspect and rash, opinions that contradict the text of the Holy Scripture. Besides," he added, "Galileo and his disciples speak with little respect of the fathers of the Church, of St. Thomas of Aquino, and of Aristotle, whose philosophy has rendered so much service to the scholastic theology." The Inquisition, though search was made, was unable to procure the original of the letter, for Castelli had given it back to his master, and he prudently refused to part with it. The inquisitors contented themselves with an examination of the copy sent by Lorini, in which they discovered a few ill-sounding phrases; but, on the whole, nothing clearly contradictory of the language of Scripture. Still they continued to note the words of Galileo; they questioned two Tuscan ecclesiastics about the speeches that he might have uttered in their hearing; they scrutinized the letters he had published on the subject of observing sun-spots.

Galileo, though quite ignorant of the strict watch kept on him by the Inquisition, had a vague apprehension of imminent danger. To ward it off, he adopted the expedient of going again to Rome in 1615, and of pleading his cause in person in the quarter where a successful defence was most to be desired. It has been asserted that Galileo was summoned before the bar of the Holy Office, but they who so assert are in error as to the date. It was not till a much later period—*viz.*, the beginning of his second trial—that he was ordered to appear in Rome. On the present occasion he went of his own accord, no longer possessed of the fearless assurance with which he made his first journey, yet confidently hoping that he would disarm his opponents by the clearness of his explanations. Perchance he rested his expectation of convincing them as much upon the graces and charms of his wit and the personal attractiveness which won for him all hearts, as upon the strength of his arguments.

Besides, he had taken more pains than even he did in 1611 to prepare the ground. He had, in urgent letters, rekindled the zeal of his friends, and had again obtained for himself all the external tokens of the official protection of the grand-duke. As before, he went down to the ambassador's palace, the villa of the Trinità de' Monti, where now the Academy of France has its seat, and, the day after his arrival, went into the country. What with detailed explanations made in the presence of numerous auditors, keen and lively disputations in which he plainly showed the weakness of his opponents, frequent visits to distinguished personages, brief tractates in which he demonstrated the truth of the Copernican system, he omitted nothing that could influence in his own favor those currents of opinion which judges themselves cannot withstand.

Unfortunately for Galileo, the tribunal of the Inquisition was but little affected by external influences; it imposed laws on opinion, and took no advice from it. The members of the Holy Office, heedless of the steps taken by the illustrious astronomer, and of the ardor with which his ideas were espoused by a portion of Roman society, went on quietly with their work. In examining the letters on the sun-spots, they found therein two propositions worthy of censure. On the 24th of February, 1616, they unanimously pronounced it absurd and heretical to assert that the sun is motionless, and that the earth revolves. The sovereign pontiff immediately ordered Cardinal Bellarmin to summon Galileo, and to have him promise that he would no longer uphold a proposition condemned by the Church. "If he refuses to obey," said the pontifical letter, "the Father Commissary, in the presence of a notary and witnesses, shall enjoin him absolutely to abstain from teaching that doctrine and that opinion, from upholding it or even speaking of it; in case he does not comply, he shall be cast into jail." Accordingly, on the 26th of February, 1616, Cardinal Bellarmin, in the presence of the commissary-general of the Holy Office and two witnesses, invited Galileo to renounce the two condemned propositions. After Bellarmin, the commissary-general again intimated to him, on behalf of the Pope and the entire congregation of the Holy Office, the formal order no longer to uphold, teach, and defend this opinion, whether by writing, by word of mouth, or in any manner whatsoever; if he failed to comply, he was to be prosecuted by the Holy Office. Galileo promised to obey.* On the 5th of March following, the congregation of the Index condemned the work of Copernicus until it should be corrected.

From these authentic facts it results that a certain number of modern historians are deceived themselves, or would deceive us, when they insinuate that the Holy Office meant to condemn, not the system of Copernicus, but Galileo's theological interpretations of it. There was no question whatever about theological interpretations. In neither Copernicus' book, nor in the letters on the sun-spots, is there a word, a single phrase, in which the Holy Scriptures are interpreted. If here and there in his correspondence Galileo, out of respect to religion, endeavored to reconcile the data of science with the text of the Bible, he never published these explanations. It was not upon these private manuscript documents that he was tried; and the only document that furnished a basis for the charge was a printed work, purely scientific in character, and having nothing whatever to do with theology. By no manner of argumentation can the fact be negatived that a tribunal of theologians constituted itself a judge in a question of science, and decided it as an authority decides. The Holy Office did not forbid receiving and teaching the doctrine of Copernicus, on the ground that it was not yet demonstrated, as some of the apologists of the Holy See would have us believe. They would not permit it to be demonstrated; they pronounced it in advance to be "absurd, heretical, contrary to the text of the Scripture." Such is the whole truth about Galileo's first trial, and Domenico Berti sets it forth with much dialectic vigor.

II.

Galileo once reduced to silence by the act of submission to which he had subscribed, the object of the Inquisition was attained. No useless rigor followed the first procedure. Provided that the culprit spoke no more about the motion of the earth, the court of Rome would like nothing better than to make the most of a great mind that for a moment had gone astray, but whose genius and whose scientific fame were intact. After the trial, Galileo remained three months in Rome, and was kindly received by the sovereign pontiff. In fact, the rumor having spread that he had been punished by the Holy Office and obliged to retract and to do penance, he obtained from Cardinal Bellarmin a certificate to the contrary effect. All that was done, said the cardinal, was to forbid him defending or upholding the system of Copernicus. What advantage could it have been to drag Galileo down from the high position he occupied in the world's opinion? It was enough, for the purposes of his judges, if they could shut his mouth.

In this they supposed they had succeeded; but here they failed to take account of the overmastering impulse to propagate truth, which is the very essence of scientific genius. Galileo could neither erase from his mind a belief that rested on a demonstration, nor refuse to employ it in advancing to fresh discoveries, nor abstain from speaking of it with those who consulted him with regard to their own astronomical labors, or took an interest in his. In his retirement at the Belvedere, where, since his return from Rome, he led a more secluded life than ever, he received, as in former times, numerous visits, nearly all prompted by the love of science. He was still the recognized and admired head of the scientific movement in Italy. Why should he not converse about the cardinal proposition of the earth's motion with the young *savants* who came to ask his advice and to receive his instruction? A distinguished Italian narrates how, having spent a few days with him, after the close of his first trial, he heard from Galileo's mouth the exposition of the Copernican system, was converted to his ideas, and himself then converted Campanella to that doctrine.

Hence the submission of Galileo was only apparent. Later he was justly charged with having broken his promise. Still, he avoided compromising himself publicly, and in his first work, *Il Saggiatore*, which is a model of keen, clever irony, he hardly ventured to write anything touching on the system of Copernicus. Presently the election of a new pontiff inspired him with the hope that the court of Rome might relax its rigor. Urban VIII., of the family of Barberini, was a Florentine, a lover of letters, well-disposed toward the Academy of the Lincei, and especially friendly to Galileo, to whom he had addressed, while yet a cardinal, some verses conceived in a vein of eulogy. Galileo went to Rome to see him, had six long audiences with him, was presented by him with a picture, medals, *agnus deis*, and a pension for his son, and doubtless talked with him about the great subject which filled his mind. We can only guess at what was said by the two friends. Some authors assert that Urban VIII. then inclined toward the Copernican system; others, on the contrary, say that he demonstrated to Galileo the impossibility of maintaining the theory of the earth's motion. The truth is, that we know nothing about the matter. Neither the Pope nor the astronomer has given out anything about the nature of their conversations. Perhaps even, as we shall shortly see, they believed that they could agree, while differing from one another widely.

At all events, it seems that, dating from the accession of Urban VIII. to the pontifical throne, Galileo felt more free to touch anew upon the forbidden subject, under a different form. Was this the result of an overweening confidence in the friendship of the sovereign pontiff, of a too favorable interpretation of some friendly speeches, or of the impossibility of being silent while Kepler was speaking boldly outside of Italy, while on Italian soil one was constantly harassed by ignorant opponents, and, though one's hand were full of truths, one durst not open it and rout them? The *Dialogues on the Two Great Systems of the Universe*, which were destined to bring Galileo into so much trouble, show that, in writing them, he stood between the conflicting influences of a strong desire to speak and the fear of compromising himself. He rather insinuates his ideas with true Italian *finesse* than puts them forth boldly. He does not defend the Copernican system, but expounds it. He even takes the precaution of stating, in a preface, the rough draft of which had been sent to him from Rome, that the true aim of his work is to show that in Italy ideas are not condemned unknown, and that nowhere is this delicate matter better understood than in Italy. He carefully avoids drawing conclusions. The personage whom he introduces as the representative of the doctrine of Ptolemy, and as the defender of the belief in the earth's immobility, though clad in the strongest dialectical coat of mail, and though driven to his last ditch by the keen raillery and the copious logic of his interlocutors, replies to them unmoved: "Your arguments are the most ingenious that can be conceived; but I consider them to be neither true nor conclusive." Father Riccardi, Master of the Sacred Palace, whose business it was to examine Galileo's manuscript, suffered himself to be half-way won by these exhibitions of innocence, and gave a permit for the work to be printed, though not without resistance. He afterward protested that he had been deceived by the author, and that some of the conditions on which he had granted the *imprimatur* were not fulfilled. At first it was agreed that the *Dialogues* should be printed at Rome; but at the earnest entreaty of Galileo, leave was granted to have the work done at Florence, where it would involve less trouble and cost to him, and where, above all, he could more easily evade the surveillance of the Sacred Palace. In this negotiation Galileo displayed a fecundity of resource and a force of will that show how important he considered the publication of his work to be. The chief fruit of his address was that he escaped a second revision of the text, which would have been made at Rome had the work been printed there. Galileo chose rather to deal with the inquisitor at Florence, to whom Father Riccardi had delegated his powers, but who, doubtless at the solicitation of the grand-duke, exercised these powers with less rigor than would have been used at the Sacred Palace. We can imagine the wrath manifested by the court of Rome; in fact, despite all its *finesse*, it had been outwitted by an Italian shrewder even than itself, by a fellow-countryman of Machiavelli.

Would Galileo have been so eager for the publication of his work, if he had foreseen the dangers to which he exposed himself by publishing it? The sovereign pontiff, immediately upon receipt of the book, in the beginning of August, 1632, was highly incensed, charged Galileo with having made an unhandsome return for his kindness, and would on the spot have referred the author and the book to the tribunal of the Holy Office, had he not been restrained by the importunities of the ambassador Niccolini, and his fear of offending the Grand-duke of Tuscany. "Galileo," said Urban, "has not acted without deliberation, has not sinned through ignorance; he was perfectly well aware of the difficulties of the case, for I myself have made them clear to him." These expressions of dissatisfaction on the part of the sovereign pontiff would seem to show that, in the interviews of which we have spoken, the two friends had touched on the delicate question of the earth's motion, and that, by a process of self-illusion quite natural under the circumstances, each had supposed he had convinced the other. The Pope was angry at Galileo, as at one in whom he had for a long time mistakenly reposed confidence,—as though a fraud had been practised upon him. This feeling which had broken the bond of their old friendship, explains the harshness with which Urban treated the friend of his youth. Nor had Galileo been less mistaken with regard to the disposition of the Pope's mind. He flattered himself that he should find in him an indulgent judge of his astronomical theories, while in point of fact he was wounding Urban in his most sacred convictions. Had he known that the Pope was so opposed to the system of Copernicus, doubtless he never would have braved the wrath of one whose power was unlimited, or affronted a tribunal from which there was no appeal.

On receipt of the *Dialogues*, Urban instructed a commission to examine the book and report to him. As soon as the report came into his hands, he commanded the inquisitor at Florence to communicate to Galileo a formal summons to appear in October before the commissary-general of the Holy Office in Rome. Galileo, then seventy years of age, and suffering from hernia, asked the authorities to take into consideration his age and his malady, and to dispense him from the journey. The Grand-duke of Tuscany interceded for him. But Urban would listen to nothing. Fearing lest he should be deceived, as he believed he had been before, he would permit no delay. He would not even believe the testimony of three physicians who attested the reality of Galileo's malady; he sent the inquisitor in person to him, with orders to arrest and bring him in irons to Rome, if he was found to be in a condition to bear the journey. Poor Galileo had taken to his bed, and, as was said by one of his friends, "he was more in danger of going to the other world than to Rome." He was not in a condition to be removed until January, 1633. The good offices of the Grand-duke of Tuscany attended him to the presence of his judges, and there the friendship of Niccolini accompanied him,—weak succors these in the face of such power-

*In a work entitled *Galileo Galilei und die Römische Curie* (Stuttgart, 1876), Herr von Gebler disputes the authenticity of the document which states these facts. Berti makes a victorious reply to him.

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ful adversaries. At first the ambassador's palace was appointed as his place of confinement, and he was commanded not to leave it; he went out only in order to submit to the interrogatories proposed to him by the Holy Office.

On the 12th of April he was interrogated for the first time. To begin with, he was asked if he remembered what took place in 1616, when he had to appear before Cardinal Bellarmin and the commissary-general of the Holy Office. Galileo admitted having heard it declared on that day that the system of Copernicus could not be maintained or defended, as being contrary to the Holy Scriptures. "It may be," he added, "that at the same time I myself was forbidden to maintain or defend that opinion; but I do not recollect, it is now so long ago." Whatever may be the interest now taken in a case so bound up with the question of the freedom of thought, it is not easy to believe with Berti that Galileo replied to this first interrogatory with entirely good faith. When a prohibition is issued in terms so formal as those we have given, upon so definite a point, neither the form nor the substance is ever forgotten. Ambiguity was out of the question after Bellarmin's warning, and still more after the solemn injunction of the commissary-general. Domenico Berti is in error with regard to the psychological conditions of memory where he says that it must have been easier for Galileo to recollect the conciliatory words of Cardinal Bellarmin than the threats of the commissary-general. On the contrary, what strikes one most under such circumstances, what impresses itself deepest in the memory, is the threats. How could any one forget words so simple, so clear, so menacing as these: "You are forbidden to maintain this opinion, to teach or to defend it, whether by writing or by word of mouth, or in any other manner whatsoever, else the Holy Office will take information against you!" These last words in particular must have buried themselves like an arrow in the memory of Galileo, nevermore to come out. He knew all too well what he had to fear from the Inquisition ever to forget on what conditions that tribunal agreed to take no further cognizance of him. The silence he kept in public for sixteen years upon the forbidden subject, and even the care he took in his *Dialogues* to give to his thoughts an inoffensive turn, might serve as evidence of the faithfulness of his memory.

The fact is, that the reason of Galileo's taking up his pen again to treat a forbidden subject was not that he had forgotten the formal prohibition. He might have made answer, with great frankness, that, though he had been ordered to hold his peace, yet he had not been convinced, and that, after so many years of silence, the need of proclaiming the truth had more power over him than the fear of disobeying. But it was not for a mind so subtile, nor for a character so wary as that of Galileo, to be tied down to a categorical declaration, and so to shut every portal of escape. He chose rather to use evasions with his judges, to plead extenuating circumstances, to produce the impression that he might have misunderstood, but that he had not acted with evil intent and with his eyes open. Even while undergoing the first interrogatory, he was still in hopes of finding in the sovereign pontiff some remnant of friendship, or, at least, of good-will; and this was another reason why he made an evasive reply, and did not compromise himself by an explicit admission of his offences. He appears to have believed, at this first session, that it would be possible for him to have a private interview with the holy father. Being questioned as to what had been said to him by Cardinal Bellarmin in 1616, he replied that some of the details of their conversation he could intrust only to the ear of the sovereign pontiff. This plainly was a request for an interview with Urban. His judges seemed not to understand him, or, if they carried his words to the holy father, they obtained from him no favorable answer; but, in the course of the trial, it became evident that Galileo could expect neither indulgence nor commiseration from his old friend.

All of Galileo's answers at the first interrogatory present the same character of ambiguity. On being asked whether, before he begged of Father Riccardi license to print his *Dialogues*, he had informed the master of the Sacred Palace of his having previously been forbidden to treat certain subjects, his reply was that he had not mentioned that to Father Riccardi, "for he did not think it necessary to do so, having no scruples, nor having supported or defended in his book the opinion of the earth's motion and the stability of the sun." It is not altogether certain that, by thus altering the truth, Galileo chose the best line of defence; probably a little more of frankness would have served him better. He was simply trifling with his judges and taking them for fools, when he tried to make them believe that, in his *Dialogues*, his purpose had been to demonstrate the "weakness and insufficiency" of Copernicus' arguments. The disguises in which the author clothes his thoughts fail to deceive the thoughtful reader. Throughout the work, the defender of Ptolemy's theory, Simplicio (in whom it has been wrongfully supposed that some of the traits of Urban VIII. may be found), is overthrown by his opponents' arguments, and made an object of ridicule by their irony. Surely, it was imprudent on the part of Galileo to deny the evidence, thus giving to his defence the appearance of double-dealing.

Nor did the resort to this course deceive any one. The three judges who had questioned him, unanimously declared that in his book he had contravened the injunctions of Cardinal Bellarmin, and the decree of the Congregation of the Index. Two of them added that he was gravely suspect of adhering to the doctrine of Copernicus. After the close of his first interrogatory, he was removed to the palace of the Holy Office, and there he occupied a chamber in the sleeping-apartments of the wardens, with an express prohibition of going out without leave. Here he had long and frequent interviews with Father Vincenzo Macolano, commissary of the Holy Office, an educated man of kindly disposition, and a friend of the grand-duke and of the Tuscan ambassador; Father Macolano took it upon himself to warn Galileo of the dangers of the situation, and to aid him with his counsels. First of all, he induced Galileo to submit without reserve, to admit his offences, and to repent. "I made his error patent to him," wrote the father commissary, at the close of one of their interviews; "he clearly saw that he had made a mistake; that in his book he had gone too far; and he expressed to me his regret in words full of feeling, as though he drew comfort from the knowledge of his error, and was thinking of confessing it judicially. He only asked of me a little time to consider how he might best word his confession." Father Macolano then looked for a speedy ending of the trial, and a less severe sentence. "When once we have Galileo's confession," said he, "the reputation of the tribunal will be safe, and the accused can be treated with indulgence." Evidently he expected that the case would not be carried beyond the first stage of inquisition, and that it would terminate by a special form of interrogatory, known as the "interrogatory with regard to the intention."

If things were pushed further than the commissary of the Holy Office either wished or expected, the blame does not rest with the accused, who, once warned, immediately resolved to submit. On being interrogated again on the 30th of April, Galileo confessed that, without meaning it, he had presented too forcibly the arguments in favor of the system of Copernicus, his intention all the while being to refute them, and that thus he might have led the public into error. He declared that he was "ready to refute the opinion of Copernicus by all the most efficacious methods that God might place within his power." These words, no doubt dictated to him by the humanity of the father commissary, had the effect of procuring for him some measure of liberty. That very evening he was sent back to the palace of the Tuscan ambassador, so that there he might receive such care as the state of his health required.

We must not forget that to the humiliation of repudiating his most cherished opinions, of belying his own thoughts, and of seeing himself treated as a criminal after he had, by his labors, done honor to his country and to mankind, were added physical sufferings of the most grievous kind. It is impossible to read without emotion the appeal he addressed to his judges at the end of his written defence: "It remains for me to urge one final consideration; *viz.*, the pitiable state of bodily indisposition to which I have been reduced by incessant mental agony during ten whole months, together with the hardships of a long and tollsome journey, in the most inclement weather, at the age of threescore years and nine. . . . I confide in the mercy and goodness of the most eminent seigniors who are my judges, and I hope that if, in the integrity of their justice, they think that so great sufferings lack anything to make them equal to the punishment that my offences deserve, they will be pleased, at my entreaty, to remit the difference in consideration of the failing strength of my old age, which I humbly commend to them."

Among the hitherto unpublished documents contained in Berti's work there is one that is of the highest importance. This is a summary of the case, giving an enumeration not only of what was decreed but also of what was done. After reading a text so clear and so unambiguous on all points save one, while on that one it agrees perfectly with other authentic documents, we no longer find ground for supposing it was only on paper that Galileo was threatened with the torture, and forced to make abjuration. A decree of the Pope, dated June 16th, ordains that instead of a simple "examination as to intention," such as the commissary of the Holy Office had expected, an interrogatory* should be had with the threat of torture, if the accused could stand it; he is ordered to make abjuration, and condemned to imprisonment according to the good pleasure of the congregation. This decree was not, as has been supposed, a simple declaration designed to sustain the reputation of the tribunal for severity, while the culprit was treated leniently. On the contrary, it was executed literally, as is shown by the agreement of the documents concerning this portion of the trial.

On being interrogated for the last time on the 21st of June, Galileo was ordered to state whether he then held or ever had held the opinion that the sun is the centre of the world and that the earth moves. He humbly replied that ever since the decree of the Congregation of the Index, in 1616, he had always held and still did hold the opinion of Ptolemy to be "most true and unquestionable." This reply not appearing to be satisfactory, the father commissary insisted on knowing the truth, and wound up by declaring that, if the whole truth were not stated, recourse would be had to torture. "I am here in order to obey," replied Galileo, with some show of terror. The text of the sentence shows that he was treated more rigorously yet. "Inasmuch as it appears to us that you have not told the whole truth as touching your intention, we have deemed it necessary to resort to the *examen rigorosum*." Now, in the language of the Inquisition, *examen rigorosum* means just the torture and that alone: it is the law-term approved by jurists, and regularly employed in sentences which condemn the accused to the cruel punishment of the *strappado*. "In case the accused," say the treatises on inquisitorial law, "does not clear himself of the charges, recourse is to be had to the *examen rigorosum*, torture having been devised to supply the want of witnesses." In two manuscripts of the first half of the seventeenth century, both of them relating to the forms of procedure of the Holy Office, the expression *examen rigorosum* is pointed out as the formula to be employed by judges in ordering the application of torture.

From the text of the sentence, from the pontifical decree already quoted, and from the summary of the acts of the trial, we might infer that Galileo was actually subjected to torture, if among the documents we found the official record (*procès-verbal*) of the *examen rigorosum*, as we find the official record of the previous examinations. The rule of the Inquisition was ever the same: the notary or registrar of the Holy Office was present at all interrogatories, and took down carefully the words of the sufferer; all the details of the *examen rigorosum* were recorded in a register, from the first intimation to the accused that he was to be taken to the place of punishment, down to the moment when he was released from the torture. On looking over the records of these dread sessions, we find all the words spoken by the sufferer while his clothes are being taken off and while he is being tied to the instrument of torture; all the replies he makes to his judges, all his pleas; every movement he makes is noted with cold precision; nay, even his sighs, his groans, while under the torture. "He was hoisted by the rope," calmly writes the notary, "and while suspended he would cry out in a loud voice, 'O Lord God, have pity! O Our Lady, help me!' repeating these words again and again. Then he was silent, and having for a little while thus held his peace, he began again to cry out, 'O God, O God!'"

If Galileo had been subjected to this mode of trial, the *procès-verbal* of the proceedings would certainly have been preserved along with the other records of the case. But, then, might not the *examen rigorosum* have taken place in the absence of the registrar; or might not the registrar, though he was present, have omitted to make a record? Both of these suppositions appear to be equally inadmissible, for they are in flat contradiction to all the precedents and all the rules of the tribunal. Neither can we suppose that the agent of the Holy Office suppressed the *procès-verbal* of the torture in order that both he and his principals might escape the indignation of posterity. This were gratuitously to transform an obscure, an irresponsible personage into an humanitarian philosopher who is ages ahead of the thought of his time, and who purposely destroys a sorrowful page of history. The most probable account of what took place would be this: According to all the treatises on inquisitorial law, the commissary was authorized not to inflict torture on aged men, or on persons suffering from disease, who might die under the punishment. The advanced age of Galileo, and his infirmities, aggravated as they were by so much mental suffering, naturally placed him in the category of culprits who were not subjected to torture. If he was spared that dreadful infliction, Berti gives all the credit to the humanity of the father commissary; he even appears to think that, but for the kindly intervention of Father Macolano, the sovereign pontiff and the Congregation of the Holy Office would have given over Galileo to the executioner.

Let us be more fair. It would be a libel on Urban VIII. to represent him as thirsting for the blood and pleased with the sufferings of his old friend. The pontifical decree of June 16th has this important proviso regarding the employment of torture, that it should not be used unless the accused could endure it. When he expressed himself thus, the sovereign pontiff was perfectly well aware that Galileo could not stand such a trial, and he consented beforehand, without needing to be entreated by the commissary, to the omission of the torture. What, indeed, would have been the use of such extreme rigor? Urban did not desire the death of the culprit; he wanted to make certain that Galileo would never more speak or write about the question of the earth's motion; and it was in order to so strike him with terror as to insure his silence that of all the agonies of the trial he saved him only from the last,—the only one that would have been of no use. The Pope was not so cruel as Berti thinks, but neither did he give any sign of that compassion and indulgence toward the accused with which he is too often credited. This point is worth repeating, inasmuch as it is the clearest result of Berti's publication: the various phases of the trial of Galileo were not arranged with a view to theatrical effect, and to make an outward show of great severity, so as to intimidate the adherents of Galileo's doctrine, while, behind the scenes, the culprit was treated with kindness. The threat of torture, the abjuration, the sequestration, were realities, and not, as has been supposed, simply monitions addressed to overbold men of science. At first, the court of Rome did not concern itself so much about impressing the imagination of the public as about striking Galileo. Here was a rebellious subject who had once before been treated with the greatest lenience, but who repaid the indulgence of the Holy Office with the transparent irony of his *Dialogues;* who had set snares for the person appointed to examine his manuscript; who, at his first interrogatory, had made sport of his judges, nay, perhaps of the sovereign pontiff himself; he must now be reduced to silence for good and all, by conducting him, through a series of moral tortures, to the uttermost limits of terror.

At the same time the solemn form of his abjuration was calculated to prevent him from ever again inclining toward the Copernican doctrine. How could he embrace that doctrine again after he had openly pronounced it heretical, and promised, as he was compelled to do, to inform upon all persons suspected of this heresy? His judges, however, were not

*AUTHOR'S NOTE.—We interpret three obscure words in the pontifical decree, *ac si sustinuerit*, in the sense given to them by Berti. Th. Henri Martin gives a different translation, not without good reasons. The matter is one that will bear discussion. It is still undecided, even after the publication of the documents.

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yet satisfied; he was feared even after his abjuration. He was confined at first in the palace of the Archbishop Piccolomini, at Siena, then at his own villa of Arcetri, near Florence, with leave to receive a few visits of relatives and friends, but on condition that several persons should never meet there to hold conversation. It was particularly feared that he would communicate with learned men abroad and in Italy. Father Castelli, his old pupil, in vain begged leave to see him, though he promised not to talk with him about the earth's motion. In order to protect all other Catholic countries against the contagion of his ideas, the Pope dispatched to all apostolic nuncios and to all inquisitors copies of the sentence pronounced on Galileo, and of his act of abjuration. At Florence his chief disciples and friends, especially the professors of mathematics, were summoned by name to listen to the reading of these two documents.

In shutting the mouth of a writer so gifted, so full of resources, so admired by the public, it was hoped that an end was made of the doctrine of Copernicus, —that dangerous doctrine which alarmed the theologians by displacing the centre of the universe, ousting the earth from its primacy and substituting the sun, and opening the way for hypotheses of the plurality of worlds and the end of creation. But the effort was vain. The theory of the earth's motion has survived all condemnations. It was not Galileo, as tradition would have it, that uttered the famous saying, "*Eppur si muove*," but the general voice of mankind who, after his death, thus proclaimed the undying truth of his belief.

Here we will stop. We would not weaken, by any comments of ours, the importance of the documents we have been examining. It is a fixed historical fact that in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Roman congregations, assuming to represent the Church, and not disavowed by her, made themselves the judges of a scientific question, and decided it in a way contrary to the conclusions of science. The splendor of Galileo's genius and the commiseration inspired by his sufferings impress upon this discussion a tragical and popular character; but the emotion produced by his cruel fate must not blind us to the gravity of the problem. The great question was whether, in countries that were then Catholic and destined so to remain, science could free herself from the dominion of faith. The trial of Galileo, so far from retarding this conclusion, as is commonly supposed, on the contrary made it inevitable and urgent. So soon as the court of Rome saw how unwisely she had acted in deciding a question beyond her competence, thus laying herself open to the danger of being the next day convicted of error, it became her interest, no less than the interest of science, to distinguish clearly between the two domains, science and faith. If, nowadays, she avoids entering into scientific controversies, it is because she has been taught by experience that a decision might compromise her. Her authority could hardly stand after a second edition of the sentence in which she once forbade the sun to stand still and the earth to revolve.—*Popular Science Monthly, February*, 1877.

JOSEPH COOK ON GERMAN RATIONALISM.

Persons who depend upon Mr. Cook's lectures for their information about the present condition of religious opinion in Germany are believing that Rationalism is on the wane and that Orthodoxy is fast regaining its lost ground. While he has taken great pains to advance this idea in many of his lectures, in his last he has asserted it more positively and more in detail than before. He says: "I have not asserted that rationalism is driven out of the present life of Germany, or out of the life of the middle classes." Of course, the only fair inference is that rationalism is driven out from the life of the educated and upper classes. We think that Mr. Cook very seriously misrepresents the actual condition of things in Germany, and that the "peasant class," as a whole, are "Evangelical," and all higher classes very generally rationalistic.

While evidence upon this point is easily accessible, we have nowhere seen the evidence so fully stated as it is by Professor Christlieb in his great work on *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*. Until the establishment of the Monday Lectureship this work has been considered the latest and best popular defence of Christianity. Professor Christlieb is quoted by Mr. Cook in this very lecture as one of his authorities, and so his testimony is of the highest value. The first chapter in Christlieb is "On the Breach between Modern Culture and Christianity": 1. Its causes. 2. Its extent. 3. Can it be filled up? Under the head, "The Extent of the Breach," he says (the italics are ours): "A look into our town churches shows at once the estrangement of the *great majority of our educated classes* from the Christian faith. In country places things look far better. There Christianity has a much greater hold upon the mass of the people; but agriculturists do not yet boast of any great degree of culture. But in the towns, whether you visit the lecture-rooms of professors, the council-chambers of the municipality, the barracks of the soldier, or the shop of the artisan, everywhere you hear the same tale. The old faith is now obsolete, and only ignoramuses and hypocrites pretend to adhere to it any longer. But alas! all the factors of our modern intellectual life are largely influenced by a prevailing spirit of unbelief,—save first our universities and schools; whereas among *our theologians* the old spirit of rationalism is in a great measure overcome. It is quite otherwise among the teachers in our upper schools, and so also the semi-cultured teachers in our popular schools. Such being the condition of our grammar schools, who can wonder that few students at the universities, except those studying theology, should go to church? A large class of government officials are for the most part indifferent or hostile to Christianity. A further glance at our modern literature will exhibit the almost abyssmal profundity of the chasm which divides our present culture from our Christianity. Our daily press, in far the largest number of instances, takes up a perfectly indifferent, if not positively hostile, position. Are not all of these signs of the times which exhibit the *present* breach between culture and Christianity as most deplorably deep and wide? It may then, I fear, be affirmed with truth that the *great mass of our educated*, and yet more of our half-educated, classes in this our German fatherland is alienated from all positive Christianity. Our diplomatists, almost without exception, the great majority of officers in the army, our government officials, *lawyers, doctors, teachers of all kinds*, except professed theologians, artists, manufacturers, merchants, and artisans, stand on the basis of a merely rationalistic and nominal Christianity; while the lower middle classes (always excepting the *agriculturists and peasantry*) assume a more or less hostile position toward it. The chasm is wider than most of us would allow."

The above extracts are condensed from seven large pages of Professor Christlieb's book. There could be no better evidence than his. One of the most distinguished of German Evangelical theologians, upon matters of fact within his own knowledge, his testimony is not to be questioned. In view of all this, what shall we think of the candor of Mr. Cook's representations? He must impeach Christlieb's testimony, or let his own stand as contradicted and condemned. H. M. C.

NEWBURYPORT, May 30.

—*Boston Herald.*

FROUDE'S "SHORT STUDIES ON GREAT SUBJECTS."

There is one essay entitled "Divus Cæsar" which, besides being of thrilling interest in itself, possesses particular interest as the ripe result of that spiritual pilgrimage which began when its author laid aside the last of the *Lives of the English Saints* he had written with Newman, parted from him at the Oratory door, and took the bearings of the wilderness before him in the *Nemesis of Faith*. From that time to this—thirty years,—the world has been enabled to judge the light, leading him only by the shadows it outlined on current interests. A growing detestation of Romanism, an increasing aversion to theological omniscients, a dislike of confident philosophical systems, were from time to time traceable. But in this volume, for the first time, we have what may be regarded as the solid ground on which one of the sincerest thinkers and most accomplished writers of our time has come at last to rest. In the "Divus Cæsar" Mr. Froude begins by showing that the great philosophical and theological problems which are now dicussed bore quite as heavily on the minds of men in ancient Greece and Rome as now; and there is not one solution offered now which was not offered then. The human mind has continually taken new departures to search after the evidence of divine existence and of a moral government, and it has invariably come back to the point from which it started, to meet again the stony Sphinx, with its never-answered problem, "If God or gods exist, why is not Nature moral; why do not the good have good things, and the evil have evil things; why does evil exist at all?"

It was known and felt by all men that moral government extended in the world only so far as the power of man extended; that where man did not interfere, Nature was cruel and unmoral.

Hence the greatest men were deified. The successive deification of the Cæsars, the erection of temples to them, the consecration of months to them (July to Julius, August to Augustus), are traced with a masterly hand. When the deification of Augustus is reached we arrive at familiar and presageful elements. Augustus buried the recollections of the Civil War and the assassination of his uncle Julius in general amnesty. His reign was idealized even while he lived. He lived plainly to the verge of asceticism; banished plate from the Court; wore homespun, and brought on a reaction against social corruptions. He bore the title—inherited from his uncle—of Pontifex Maximus, and made the title a reality, revising the canon of Sybilline Books, destroying apocryphal additions, and punctiliously fulfilling religious observances. Under him there came on a revival of religion. All the more because he did not suffer himself to be addressed as Dominus or Lord was he called divine by Horace and other admirers, and was deified as the son of God.

"On public buildings at Ephesus," says Mr. Froude, "he is found, from recently discovered buildings there, to have been described by the singular title *Uios Theon*, 'Son of God.' It is curious to consider that St. Paul must have seen these words there. The idea of sonship was already not unfamiliar. Nevertheless, notwithstanding his modesty, it is certain that throughout the Roman dominions Augustus was regarded, not only as the Son of God, but as an incarnation of God,—a *præsens divus*, a second revelation in the flesh of the reality of the celestial powers; and during his long reign, the harassed peasant, who at last could till his farm and eat his bread in safety, poured libations with unhesitating faith to the divinity of the Emperor. On his death the popular belief received official ratification. In the Fasti he was placed next to Julius. The uncle and nephew became tutelary deities of the fairest months of the year. Legends gathered about his history. He was found to have been born of a virgin. His mother had conceived him in a vision in the Temple of Apollo. The place of his nativity was held sacred. No curious visitor was allowed to intrude there. No one might enter, except to pray. A still more remarkable story was believed in Rome in Suetonius' time, on the authority of Julius Marathus, which it is difficult to suppose was not in some way connected with the Gospel history. A few months before his birth a prodigy was observed, which the augurs interpreted to mean that a child was coming into the world who was to be King of Rome. The Senate passed a vote that no infant born that year should be allowed to live."

Mr. Froude tracks this process of deification from this point onward through its phases of degradation until it sank to the mockery of Caligula beheading the statue of Jupiter, and setting a model of his own in its place; and still lower to Nero, who exhausted the enormities of vice. Then came Vespasian, heralded as having restored a man's disabled hand by means of his spittle, and who tried to restore the temples and altars which Nero had trampled. But, though Vespasian secured to Rome those eighty years which Gibbon thought the happiest mankind had ever experienced, he could not restore the dead gods. "The mythology was made endurable for a time by allegoric interpretation. But belief had become impossible forever. And again the question rose, Where was Providence? What signs could be found of a divine rule? Not in the Emperors. After the experience of Nero, that illusion was no longer possible. The Cæsars themselves required to be explained and accounted for in a universe presided over by moral power." Then came from groups of Galilean peasants and fishermen the reply that held a new life for mankind. In two eloquent pages the author paraphrases what he regards as the teaching of Christ, and the true solution of the problem. It is, so far as it can be condensed, that Christ virtually declared to men the mystery of life lay in their looking for the rewards of virtue and retributions of vice, where they were not to be found,—in the outward world. The moral government is within. The reward of virtue is to be good, not to be prosperous; the penalty of wickedness is to be evil. The divine ruler, he said, "is in the heart. He is in me who now speaks to you. He will be in you if you struggle to obey him and to do his will. To be happy is not the purpose for which you are placed in this world. To that man life has been most kind whose character it has trained most nearly to perfection." Such is Mr. Froude's interpretation of the moral teaching of Christ, which reached the heart of the Roman people and led them to invest him with deification similar to their Emperors, and cast on his shoulders the fable-broidered mantle of their gods. How far the man has been honored since then, and how far the mantle, is a question on which other essays in the book may cast some light. M. D. C.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

GROWTH.

BY MRS. CHARLES E. RIDER.

From out my casement, small and high,
I watch below the surging crowds;
Or, gazing upwards to the sky,
Fancy I'm sailing with the clouds.

But, nearer yet than clouds or men,
Lo, clinging fondly to the eaves,
Are slender branches, which again
Their promise give of tender leaves!

But weeks have passed, till it would seem
These linger in coquettish mood;
Say, feel ye not the sun's warm beam?
For shame to loiter, when thus wooed!

The tiny bird doth build with care
Her nest, where she her young may hide;
But still the branches, long and bare,
Stretch boldly out on every side.

Yet, if across their tops I gaze,
A cheering prospect greets my eyes,—
I'm looking through a tangled maze
Of radiant tints and emerald dyes.

And denser still this maze will grow,
Till cross the street I may not see:
The tardy leaves will come, I know;
At casement soon they'll nod to me.

And the same law, I ween, doth hold
No less o'er mind its potent sway;
Faint seemings may to truths unfold,
And hope to certainty give way.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 9.

W. C. Gannett, 10 cents; W. S. Cunningham, $4.80; Wm. E. Coleman, $1.60; J. L. Swayze, $2.50; W. P. Draper, $10; Eben Turk, $5; Hon. S. T. Douglas, $5; Mrs. C. M. Lawler, $10; J. P. Angier, $5; Chas. Ellershaw, $10; Jas. N. Clark, $3.20; Chas. H. Shepard, $5; Dr. F. Goodyear, $3.20; B. J. Turnbull, $5.20; Jos. Hayes, $3.50; Mrs. A. G. Cook, $3.20; V. H. Seaman, $5.50; Wm. Ellis, $13; Dr. M. Landsberg, $2; Chas. F. Wreaks, $3; Cash, $2; W. H. Sawyer, $2.05; Wm. J. Phillips, $3.75; Mrs. J. A. J. Perkins, $5; C. F. Woode, $1; P. W. Moeller, Treasurer Verein Vorwärts, $20; Joseph Knights, $3.20; Johannis Ellenbaas, $3.20; Mrs. Clara Neyman, $10; Dr. G. W. Topping $1.25; J. L. Whiting, $1.75.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 14, 1877.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, *Editorial Contributors.*

REV. J. M. L. BABCOCK, editor of the *New Age*, has been prostrated by a sudden and severe illness in consequence of overwork. The issue of his journal for June 9 announces that this attack "will necessitate a suspension of the publication till his recovery, or until some satisfactory arrangement can be made." We are extremely sorry that such a misfortune should have overtaken him, and trust that his recovery will be speedy and complete.

FRANCIS MURPHY, the "Christian Temperance" revivalist and ex-rumseller, was invited by the Titusville (Pa.) Temperance Union to lecture in that place. His reply shows what a vile slander it is to say that ladies alone put the pith of their letters into a postscript:—

"With malice toward none, and charity for all."

CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE MEETINGS
OF
FRANCIS MURPHY.

PHILADELPHIA, May 19, 1877.

MY DEAR BROTHER: I will during the month of June deliver twenty (20) lectures, and as your people have expressed a desire to secure my services, I take pleasure in informing you that they may do so by applying at the earliest possible moment, to your Brother in Christ,

FRANCIS MURPHY,
Colonande Hotel, Phil'a.

P.S.—My terms per lecture are ($200) two hundred dollars.

FROM THE Manchester (N. H.) *Daily Union* of June 2, we extract the account of another funeral conducted without the stereotyped formalities, as follows: "Nettie Kessor Little, the wife of George A. Little, who died on Sunday last, was carried to Warren for burial. All the ordinary funeral ceremonies were omitted and no minister was present. At the grave the casket was opened, and William Little, brother of Mr. Little, said that in accordance with the sentiments of the deceased and at the request of the relatives and friends he would say a few words. He stated that Mrs. Little was born in Belmont, N. H., Feb. 21, 1851, and until her marriage, Jan. 1, 1876, always lived in that town and the neighboring village of Laconia. She was amiable in disposition, loved by her family and friends, and respected by all who knew her. After her marriage for a year and a half her home was with her husband at Manchester. During her last sickness she was a great sufferer, yet she bore all patiently and with fortitude. She was anxious to live for the sake of her husband and friends, but often said if she could not recover her health it was better that she should die. She had no fear of death, for she did not believe the creeds and dogmas that make men cowardly of the future,—afraid of the unseen and the unknown. Of a future state she believed that we know nothing whatever. Whence we came and whither we go is an unsolved, and perhaps an unsolvable, problem. All that we can do is to so live that when we come to die we may feel that, if death ends all, we have lived usefully, nobly, and for the improvement and highest good of our fellowmen; and if there should be for us immortality, for which we all hope, that we should be the best possibly fitted to enjoy it. She died May 27, 1877, calmly, peacefully, like one going to sleep. 'And now we bury Nettie here in the bright spring-time, in this beautiful burying-ground; there is none more beautiful in New England. The little brook murmurs near; the rustle of the trees in the wind and the song of the birds are heard. The green hills and the great mountains around us look down on her grave, on which wild-flowers shall grow, and we leave her here, peacefully at rest, knowing that none who have ever lived can be better off than she.'"

TWO LETTERS ON THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD.

BROOKLYN, May 24, 1877.

DEAR ABBOT:—

Thank you for your careful answer to my last note. Your late discussions have awakened a few other questions in my mind which I should like to have you answer; in THE INDEX, if you choose.

It seems to me that, in your plea for a scientific basis for all religious ideas, you discredit the entire religious experience of the race. Do you not? You make it appear that all the religion of the past has been religion upon false pretences. Do you not? At best the beliefs in God, in Immortality, and in the Moral Law have been fortunate guesses so far, seen from your stand-point. Have they not? How can it be otherwise if we must *wait* for science to demonstrate these beliefs? Your own demonstration of the moral law in your lecture upon Darwinism and Morals I greatly admire and heartily accept. But how few have ever gone through the same process of reasoning, or can for some millenia to come! I must confess, I seriously relnct at this idea that the religion of the world so far has been purely hypothetical,—that religion, like the boots my friend had ordered, is "almost about to be commenced." *You* have arrived at God and Morals by a process of scientific reasoning entirely satisfactory to yourself. If you had not, you would be obliged—would you not?—to allow that in your belief about these things you might have been mistaken. Possibly a very earnest man might allow this concerning Immortality; possibly concerning God. But I do not see how any good and earnest man could allow this concerning Morality. Morality must be something more than "a pathetic perhaps" if a man is going to trust his weight to it in any extremity.

I can conceive an answer to my questions from the scientific point of view. Herbert Spencer, in describing the "Genesis of Science," shows that it is "no chicken," but began with human thought; I can conceive that one should say that God and Morals are not at the end of science, but nearer its beginning—that a very little science was sufficient to establish anything so potent. But I am not sure of this. I suspect that the genesis of morals was not intellectual at all, but emotional. And, any way, I can not think you would allow this. You always speak of religious beliefs as if they were still in the future; as if the world must *wait* for science to establish them. Meantime it is "saved by hope." Can you help me any in regard to these perplexities? For I am one the after-glow of whose Transcendentalism irradiates his sky perhaps a little more than the dawn of his Experientialism.

Yours truly, J. W. CHADWICK.

MY DEAR CHADWICK:—

The closing sentence of your frank and thoughtful letter has touched me so deeply that I am impelled to throw overboard for once the stiff editorial "we,"—which is only endurable because it saves the poor editor from erecting in almost every sentence that obtrusive obelisk sacred to egotism, the columnar and toppling "I." You will excuse a little tardiness in this response on account of my recent absence in Ohio, and believe me when I say that the suppressed pathos of that sentence has made it reverberate in my mind all the while like a plaintive echo among the hills.

Although it is my hard fortune to seem insensible to that which makes Transcendentalism so dear to many souls, those who know me well do not think me such. It is my painful duty to warn those who linger too long in its Capuan climate that the decisive campaign demands their presence in other fields—that the imperial cause is at stake on untried plains—that the permanence of the religious convictions which Transcendentalism is content to wreathe with roses of faith must be vindicated in the iron armor of argument. Truth to the heart must be made truth to the head, or it will not long, in these days of keen and victorious analysis, command homage as truth at all. Would that Transcendentalists had *intuition enough* to discern the absolute, inexorable necessity of an intellectual change of base, if they would defend successfully the precious deposit committed to their charge! In the end it might not, nay, will not, matter; but a melancholy defeat of uncertain duration might be escaped, if the leaders of the world's religious thought only possessed insight enough to read the signs of the times, and courage enough to accept, without reserve and without a dangerous delay, all the consequences of that Scientific Naturalism which they have already in part adopted. But I must hasten to answer your questions, and will try to do so clearly and tersely.

"You discredit the entire religious experience of the race. Do you not?" Not in the least. Whatever can rightfully claim the name of experience must be allowed its full and just weight, when treated with the calm, candid, and patient consideration which the scientific method requires. Why, experience is all that this method has to stand upon; it is only hallucinations, unrealities, superstitions, baseless dogmas, false facts, that should be discredited.

"You make it appear that all the religion of the past has been religion upon false pretences. Do you not?" I should be very sorry to make it appear so. That religion and superstition have been drearily intermingled in the past, to the great detriment of the highest human interests, is what no careful student will deny; but the endeavor to separate them by the same method which has evolved chemistry out of alchemy and astronomy out of astrology should certainly not be mistaken for an attempt to prove "all the religion of the past" as either unmixed error or unmitigated hypocrisy. It is not science, but scientism, which despises the past. Nothing that I have ever said or implied can justly be construed as indicating a contempt for the past so groundless and so unscientific.

"At best, the beliefs in God, in Immortality, and in the Moral Law have been fortunate guesses so far, seen from your stand-point. Have they not?" On the Transcendental theory, these three beliefs possess one and the same degree of certainty, and have only one and the same warrant—intuition. By the scientific method, they must be examined each on its own merits. I do not find the evidence equally strong in these three cases. It seems to me feeblest as to Immortality, though very far from being despicable or unimportant; it seems exceedingly strong as to God; while it seems to mount to positive demonstration as to the Moral Law. The strength of my own conviction in each case is proportioned to the apparent strength of the evidence. In each case the belief was originally a guess, like every other human belief; and the "fortunateness" of the guess should be to-day measured by the force of the verified facts brought to confirm it, for I hold no guess to be "fortunate" except so far as it is true. It is the very pith of my religion to seek truth for its own sake, no matter what its bearings on my preconceptions or wishes or hopes. Whoever is more attached to the old religion of implicit faith in established beliefs than to the new religion of conscientious, painstaking, indomitable loyalty to the *true as such*, makes a fatal mistake in toying with free-thought; he plays with fire. But whoever craves knowledge of the universe he dwells in as the only safe guide to a noble and exalted life, and as the highest reward of human exertion, will flinch at no sacrifice to secure it; he may possess an emotional nature of the most exquisite sensibility and even volcanic energy, but will persevere to the end in imposing upon it the law of constant subjection to Reason. In his estimation, it is always "fortunate" to know what is true; and what is true can only be determined by the tried and approved method of science.

Must we "*wait* for science to demonstrate these beliefs?" *Yes*, and *No*. Yes, if you refer to that universal acquiescence which depends on the satisfaction of all individual minds. No, if you refer to the individual mind alone. I cannot help it if long, close, intense, and persistent investigation is necessary to an intelligent conviction on these matters of high moment; nor can I wonder that few are capable of it. But the labor of the enterprise is the measure of the value set upon its results. I would not exchange the calm satisfaction in the conclusions I have reached thus far (though I hold them subject to revision or even reversal by any one who can show that he has thought more or examined deeper than I) for all the ecstatic raptures of the beatific vision. Yet I cheerfully admit that I "may have been mistaken" in all of these conclusions. What have I to fear? I hold these conclusions only because I believe them true; if I am forced to abandon them, it will be only in exchange for others that I shall *then* believe true; and I desire truth alone.

My dear Chadwick, few religionists comprehend the profound delight of having no "axes to grind" in the administration of this vast and mysterious universe—of holding in one's own hand the talisman of spiritual peace, the preservation of the integrity of one's inmost being. There is more humility in the "waiting" attitude, aye, more of noble and lofty pride too, than those can understand who shrink back affrighted

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at the thought of it. It is indeed a great achievement to "possess one's soul in patience." This may not seem very much to possess, if one is inflamed with ambition for external prizes; yet it is the one priceless possession beside which all else is cheaper than the dust of the streets.

"I do not see how any good and earnest man could allow [a doubt] concerning Morality." I have said already that to me the evidence of a Moral Law mounts even to positive demonstration. Yet if any man can prove to me that Morality is a mere illusory idea, and that utilitarian selfishness is the highest rule of conduct, I do not see why I should be disturbed; for he would then substitute a truth for a mistake, and would not that be gain? But no well-read man escapes doubt concerning Morality. If the necessarian theory is true, the words *moral* and *immoral* lose all special significance; yet that theory is stoutly defended by many strong thinkers. Have you always escaped doubts yourself, even on this point? To have no doubts is to have no thoughts, is it not? Perhaps the elephant, which first cautiously tests a bridge before "trusting his weight" to it, may teach us all that doubt is not the paralysis even of moral activity.

Holding as I do that the perception of all relations, moral as well as others, is essentially an intellectual act, and that emotion is always a subjective phenomenon which conveys no objective information, I cannot admit that "the genesis of Morals was not intellectual at all, but emotional," without being driven to admit also that there is no objective validity in moral distinctions. This seems to me the annihilation of the moral idea. Is it not?

The "world" must indeed "wait" for science to establish a new unity of belief on the ground of knowledge, replacing the old and lost unity of belief on the ground of faith. But active minds in all ages have outrun the slow march of the race, and anticipated its achievements. There is nothing to repress this activity to-day, but much to favor it. Once make clear to the forceful intellects of our time the path of future advance, and thousands will press eagerly into it. That is why I am so desirous to point out the inevitable future supremacy of the scientific method. No enthusiast can overstate the importance of the discoveries that will be made, when once the intelligence of civilized mankind looks steadily for religious truth in that direction. "Waiting" is only a fixed and eager gaze at the east when the rising sun begins first to tinge the clouds on the distant horizon. Your own poet-nature will tell you that there is a deep joy in that!

Yours sincerely,

F. E. ABBOT.

ECCLESIASTICAL KIDNAPPING.

Passing recently through one of our city streets, I noticed a number of boys amusing themselves noisily in a game of "tag." "Do you see those curly-headed urchins at the right?" asked a friend; "they are two of Moody's spring lambs."

The lads thus designated were respectively of the ages of twelve and nine. I smiled to think that these innocent little fellows should have been enticed within the Tabernacle, but considered them only as specimens of those unfortunate children, who, instead of being tucked up in bed, or more profitably employed over their studies or domestic sports, were collected nightly a few weeks since by the youthful son and heir of Mr. Sankey, to confess their enormous wickedness in the sight of God, and gush in childish prattle about salvation through Jesus. I even laughed aloud as I was thus reminded of several youthful experiences of my own, in which play and prayer-meetings, gingerbread and Jesus, were curiously mingled. "But, seriously," my friend continued, "these little boys have really become 'lambs of the fold.'" "You do not mean that they have been admitted to the Church?" "They were made members of a prominent Congregational Church in this city last Sunday." "Upon profession of their faith?" "Yes, *upon the profession of their faith* in the dogmas of the Orthodox Church. They now partake of the communion, and are genuine church-members in good and regular standing!" Subsequent inquiry proved this statement to be correct.

Now what are we to think of such an almost incredible act of folly as this? What opinion can we form of a church which will admit into its full membership boys of twelve and nine years of age? Of course, as any sensible person must admit, it is most probable that the religious emotion which these lads have experienced is simply a phase of feeling more transitory even than an attack of the measles, and destined to exert only a passing influence upon the character. But let us suppose that it will be more permanent,—what, pray, is the idea of Christianity which these little boys possess? Certainly no more than this: that they desire to be good and to obey papa and mamma, while they have also a dim notion of being under obligations to Jesus, who is said to have died for them a great many years ago and whom they are taught to call God. But does such a simple sentiment as this make one eligible for church membership? Not at all. It is not under any such profession that these children are admitted to the Church. They have to pass through precisely the same ceremony as the adult convert. "In the presence of God, angels, and this assembly of Christians," they are required solemnly to profess belief in a creed, some of whose tenets are,—the Triunity of the Godhead, the Fall and Total Depravity of man, the Atonement, the Inspiration of the Bible, and the Eternal Punishment of the wicked. Think now of children of twelve and nine years going through the farce of assenting to these stupendous dogmas!

But this is not all. These little boys, scarcely out of their first trowsers, "solemnly promise" that they will "hereafter deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, wherein in times past they have walked," and will "give themselves soul and body, and all that they have, are, or shall be, unto the Lord Jesus Christ to serve him forever," etc., etc. Is it possible that rational beings can seriously receive such vows as these from lads not yet in their teens?

Unfortunately this important step affects not so much their present as their future condition. How will these baby church-members regard this action of theirs ten or fifteen years hence? It is indeed possible that they will grow up within the enclosure of the Church with not a thought of any more extended theological horizon than that by which they are environed in their creed. But this is hardly probable.

Young men are at present investigating the grounds of religious faith as never before, and this spirit of investigation is destined to increase rather than diminish as the years go on. If these lads shall come, in the course of study and reflection, to see the falsity of many of the Orthodox doctrines, and feel at utter mental variance with the creed of their Church, reflect a moment upon their condition. Are they to be blamed because their eyes have been opened? Assuredly not. Or are they culpable because their names are enrolled upon the church-register? By no means. They were led thither like lambs to the shearing in their years of immaturity. But is there any way of escape provided for them except that of a violent rupture of their church relations? None. The Congregational Church proceeds upon the ground that a person once a member of its order can be separated from it in only four ways: namely, by death, by a letter of dismission to another church, by excommunication, or by the erasure of one's name from the roll, if, after a certain length of time his whereabouts have become completely unknown to the church, so that to all intents and purposes he is dead.

Thus no other provision than excommunication is made for those who feel compelled to withdraw from the Church on account of a change of faith. But excommunication is a step which often brings much opprobrium upon the banished one, because the case usually becomes greatly exaggerated and misunderstood in the community. As no worse punishment could be served by the Church upon one who had broken its laws by the commission of gross immoralities, it is not strange that the sincere disbeliever who has been rejected from the Church should be loosely classed among the abandoned and reprobate.

Do those persons, then, who have aided and abetted the ecclesiastical kidnapping of these small boys, realize to what future mental agony and mortification they may have exposed them by their action? I do not use these words lightly. Those who have been through the mental conflict consequent upon a dissolving faith, with its accompanying struggles to be true to vows assumed in infancy, know that the expression is not overdrawn.

To conclude,—those who sincerely believe in the old dogmas of Orthodoxy are entitled to that respect from us which is due to the honest holders of any opinions; but those persons who, knowing the tempestuous state of theological belief at the present day, deliberately choose to swell their ranks by accepting the solemn vows of children, who could not legally assume any binding contracts, deserve the reproach and contempt of the community. It will not do for these saints to roll up their eyes and exclaim, "Jesus said, 'Suffer little children to come unto me.'" Whatever the kind-hearted Galilean may have meant by these words, he certainly did NOT mean by them to require of little children an irrational absurdity; and a *public profession of faith* and the *assumption of most solemn vows* on the part of children of nine and twelve years of age is exactly that and nothing else.

The time may come when these lads will exclaim—as did a distinguished physician recently in my hearing,—"I was grossly deceived by the leaders of the Church into which I was cajoled at an early age, and the step thus ignorantly taken has been a source of pain and discomfort to me all my life."

J. L. STODDARD.

Communications.

A FREETHINKER'S VIEW OF APPLETONS' CYCLOPÆDIA.

EDITOR OF INDEX:—

In THE INDEX of May 24, under the caption of "A Blighted Book," is found an article copied from the Lansing (Michigan) *Republican*. Complaint is made therein that great favor has been shown the Catholic Church in articles relating thereto in Appletons' New American Cyclopædia. It seems that Messrs. Appleton have met with no little trouble to adapt this Cyclopædia to the tastes of Protestants. When I became a subscriber to the new edition the agent handed me two special circulars. The first contained a letter from the editors, Messrs. Ripley and Dana, who, styling themselves "Protestants of the Protestants," replied to the charges made against them of "Jesuitizing" the Cyclopædia. They reiterated the pledge given in the preface that, as far as was consistent with the nature of the case, they would confine themselves to the "historical relation of facts without assuming the functions of advocates or judges." Then followed a justification of the articles "Albigenses," "Massacre of St. Bartholomew's," and "Thomas à Becket." One of the objections made by Protestants was to the effect that Rev. Dr. O'Reilly had written a letter intended to introduce the Cyclopædia to Catholic readers, assuring them that it was correct on Catholic subjects, and that the work was not conducted in a sectarian spirit. The second circular contained a list of fifty Protestant clergymen who were contributors to the Cyclopædia, embracing twelve denominations. Bishop Janes (Methodist Episcopal); Bishops Littlejohn and Williams; the Professors in Rochester Theological Seminary, and Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., followed with recommendations. The latter gentleman, in his enthusiasm, assured the publishers: "Your tone is higher, and God and Christianity crown Nature and history in your pages"! Who will not say, after such frank admission, that this work should be re-christened "Appletons' New Christian Cyclopædia"!

As for confining themselves to "the historical relation of facts without assuming the function of advocates or judges," let the reader examine the summing-up of the article on "Christianity," originally contributed by Rev. Pres. Barnas Sears (Baptist), wherein the astounding declaration is made that "the philosophy of government at the present day is preëminently Christian." Again, that "the theory of human and of social progress differs from ancient theories in having a Christian basis." While many are deploring just the contrary state of affairs, hear this special pleader unblushingly assert that "the literature of the civilized world is more and more a Christian literature"! He again breaks forth: "Christian civilization at this moment, more than ever before, seems destined to spread over all Asia, Africa, and the islands of the great oceans. The paganism of the world is evidently to share the fate of the paganism of the old Roman Empire, to fade away before Christianity, and become a mere matter of history."

Whether the foregoing rose-colored view is from the stand-point of the "judge" or the "advocate," the reader can easily decide for himself. It is easily seen why the Cyclopædia should find no place for "Comparative Theology" or "Comparative Religion." How fairly anything opposing Christianity is treated, may be seen a little farther on in the same article, when, incidentally alluding to the condition of Germany, he says: "That false rationalism which is essentially at variance with Christianity, deistically denying whatever is supernatural, has been already overcome." "Deistically denying" is a strange phrase; the more so, since it has not been deemed worth while to give a separate article under the head of "Deism." The article on "Atheism," found in the edition of 1863, has been entirely omitted in the new edition. A general "toning down" may be observed. While the edition of 1863 called Jefferson an "infidel," the last edition would lead us to believe that he was a Christian of some sort. Of Gerrit Smith it is said: "His originally Orthodox views underwent great changes, but he is said to have finally returned to them." "Is said" can hardly be classed with the "historical relation of facts," as set forth in the preface. Of Garrison it is said that, at the course of lectures delivered in Abner Kneeland's hall, he "took care at the same time to avow his faith in Christianity as the power which alone could break the bonds of the slave." Of Mr. Garrison's later views not a word is said. Obscure clergymen are noticed, while Robert Collyer has been overlooked. Stephen Pearl Andrews has also been omitted. A short article is devoted to George Jacob Holyoake, while so prominent a character as Charles Bradlaugh would seem to have been purposely omitted. Truly, one would suppose from an

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examination of this Cyclopædia that Christianity is a self-evident fact, while Freethought is treated incidentally in its connection, as if it were an aberration of the human mind. One will look in vain for such articles as "Atheism," "Deism," "Theism," "Pantheism," "Modern Skepticism," "Infidelity," "Modern Materialism," "Rationalism," "Biblical Criticism," "Comparative Religion," etc. When biographies of "heretics" are given, it would strike the freethinker that their prominent characteristics have been "suppressed," "toned down," or seemingly exaggerated. In a biographical sketch of O. B. Frothingham, he is made to figure as "one of the principal leaders of the so-called free-religious movement, which has for its object the promotion of rationalist ideas in theology in place of the received doctrine of the Christian Church"!! What a cry arose from the Rev. Talmage, when Prof. Youmans, in the article "Correlation of Forces," said: "Therefore it is now regarded as a fundamental truth of physical science and a fundamental law of Nature that force, like matter, is never created or destroyed." Talmage drew the inference that, if such were the case, an extra-cosmic God was superfluous, and there would be nothing for Him to do. Youmans replied that his summing-up had no theological implications whatever, and that he declined to give an opinion beyond the facts. It is to be regretted that bigotry should have so much control of our educational institutions and literature. I. B.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

No. XII.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

In the last preceding article I attempted the analogical identification of the divine and the human, as to their essential substrate of being. There are the two poles of mental being. The two poles of being itself, in its total existential aggregate, are mind and matter, or inversely matter and mind; at which point this elaboration began, by assuming Mind as the within and Matter as the without. Let us now proceed a step farther, and discover, if so be, the underlying identity of these two as well; not so much in the sense of Spinoza, who posits substance as beneath both matter and mind, calling it God, and affixing both matter and mind to it as foreign and accidental attachments, as in the sense of Hegel, who makes the absolute—his word for the substrate unity (instead of Spinoza's substance)—to be a *process*, involving two opposite aspects,—as if we should say matter and mind, in the closest uniting embrace, while yet they are distinctive or separable *momenta* of the one process.

Let us recur to the illustration of a group of geometrical points, or of material atoms, or to a constellation of stars. We have in each case a body of individuals, who may present themselves to us in either of two ways. They may, in the first instance, appear with sufficient intervening distances to be each distinctly individualized, like a nebula resolved by a powerful telescope; or, secondly, they may be agglomerated, as in the unresolved nebula, and so be massed or matted into one. In the former case, we have the analogue of the idea of individuality, which we may now associate with that aspect of being which we call mind, the disengaged and separate point, atom, or star, pivoting upon its own centre,—self-centre being the peculiar characteristic of mind; in the latter case, we have the analogue of the idea of matter, which even in its etymology means that which is *mat*-ted or *mass*-ed. The nebula is the first appearance of matter, which, as it becomes more and more solidified or massed, obliterates more and more the individuality of the distinct atoms which compose it; that is to say, obliterates or obscures the manifestation of the mind-principle which underlies it, and which we may now say is essentially identical with it, differing only in consequence of a difference of conditions.*

Scientists are rapidly resolving the ultimate atoms, in the constituency of matter, into mere points of force. I believe Judge Stallo astutely combats both ideas, that of indivisible atoms and that of points of force, calling them necessary fictions of the mind merely. So Prof. Brackett calls in question the existence of the great ocean of luminiferous ether; but the prevalent hypotheses on those subjects are such approximations to the truth as we must for the present avail ourselves of, whatever changes of form they may be destined to undergo.

In a word, then, we may assume the ultimate material atom, *itself centred by the finer geometric point of force*, as the type of the primitive constitution of things; and we may (proximately) identify this compound atom with the monad of Leibnitz. Let us also demand for it the character of plurality, or the co-existence of many such monads. *The mere method of that co-existence* will then cause the difference between that manifestation which we call Mind, and that other manifestation which we call Matter.

Let us assume that the inner geometric point of each monad is the type of the individual mind inhabiting a body; that the material atom is the type of the body so inhabited; and that the inner geometric point, what is virtually the point of force, is, at the same time, *a radiating centre*, whose rays permeate the outer atomic corporeal structure, as the nerves of the human body, taking their origin in the brain, permeate the body; and that, like the nerves, these rays *relate* the monad to the other monads within its social environment. In this supposition we have, in the primitive monad, and its compound structure, a perfect prefiguremeut; nay, more, the actual incipiency, in logical evolution, of the individual human being for the single monad; and of human society for the aggregation of monads in question.

The statement is still not sufficiently strong to cover the truth of the case. All the analogies concur, and in their concurrence demonstrate, that this precise type of structure, an outer and grosser body, with an inner and spiritual core, radiating and permeating the other, and relating it to the environment, is the incipient type of being universally, and in particulars; *incipient* we must say, guardedly, for during the infinite variations in the careers of development, the dance of differentiation throws things often into opposite relations, demanding the closest scrutiny in tracing occurrences and their causes.

Hickok (*Rational Psychology*, p. 22) thus epitomizes Leibnitz's theory of primitive monads: "Leibnitz sublimated all being into indivisible atoms, and as thus indistinguishable by any outer. They must be distinguished, each from each, by an inner peculiarity, and which, analogous to mind, is a faculty of representing. Every atom with its inner representation-force was thus a monad; and when representing in unconsciousness is matter; when partially conscious is animal; when in full self-consciousness is human soul; and *the absolute monad* arranges all the representations through a 'preëstablished harmony.'" This statement, *mutatis mutandis*, is the universological conception in question. Leibnitz recognizes a within and a without for each monad, and a system of relations between the within and the without, passing outward and beyond into the environment. The within is mind, or mind-like; the without is body, or body-like; and the connective sphere is radiance-like (rationoïd), or nerve-like, in structure and function. I render this conception more definite by identifying the withoutness of the monad with the physical atom, *as its body;* and this, by analogy, *with the human body;* and so with the body of a sun or planet, and in fine, of any constituted object whatsoever; the withinness of the monad with *the abstract geometrical point* centring the physical atom, being conceptually *finer* than it, and being also the centre of those subtle spiritual forces which *ray out* through the body and into the *vacancy* of the environment.

As new, in point of statement, and more important in some senses, there are also, besides all this, *inherent and necessary* geometrical relationships, existing as between all the monads, and especially as between their geometrical centres, represented, conceptually, by an infinite net-work of straight lines passing from centre to centre, and constituting an infinity of geometrical figures in space (and, by extending the idea, in time also). Each of these figures is different from every other, in all the details of its geometrical constitution, while all are equal in the infinity of their complexity, according to the particular monad which is taken as centre of the particular *schema* of such relationships. This immense complex of inherent relationships is, therefore, the tressel-board of the destinies of all the individual monads,—all destinies being infinitely alike, and yet infinitely different. It is to this *schema* of fated relationships of the monads, and not to anything *within the particular monads*, that we must look for that element of difference or diversity which Leibnitz refers to the withinness of the monads. They are no more differenced from each other internally, as geometrical points, than they are externally, as physical atoms,—rather less so, if a difference in this respect is conceivable. The great ocean of individual minds is as confluent and indiscriminated, at bottom, as the physical atomic parenchyma. The differentiative factor, by preëminence, is the angulation, and so the *ratio*-nal element found in the connective lines which conclude the monads—the web of destiny which fixes their individual peculiarities of character and career.

So, in the next place, and this is still more important, it must be questioned whether the absolute monad, by which is meant the God-entity centring (relationally) and embracing all the other monads, is really and truly that which "arranges all the representations, through a "preëstablished harmony," as Leibnitz puts the case; or whether the preëstablished harmony is something which *is not* ARRANGED *by any* MIND *or* WILL *whatsoever;* a something which *arranges itself;* or rather which *exists inherently and necessarily* in the nature of things—its analogue being the network of geometrical lines which characterize and prescribe the destiny of each individual monad,—the central and absolute monad, as well as all the rest. This, at all events, is the rational as constrasted with the dogmatic conception of the constitution of the universe; and each represents a side of the larger and complex truth. We are again in the presence of the contrast and conflict between logicism and arbitrism in the evolution of thought; or between the secular-philosophical, and the theological idea. Is it true, in other word, that the *will* of God has fundamentally constituted things as they are in the universe, as theology has taught, in which case they are the result of an arbitrary edict;—the monarchic idea; or is there a Nature of Things, and an *inherent necessity* in that nature of things by virtue of which they have been so constituted, through laws of being, as controlling over God as over nature and man? This latter is the democratic and occidental conception, as contrasted with the dictatorial and oriental one. Lucretius, Pope, and Emerson have accustomed us to the idea of allying philosophic thought with a poetic form. I have been prompted to attempt to throw this profoundest of metaphysical speculations into poetical expression, and with the following result:—

MIGHT AND RIGHT.

When a king proclaims a law
Men think only to obey;
When the law proclaims a king,
All men accept his sway.

Which is the first, then, king or law?
The sway of law, or personal awe?
The Constitution of the State,
Or will of sovereign potentate?

This is the problem of State-lore;
'Tis, too, the theologic core;
Is God to reign, alone of might!
Or reigns he under law and right?

Whence, then, God's rank and sovereign lot?
Would wrong be right if God were not?
Is God then first; or law *before*,
And God executor; no more?

The State-craft of *our* happy land
Proclaims *the law supreme;*
Our Asiatic creed *command*—
Exalts!—adverse philosopheme!

The Greek philosopho-theology coincides with and may be placed at the head of occidentalism, in this behalf, in that it put Fate back of Jove, and so subjected gods and men alike to the inherent necessity lodged in the nature of things. Christian theology, changing all this, puts God back of all, and thus unwittingly renders him responsible for evil as well as good. The interposition of the devil as the father of evil does not help the case, as the devil is not, by this system, an independent and co-equal being, as he was in the old Persian theology, but is himself a subject and subordinate of God, who is therefore still responsible for all that he is and does. He is simply an agent of God in the carrying out of his designs, and no number of intermediate agencies relieves in any degree the responsibility of the principles in any transaction. It is a good maxim of the law,—*quod facit per alium, facit per se.*

We can, therefore, in no manner relieve God of the responsibility of evil; in no manner "justify the ways of God to man," otherwise than by restoring or interpolating the old Greek idea of inherency in a nature of things which no arbitrary will, divine or human, can infringe or wholly overbear. It is the merest subterfuge to say: That evil is a means to the attainment of a higher good; for an unlimited omnipotence could as well command and so secure that higher good, without as with the intervention of evil; and hence the presence of evil is purely gratuitous. We must limit either the power or the goodness of God; and it is an over-zealous piety, which by affirming both in an absolute sense involves the divine being in a hopeless dilemma, and makes him an object of hatred rather than of love.

But are we thus brought under the dominion of a perfectly inflexible and absolutely dominant fatalism? I shall show in another article that we are not; that the ultimate philosophy opens a way of escape from that result; and that the fate-side of things, while it must be admitted as one of the factors, is only to be admitted as an equal factor with the will-side of things in the constitution of the universe; and, that, therefore, theology on the one hand, and secular philosophy on the other hand, are reconcilable in the grasp of a larger and complex unity.

*The position of Spinoza makes substance, and that of Schelling the pure reason, and that of Hegel the absolute as logical process—specific differences of the same generic idea—to be the within or inmost of being; mind and matter being, conjointly, the without. All of their views will, at some time, require to be reviewed. At present it will suffice for the reader to remember that our mode of viewing the subject makes mind to be the within and matter the without; and their conjoining identity (whether as substance, reason, or logical process) figures as their betweenity, or middle term. (It is this middle-term-character which makes it *seem* to be the within,—and which, from another point, entitles it to be so regarded.)

JOSEPH COOK'S WESTERN "DOUBLE."

DEAR INDEX:—

The little illustrations you give us of the style in which the Rev. Joseph Cook—the "Elephant"—is treading the "loaferish" Freethinkers of Boston out of sight and hearing beneath the mire of Orthodoxy, through the ostentatious exhibition of his pseudo-science, are certainly refreshing, to say the least. But I wish you Boston people to understand that you do not have all the "harmonizing" done at the Hub. Though not in so ostentatious and "spread-eagle" style as that of his "lectureship," the Rev. Joseph Cook, yet we see, all over the broad prairies of the West, the same spirit and efforts being made to harmonize science and revelation; and, in order to accomplish the end, the operators most sadly mutilate them both. The Christian world sees that science can no longer be ignored, and is now anxious to claim it as its own child, just as it has before done with anti-slavery and temperance. Let me give you a little specimen which lately came under the writer's observation.

Last Sunday morning, the Rev. J. M. Pryse (Presbyterian), in his church service prayer, asked God to *"help us to know the truths of Nature; for, unless we think in harmony with Nature and the laws of the Universe, we think in vain."* Isn't that pretty good? For one, I felt strongly impelled to shout, *Amen.* But being aware that by doing such an unfashionable thing in a staid Presbyterian church, where dignity and propriety reign supreme, might subject me to arrest for disturbing the public worship, I smothered the impulse and kept silent.

After the regular service was through, then came the Sunday-school. The lesson for the day was about Jonah and the whale,—or the *fish*, as was strongly emphasized in the teaching. In reply to the question, asked by one present, whether we are really to understand that a man did or can live three days and three nights in the stomach of a fish, and then come out in a condition to be able to go about his business, Mr. Pryse answered, *"It might be."* Now is it not "thinking in vain" for intelligent, educated men and women to think that such a thing could be? We all very well know that, in accordance with Nature and its laws, if a man were once really deposited in the stomach of a live fish, he must necessarily, in a very few moments, be a dead man. One of the arguments used to prove that he might live there, was that physiologists tell us that the solvent fluid of the stomach does not act on liv-

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ing fibre, and consequently he would not be digested; forgetting, it would seem, that, even though Jonah might pass through the operation of being swallowed without being crushed and killed at once, yet, when once fairly lodged in the fish's stomach, he must suffocate in a few moments for want of air to breathe.

Another argument why "it might be," was from some old theologian—Dick, I think it was,—who had discovered that there is a kind of whale that has a pouch, entered by way of the mouth, in which to carry its young after their birth, the whale being an air-breathing animal; and that Jonah somehow got slipped into this receptacle where he could breathe, it having some kind of a ventilating arrangement. Do the old whalemen down on the sea-coast know anything of such a kind of whale?

If natural and scientific explanations are necessary for the support of such absurd and miraculous stories as the one told of Jonah, or any other miracle, then I think the negro preacher's as good as any. He said, that when Jonah was thrown overboard, he snatched an oar and took it with him; and, when he took in the situation that he was really swallowed, he run his oar out astern and sculled the old fish ashore and then tickled him with a tooth-pick till he let him out. Now I would ask seriously, is the negro's explanation any more ridiculous than the other two I have given you?

Yet this man is not an ignorant man, but an intelligent and highly educated one. He is a learned man; is an inveterate worker after knowledge; is a linguist; is familiar with many languages, and, among them, I am told, he has given much attention to the Sanskrit. He is a reasoner, a logician, a metaphysician. Why, he can take any common, simple, plain thought, such as I can think, and cover it all up with metaphysical reasoning until it is like Burns' "three grains of wheat hid in four bushels of chaff," and will cost more to find it again than it is worth when found. He is an honest man, and evidently means to treat all subjects and everybody's opinions fairly. As a social, kind, benevolent man and companion, I esteem him highly. But it would seem that a theological education is about the most unfortunate thing a man can experience. It seems to take the common-sense with which Nature has endowed him all out of him, when dealing with those subjects which he thinks have a bearing on the religion he has espoused. If men must believe in miracles, then, in the name of the Bible and theology, let them to their hearts' content. I recognize their right. But, for the sake of truth and common-sense, I protest against their doing it in the name of Science, Nature, and the laws of the Universe. So long as they teach the miraculous from the Bible as a divine revelation from God, independent of Nature and its laws, let them make the most they can of it. But when they attempt, as all Christendom is now doing, to force science into the iron shoes of their theology, and hold it in the leading-strings of the priesthood, however honest and good some of them may be, misstating and misinterpreting both Science and Scripture, to make them seem to young and inexperienced minds to agree, then, is it not time for common-sense to make up and state its facts to these minds? Mr. Editor, push ahead your "Scientific Method." It is the only true gospel and glad tidings for man. D. K. B.

LAKE CITY, Minn., May 27.

SUPERSTITIONS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

It was, in substance, a favorite observation of George Fox, the Quaker prophet, that those only can understand the Scriptures who have something of the spirit that gave forth the Scriptures. If such intelligence has its advantages, perhaps those persons have occasion to congratulate themselves who live among people so little accustomed to scientific method as to accept cordially the absurdity of supernaturalism. Such people have no need of elaborate commentaries in order to understand and appreciate accounts of miraculous cures of diseases. To give one or two illustrations:—

A small ulcer that comes on the ball of the eye is called "a Schurzbloder," and is supposed to be removed by a process called "powwowing." The operator grasps with thumb and forefinger a portion of the eyelid over the tumor, and, with a slight pressure and twisting motion, utters to herself, or imagines herself to pronounce, the following incantation:—

"Schurzbloder duck dich,
Oder ich drück dick."

Patients are said to come sometimes quite a number of miles to have the cure performed. The operation is usually repeated once after an interval of an hour.

A more serious complaint, erysipelas, is understood to be cured very much in the same way. The operator holds with thumb and finger of each hand an end of a piece of red thread drawn straight in a horizontal position, and, placing herself at the side of the patient, she brings the thread in contact with the upper part of the forehead, and passes it down in front of the person, making rests to correspond with the pauses in the incantation, which is as follows:—

"Rothe Fade zeich,
Wildfeuer weich,
Rothe Fade sieh,
Wildfeuer flieg.
Flieg! Flieg! Flieg!"

Then the malignant influence or devil which causes the disease is supposed to pass off from the ends of the patient's toes. But, still, in this disease he is likely to return. So the rule is to go through with this operation three times after the sun is down and three times before the sun is up. At the conclusion of every such ceremony the red thread, into which the disease or some portion of it is supposed to have passed, is destroyed by being thrown into the fire. By this treatment the devil is soon worried out, and the patient recovers. The lady who gave the information, being asked whether any medicine was used, said the patient must take a teacupful of dogwood-blossom tea three times a day before eating; if he could not take a teacupful, he might take five tablespoonsful. She said she had cured in this way a good many cases which had been given up by the doctors as hopeless, and that she gathered every spring a bagful of dogwood blossoms for the purpose. The directness of this procedure is assuredly to be commended. Here is no cant or chat addressed to any third person; but the devil that makes the disturbance is directly addressed, and commanded to take his departure.

A young man, who was of sufficient importance in the world to have wife and children, was complaining that one of his children had been sick for a number of weeks, and that the doctors could do nothing for it, and could not tell what the disease was. In this extremity he did not despair, but had recourse to the light of intuition; not that which by rational conjecture of existing law, leads to careful investigation, but to that sublimer species which of course never misleads anybody. He said the doctors did not understand their business; that it was very plain to be seen what the matter was; that the child's heart and liver had grown together, and that, since he had got old Mrs. —— to powwow for it, the child had been a great deal better, and that he had no doubt the child would be cured in a short time in that way.

Possibly there may be persons profane or incredulous enough to deny the reality of these cures. But to prove them there would be no lack of positive testimony of at least honest people, and thus in respect of credibility they have an advantage over any of the miracles of ancient story. C. C.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Pa., May 31, 1877.

INDIAN CIVILIZATION.

The general impression which prevails to a great extent is, that no progress has been made in the civilization of the Indians of the Plains, and that all attempts to induce them to adapt themselves to the peaceful walks of life have proved abortive. The efforts to lead the savage to civilization have not been made under the most favorable conditions. The same power which has placed the well-disposed teacher at an Indian agency has permitted the avaricious trader to follow; and so long as religion and rum are dispensed at the same time as the two blessings of civilization, the Indian will take to the latter. Moreover, it isn't much use to try to tame a savage with good precepts so long as he knows that the agent of the government is swindling him by furnishing him a wretched quality of flour and beef, and robbing him by short weight. But under all the discouraging circumstances arising from the cupidity of the white man and the natural aversion of the Indian to civilizing ways, excellent results have been noted in various localities. Mr. Lyon, one of the Board of Indian Commissioners, in the last report of the Board, which is not yet printed, furnishes the following statistics, showing the condition of two hundred and sixty-six thousand Indians in 1868 compared with their condition eight years later at the time of making the report:—

	1868.	1876.
Houses occupied by Indians	7,476	54,717
Schools on Indian Reservations	111	344
Teachers	184	437
Scholars	4,710	11,327
Church buildings	.....	177
Church members	.....	27,215
Indians wearing citizens' dress	.....	104,818
Acres of land cultivated	54,207	318,194
Wheat raised (bushels)	126,117	463,054
Corn raised (bushels)	467,363	2,229,463
Oats and barley (bushels)	43,976	134,780
Horses and mules owned	43,960	310,042
Cattle owned	42,874	211,306
Sheep owned	2,683	447,295
Swine owned	29,890	214,076

If, under the favorable circumstances of the past eight years, such results have been attained as the above figures indicate, it would seem that extermination is not the only solution of the Indian problem. —*Boston Journal, May 9.*

DISSENT A CAUSE OF POTATO ROT.

The Rev. J. Booth, of March Gibbon, Bicester, sends to the *Bradford Observer* the following, extracted from documents posted in the porch of Ludgershall Church, Bucks, the authenticity of which he vouches for: "Notice.—Leviticus, 26th chapter, and 27th and 28th verses: 'And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me, but walk contrary unto me, then I will walk contrary unto you also in fury; and I, even I, will chastise you seven times for your sins.' Haggai, 1st chapter, 9th verse: 'Ye looked for much, and lo, it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. Why? saith the Lord of hosts. Because of mine house that is waste, and ye run every man unto his own house.' You may look on the potato rot as a just judgment for your unthankful hatred of the Church, without which you would be nothing. There is no luck to such as have evil will at Zion. Consistent dissent is to be respected. Those who believe that the Baptist, or the Wesleyan, or the Independent religion is the best, perhaps do right to follow their persuasion; but no respect whatever is due to the mere pig-headed radical, who cares for none of these opinions, but only dissents to show his hatred of the Established Church. What need is there of jealousy? Our Church is no more established than the Wesleyans are. We get no advantage from the government. The law does us no good, but the contrary. They have left us only the mockery of an establishment without the reality. This we care nothing about; only we protest against the meanness of coming a-begging to us, and then lifting up your head against us. Thousands of the working-classes in London and other great towns have joined together in a union for protecting the High Church and Ritualistic clergy against their enemies, so that your chance is small of bettering yourselves by pulling down the Church. You are outvoted by your own class. Dissent and Methodism have seen their best days. Your love of dissent is only the liking for the sociability of the ale bench,—hale fellows, well met, all brothers together. The public house may as well be opened during divine service as the reading school, if it takes people away from Church. Dissenting baptism, whether valid or not, is no admission into our Church; and there is no good reason why I should be required by law to acknowledge it. In future, if a child die unbaptized, or has had only dissenting baptism, a short service will be read over the grave; but the bell will not be tolled nor the corpse met at the gate. This will prevent the necessity of mocking the Church by bringing children to be christened merely for the sake of burial, and then bringing them up as dissenters. It is proposed to establish a christening club. Five shillings to be deposited in the child's behalf; money to be returned with interest at confirmation or in case the child dies.—T. M." The rector of Ludgershall is the Rev. Thomas Martyn, M.A.—*English paper.*

THE "BLUE-LAWS"—TRUE AND FALSE.

THE TRUE BLUE-LAWS OF CONNECTICUT AND NEW HAVEN, and the False Blue-Laws invented by the Rev. Samuel Peters; to which are added specimens of the laws and judicial proceedings of other Colonies, and some Blue-Laws of England in the reign of James I. Edited by J. Hammond Trumbull. (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Company. 1876. 12mo, pp. 360.)

Whoever feels anger in his heart against New England finds, always ready to his hand, two crushing charges against her, besides the smallness of her territory. These are, that witches were burned at Salem, and that the Blue-Laws of Connecticut forbade a man to kiss his wife on Sunday. The first of these allegations may be left to Dr. Palfrey, Mr. Upham, and Mr. Poole; to the second it may be hoped that Mr. Trumbull has now given the *coup de grâce*. The volume edited by him contains the early codes of Connecticut and New Haven, together with miscellaneous laws, orders, and judgments of both colonies; the whole occupying 250 pages. The first of these is the Connecticut Constitution of 1638-9, which has been called "the first properly American Constitution," the instrument by which the three towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield—which were, if we are not mistaken, original independent political bodies—formed a permanent union. The first fifty pages contain an introduction in two general parts: first, a statement of the popular beliefs, legislation, and judicial proceedings, especially of England, out of which this blue legislation grew; second, a history of the several Blue-Law falsifications, especially that of Mr. Peters, a native of Connecticut, who published in 1781 a mendacious and abusive history of Connecticut, from which are derived most of the absurd fabrications which pass as the Blue-Laws of Connecticut. These forgeries of Peters only occupy eight pages, and are, on the whole, less gross than we had supposed. For Mr. Trumbull's controversial purposes—to show the parallelism of Connecticut legislation with that of other communities,—we have, in notes and at the end of the volume, copious extracts from laws and judgments of New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and England, many of them quite as offensively Puritan—even those of Virginia—as the genuine laws of Connecticut. For instance, the sixteenth of Peters' laws reads: "No priest shall abide in the Dominion: he shall be banished, and suffer death on his return. Priests may be seized by any one without a warrant." A footnote (p. 303) says: "There was nothing like this in the code; but New York had such a law, and *Virginia* forbade any popish priest to remain in the province more than five days after notice, and subjected every popish 'recusant' to a heavy fine on conviction." Again, we find in Virginia (p. 321), for blasphemy or unlawful oaths, on the second offence, "to have a bodkin thrust through his tongue"; for the third offence, death. And in 1623-4 (p. 324): "Whosoever shall absent himself from divine service any Sunday, without an allowable excuse, shall forfeit a pound of tobacco; and he that absenteth himself a month shall forfeit fifty pounds of tobacco." The fact is, the genuine Puritanical legislation of New England was the outgrowth of the spirit of the age; it was here more consistent and thorough, and of longer continuance than elsewhere, but after all not materially different in character.—*N. Y. Nation, May 3.*

LAUGHING TO THE GLORY OF GOD.—In my recent article on the subject of innocent amusements, I insisted that no amusement was innocent that was not sought or engaged in for the glory of God. That an innocent amusement must not be engaged in for the love of amusement, nor because we need amusement, but from a supreme ultimate regard to the glory of God and the interests of his kingdom. That in seeking amusement, as in the performance of every other duty, the eye must be single to the glory of God,—in other words, amusements, to be innocent, must be regarded by us at the time as the best means possible to us of pleasing God and advancing the interests of his kingdom. And they must not only be so regarded by us, but must be engaged in for the purpose, and as the best means to that end possible to us for the time being.—*President C. G. Finney, of Oberlin, in 1872.*

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE RIGHT REVEREND A. CLEVELAND COXE, Episcopal Bishop of Western New York, has published a poem called "The New Crusade," which is worthy only of Peter the Hermit. The New York *Sun* makes it the text of an article on "A Ferocious Bishop" which is worthy of the occasion. Both will be found in this issue.

THE TURKISH PARLIAMENT seems to be a burlesque on the Free Religious Association: "In the Chamber alone there are Mohammedans, Greek Unitarians, Bulgarian Sectarians, Roman Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Armenian Unitarians, Chaldean and Syriac Sectarians, Protestants, Jews, Maronites, and Druses. Among the Deputies, three days per week are sacrificed as Sabbaths: Friday by the Mohammedans, Saturday by the Jews, and Sunday by the others."

THE LEEDS *Mercury* tells a story of petty clerical tyranny which it is difficult to believe possible even in a country where the Church is established by law. It seems that a little girl has been expelled from Boston Spa National School for no other offence than refusing to "curtsey" to the vicar's wife. The girl, who is only seven years old, is under the guardianship of a person who is called a sturdy Independent, he having adopted her; and the story is that this person had told her, while she was to be very particular in obeying all school regulations, not to "curtsey" to the clergyman or his wife. On her being asked by the latter "where her manners were," she assigned the true reason for omitting the usual mark of respect, and the vicar then desired the school-master to punish her, which he refused to do. The master subsequently refused a request made to him to expel the girl, and the vicar thereupon expelled her himself. It is added that the final result of the affair was that the school-master found himself obliged to resign his office, which he had held for twenty years. On doing so he was presented by the parishioners with testimonials to the value of about £80. The Leeds *Mercury's* informant says that there is no other school in the parish to which the little Nonconformist can be sent.

THIS IS what the Cincinnati *Commercial* said lately on the Sunday question now agitated in that city: "The Evangelical gentlemen who are assailing the authorities in respect to Sunday state that they desire for themselves a 'quiet' Sunday, and they protest against the disturbance of public worship. That far they are quite right. As it is a certainty that Sunday will continue to be, for the great multitude of the people of Cincinnati, a day of recreation, the understanding should be established that recreation shall not take the form of public disturbances in the vicinity of the churches. The members of the churches and those in ordinary attendance upon them have precisely as many rights that other people are bound to respect as any other class of persons. We maintain that the citizen who desires to spend his Sunday in drinking beer, keeping time to the blasts of a brass band more or less musical, should not be permitted to interfere with anybody else. We also maintain that the citizen who is contented with milder beverages and with a sermon or two, and is soothed by the majestic voice of an organ, should have protection in his enjoyment, but should not feel it necessary to define the social and religious worship of others; and if they have acquired the conceit that they are entitled to insist that people of European birth should screw themselves into the Puritan notions of Sunday, they are entertaining a delusion of which they should be speedily dispossessed. We must draw the line somewhere on the Sunday question, and we desire to draw it at the point that the people at large shall conduct themselves according to their pleasure, and that good citizens shall take care not to disturb their neighbors or interfere with their observances of the day."

THE *Freie Presse*, of Cincinnati, recently contained the following statement of the German view on the Sunday question: "The agitation of the Sunday question has again actively aroused the gloomy spirit of Know-Nothingism. Last Sunday, in the various churches, the Sunday question was discussed from every possible and impossible side, and it was made plain to pious Christianity that we must have here a proper Mucker Sunday. In this, of course, the Germans, the godless Germans, who on the holy Sabbath would rather drink beer and hear good music than say hypocritical prayers and turn up their eyes, come off badly, and a minister named Ridgaway gave out in his sermon such a malignant Know-Nothing tone that one is involuntarily reminded of the dark days of Know-Nothing excitement. The gentleman strangely thinks that in no country is a certain part of Sunday so strictly observed as in Germany; and as an example, he says that if one in Leipzig should venture to play the piano in his house on Sunday, between eight and nine o'clock, the police would immediately knock at the door and forbid it. Who could have imposed this absurd story on the pious pastor? He has evidently understood imperfectly. The only compulsory observance of Sunday that here and there is still in force in Germany, is that on Sunday morning during the divine service, from nine to eleven, the saloons must be closed. This law is mostly only enforced in villages. In large cities no one troubles himself about it, but that the police should force their way into private houses is absurd. Our Germans here do not ask anything wrong, but base their claims on sound common-sense, and on a liberal comprehension of the Sunday question as it is more and more approved and adopted by the really cultivated and liberal thinking Americans. The Germans on this question are not alone. Let the Muckers be so good as to note that. But all educated persons of a free, cosmopolitan view of life, gave up long ago the puritanical prejudices by which these gentlemen are still surrounded, and will stand on our side. The *Commercial*, which on this question has taken a very sensible position, represents decidedly this liberal American element, and also opposes with its accustomed decision the Know-Nothing views of our pious ministers, especially those of Dr. Ridgaway."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Science in America.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN NEW YORK, NOV. 16, 1876.

BY DR. JOHN W. DRAPER,
PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY.

Scientific Progress in this Country in the last Thirty Years Reviewed—Industrial and Social Changes in Europe—Emancipation of Education from Mediæval Shackles—Condition of American Colleges—What has been done by Scientific Bodies—The Work of American Investigators.

GENTLEMEN, MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE AMERICAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY:—

In accordance with the plan of the American Chemical Society I am called upon to address you this evening. I have to congratulate you on its successful establishment, and its prospect of permanent success. Let us consider some of the reasons which would lead us to expect that success, not only for our own, but also for other kindred societies. The field of Nature is ever widening before us, the harvest is becoming more abundant and tempting, the reapers are more numerous. Each year the produce that is garnered exceeds that of the preceding. In all directions there is good hope for the future. Perhaps, then, you will listen without impatience for a few minutes this evening to one of the laborers who has taken part in the toil of the generation now finishing its work, who looks back not without a sentiment of pride on what that generation has done, who points out to you the duties and rewards that are awaiting you, and welcomes you to your task. Let us look at the prospect before us.

The progress of science among us very largely depends on two elements. First, on our educational establishments. Second, on our scientific societies. To each of these I propose to direct your attention. And first, of our colleges:—

Prof. Silliman, in his address delivered on the occasion of the Centennial of Chemistry, at the grave of Priestley, in commemoration of the discovery of oxygen, makes this remark: "The year 1845 marks the beginning of a new era in the scientific life of America, which is still in active progress; and chemistry has had its full share in this advance." He then enumerates the causes which, in his opinion, had brought about this increased activity. Among them are the Centennial celebration of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia in 1843; the reorganization of the United States Coast Survey in 1845; the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington in 1846; the enlargement of the *American Journal of Science* in the same year; the contemporaneous foundation of the Astronomical Observatory at Cincinnati; the institution of the Analytical Laboratory at Yale College in 1847, and simultaneously the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard. To these he adds especially the establishment of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1848. Coinciding with him fully as to the character and power of these and other local causes which he mentions, I cannot but regard them as being themselves the issues of influences of a much more general kind.

A revolution had been taking place in Europe—a revolution not so much political as industrial or social, though it was followed by political consequences of the most important nature. Its commencements may be seen in the preceding century in the canal engineering of Brindley; in the improvements of iron manufacture; in the construction of all kinds of machinery; which reached its acme when the hand of man was deposed from its office, and, through the slide-rest and planing-machine, engines were made by themselves. Then came the exquisite contrivances for the manufacture of textile fabrics, so that a man could do as much work in a day as he had formerly done in a year, the movement in that direction culminating in the two steam engines, the condenser and non-condenser. The demand for cotton rose, the value of the slave, its cultivator, was enhanced, and the negro question became the paramount political question in the United States. See how scientific discoveries and inventions lead to political results! Herein, among other great events, we find the origin of the American civil war.

In Europe the social effect of the use of steam was strikingly marked. Performing mechanical drudgery, it relieved vast numbers of the laboring class, and gave them time to think. It concentrated them in factories and mills. Those industrial hives were pervaded by literary influences, perhaps not always of a kind that we should approve of. They became the seats of agitation in politics and theology; and, while this was the effect on the laboring mass, the owners or capitalists were accumulating enormous fortunes.

We may excuse the enthusiastic literature of the cotton manufacture its boasting, for man had accomplished works that were nearly godlike. Mr. Baines, writing in 1833, states that "the length of cotton yarn spun in one year was nearly five thousand millions of miles—sufficient to pass round the earth's circumference more than two hundred thousand times, sufficient to reach fifty-one times from the earth to the sun. It would encircle the earth's orbit eight and a half times. The wrought fabrics of cotton, exported in one year would form a girdle for the globe, passing eleven times round the equator, and more than sufficient to form a continuous sheet from the earth to the moon." And let us not forget that, to give commercial value to this vast result, the capital chemical discovery of bleaching by chlorine was essential. Such was the condition of things in England just previously to the epoch in question. Necessarily it was followed by great social results.

But there was something more. The locomotive absolutely revolutionized society. A man could now travel further in an hour than he had previously done in a day. Again it was clear that important political results were occurring. The effect of the railroad was to render nations more homogeneous, to destroy provincialism. It is actually true, that language underwent a change. No one who had remarked the various dialects of the English counties prior to the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and the homogeneousness of speech which is fast displacing them, can be blind to this. Simultaneously a redistribution of the population took place. It was largely withdrawn from the open country, and concentrated in the towns.

CHANGES IN PUBLIC EDUCATION.

In this statement, I am recalling facts so common that they are familiar to us all. We all appreciate the immense social changes that took place just before 1845. Who in those times could fail to perceive that grand consequences must follow the expenditure of thousands of millions of dollars in the building of railroads, who, when he saw the labor of a year shrinking into the compass of a day, the travel of a day into the compass of an hour, the thought of man outstripping the velocity of light—who could be so obtuse as not to discern that a new agency had taken possession of the earth, that it was agitating the nations to their very foundations, that it was ameliorating the lot of man, increasing his power, and dealing remorselessly with old ideas,—the fictions and fallacies of the past?

Can we wonder then that those who were growing up in the midst of these marvels should not only contrast the activity by which they were surrounded with the stagnation of preceding centuries, but should demand to be made acquainted with the power that was thus opening a new world before their eyes? Very soon it became apparent that there was no provision in the existing educational establishments, the Universities and colleges, for this unexpected state of things. These were to be sure good enough to initiate a bench of boys into the method of translating an ode of Horace or a few lines of Sophocles; but something more substantial than that was wanted now.

This was the true cause of that influence which began to be felt in America about 1840. Every reflecting person saw that a change in public education was imperative,—nay, more, was impending. Confronted by the vigor of modern ideas, the system that had come down from the dark ages was seen to have become obsolete.

In addition to these influences, there was another, at which we must for a moment glance. Let me, in a few words, sketch its history.

The peninsula of Italy was separated from the rule of the Greek emperors, in the eighth century, mainly in consequence of the iconoclastic dispute. Partly through the stress of circumstances, and partly as a matter of policy, the Latin language was brought into such prominence that it was supposed to contain all the useful knowledge in the world. In Western Europe at the close of the fourteenth century, Greek was totally forgotten. But when it became clear that Constantinople would be taken by the Turks, many learned men fled to the West, bringing with their language precious classical manuscripts. As it was feared, however, by the dominant authority that knowledge and opinions of an unsuitable kind might thus be introduced, Greek obtained a foothold with much difficulty; and it was only by the aid of Florence, Venice, and other commercial towns of Upper Italy that after a struggle it made good its ground. The Latin had now a successful rival. A century later brings us to the culmination of the Reformation. Its literary issue was an admiration of the language of that much enduring, that immortal race to whom the Old Testament is so largely due. As had been the case with Greek, so now Hebrew passed from a condition of neglect to one of extravagant exaltation. It was believed to have been the original language of the human race, a conviction that proved to be a great stumbling-block to the progress of learning. There were thus three classical languages, each having its own paramount claim.

In 1784, the Royal Asiatic Society was instituted in Bengal. One of its earliest and most important services was, that it brought the Sanskrit language emphatically to the knowledge of Europe. The similarity of this to Latin and Greek, especially in the grammatical forms, struck every one with surprise. At first the old literary party resisted its claims, some of them even affirming that it never had been a spoken tongue, but that it had been fictitiously constructed out of Latin and Greek. The creation of comparative grammar by the great German scholar Bopp, in 1816, threw a flood of light on the subject, and the discovery in 1828 by Hodgson of the Buddhistic sacred writing in Nepaul revealed to astonished Europe a literature of grand antiquity and prodigious extent, in which is contained the religious belief of four hundred millions of men,—ten times the present population of the United States. Greek and Latin had now to descend from the imperial thrones on which they had been seated, and take their places as later and less perfect forms of this wonderful Oriental tongue.

In the higher regions of literature all over Europe these discoveries made a profound impression. It was at once seen by the great scholars of the times that the existing educational system, founded as it so largely was on the languages of the Mediterranean peninsulas, was altogether on an imperfect basis. They saw that philology was about to occupy a higher platform, and that though it might cost a struggle with present interests, a change in public education was necessary. But though these languages have suffered an eclipse, there still remains that priceless heritage which they have transmitted to us—immortal examples in national life, in patriotism, in statesmanship, in jurisprudence, in philosophy, in poetry.

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Still, there remain the ruins of the Parthenon, the relics of those statues which have no rival elsewhere in the world,—embodiments of the beautiful, before which at the risk of being denounced as a Pagan a man might fall down and worship. Still there remains the history of that awful empire which bore sway around the Mediterranean Sea,—an empire to which we owe our civilization, our religious convictions, and even our modes of thought.

I add this great discovery in letters to the scientific and industrial movement I have described as bringing on the epoch of 1840.

Educational institutions are in their nature very much under the influence of the past. They are guided by men of the parting generation, and are essentially conservative. The changes they began to manifest did not originate with them, but were forced upon them from without. They clung to the mediæval as long as they could, and only accepted the modern when they were compelled.

Among American colleges which are emancipating themselves from the mediæval we may number Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, Yale. Doubtless there are many others that would follow the example if they could, but they are fettered with the gyves of sectarian or local restraint. They march along daintily and grotesquely in the pointed shoes of the fourteenth century.

I linger on this subject of colleges because the example of other countries, and especially of Germany, proves to us that on them our hopes for the development of science must very largely rest. The scientific glory of Germany, not inferior in brilliancy to its military glory, is the creation of its university professors. Among them we find the great chemists and physicists, whose works we study with delight.

Our colleges must separate themselves from the mediæval, and assume thoroughly and sincerely the modern cast. Sincerely, I say, for not a few of them indulge in deception. They would have us believe that they teach physics when they have no modern apparatus; chemistry when they have no laboratory; botany without any garden, herbarium, or even drawings; geology, mineralogy, natural history, without any cabinets. So ignorant are some boards of trustees and faculties that they hold such equipments as luxuries easily dispensed with. I have known some go so far as to affirm that as much money ought to be expended in teaching a few boys Latin and Greek as in giving a demonstrative and illustrated course of science, and even to act on that principle. In institutions under this kind of influence you will always find that their whole weight is thrown toward the æsthetic. Whatever college honors there may be, whatever emoluments, pass in that direction; and though through fear of public opinion science cannot be ignored, it is simply tolerated, not cultivated.

ORGANIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC EFFORT.

From our colleges we may in the second place turn to our scientific societies.

I have referred to the period at which the Greek language became cultivated in Western Europe. The first societies were those established in Florence by its admirers. In the Medicean gardens the lovers of Plato assembled to restore, under an Italian sky, the philosophy that had been extinguished in others, and to commemorate by a symposium the birthday of that illustrious man. There is a pleasure in associating with those whose thoughts are congenial to our own in breathing an atmosphere in which the intellectual makes itself felt.

Very soon the example was imitated. Persons who had a love for science followed the example of those who had a love for letters. The *Academia Secretorum Naturæ* was instituted at Naples in 1560, by Baptiste Porta, the inventor of the camera which photographers now so much use; the Lynceon Academy for the Promotion of Natural Philosophy, in 1603; the Royal Society of London, 1645; the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, 1666; the Berlin Academy of Arts and Sciences, in 1700. Leibnitz, the rival of Newton, was its first president.

When the Royal Society of London was founded, it encountered a bitter opposition. Had it not been for the "merry monarch," Charles II., it must have succumbed beneath the fierce maledictions launched against it.

As in Italy, when the opportunity was offered, men of the same inclination of thinking sought each other, so here, to the surprise of the most enthusiastic chemists, when such an association was proposed, persons seeking membership came crowding in. The society I have the honor of addressing this evening was the result. Already it has completely organized itself; already it has published the first number of its "proceedings,"— a publication which I am sure will procure for it approval and respect.

In these organizations of scientific effort an opportunity of assisting is given to those who, not having dedicated themselves to philosophical pursuits, have yet achieved success in other walks of life, and who, recognizing that the progress of civilization very largely depends on the increase of knowledge, may desire to aid in promoting that great result by the application of their means. See what immense benefits have arisen from the money-grants that foreign governments have placed at the disposal of their scientific bodies; see what a stimulus there has been in the award of medals of honor; and if you desire to witness the effect of a well-judged benefaction, look at the Smithsonian Institution. I would not say one word in disparagement of gifts to colleges and universities, for it is indeed a noble purpose; but endowments for the promotion of a knowledge of Nature conferred on scientific societies for the good of all men, no matter what their country or color, no matter what their religious profession or political condition, is still nobler. The one is a local and transitory benefaction; the other an enduring and universal benevolence.

In our own special science, chemistry, all that has been done has only served to extend the boundary of what remains. The thousands of analyses that have been made have brought us into a wilderness of results. We have not been able to rise to a point of view sufficiently high to discover what is the true place of those results in Nature. We try to represent on the pages of our books and on our black-boards formulas of the constitution of things, conscious all the time that these are at the best only convenient fictions, which must necessarily change as we gain a more perfect insight into that grandest of all problems, the distribution of Force in Space, and the variations to which it is liable. The geometry of chemistry is that of three dimensions, not of two. We have to consider the relation of points not situated on one plane, and hence it is necessary to employ three axes of reference; nay, even more; we cannot avoid the conception of the mathematical method of quaternions. Our inadequate information respecting the real grouping of atoms is followed as a necessary consequence by imperfection in our methods of nomenclature, the confusion in this respect becoming, as we all too well know, every day worse and worse.

THE MARVELS OF THE HEAVENS.

And now while we have accomplished only a most imperfect examination of objects that we find on the earth, see how, on a sudden, through the vista that has been opened by the spectroscope, what a prospect lies beyond us in the heavens! I often look at the bright yellow ray emitted from the chromosphere of the sun, by that unknown element, helium, as the astronomers have ventured to call it. It seems trembling with excitement to tell its story,—and how many unseen companions it has. And if this be the case with the sun, what shall we say of the magnificent hosts of the stars? May not every one of them have special elements of its own? Is not each a chemical laboratory in itself? Look at the clusters in the sword-handle of Perseus; in Cassiopeia, a universe of stars on a ground of star dust; so Hercules, of which as astronomers say, no one can look at for the first time through a great telescope without a shout of wonder,—the most superb spectacle that the eye of man can witness! Look at the double stars of which so many are now known, emitting their contrasting rays, garnet, or ruby, or emerald, or sapphire. Each is in accordance with its own special physical conditions, though all are under the same universal ordinance.

Now here a fact of surpassing importance presses itself on our attention. The movements taking place in those distant bodies are taking place under the same laws that prevail here on earth, and in our solar system. The law of gravitation, as developed by Newton, bears sway in all those distant worlds. In them bodies attract each other with forces directly as their masses, and inversely as the squares of their distances. There the laws of the emission, absorption, and transmission of light are the same as they are with us. Their ignited hydrogen gives forth its three rays, the same rays that it gives forth to us. In the uttermost parts of the universe the law of definite combination, the numerical law, and the multiple law, stand good. Sodium absorbs its two waves of definite refrangibility, and iron gives in the spectra its more than a hundred lines, more than a hundred silent but convincing witnesses of the uniformity of the constitution of the universe. There the number of vibrations that constitute a ray of definite refrangibility is the same we have found it to be here. In the enormous heat of those central suns the dissolution of molecules may be of a higher order than we can reach artificially; but the law under which it takes place is a continuation of the law here. There, though the weight of a given mass of matter is different from what it is with us, it is nevertheless determined by the law that determines here,—the law of gravitation. There energy is indestructible, and is measured as it is measured among us, by work. Then is there any boundary that we can assign to natural law? Is it not omnipresent, universal?

Perhaps there is no exaggeration in the assertion—for there seems abundant proof of its truth,—that the light by which we see some of those distant orbs has crossed through such a prodigious space that millions of years have transpired during the journey. Then the phenomena it brings to us are those that were engendered in the beginning of the vast time so passed. Whatever there is that is in harmony with facts now happening here, is to us an unimpeachable evidence that the laws which were governing in those old ages have undergone no depreciation, but are active as ever until now. Then shall I exaggerate if I say that those laws are eternal in duration?

Infinite in influence, eternal in duration, what a magnificent spectacle! In the resistless energy of the motions of the universe is there not omnipotence? The Omnipotent, the Infinite, the Eternal, to what do these attributes belong? Shall a man who stands forth to vindicate the majesty of such laws be blamable in your sight? Rather shall you not with him be overwhelmed with a conception so stupendous? And yet let us not forget that these eternal laws of Nature are only the passing thoughts of God.

LAWS OF MAN'S NERVOUS SYSTEM.

But grand as this is, there is something still grander. There is another temple into which we have to pass, not that of the visible but that of the invisible. We must persist in the invasion we have made, in the revolution we have brought about in psychology. We have to determine the laws which preside in the nervous system of man, and discover the nature of the principle that animates it. Is there not something profoundly impressive in this, that the human mind can look from without upon itself, as one looks at his phantom image in a mirror, and discern its own lineaments and admire its own movements? My own thoughts have of late years been forcibly drawn to this, from a recognition that the interpretation by the mind of impressions from without takes place under mathematical laws; as for instance, that when external ethereal vibrations create in the mind a certain idea, that same idea will arise when the vibrations are doubled, or tripled, or quadrupled in frequency; but other ideas will be engendered by vibrations of an intermediate rate. Yet what these ideas will be may be predicted. It is true that this is only an optical case, but it extends the view that has been offered to us by a study of the structure of the ear. In the labyrinthine compartment of that organ the ultimate fibres of the auditory nerves are laid on the winding plane of the spiral lamina, in ever-decreasing lengths, each capable of trembling to the sound which is in unison with it,—a mechanical action truly, answering to the sympathetic vibration with which the strings of a piano will respond to the corresponding notes of a flute; and these are translated by the mind into all the utterances of articulate speech, all the harmonies of music,—speech that engenders new ideas within us, strains which, though they may die away in the air, live forever in the memory. The exquisite delight we experience in listening to the works of our great composers arises thus in mechanical movements, which are the issue of mathematical combinations. The unseen world is under the influence of number!

But what is number except there be one who numbers? When Pompey, in his Syrian war, broke into the holy of holies at Jerusalem, he expressed, as Tacitus tells us, his astonishment that there was no image of a divinity within; the shrine was silent and empty. And so, though after death we may anatomize and explore the inmost recesses of the brain, the veiled Genius that once presided there has eluded us, and has not left so much as a phantom trace, a shadow of himself.

The experiments of Galvani and Volta have not yet reached their conclusion; those of Faraday and Du Bois Reymond have only yielded a preliminary suggestion as to the nervous force. Excepting the great sympathetic nerve, the nervous fibres themselves are, as is well-known, of two classes: those that gather the impressions of external things and convey them to the nerve centres, and those that transmit the dictates of the will from within outwardly. The capabilities of one of the former—the apparatus for sight—have been greatly improved by various optical contrivances, such as microscopes and telescopes,—an earnest of what may hereafter be done as respects the four other special organs of sense; and as concerns the second class, the result of mental operations, the resolves of the will, may be transmitted with greater velocity than even in the living system itself, and that across vast terrestrial distances, or even beneath the sea. Telegraphic wires are, strictly speaking, continuations of the centrifugal nerves, and we are not without reason for believing that it is the same influence which is active in both cases.

In a scientific point of view, such improvements in the capabilities of the organs for receiving external impressions, such extensions to the distances to which the results of intellectual acts and the dictates of the will may be conveyed, constitute a true development, an evolution, none the less real though it may be of an artificial kind. If we reflect carefully on these things, bearing in mind what is now known of the course of development in the animal series, we shall not fail to remark what a singular interest gathers round these artificial developments,—artificial they can scarcely be called, since they themselves have arisen interiorly. They are the result of intellectual acts. Man has been developing himself. He, so far as the earth is concerned, is becoming omnipresent. The electrical nerves of society are spread to a plexus all over Europe and America; their commissural strands run under the Atlantic and the Pacific.

SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS IN AMERICA.

In many of the addresses that have been made during the past summer, on the Centennial occasion, the shortcomings of the United States in extending the boundaries of scientific knowledge, especially in the physical and chemical departments, have been set forth. "We must acknowledge with shame our inferiority to other people," says one. "We have done nothing," says another. Well, if all this be true, we ought perhaps to look to the condition of our colleges for an explanation. But we must not forget that many of these humiliating accusations are made by persons who are not of authority in the matter; who, because they are ignorant of what has been done, think that nothing has been done. They mistake what is merely a blank in their own information for a blank in reality. In their alacrity to depreciate the merit of their own country, a most unpatriotic alacrity, they would have us confess that for the last century we have been living on the reputation of Franklin and his thunder-rod.

Perhaps, then, we may without vanity recall some facts that may relieve us in a measure from the weight of this heavy accusation. We have sent out expeditions of exploration both to the Arctic and Antarctic seas. We have submitted our own coast to a hydrographic and geodesic survey, not excelled in exactness and extent by any similar works elsewhere. In the accomplishment of this we have been compelled to solve many physical problems of the greatest delicacy and highest importance, and we have done it successfully. The measuring rods with which the three great base lines of Maine, Long Island, Georgia were determined, and their beautiful mechanical appliances, have exacted the

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publicly expressed admiration of some of the greatest European philosophers, and the conduct of that survey their unstinted applause. We have instituted geological surveys of many of our States and much of our territories, and have been rewarded not merely by manifold local benefits, but also by the higher honor of extending very greatly the boundaries of that noble science. At an enormous annual cost we have maintained a meteorological signal system, which I think is not equalled, and certainly is not surpassed, in the world. Should it be said that selfish interests have been mixed up with some of these undertakings, we may demand whether there was any selfishness in the survey of the Dead Sea. Was there any selfishness in that mission that a citizen of New York sent to equatorial Africa for the finding and relief of Livingstone? any in the astronomical expedition to South America? any in that to the valley of the Amazon? Was there any in the sending out of parties for the observation of the total eclipses of the sun? It was by American astronomers that the true character of his corona was first determined. Was there any in the seven expeditions that were dispatched for observing the transit of Venus? Was it not here that the bi-partition of Biela's comet was first detected? here that the eighth satellite of Saturn was discovered? here that the dusky ring of that planet, which had escaped the penetrating eye of Herschel and all the great European astronomers, was first seen? Was it not by an American telescope that the companion of Sirius, the brightest star in the heavens, was revealed, and the mathematical prediction of the cause of his perturbations verified? Was it not by a Yale College professor that the showers of shooting stars were first scientifically discussed, on the occasion of the grand American display of that meteoric phenomenon in 1838? Did we not join in the investigations respecting terrestrial magnetism instituted by European governments at the suggestion of Humboldt, and contribute our quota to the results obtained? Did not the Congress of the United States vote a money-grant to carry into effect the invention of the electric telegraph? Does not the published flora of the United States show that something has been done in botany? Have not very important investigations been made here on the induction of magnetism in iron, the effect of magnetic currents on one another, the translation of quality into intensity, and the converse? Was it not here that the radiations of incandescence were first investigated, the connection of increasing temperature with increasing refrangibility shown, the distribution of light, heat, and chemical activity in the solar spectrum ascertained, and some of the fundamental facts in spectrum analysis developed long before general attention was given to that subject in Europe? Here the first photograph of the moon was taken; here the first of the diffraction spectrums was produced; here the first portraits of the human face were made, —an experiment that has given rise to an important industrial art!

Of our own special science, chemistry, it may truly be affirmed that nowhere are its most advanced ideas, its new conceptions, better understood or more eagerly received. But how useless would it be for me to attempt a description in these few moments of what Prof. Silliman, in the work to which I have already referred, found that he could not include on more than one hundred closely-printed pages, though he proposed merely to give the names of American chemists and the titles of their works. It would be equally useless, and indeed an invidious task, to offer a selection; but this may be said: that among the more prominent memoirs there are many not inferior to the foremost that the chemical literature of Europe can present. How unsatisfactory then is this brief statement I have made of what might be justly claimed for American science! Had it been ten times as long, and far more forcibly offered, it would still have fallen short of completeness. I still should have been open to the accusation of not having done justice to the subject.

Have those who gloat over the shortcomings of American science ever examined the coast survey reports; those of the Naval Observatory, the Smithsonian contributions; those of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Science; those of the American Philosophical Society, the Lyceum of Natural History, and our leading scientific periodicals? Have they ever looked at the numerous reports published by the authority of Congress on geographical, geological, engineering, and other subjects,—reports often in imposing quartos magnificently illustrated?

Not without interest may we explore the origin of the depreciation of which we complain. In other countries it is commonly the case that each claims for itself all that it can, and often more than is its due. Each labors to bring its conspicuous men and its public acts into the most favorable point of view; each goes upon the maxim that a man is usually valued at the value he puts upon himself. But how is it with us? Can an impartial person read without pain the characters which we so often attribute to our most illustrious citizens in political and, what is worse, in social life? Can we complain if strangers accept as at our own depreciation, whether of men or things?

We need not go far to detect the origin of all this, —it is in our political condition. Here wealth, power, preferment—preferment even to the highest position in the nation—are seemingly within the reach of all, and in the internecine struggle that takes place every man is occupied in pushing some other man into the background. I fear that in political life there is no remedy for this,—such is the violence of the competition, so great are the prizes at stake. But in the less turbulent domain of science and letters we may hope for better things. And those who make it their practice to decry the contributions of their own country to the stock of knowledge may perhaps stand rebuked by the expressions that sometimes fall from her generous rivals. How can they read without blushing at their own conduct such declarations as that recently uttered by the great organ of English opinion, the foremost of English journals? The *Times*, which no one will accuse of partiality in this instance, says: "In the natural distribution of subjects, the history of enterprise, discovery, and conquest, and the growth of republics fell to America, and she has dealt nobly with them. In the wider and multifarious provinces of art and science she runs neck and neck with the mother country, and is never left behind!"

ENCOURAGEMENT FOR MEN OF SCIENCE.

There are among us some persons who deprecate science merely through illiterate arrogance; there are some who, incited by superficiality, dislike it; there are some who regard it with an evil eye, because they think it is undermining the placid tranquillity they find in lifelong cherished opinions. There are some who hate it because they fear it, and many because they find that it is in conflict with their interests. But let us who are the servants of science, who have dedicated ourselves to her, take courage. Day by day the number of those who hold her in disfavor is diminishing. We can disregard their misrepresentations and maledictions. Mankind has made the great discovery that she is the long-hoped-for civilizing agent of the world. Let us continue our labor unobtrusively, conscious of the integrity of our motives, conscious of the portentous change which is taking place in the thought of the world, conscious of the irresistible power which is behind us! Let us not return railing for railing, but, above all, let us deliver unflinchingly to others the truths that Nature has delivered to us!

The book of Nature! Shall not we chemists, and all our brother-students, whether they be naturalists, astronomers, mathematicians, geologists, shall we not all humbly and earnestly read it? Nature, the mother of us all, has inscribed her unfading, her eternal record on the canopy of the skies; she has put it all around us on the platform of the earth! No man can tamper with it, no man can interpolate or falsify it for his own ends. She does not command us what to do, nor order us what to think. She only invites us to look around. For those who reject her she has in reserve no revenges, no social ostracism, no *index expurgatorius*, no *auto da fé!* To those who in purity of spirit worship in her heaven-pavilioned temple, she offers her guidance to that cloudy shrine on which truth sits enthroned, "dark with the excess of light"! Thither are repairing, not driven by tyranny, but of their own accord, increasing crowds from all countries of the earth, conscious that whatever their dissensions of opinion may heretofore have been, in her presence they will find intellectual concord and unity.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

AN OPEN LETTER FROM PRESIDENT WHITE.

TO THE ALUMNI AND UNDERGRADUATES OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY:

My dear Friends,—You have doubtless noticed that the old warfare against the Cornell University by sundry denominational newspapers—the organs of various sectarian colleges—has been recently renewed under pretext of certain utterances of Professor Felix Adler, who was lately a non-resident Professor in our institution.

These attacks do not in the least surprise me. When the news reached me of your sweeping victories at the late intercollegiate contests in scholarship at New York,—contests in which for three years past Cornell University has taken far more first prizes than all the other colleges together,—I felt sure that the sectarian organs would renew their old attacks. In the language of one of your own orators, "The sin of Cornell University has been its success,"—and I foresaw that your sins of success during these last years, in athletics at Saratoga and in scholarship at New York, must be atoned for. What the onslaught would be was also evident,—since the attack on you for want of scholarship having failed, the only remaining course was to renew it on your want of religion.

Nor does this renewal of an old welfare alarm me. Every such attack thus far has been followed by an accession of new friends, new gifts, new students. Every such storm has caused us to root ourselves more deeply and brace ourselves more firmly.

I rejoice, then, to have so good an occasion to impress upon you once more a knowledge of the history of which these attacks form a part. To some of you it is mainly old, to some of you new; but it is something that none of us should willingly let die, for it is full of lessons to our own State and to the nation at large. Bear with me, then, if at first I repeat what to many of you is familiar. About ten years since the State of New York found at its disposal a fund, prospectively of considerable size, which, in accordance with the terms imposed by the Congress of the United States, was to be devoted to advanced scientific, industrial, military, and literary instruction. Vigorous attempts were made during four years to divide this fund, but the State Legislature steadily resisted. It decided that this endowment should not be frittered away among some twenty sectarian institutions; it recognized the fact that for primary education the rule is diffusion of resources, but for advanced education concentration; and it therefore decided to keep the fund together in a single institution controlled by laymen, rather than to divide it between a score of institutions controlled by the ecclesiastical authorities of various denominations.

To the institution thus created, Ezra Cornell gave over five hundred thousand dollars to enlarge the scope of its instruction, and various other gentlemen have since given over a million dollars more for building equipments and endowments.

The main purpose of the nation, of the State, and of our honored founder may then be summed up briefly, as follows:—

First: To provide thorough instruction in the sciences bearing upon the great modern industries.

Secondly: To provide various courses of instruction, scientific, classical, and general, suited to the wants not merely of those who have in view the "learned professions," but of those who purpose to embark in "the various professions and pursuits of practical life."

Thirdly: To establish an institution not under the control of any Synod, Conference, Council, Convention, Consistory, or Convocation,—of any one denomination, or combination of denominations.

While the men who framed our charter were, most of them, members of the various religious bodies, and had full respect for these in their legitimate spheres, it was clearly intended, in this case, that there should be complete separation of Church and State, a separation as complete as that in our public school system; hence in our University charter occur such provisions as the following: "No sectarian or political test shall be imposed," and "Persons of every religious sect or of no religious sect shall be equally eligible to all offices and appointments."

This plan alarmed many. Some feared a system which placed education in science on an equality with education in "the classics," and thorough study in modern literatures on an equality with thorough studies in ancient literatures; some denounced the institution as "godless"; some impugned the motives of Mr. Cornell. It was curious to note, however, that all this alarm was confined to the organs of sectarian instruction. Their solicitude for our welfare was most touching.

Before a professor was appointed or a stone laid, attacks began, and from that time to this they have been continued. They have been directed against nearly every lecturer that has been elected, and nearly everything that has been done.

The very first public proceedings at the opening of instruction in the University were followed by an onslaught general and indiscriminate. A few weeks later an attack was made on Professor Agassiz for his lectures before the University. They were declared to be "dangerous" by the same men who, since his death, lament him as a bulwark of Orthodoxy against Materialism.

Shortly after this, when Professor Goldwin Smith came to lecture for us, he also was attacked as "dangerous," though he was a member of a church whose Orthodoxy is undoubted; and when this fact was shown, the assailants answered that "no Professor should be allowed who had written for the *Westminster Review*,"—the simple fact being that the only article Goldwin Smith had written for that *Review* was a reply to a criticism upon one of his own books. The lectures of James Russell Lowell, George William Curtis, and James Anthony Froude fared no better, and Bayard Taylor was handled with especial severity.

The founder of the institution too, Ezra Cornell, than whom no man more unselfish and more truly liberal to Christians of every creed has ever lived, was also attacked by hints, innuendoes, and, at last, by open charges which led to a vindication at the hands of a Commission composed of most respected citizens of the State.

The President of the University had also the honor of being included in the list of the attacked, though he had just been elected to a Professorship in one Orthodox college and to a Trusteeship in another. In the midst of these weightier attacks came some which may be mentioned for their singularity. A pleasant social gathering, composed of students and members of respectable private families, having ended with dancing, the Faculty soon afterward received a formal document denouncing dancing as "dangerous" and as "destructive to vital godliness," signed by representatives of various sects, among them the paid agent of a sectarian college. The impetus thus given to dancing many of you doubtless remember.

Curious has it been to note also some changes of view. Up to the time of your athletic victories at Saratoga, the organs of various denominations generally deplored the lack of physical exercise among students; and we heard much of preparation for our American Olympic Games. But as soon as your representatives began to carry off all the prizes, our denominational friends discovered that such contests are injurious, and that a true ambition should lead, not to triumphs of muscle, but to triumphs of mind. They therefore decided to exhibit the results of their systems at the intercollegiate contest in scholarship and literature; but now that for three years you have carried off twice as many first prizes as all the other colleges together, we begin to hear that those contests are "abnormal."

Still more curious is another phenomenon. I think it is Mark Twain who profoundly philosophizes on the difference in penetrating power between the voice of a boy's father and the voice of his mother, calling attention to the fact that when a mother's voice will not be heard by a boy in the next room and through an open door, a father's voice will be heard by the same boy up three pairs of stairs and through as many closed doors. Akin to this seems the fact that while our friends in charge of the organs of the denominational colleges have always heard with amazing quickness the least rumor to our discredit, they have been stone deaf to news which would appear fit to cheer every Christian heart. When, at the expense of a member of our Faculty, there was fitted up for our University

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Christian Association the most beautiful room, probably, for this purpose, among our American colleges, at an expense of nearly fifteen hundred dollars, the readers of the denominational organs heard nothing of it. When another gentleman erected for us our beautiful chapel, so far as I could learn, few, if any of them, made any record of it. When another gentleman endowed the religious lectureship, which gives us every year one of the most extended and excellent courses of sermons ever known in this country or any other, and from leading divines of the various Christian bodies, the denominational journals did not cheer their readers with the news. When still another gentleman gave the noble organ that adds to the attractions of our Sunday service, not one of its echoes resounded through the columns of the sectarian weeklies.

But, my friends, I do not deprecate anything those journals have or have not done. Some anxious mothers have doubtless been alarmed and some excellent young men prevented from coming; but we have prospered all the more, and several of the largest endowments we have received have been given as a protest in favor of our system and against the attacks upon us. The American people, my friends, is after all very shrewd. When the first attacks were made upon us, Horace Greeley said to me, "Sectarian attacks are the best advertising a new university can have"; and another distinguished journalist said, "Nothing will gain more good-will for an American institution of learning than charges of heresy."

This brings me to the case especially in point,—the most recent of these attacks and its pretext.

It is now three years since the Trustees of Cornell University received letters recommending the appointment of Dr. Felix Adler to a non-resident professorship or lectureship.

Dr. Adler's testimonals certainly did not appear "godless." They showed that, although of Hebrew parentage, he was a graduate of one of our most renowned Christian colleges, and had been blessed with all the safeguards against error which an institution noted for its Orthodoxy could throw around him. These testimonials included the highest commendations of his character and scholarship from Christian divines and professors. Besides these there were testimonials of like import from men of similar standing in the foreign university where Dr. Adler had continued his studies after his graduation in our own country.

The University having no funds applicable to such a purpose, a number of gentlemen in New York, headed by a distinguished Israelite well-known for his public spirit, provided the funds to establish a lectureship for three years at Cornell University, and Dr. Alder was called to lecture on Hebrew and Oriental Literature.

The Trustees embraced the opportunity as an experiment. Mr. Adler's ability was undoubted; his character was, as you have seen, vouched for by some of our most distinguished Christian scholars. Into his religious tenets the laws of the State strictly forbade any inquiry.

The pressure of various duties prevented my hearing more than two or three of Professor Adler's lectures; but these revealed much rare knowledge and great ability in its presentation. They certainly did not reveal any "godlessness" or "atheism." Some time after this I learned that some people were troubled at what they considered the "dangerous tendencies" of his lectures; but as the lectures of Agassiz, Goldwin Smith, Lowell, Bayard Taylor, Curtis, and Froude had all been declared "dangerous," I gave no great attention to the matter.

Later I heard that Dr. Adler was charged with "atheism"; but as that charge has been made against nearly every man who has ever told any new truths, including John Milton and Isaac Newton, and as Dr. Adler was certainly not an "atheist" and disavowed any desire to proselyte students in any direction, and as no student was required to attend his lectures, since they formed part of no regular course, I saw not the slightest occasion for interference save in recommending him to avoid statements likely to be misunderstood.

The three years' term for which he was elected closed by its own limitation last December; and as I understand that he is devoting himself to a new work in our great metropolis, which will doubtless require all his energies and cause him to turn from the field of literature to that of a public teacher, I feel bound to say, no matter what obloquy the statement may bring upon me, that he has my respect for his devotion to study, and for his faithfulness to his convictions. In so far as these recent attacks have had it for their purpose to injure him they will probably signally fail. He can certainly desire no better introduction to the lecture rooms of a people like our own, which is much more attracted than alarmed by the atmosphere of heresy.

While the Trustees of the University will, doubtless, if the professorship be continued, prefer an incumbent who can reside steadily at the University, and who can give his whole attention to the subject—which certainly now demands continuous instruction, uninterrupted by engrossing duties elsewhere,—they will certainly not place any stigma upon Professor Adler in obedience to these attacks.

In the interest of Christianity itself they cannot join in such a crusade. For, my friends, have you thought what a tremendous charge against Christianity is involved in the assumption that any thoughtful statement of the opinions of this man is "dangerous to the Christian religion"?

Here is a University, governed by a body of trustees known and honored in every Christian denomination; conducted by a Faculty of whom a large majority are members of Christian churches; in whose chapel are preached every year over forty sermons by the most distinguished pulpit orators of various Christian denominations; which has at work in it a University Christian Association whose energy is proverbial,—and it is claimed that this one young Israelite delivering a short course of lectures each year to the small body of young men interested in his line of thought and study "endangered Christianity."

Could a worse charge against Christianity be devised? None of you need fear that our Trustees are to be forced into any such practical libel upon their faith. The words of our charter are plain, and even if they were not, our common-sense would tell us that nothing is to be gained by concessions to a sectarian spirit so short-sighted that it virtually instills into the minds of the community the idea that Christianity dares not risk full discussion.

The authorities of our University sincerely desire to live on terms of good-will with all our sister institutions of learning, no matter on what system they are founded. There is work enough for us all, and we shall never send out persons to warn the community against the "dangerous tendencies" of any college or university. Our Trustees will stand by their charter; our Faculty will go on in the future as in the past, steadily raising the standard and perfecting the system of our instruction; our Alumni will, I doubt not, in the important positions which they are beginning to enter, use their influence against injustice to us; and you, my friends, who are as yet undergraduates, will work more and more to develop that character and that culture which have already become the best reward for our toils and the best guarantee for our success.

I remain, faithfully yours,

ANDREW D. WHITE.

{ CASTELLAMARE DI STABIA, Italy,
April 5, 1877.

A CLERICAL SCOUNDREL.

NEW YORK, June 6, 1877.

The reality of New York life very far exceeds its romance. The size of New York gives men a privacy not found elsewhere. The city is silent as the wilderness. Desperate men hide in the by-lanes and pursue their avocations in chambers surrounded by crowds of artisans and with a hum of business around them. Some of the great forgeries of the Old World have been concocted, and the very documents sent out under the nose of our police. Men lead a style of life here which they could not lead in a smaller place.

There are no worse men here than elsewhere in proportion to the population. Things average in morality as they average in everything else. The average runs in business as well as in life insurance. Take a hundred men of any professional calling and there would be the average of good and bad among them. Men often run a long career of immorality and crime, keeping up the same time a fair exterior and a good public repute.

A clergyman was without a charge. He secured the confidence of some of our prominent men, who determined to put him into some position. He was a Scotchman and very fond of "Mountain Dew." Rumors of his weakness reached the city, that were not credited. He was assigned to a very important institution, where personal piety and strict morals were indispensable. Before six months were out he was accused of gross irregularities, of visiting drinking-places and going home from night meetings in a state of gross intoxication. His superiors refused to believe anything against him and kept him at his work. On the strength of his New York position he made the acquaintance of an intelligent lady in the neighborhood and married her. She had a little money in her own right. On the bridal tour to Canada he became beastly drunk. The woman had to send home and get money to return to the city. Still the man was allowed to occupy the chief place in one of the most important and moral institutions in New York.

When the man's conduct became so notorious that it was impossible to keep him in his place, his friends still clung to him. He was assigned to an important down-town charge, whose principal field of labor was among the poor, the lowly, and those who are victims of intemperance. His wife confided her sorrows to a few personal friends. She said that during his connection with that church he seldom came home a night sober. He was so abusive that the woman died of a broken heart within six months after her marriage. Her little earnings laid up before her wedding, were diverted from her aged mother, for whose benefit they had been invested. During all this while the minister continued his work as a leading missionary. He preached, prayed, was eloquent in temperance meeting, was on the platform nearly every night somewhere,—seldom going to bed at night sober. The scandal became so notorious that he was quietly slipped out of the pulpit into an inebriate asylum. After a rest of some months he has again taken the field, and is now engaged as an Evangelist working in a revival, with his former record unchanged. The sound policy of this effort, to force upon the community a man who has not respect enough for himself to keep sober is not apparent. Had prominent men been faithful, his poor wife, who supposed she was marrying an eminent preacher, would not have died of a broken heart, nor would the community be suffering under disgrace through the indorsement of men who stand high in religious life. It's an old English proverb that "One man can steal a horse with impunity, while another is hung for looking over a fence."—*"Burleigh," in the Boston Journal.*

DUTY IS THE love of law; and law is the nature of the Eternal.—*George Eliot.*

CRAZY as George III. was said to have been, there was evidently a method in his madness at times. Speaking to Archbishop Sutton of his large family, he used the expression, "I believe your Grace has better than a dozen?" "No, your Majesty," replied the archbishop, "only eleven." "Well," rejoined the king, "is not that better than a dozen?"

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE SAME OLD KNIFE.

BY OSCAR F. JONES.

The world improves its implements,
But never throws them away;
It adds, and it grinds out the dents
By friction, day by day;
But the new strife
Is about that sacred thing,
The same old knife,
With new handle, blades, and spring.
The old heathen gods of the past
Are not all of them dead,
But coolly nestled at last
In Christianity's bed:—
Though unhonored their lines
And their names be heard not,
The world tinkers the shrines
That the world has forgot.

JUNEAU, Wis., May, 1877.

THE NEW CRUSADE.

BY THE RIGHT REV. A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D.,
BISHOP OF WESTERN NEW YORK.

In the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to His servants, the prophets.—REV. X, 7.

I.

Trump of the Lord—I hear it blow!
Forward the Cross! The world shall know
Jehovah's arm's against the foe.
Down shall the cursed Crescent go!
To arms—to arms!
God wills it so.

II.

God help the Russ! God bless the Czar!
Shame on the swords that trade can mar!
Shame on the laggards, faint and far
That rise not to the holy war.
To arms—to arms!
The Cross our Star.

III.

How long, O Lord!—for thou art just;
Vengeance is Thine—in Thee we trust.
Wake, arm of God, and dash to dust
Those hordes of rapine and of lust.
To arms—to arms!
Wake, swords that rust!

IV.

Forward the Cross! Break clouds of ire!
Break with the thunder and the fire!
To new Crusades let Faith inspire;
Down with the Crescent to the mire!
To arms—to arms,
To vengeance dire!

V.

Forward the Cross! That night recall,
Of ravished maids and wives withal,
With blood that stained Sophia's wall,
When Christians saw the Cross down fall.
To arms—to arms,
Ye nations all!

VI.

To high Stamboul that Cross restore!
Glitter its glories as of yore,
Down with the Turk. From Europe's shore
Drive back the Paynim drunk with gore.
To arms—to arms,
To arms once more!

VII.

Forward the Cross! Uplift that sign!
Joy cometh with its morning shine,
Blossoms the rose and teems the vine;
The olive is its fruit benign.
To arms—to arms!
Come, Peace divine!

—*Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 16.

P. W. Wise, $5; J. A. Stevens, $3.20; Maggie Dickey, $3.20; New England News Co., $16; J. R. Hawley, $3.15; Joel McMillan, $3.40; T. P. Gere, $5; W. E. Lukens, $3.20; Chas. Post, $3.20; Rev. John S. Gilbert, $3.85; T. B. Skinner, 10 cents; Miss Mary C. Shannon, $20; Henry Lantz, $1.25; M. M. Pratt, $2; William Berrian, $16; Henry Pratt, $3.20; John R. Thomas, $2.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 21, 1877.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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THE BROOKLYN *Catholic Review* says of His Lectureship that "Orthodox Boston accepts him with uncritical delight"—the point of which truly penetrating remark is to be found in the adjective.

THE LONDON *Fortnightly Review* is to be republished regularly in this country, in *fac-simile* copies issued almost simultaneously with the originals. Subscription price, $5.50; address Craig & Taylor, Detroit, Michigan.

HERE IS an illustration of the way in which the world is enlightened by Orthodox investigators: "In a lecture lately delivered in Liverpool by Mr. W. Haslam, of London, on 'The Great Pyramid,' it was maintained that the pile was erected under the guidance of Jehovah, and that in its chambers and galleries were clues to all the prophecies; the number of inches in the passages from chamber to chamber corresponding exactly with the number of years between such great occurrences as the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, the passage of the Red Sea, and the birth of Christ. The length of the passage between the point at which the latter event took place, and the next chamber was 1882 inches, indicating the year 1882 as the date of the end of the Christian dispensation."

"THE WORDLESS BOOK" is a tiny publication for the use of Orthodox Sunday-schools, issued by Harry Angell, 410 Fourth Avenue, New York city. As a curiosity, it is worth procuring. On the covers are printed these words: "*Black—Sin.* What God says of man's heart. . . . *Red—Blood.* God's remedy for a black heart. . . . *White—Righteousness.* The white robe Jesus gives to the blood-washed. . . . *Gold—Glory.* Which Jesus shares with the white-robed ones." There are texts of Scripture, which we omit, under each of these four heads. But the inside of the book contains only two pages of unrelieved black, two more of crimson, two more of white, and two more of bright gilding. It is simply an appeal to childish imaginations, condensing Orthodoxy into a visible array of colors made to represent the chief tenets of the "gospel"; and it is probably very successful in impressing the poor little minds for which it is designed. If liberalism were only half as industrious as superstition—!

THE SPRINGFIELD *Republican* of June 8 said: "Mr. Moody and Mr. Cook do not leave Boston as creditably as they began their respective seasons there. The revivalist's sectarian limitations, which his good sense and single purpose have kept in the background, cropt out badly in that bitter attack on the Young Men's Christian Union and the attempt to discipline the Orthodox ministers who have delivered addresses in its popular and useful courses. This sort of thing reacts, and liberal Christianity will not be hurt by Mr. Moody's spleen. The *Christian Register* keenly observes (in substance) that Moody has taught a great many that they ought to live right lives, and they naturally turn where they can learn the way of right living. And the Young Men's Christian Union is the most successful instrumentality of that sort in Boston. Mr. Cook closes this season of the Monday lectureship badly damaged in his reputation for thought and for honesty. He has been discovered to be rather a rhetorician than a reasoner; been detected in warping, falsifying, and almost hypothecating quotations. There can be little doubt but that he has hurt the Tabernacle revival seriously by his fantastic pranks with the old doctrines, which appear considerably more unreal in his new masks and costumes than in their familiar shapes; and he has recruited liberal Christianity, and even free religion, quite as much as Orthodoxy, by his rhapsodies about 'the nature of things.'"

CHILDREN'S FRATERNITIES.

There is probably nothing which stands more in the way of a rapid spread of enlightened ideas on the subject of religion than the fact that so little provision is made for the wise education of children in this respect. Except in a few large cities and towns where societies more or less liberal have been organized, liberal parents find themselves in no small perplexity. If they fully appreciate the importance of protecting their children in season against the seductive influences of an Orthodox environment (and it is to be regretted that they too often fail to be wise on this point), they labor under great disadvantages. Orthodoxy is shrewd; it perfectly comprehends the fact that the future of the churches depends on imbuing the minds of children with the Christian faith betimes; and it makes everywhere great exertions to draw as many children as possible into the charmed circle of church fellowship. It labors assiduously to attract new members by appealing to social sympathies and even selfish interests, and enlists all its active workers in the task of winning all the children it can to become regular attendants at its Sunday-schools. The children of freethinkers are invited by their Orthodox playmates and schoolmates to go with them to the various festivals and entertainments which Orthodox societies provide so liberally for the young; and what wonder is it if the little ones, otherwise unprovided with the social enjoyments which the child-nature so innocently and inevitably craves, are even importunate for leave to accept these invitations? As a result, they insensibly imbibe the opinions and sentiments of their associates; they are taught to look with a certain horror on those of their own homes; and, when they arrive at maturity, they surprise their parents by joining the churches which have quietly intrenched themselves in their young and susceptible affections.

This is no unusual occurrence, and it illustrates the utter unwisdom of exposing our children to the peril of deleterious influences which it would be miraculous if they had the ability to resist. It is not the strength of Orthodoxy itself, as a system of faith and practice, but rather the strength of the social element of the child-nature, acting under unfavorable circumstances, which does the mischief; and nothing will or can effectually remedy the evil until liberals have learned the necessity of organized coöperation in the work of educating their own children wisely. It is not enough to give thorough instruction at home in the principles and facts of religious liberalism, though even this great duty is too often lamentably neglected; such instruction, indispensable as it is, does not minister to the social wants of children, and these impel them to seek certain social gratifications which are perfectly legitimate, and which the Orthodox Sunday-school, with all its drawbacks, really affords. Nothing but a practically efficient substitute for the Orthodox Sunday-school can meet the requirements of the case; and this is impossible without organization among liberal adults.

It is an encouraging circumstance that the pressing want of some such substitute has been felt by not a few liberal people of this country, and that most liberal societies have made efforts to provide one. Perhaps the best planned and most successful of these attempts has been made at Florence, Massachusetts, by the "Free Congregational Society" which not long since erected the noble Cosmian Hall in that place; and Rev. David H. Clark, its resident speaker, would confer a favor on many of our readers, if he could find time to explain the plan and working of its Sunday-school in an editorial contribution to THE INDEX. The following request, contained in a private letter dated May 18, is a sample of many we have received during the past seven or eight years:—

"If it will not be tasking you too much, I should be glad if you could give us some ideas as to the conducting of a Sunday-school or 'Children's Fraternity.' Last Sunday we started a Sunday-school in connection with the Liberal League. Are there any books suitable for text-books for children, etc.? I should think that this would be a good subject for an article in THE INDEX from your pen: 'How to conduct a Liberal Sunday-school for children.' Pardon the suggestion."

We regret that want of experience in the practical administration of a Sunday-school really adapted to the needs of the times will render any suggestions of ours of very little value, particularly with reference to the books that might profitably be used. If any of the readers of THE INDEX have practical hints to offer on this subject, they will be specially welcome, and may prove very useful. The only points on which we wish to venture an opinion are few and simple:—

1. The moral instruction which liberal parents would wish to have imparted to their children can be far better conveyed by free conversation on the affairs of the child's common life than by set lessons of any kind.

2. The books used in groups or classes should be chiefly such as give exact and honest information about the various religions of the world, their so-called sacred books, their history and institutions, etc., with free and candid comparison of their respective merits and demerits; while the books used in general school exercises should be mainly such as appeal to the imagination, the affections, and the noblest sentiments.

3. Social exercises, pleasures, amusements, etc. (such as singing of cheerful and inspiring songs, recitations of poetry, innocent games), should be made more important than any teaching from books.

4. All the members of the school should be to some extent interested and enlisted, if possible, in active work of some kind which aims to benefit others than themselves, and extends beyond their own circle,—involving some self-sacrifice and fostering the growth of a true public spirit.

5. The management of the school (we make this suggestion with diffidence, yet with a strong desire to see it somewhere subjected to the test of a full and fair trial) should be lodged in the hands of the children themselves, who should be made to feel that they are themselves the parties responsible for its success. They should choose their principal officers from among their own members, and should have all the honor and responsibility of conducting their own organization. The teachers or adult heads of groups might very well belong to it as members on the same footing with the children, but it would be wisest for them to act rather as constant advisers than as official managers. The value of this feature of the plan lies in its influence in interesting the children, in making them feel that the Fraternity is their own affair, in training them to do a little business on their own account, in attracting new members and keeping the old members active, etc., etc. The older children would naturally be elected officers, but all would like the novelty and activity of the meetings; and the teachers would probably have little difficulty in guiding matters by their own counsels. At least, the experiment is worth trying.

The "Children's Fraternity" is a part, and a very essential part, of the local Liberal League, as contemplated in the "Form of Constitution" recommended by the directors of the National League. Four Committees of the local League are suggested by this "Form," one of which is a Committee on Social Affairs, whose function it is to "mature measures for holding frequent social assemblies for the benefit of the younger members of the League; and also for regular Sunday meetings of a Children's Fraternity, to promote the moral instruction and social enjoyment of the children." While the objects of the National Liberal League are general only, the objects of the local League are specific as well as general; and nothing should be neglected by the latter which will "promote the welfare of our own members as a local liberal society." Experiment will be better than theory in this matter of providing for the wants of the rising generation of liberals; but there can be no harm in offering suggestions like the above in advance. Incalculable good can be easily done both for parents and children, whenever liberals shall have learned to take a large and serious view of their duties to themselves, their children, and their country. What more useful discussion could be had in THE INDEX than one upon this subject of Children's Fraternities, or liberal Sunday-schools? If the many who are interested in it choose to do so, they can both impart and receive light; and we cordially offer these columns for a purpose so important to the liberal cause.

"ECRASEZ L' INFAME."

Mr. Parton recently sent the following incisive note to one of the Boston dailies:—

Rev. Mr. Cook vs. Voltaire.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER:—

Mr. Joseph Cook, in the report of his Monday lecture, quotes from Voltaire the words: "*Ecrasez l' Infâme,*" which he translates thus: "Crush out the infamous one,—that is, Christ." Mr. Cook mistranslates. The words mean, "Crush the infamous *thing*"; *i. e.*, the spirit of intolerant fanaticism, which made religion a blight to France. Voltaire uses the expression hundreds of times in his letters (from 1760 to 1775), and always in this sense. He meant the spirit that broke the Protestant Calas on the wheel, that caused the massacre of St. Bartholomew, that expelled the Huguenots, and put into the

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Bastile almost every Frenchman of that generation who helped enlighten it. He meant the spirit that occasionally animates the discourses of Joseph Cook. It is because Voltaire has lived that Mr. Cook cannot dig up the honored bones of Theodore Parker and hang them in chains.

Respectfully yours, JAMES PARTON.

In connection with Mr. Parton's note, we quote as follows from the *Critical History of Free Thought*, by Rev. A. S. Farrar, Bampton Lecturer for the year 1862:—

"*Ecrasez l' Infâme*" are the words the initials of which, signed at the end of his letters to infidel friends, baffled the French police. Buckle considers them to have been designed against the French Church, but offers no proof. It is to be feared that they were rather intended against the Christian religion, if not against the sacred person of our blessed Lord.

It is to be noticed that the Orthodox Mr. Farrar, though evidently inclined (without close examination) to construe the words of Voltaire in their worst light, is honest and "scholarly" enough to admit a doubt as to their real meaning.

But even the Orthodox Henry Rogers, author of the famous *Eclipse of Faith*, wrote on the subject in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as follows, with a candor that does honor to Orthodox literature, and with a conclusiveness that will leave little doubt in honest minds that Joseph Cook misrepresented Voltaire to his credulous audience in a very discreditable manner:—

The habitual profanity of Voltaire has led to one charge against him which, it is due to justice to say, is very doubtful. He has often been accused of applying the well-known expression "*écrasez l' infâme*" (usually in his printed letters contracted into "*écrasez l' inf.*," or more briefly still, "*écr. l' inf.*") to the Savior. There is, however, reason to believe that this offensive application was not designed. The first, so far as we are aware, who undertook to defend him from this charge was Professor De Morgan, in his interesting sketch of D'Alembert, inserted some years ago in a biographical dictionary [*Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, vol. i., p. 812] which, unfortunately for literature, was discontinued after the publication of a few volumes. The phrase occurs in Voltaire's letters to D'Alembert, and also in D'Alembert's letters to him. De Morgan urges that the feminine forms of the articles and pronouns with which it is construed, the nature of the context, and Voltaire's known abhorrence of the ecclesiastical system of his times, justify the supposition that it was to the actually existing Church of France as seen before his eyes, with all its cruelties, hypocrisy, and corruption, that he applies this opprobrious expression. The interpretation seems to us the most probable, and is certainly the most charitable, one. Professor De Morgan only adduces three instances of the phrase, all occurring in the correspondence between Voltaire and D'Alembert. The phrase is, however, of very frequent occurrence, not only there, but in the correspondence with Frederick of Prussia and others, and especially in the letters to M. Damilaville. We have examined very many more instances, and, in all, the examination of the context and the grammatical construction tends to bear out Professor De Morgan's interpretation, or at least elicits nothing that contradicts it. The feminine forms of articles, pronouns, and adjectives, are constantly construed with it; as *cette, inconnue*, etc.

It is also observable that the phrase occurs principally, if not exclusively, in the letters written *after* the proceedings in connection with Calas and other victims of ecclesiastical oppression had so inflamed the ire of Voltaire. This synchronism is not insignificant. Though Voltaire principally meant the Church of France, it is very obvious, from numberless passages, that he would not have been at all sorry if the "destruction" he so passionately desires had extended to the Christian Church in general. He evidently was not particular, nor at all inclined to divorce what his imagination had married—the Christian religion and superstition. Still one would willingly absolve him from the opprobrium of using the above words in the gratuitously offensive sense so often imputed to them.

It is of course unnecessary to add that liberal scholars (*e. g.*, Mr. John Morley, editor of the London *Fortnightly Review*, in his very instructive volume entitled *Voltaire*) take the same view of the phrase. What we have quoted above is the language of Orthodox scholars of acknowledged standing. The fact, pointed out by Professor De Morgan and honestly admitted by Mr. Rogers, that the words "*l' infâme*" are always construed with *feminine* articles, pronouns, and adjectives, whereas these would be necessarily and invariably *masculine* if they referred to Jesus, is absolutely conclusive on the point at issue. If Mr. Cook is ignorant of this fact, his characteristic declaration that "there is no scholarly scepticism in Boston" is even more amusing than it is petulant and conceited. But if, knowing the fact, he nevertheless chooses for purposes of vulgar abuse to suppress it, he may be left to enjoy an unenvied monopoly of the very peculiar style of honesty with which he adorns the Monday lectureship.

PROFESSOR ADLER.

The New York *Daily Graphic* of May 15 published the following account of Professor Adler's new society:—

The annual meeting of the Society for Ethical Culture was held last evening in Standard Hall, Forty-second Street and Broadway. A numerous and enthusiastic audience was present. The report submitted showed a membership of two hundred and thirty-four, exclusive of subscribers. The receipts for the past year amounted to over $4,000; the disbursements about equalled the receipts. The expenses of the choir and rent consumed about $3,500. Professor Adler received only $500. The society begins its second year under very encouraging auspices. The subscriptions already amount to $6,700, and it is anticipated that the amount will be largely increased. The Trustees were authorized to procure a larger hall for the Sunday meetings, as Standard Hall was found to be totally inadequate to accommodate the rapidly increasing number of those attracted by the movement.

Professor Adler made a personal statement in regard to a letter by President White, of Cornell University, published a few days ago, in which the course of Professor Adler was highly commended. Touching his Professorship at Cornell University, he said the design of Mr. Ezra Cornell and President White was to found and direct a university in this country modelled after the celebrated University of Berlin, in which it was well known the utmost liberty of opinion was permitted without question among the professors of that institution. In order to emphasize the spirit of freedom which it was intended should be the distinguishing characteristic of Cornell University, the Chair of Hebrew and Oriental Literature was founded, and he was appointed to occupy it. No sooner did his opinions become known than a spirit of intolerance manifested itself, amounting in many instances to persecution. It is, said the Professor, a matter for extreme regret, that in this country, dedicated to freedom, so many are found who display a narrowness and intolerance toward freedom of opinion which places us in disagreeable contrast with even despotic governments. In a monarchical government like Prussia, almost absolute in its form and spirit, it is well known that many of the professors in the Berlin University hold the most anti-theological views in religion and the most extreme republican opinions in politics, and yet neither the government or the people manifest the slightest opposition; yet his public expression of his opinions and convictions had roused a storm of opposition toward Cornell University which seriously threatened it, and it was this spirit that forced upon him the propriety of resigning his professorship in that institution.

The "Open Letter" of President White (for a copy of which we are indebted to some unknown friend at Ithaca) will be found copied on a preceding page, and will interest all who hope to see in this country at some time a great university which can afford to be wholly independent of Christian superstition.

CELEBRITIES AT HOME.

THOMAS CARLYLE AT CHEYNE-ROW.

Seated in his ample arm-chair, Thomas Carlyle—the historian, biographer, essayist, and thinker, who has written his name deeper in the literature of his country than any man now living—presents a remarkable instance of the gradual development, not only of style, but of character, not only of literary work, but of personal appearance. When we compare the gray-bearded, rugged-featured man, swathed in ample dressing-gown of gray duffel, with the sketches of him taken in his youth, we note the work of time and thought upon the human organism. In the sketches by Lawrence and others he appears as a young Scotchman, and nothing more; but in the face of to-day every line speaks of the strong worker eager for truth, be it sunk in never so deep a well, impatient of incompetence, scornful of conventionality, cleaving his way through the lies and blunders of ages, till he succeeds in letting fresh air and genuine sunlight into the tangled maze that men call history. In the soft Doric tones—Ionic would be an apter comparison—of his native Dumfriesshire, he discourses in a fashion peculiar to himself on a variety of subjects, and invests all with interest. It is difficult to imagine the question on which his utterances could be "dry." Enormous and omnivorous reading has stored a powerful memory with a mass of facts wonderfully arranged in the pigeon-holes of his brain, and ready at any moment to be focused on the subject in hand. But it is not mere learning which lends his conversation its special charm, but rather his faculty of illustration, sometimes poetical, sometimes homely, but always striking. It must not be imagined that he degenerates into monologue; for perhaps no really admirable talker has less of the button-holder in his composition. He gives his views fully, amply enriching his talk with anecdote and example, but ever keeping the real core of the subject well in view. As he talks on, in even deliberate tone, the listener finds his mind carried away for a while into queer nooks and crannies, to be presently brought back to the straight path by a keen and pertinent expression of opinion—not undecided or wavering this, but sharp, strong, and sudden, as a stroke from the hammer of Thor. The effect of Mr. Carlyle's "talk" may be compared to that produced by a walk in one of those quaint mediæval cities through which a broad modern thoroughfare has recently been cut. Turning aside from the straight path towards the railway-station the wanderer meanders among narrow streets and quaint gables, pauses at the foot of ancient towers, plumps upon a massive gateway revealing the traces of Roman occupation, notes the strange images that monkish masons delighted in, and the weathercock shot through and through by a skilful marksman, till all at once he emerges from an alley into a blaze of light, and finds that he has reached his destination after all. It is this element of surprise that distinguishes Mr. Carlyle's "talk" from that of all other men. It is impossible to predict what opinion he will pronounce, and equally vain to imagine the grounds on which it will be based. All this flow of argument and illustration proceeds from natural temperament. None of the aids to conversation supposed to have been indulged in by the gossips of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* finds a place in Mr. Carlyle's dietary. He is naturally abstemious, eating but two sparing meals daily, and drinking never more than a couple of glasses of wine. His sole relaxation, amusement, or dissipation is tobacco, and tobacco in its simplest form. Neither sleek cigar nor dainty cigarette has charms for the philosopher of Chelsea. He smokes a pipe—not of meerschaum or of *bruyère* (*Anglicè*, "brier"), but of earth, the church-warden or yard of clay, the lineal descendant of the pipes dug up by the dozen on the site of Don Saltero's coffee-house, hard by in Cheyne-walk—a genuine Puritan pipe,—the place of the short-cut beloved by Roundheads being supplied by York River. In the bright summer-tide, when the old-fashioned garden is neat and trim, it is Mr. Carlyle's humor to sit under an awning in the sweet morning air, and discuss many pipes of his favorite weed. It is, however, abundantly clear that he does not require tobacco to stimulate his conversation; for when in the vein he will, when taking one of his long walks, supply his companion with abundant food for memory and reflection. There is a sort of rumor—of the value of rumors generally—that Mr. Carlyle is apt to be curt in his address. This is not only untrue, but the very reverse of the truth. He is certainly averse to the intrusion of utter strangers, and on one occasion vouchsafed an odd but well-merited reply to a man who walked up to him and asked "if he might look at him." The philosopher merely said, "Look on, man. It will do me no harm, and you no good;" and walked quietly on. The most curious part of this *rencontre* is, that the person whose silly request was so gently rebuked went away delighted, saying that the "remark was so like Carlyle," so thoroughly "characteristic." Now it was something less than characteristic; for Mr. Carlyle, when approached like any other gentleman through the medium of an introduction, is courtesy itself, and quite ready, if in fair health, to let his visitor enjoy a sample of his picturesque "talk." Not very long ago he invited one of our most successful novelists to call upon him, and edified that gentleman with much brilliant discourse on men and things,—all and every, save only that subject which naturally lay nearest the young author's heart,—his own works. At last the long-expected remark came. "You know our Scotland well," quoth the sage; "and I have read your books with great pleasure. They are amusing,—yes, amusing. You are just amusing. But when are you going to *do* something—to write a real book,—eh, man?"

A few years ago Mr. Carlyle not only smoked, but worked in his garden, and retired within doors to a little room at the top of the house. He now occupies the drawing-room of the house in Cheyne-row—a bright cheerful apartment, furnished among other things with a flat writing-table, a reading-easel, a wooden paper-knife marked "Mentone," and a bowie-knife of tremendous proportions. The walls are adorned with paintings and engravings of members of the Carlylese Olympus. Occupying one side of the room is a huge picture by Pesne, the "Little Drummer"—Frederick and his sister, the Margravine of Bayreuth, as children, marching gayly along, the boy playing vigorously on a drum. From a spot on the right of the door smiles the before-mentioned Wilhelmina very coquettishly, with her hood drawn down in killing fashion over one of her great bright eyes. Beneath the *séduisante marquise* hangs the plain face of Cromwell, one of the many examples of the "Hero as King" in the house in Cheyne-row. Hard by are some choice engravings by Albert Dürer and his school, notably the Melancholia; and farther on is *le roi* Voltaire, crowned in the Théâtre Français; Frederick in a cocked hat looking across the room with no friendly gaze. Next hang two copies of Cranach's pictures in the Wartburg—the father and mother of the "Hero as Priest"—and the rare engraving of Feythorne's Cromwell. The dining-room is also well filled with pictures and engravings, portraits of Jean Paul, of Hume, of Martin Luther, and Goethe. The latter bears the autograph-signature of the great German beneath the lines:—

"Liegt dir Gestern klar und offen
Wirkst du Heute kräftig frey
Kannst auch auf ein Morgen hoffen
Das nicht minder glücklich sey.
WEIMAR, 7, Nov. 1825."

It was presented to Mr. Carlyle on the completion of his masterly translation of *Wilhelm Meister*. There is also a curious engraving of that ancient hussar Ziethen, "sitzend vor seinem König," who is holding the old warrior down in his seat. On the mantelpiece stands an example of the famous Worcester jug, dedicated to the great Frederick, and printed in "transfer" over the glaze. This jug is curious as a piece of historic pottery, but its value has been greatly increased since the publication of the *History of Friederich II., called Frederick the Great*. Scattered here and there are portraits of Mr. Carlyle himself—the head by Samuel Lawrence, the pen-and-ink drawing by Maclise, the admirable bust by Woolner—and a terra-cotta miniature of the magnificent statue by Boehm, exhibited at the Royal

Academy. Just inside the door is a screen covered with valuable engravings, arranged with a keen sense of the fun to be created by incongruous juxtaposition. A melancholy interest attaches to this monument of patience, taste, and humor. It was made by Mrs. Carlyle. It will be recollected that this amiable and gifted lady died a few years ago, after being terribly frightened by her pet dog leaping out of her carriage in Hyde Park. The animal escaped safe and sound from the crowd of vehicles; but his mistress survived the shock but a very few hours.

As the morning mists clear from the Thames, various figures may be seen strolling about with that peculiar air which indicates expectation in its possessor. The pilgrim is sometimes a broad-shouldered Scot, sometimes a little townsman from the Midlands, now and then an obvious artisan, long-limbed and bowler-hatted. They can all read, these lingerers by the Thames. They diligently peruse the morning papers, and now and then cast an eager look towards the end of Cheyne-row, for they have come many a weary mile to look upon their hero, who has taught them, in round terms too, to appreciate their betters. At last emerges a tall slightly-bowed figure, surmounted by a wide-awake of ample brim; and as Thomas Carlyle takes his early morning stroll they gaze, neither curiously nor impertinently, but reverently. Unheeding he passes on, as one whose spirit is not stirred by public observation. This before-breakfast promenade is part of a regular programme, through which the inventor of the clothes-philosophy works daily. Breakfast over, work commences; and here be it observed that Mr. Carlyle does not qualify reading and study as work, reserving the latter term for actual production. In this he differs widely from the great army of literary nihilists,—the men of letters who pass their days in the reading-room of the British Museum, and take their full value out of the London Library, but never produce anything. His hours of work are short,—from half-past ten or eleven till two; the rest of the afternoon being devoted to exercise, either in the form of a long walk with an old friend and congenial companion, or of a jaunt up to town in a Chelsea omnibus. The last-named dissipation is a great favorite with Mr. Carlyle. He believes that the shaking, from which the effeminate hansom is comparatively free, but which may be thoroughly enjoyed in an omnibus, is a peculiarly wholesome species of exercise. Till within a few years he rode and drove a great deal. Making a rapid calculation one day, he said that during the time he was engaged in the production of *Friedrich II.* he rode twice round the world. On alighting from the omnibus he will stroll in any direction, not bent entirely upon exercise, but observing keenly the human comedy visible on a London afternoon. His tastes would not occur to one who met him for the first time during his afternoon stroll as being of a literary complexion. He is no loiterer at bookstalls or grubber among curiosities. The first time we saw him out of doors he was gazing intently at the bonnets in a shop-window in Knightsbridge, lost in thought,—or was it admiration? Imagine Teufelsdröckh on bonnets, and his considerations on the occult significance of the Angot cap! Returning home from his afternoon promenade he reposes until dinner-time. This important ceremony over he again wanders out for a short space, and then sits down, not to work, as he puts it, but to read till two o'clock in the morning.

This is, it must be confessed, a strong programme for a man of Mr. Carlyle's age, for it is eighty-one years since he was born in the room over the archway of the farm-house at Ecclefechan. All his later works have been written at Chelsea, but the book which may perhaps be said to have stamped his reputation, and to be the most Carlylese of all his works, *Sartor Resartus*, was written at Craigenputtock, a sober, angular-looking country-house almost buried in a huge clump of firs. The inventor of a new style of English composition has always loved his native Dumfriesshire, and it was during his lonely rambles amid its picturesque scenery that his style gradually crystallized into the form which has needed all his genius to make it acceptable. In his essays on Pitt, Montaigne, and Nelson, we see the original genius seeking articulate power in ordinary language; but it is in *Sartor Resartus* that we see the mind, under German influence, putting on its proper clothing,—a garment which fits the imitators of the master like the mantle introduced by the dwarf to the lively beauties of King Arthur's court.

The reading preferred by the author of *Hero-Worship* is almost entirely confined to books. It has been said that it is general enough in character, but the reader is imbued with a certain preference for works in a bound and otherwise complete condition. Of newspapers he, despite his many commendations of the "able editor," is no lover. They occupy too much space, and their perusal too much time. *Public Opinion* and *All the Year Round* are the only periodical publications welcomed within the walls of the house in Cheyne-row, and the rhetoric of the leading journals is for the most part lost on the historian of the Seven Years' War. Books too, apart from a few companions of early life, are valued by him not as books, as choice editions, and so forth, but simply as shells which, when the kernel is extracted, may be flung away. The smallness of Mr. Carlyle's library—perhaps the smallest, saving mere books of reference, that ever belonged to a great man of letters—is explained by his magnificent memory. When a book is read, read with that intensity of attention which he brings to bear upon it, it is no longer of value. He has made it his own. Whatever of fact and truth and life is in it, it is absorbed, and the husk is valueless. The pleasure derived by weaker creatures from the repersual of favorite books is lost on his vigorous organization. As his readers and companions well know, he rarely quotes on paper, and never cites in "talk" the exact words of his authorities. They are melted down in the Carlylese furnace, and come out of it in startling flights of graphic description, and in conversation like nothing in the world so much as a kaleidoscope, so rare and original are its combinations of vivid color. It is this tremendous individuality which accounts for the grip of Thomas Carlyle on many of the foremost minds of England, America, and Germany. Adopting literature as a profession at the comparatively mature age of twenty-eight, he worked ten more years before he gave to the world the lucubrations of Teufelsdröckh. It requires an effort to throw the mind back to that distant date. When *Sartor Resartus* appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, and Mr. Carlyle first occupied his present dwelling at Chelsea, many men who now rank high in the world of letters were not born. Macaulay had just made his mark in the *Edinburgh Review*, Bulwer had astonished the world with *Pelham*. "Young Disraeli," at the height of his literary reputation, was not yet in the House of Commons. The first Reform Bill had but recently received the royal assent. The *Noctes Ambrosianæ* were in full blast. Dickens and Thackeray were unheard of. Of all this galaxy of genius but two stars remain,—one shining through the murky atmosphere of politics, the other in the serener firmament of letters.—*London World, Nov. 22, 1876.*

Communications.

THE FRIENDS OF PROGRESS.

SALAMANCA, N.Y., June 5, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Friends of Human Progress at Waterloo, N.Y., just closed a very interesting two-days session. It was attended by some six or seven hundred of the intelligent inhabitants of the vicinity, and the prominent questions of the day were freely discussed from that freest of platforms. The subjects included those of Temperance, Spiritualism, Free Religion, Church and State, Capital and Labor, and the Rights of Women. Each of these questions was represented by one or more of its able advocates. The blank petitions issued by the National Liberal League were numerously circulated, and I am confident will be returned well filled. Mr. Giles Stebbins, of Detroit, and two secretaries constituted the officers of the meeting. I have often attended these meetings during the last twenty years, but remember but few that gave better promise of valuable results.

H. L GREEN.

P.S.—And may I add that there is appointed the First Annual Meeting of Freethinkers for Central and Western New York, to be held in a beautiful grove near "Cosad's Liberal Hall" at Waterloo, N.Y., on the 17th, 18th, and 19th days of August. The committee have invited as speakers, C. D. B. Miles, of Syracuse; Giles B. Stebbins, of Detroit; J. H. Harter, of Auburn; T. L. Brown, M.D., of Binghamton; and H. L. Green, of Salamanca. A large gathering is expected.

"SOCIAL DEMOCRACY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

An editorial notice of the *Radical Review* in THE INDEX of May 31 contains the following sentence: "Mr. Ernst's paper on 'Practical Socialism in Germany' is full of instruction, especially for some who propagate ignorance in the name of labor reform." Now, if "ignorance" signifies the absence of knowledge, as cold signifies the absence of heat, it seems to me to be of too negative a quality to be "propagated." Further, if the hint is intended for the advocates of "practical socialism" in industrial and commercial matters in *America*—an inference that I cannot help making,—social democracy is *not* propagated "in the name of labor reform"; and social democrats are not labor reformers in the ordinary sense of the term.

Considering that the form of socialism treated of in the paper in question is a very new manifestation of social revolt even in Germany, where it has already made such rapid headway; and that it involves such immense changes in the organization of civilization; and that it has not yet attracted to any large extent the attention of the best thinkers, at all events in America, and that, accordingly, its arguments are not very ably presented,—is it fair thus to throw the whole subject into the waste-paper basket as an exhibition of ignorance not worthy of refutation?

THE INDEX is engaged in a special work of reform, and of course is not called upon to examine the theory of social democracy unless it pleases; but, if it does spontaneously touch the subject at all, it should at least do so respectfully, unless it is able to show that the subject is not worthy of respectful consideration.

The advocates of social democracy in our midst do not claim to be men of scholarly attainments,—in a certain conventional sense they are ignorant men. But it does not follow that they have not got hold of an important truth; and the fact that their ideas are acknowledged to have already awakened alarm in the despotic powers of Europe—notably in Germany, and in the mind of Bismarck himself, the very personification of despotism,—ought to command for them a candid hearing and examination, not a contemptuous consignment to the limbo of "ignorance."

W. G. H. SMART.

[It was not "social democracy" to which the remark criticised had reference. What we had in mind was the fact that Mr. Ernst's paper contained very useful ideas which are despised, if known, by some of those who are prominent in the "labor reform" movement. For instance, we consider Mr. Ernst to have uttered very wholesome truth, when he said: "One speaker explained to the socialists the legitimate consequences of their crude theories and the inevitable results of their practical demands. The accumulation of capital and rent was shown to be a moral act, and this moral agency was proved to underlie all trades as much as land is the basis of farming. Hence war against either labor or capital is war against moral civilization. Therefore, should a war come such as the socialists wish, the rich will become poor, if their enemies be victorious, and the poor will not become rich, if they are the victors themselves." We believe that antagonism between labor and capital can bring only injury to both, and that social prosperity will be postponed until they learn the difficult lesson of coöperation. We intended to pass no sweeping judgment on "social democracy," and should be glad to receive from Mr. Smart a clear, definite, precise statement of what it aims to accomplish.—ED.]

HOW THE CHURCH WOULD CURE INTEMPERANCE.

Last week, the Rev. Dr. Crosby, Chancellor of the New York University, not only assisted in ejecting a drunken man from a street-car, but also lodged a complaint against him, and appeared to testify when the case was called.

Now this appears to us very much like the case of the rum-seller who first furnished his patron with the "fighting whiskey," and then summarily ejected him from the bar-room upon his becoming noisy and abusive. The Church, both Catholic and Protestant,—as in the case of slavery,—utters but a feeble protest against the sale of liquor on every corner of the street in our great cities, and the consequent widespread curse of intemperance. Liquor-dealers, rum-sellers, and distillers stand high on the lists of the faithful, and are regular attendants at the communion-table, where doubtless they often taste their own wines. Of course, they head subscriptions, pay exorbitant pew-rents, and never grumble at bills for trips to Europe, excursions, sociables, and the amusements of the church-parlors. Their profits are large; they can afford it, and from a business stand-point, we don't blame the churches for not making a wry face at the flavor of the contribution; for, as Goethe well says: "The Church has a *strong stomach.*"

But when the Rev. Dr. Crosby ejects a poor fellow from the horse-car and then secures his fine and imprisonment for drunkenness, we contend that his act is both unchristian-like and unscientific, and empiric in the extreme.

We are not a Christian; but from our knowledge of the tenets and precepts of that religion we should say that the Rev. Dr. Crosby's proper course would have been not to drag the offender before the "judgment-seat," but rather to rescue him from the stroke of blind justice, ascertain his residence, pray with him and for him, induce him to attend services at his (the Rev. Dr.'s) church, ask the prayers of the congregation for him, watch over him with gentle, loving care until a change came over him and he grew strong enough to resist the tempter. The Rev. Dr. was unscientific in that he did not rescue the man from the brute force of an ignorant guardian of the peace, accompany him home, ascertain the *cause* of the man's tendency to drink, whether hereditary or accidental, whether a weakness of the stomach or a weakness of the mind, whether acute or chronic, whether rational or emotional, whether the man had not that day been discharged from employment, or betrayed by his wife, or abandoned by his child, or wronged by his fellow-man, or led astray by a designing and crafty counsellor.

The Rev. Dr. ought to know that drunkenness can't be cured by "fine and imprisonment"; that it but *aggravates* the disease, but chafes the raw spot, but *produces the very evil* he sought to suppress. There was but one man who deserved "fine and imprisonment," and he was the conductor, for *allowing* the drunken man to enter the horse-car. Still, perhaps we should not say this, for doubtless it saved the poor devil a clubbing at the hands of one of our "guardians of the peace."

INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD.

NEW YORK, June 11, 1877.

MR. DAY ON SPIRITUALISM.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I desire space for a brief review of the articles signed by Preston Day, who seems to be straining his vision into the abyss of "Visible Darkness" "Beyond the Veil," where no prophet has been permitted to see more than the *ignes fatui* on the border of the shadow land. Yet he informs us that "any the slightest hope of immortality is an absurdity," if Mr. Lum's logic is invulnerable; in other words, that hope cannot be entertained for a theory in the face of a strong argument against it. There would be some plausibility in this statement, if every logical argument were absolutely exhaustive. But according to his own showing he has no evidence of immortality; for he exclaims, "I asked for a morsel of bread"—the bread of evidence,—"and received a whole cart-load of stones." He further admits the ability of Mr. Stoddard's essay, and that he clearly makes it appear that there is no "*evidence* of any

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kind." Mr. Day further declares: "I would not give a button for all the arguments in favor of immortality from Plato's time down to now." He does not even hint at any *evidence* possessed by Spiritualists, but says: "If Spiritualism can succeed in finally establishing one of her peculiar phenomena as veritable fact, the world will freely forgive her sins." Yet, strange as it may appear, he tells us: "I think it best to continue indulgence in hope." Hoping still, without evidence,—hoping against hope. Most rational minds admit that there are some things beyond the domain of science. But Mr. Day, in his eulogy on science, declares: "Vainly have I striven to imagine something above, *beneath*, or *beyond*" the domain of science. "There is nothing *beyond*, nothing *super*." "A methodical and reasonable exposition of facts we call science." He thus makes man's limited faculties capable of solving the infinite and impossible. When all the facts that are possible for human powers to reach are classified, if that day ever comes, then man will have gathered but a few shells from the shore of the great ocean of truth, whose depth he may never fathom. But Spiritualism, or an *imaginary* "fact" in Spiritualism, is the real deity of Mr. Day. At this shrine he worships. The sweetest incense of his heart goes up in "profound and abiding reverence for *facts*,"—not facts outside of Spiritualism, for in his estimation they are "all" worthless on the subject of immortality. But "if Spiritualism succeeds, doubtful hope will give place to confident joy." If any one has come nearer establishing a spiritual phenomenon than Katie King, Mr. Day has not informed us of that fact, nor given evidence that there is a prospect of any fruits emanating from his cherished science better than the "confused floundering" or the "malarious, disagreeable, and *worse*" "pioneering" of its advocates that he mentions. He closes the count by giving a reason why he is averse to exercising his wits on the follies of Spiritualism. To which it is sufficient to say,—better exercise all our wits against follies than for them.

T. J. ATWOOD.

ALBION, Wis.

THE PARASITES OF JESUS.

The fulsome and continuous eulogy, flattery, and laudation of Jesus Christ, poured forth by the pulpit, is offensive as unmixed adulation always must be, when its motives are subjected to analysis. If Jesus is what the supernaturalists claim that he is, *to wit*, the heir-apparent of Jehovah, sitting on the right hand of the Father in the heavens, wherever that exceedingly indefinite region may be, he is as much a potentate as is the Prince of Wales, or the grand-ducal heir of the Czar of Russia. He has good things to bestow on those who fawn on him and flatter him; namely, happiness hereafter and a heavenly citizenship, which makes its subjects eternally fortunate. If the parasites of Jesus say that their admiration of him is excited by his amiable traits, is a pure effusion of love and disinterested regard, taking no thought of the tremendous power over man's fate which Jesus wields, the reply must be that the parasites in question will find upon the least self-scrutiny that they are mistaken. Worship soon ceases unless the object of it has power as well as amiable traits. Man has worshipped gods from the start, and appeased them with costly sacrifices to secure their good-will, and with the conviction that they could harm him or bless him at their option. The Roman Emperors, the lords of the world of their day were worshipped as gods. This Cæsar-worship was the chief religion of the Roman Empire prior to the prevalence of Christianity. The Emperors were supernaturalized, as Jesus Christ was after them. The Pope of Rome is an ecclesiastical Cæsar, and belongs in the estimation of Papists to the category of gods, as his predecessors in Rome—Cæsar Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, and Caligula—did. Worship is prompted by fear of power and by human selfishness. No personality was ever worshipped simply because he or she possessed amiable traits. The mass of people are apt to entertain a mild contempt for a merely amiable person. Like all amiable men, Jesus of Nazareth was weak in many points. Men install imaginary, omnipotent persons in the heavens called Jehovah and Jesus, who sit on thrones surrounded by adoring angels, and inhale the incense of ceaseless praise and adulation. These omnipotent persons they make the objects of unmeasured and immeasurable eulogy, while they depreciate themselves at the same time and their own race as altogether vile, notwithstanding that we here on earth are subjected to toil, suffering, and pain, while the aforesaid gods lead easy lives. Such is religious worship.

B. W. BALL.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., as everybody knows, is renowned for its culture, its university, and its literary men; notwithstanding, or rather on account of which, it is so well satisfied with itself that it frequently fails to note, or to care for, what is going on in the rest of the world. A young lady, representing the best society of the town, in a conversation with a New Yorker about clergymen here, asked if Henry Ward Beecher was not considered one of the ablest Unitarian clergymen in the city. He replied: "O no, Mr. Beecher is a Mohammedan." "Is he, really? Well, we don't pay much attention in Cambridge to what is going on in New York." Not wholly unlike this was the experience of a "liberal religionist" from this city. While travelling in England recently, he happened to have some theological discussion with a lady belonging to the Established Church. As he did not agree with her in opinion, she regarded him as little better than an infidel, and replied to an argument of his in this extraordinary manner: "O well, you Americans are so very clever that I dare say you can get along without any God; but it's very different with us, you know."—*Tribune*.

A FEROCIOUS BISHOP.

The Right Rev. Dr. Coxe, Bishop of Western New York, has written a poem, which our readers will find in another column. If we call their attention to it, it is not on account of any literary merit which it may possess, but because we desire to show them what a leader of "the Church militant here on earth" can do when his blood is up. Were it the inspired effusion of the Sheik ul Islam or a Mohammedan *moollah* preaching a jehad, with the Crescent substituted for the Cross to which the Bishop appeals, we should regret its intolerant spirit and bloodthirsty tone, but should accept it as an additional evidence of that ferocious religious fanaticism with which the Moslem has so often been charged, and for which he has been so justly condemned in years gone by. With the progress of civilization, however, the parts seem likely to be reversed.

The propagandism of the faith of Islam by the sword is a matter of the past, and centuries have elapsed since populations subjected by the soldiers of the Prophet have been compelled to adopt his creed. In the present struggle the standard of a holy war has been first raised by the Christian, and doubtless many bishops of the Greek Church have sought to stimulate the warlike ardor of their flocks with just such strains as have now issued from the western Episcopalian diocese of New York. Of all branches of the Christian Church there is none more degraded in its superstitions, or more oppressive in its persecutions, than that which in Eastern Europe claims to be the parent stem from which all other Christian sects have been the offshoots; and no Church treats with more unrelenting severity the professors of forms of Christianity which presume to differ from what is considered the Orthodox confession. The scourging of the nuns of Minsk and the fearful barbarity with which these poor unoffending women were treated on account of their religion, roused at the time the indignation of Europe, and called down a chorus of execration on the cruel and intolerant ecclesiastics who incited the Russian government to the perpetration of horrors unsurpassed in the annals of Moslem fanaticism. But the constant and increasing persecution to which the Russian Raskolniks are still subjected, for venturing to have religious opinions of their own, are unknown and unsuspected in this country. Imprisonment, scourging, exile, or even death is the portion meted out to them, for no other reason than that they cannot conscientiously conform to the State religion; while the massacre of Ismail, the memory of which still lingers in the neighborhood where nearly thirty-nine thousand men, women, and children were put to death because they were Mussulmans, was directly due to the religious fanaticism which inspired their murderers.

It is upon the same fanatic crusaders, and apparently in hope of deeds of similar ruthless and sanguinary barbarity, that an eminent, and we had almost said a Christian, divine now invokes the blessing of the Almighty. The bugle-blasts of Gen. Kauffman's troops in Central Asia recently engaged under the orders of that General in sparing neither woman nor child in their wholesale slaughter, Bishop Coxe sacrilegiously describes as the "Trump of the Lord"; and in his fear lest commercial considerations may arise to check the glorious and sacred work of indiscriminate massacre, he piously exclaims, "Shame on the swords that trade can mar!" There is, to be sure, a little ambiguity about this line; it may contain a warning to the manufacturers of arms for the Russians in this country or elsewhere, not to impose upon the holy Cossack weapons which may give out through imperfect temper in the early stages of women and baby hewing. In another fine burst of religious fervor, in which the somewhat involved state of the metaphor may be pardoned for the noble sentiment which lies behind it, this Episcopalian priest exclaims, "Wake, swords that rust!"

We should treat this bombastic effusion with the contempt which it deserves as a poem, if it were not that we felt bound to protest against a prominent teacher of men, who is clothed with the authority and dignity of a high Christian office, prostituting his sacred functions by a rhapsody which we can only regard as profane, and which, in the minds of all serious and earnest Christians, must bring discredit on that religion of peace and love which it is the Bishop's duty to inculcate. What right has he to invoke Russians or any one else to work "vengeance dire" upon any nation or people simply because he happens to differ with them in religious belief? The Master whom the Bishop is supposed to serve has said, "Vengeance is mine"; and we can safely leave the retribution, which in the Divine providence will overtake those people who have incurred it, to Him who holds the nations in his hand.

When Bishop Coxe recalls the glories of Stamboul of yore, and wishes to see the Cross restored there, does he remember that the Christian emperors who misgoverned a people as no Turks have misgoverned them, were chiefly celebrated for the crimes of murder and incest; and that the only glory of which Stamboul could boast was that of being more licentious and depraved than any other city of Europe? We advise the Bishop, before chanting the glittering glories of high Stamboul under the Cross, to read a little about its past history; and we would further suggest a closer study of those sacred precepts which he so presumptuously repudiates in his war-song. "To arms! to arms!" sounds like a shout of defiance to his mild and gentle Master, when he rebuked the impetuous disciple whose highest conceptions of moral obligation resolved themselves, like this Bishop's, into brute force. "Put up again thy sword into its place; for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

We know nothing about Bishop Coxe's practices in propagating his own religious opinions in the community amid which he dwells. In Western New York the fist is now the only safe weapon; but were he to be transferred to a more occidental field of labor, he might indulge in the congenial revolver; and, for our part, we should not regret any change that should substitute for this sanguinary crusader a tolerant and Christian spirit, fulfilling the apostolic injunction to Timothy, "In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves," instead of outraging Christian sentiment by holding up that cross as an emblem of rapine and slaughter, which we cling to as the symbol of peace and good-will toward men. When there is so much urgent work to be done at home, so many social and clerical abuses to be grappled with by men occupying positions of authority in the Church, who shrink from exposing themselves to the unpopularity which the conscientious discharge of their duties might involve, it is distressing to have such evidences as this poem affords to a benighted and intolerant spirit more in accordance with the middle ages than with the nineteenth century. We sincerely regret for Bishop Coxe's own sake that he has given us this insight into the spiritual methods which he believes in for the defence and propagation of his religion; and we no less compassionate those whom he instructs respecting that inspired system of morality which appeals not to the lowest and most savage passions of humanity, but to their purest and noblest instincts.—*New York Sun*.

LONG AGES ago, in times so remote that history does not fix the epoch, a dreadful war was waged between the King of Cornwall and the King of Scotland. Scottish valor prevailed, and the King of Cornwall was defeated. The Scottish monarch, elated by success, sent for his prime minister, Lord Alexander. "Weel, Sandy," said he, "is there ne'er a king we canna conquer the noo?" "An' it please your majesty, I ken but o' ae king that your Majesty canna vanquish." "An' whaur is he, Sandy?" Lord Alexander, reverently looking up, said, "The King o' Heeven." "The King o' whaur, Sandy?" "The King o' Heeven." The Scottish King did not understand, but was unwilling to exhibit any ignorance. "Just gang yer ways, Sandy, and tell the King o' Heaven to gie up his dominions, or I'll come mysel' and ding him out o' them; and mind, Sandy, ye do not come back till us until ye hae done our bidden." Lord Alexander, retired much perplexed, but met a priest, and reassured, returned and presented himself. "Weel, Sandy," said the King, "hae ye seen the King o' Heeven, and what said he to our bidden?" "An' it please your Majesty, I hae no seen the King himself, but I have seen ane o' his accredited ministers." "Weel, and what says he?" "He says yer Majesty may e'en hae his kingdom for the asking of it." "Was he nae ceevil?" says the King, warmed to magnanimity. "Just gang yer ways back, Sandy, and tell the King o' Heeven that for his ceevility the de'l a Scotchman shall ever set foot in his kingdom." —*Liverpool Mercury*.

NOT LONG AGO, a phenomenon in China gave lively hope of the conversion of the Chinese heathen to Christianity. There was a sudden and remarkable demand, in certain places, for the Bible; and a large edition in the native tongue was consequently struck off to supply the anxious heathen. These heathen greedily sought for the free copies of the Bible, gratefully accepted them, and rejoicingly marched off with them. The missionaries were delighted as they distributed the volumes among the crowds in waiting, and looked patiently for the appearance of as many converts as there were Bible-seekers. But though there continued to be an active demand among the idolaters for the Bibles that were gratuitously distributed, no converts turned up. At last the missionaries determined to undertake an investigation of this strange state of things. It was a melancholy revelation for them, when they discovered that the quick-witted heathen were not giving themselves up to the pious study of their free Bibles, but were using them in the making and repairing of the thick paper sole of the Chinese shoe. The supply of free Biblical material to the almond-eyed heathen of the Celestial Empire was quickly cut off by the disappointed missionaries; but, in the meantime, many of them had provided themselves with comfortable shoes at the expense of the Bible Society.—*N. Y. Sun*.

THE REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE does not greatly care for revivals and revivalists. He tells this suggestive story: "In early life I happened to meet one morning with the distinguished author, Sylvester Judd, just after we had both heard a great preacher, a man of much rhetorical power and remarkable 'religiosity,' speak on the text: 'The whole creation groaned in pain together until now.' I asked Mr. Judd how he liked the sermon. 'I stood it, though with difficulty,' he said in a sort of agony. 'I stood it till he came to that place where he abused God's ocean. But when he said that that was roaring in pain, was howling with agony as convinced of sin, I had to leave my seat and leave the church. I crowded by the good woman at the door of the pew. "Excuse me, madam, but it makes me sick," I said. I was not myself till I stood under God's clear stars in his still night. They were not in anguish; they were not howling in pain. And I could not hear that man defaming them.' And then, more seriously, Mr. Judd went on: 'Is there nothing better to preach about than sin? Always sin! sin! sin! Is not virtue better to talk of than vice? Is it not better to think of the pure than the impure? Are not love and truth and beauty subjects better fitted for God's children than always sin, sin, sin?'"—*N. Y. Tribune, Jan.* 31.

AH SING and Ah Sin have been at law in San Francisco about the sale of a wife. The matter has been referred to Ah Bitration.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1877. WHOLE No. 392.

THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

REV. J. H. NOYES, the head of the notorious Oneida Community, has abdicated in favor of his son, Dr. T. R. Noyes.

IN CONSEQUENCE of President MacMahon's surrender to the clerical party, the Italian Republicans placarded the streets of Rome with notices of a public demonstration at the Opelio Theatre, to declare that Rome can never again be the capital city of a restored Papacy.

"ALMOST EVERY English review that comes to hand," says the New York *Nation* of June 7, "contains an article on some phase of the present relations between Church and State in the mother country." The same remark will, before long, be made of American reviews and journals of the higher class.

THE *Library Table*, of New York, says that "a prominent divine of New York city recently said he knew of no civilized country in the world where it was so difficult to speak out frankly and fully, especially on politics and religion, exactly what one thinks and feels, as in the United States of America." This testimony is recommended for consideration to the wise people who are innocently unconscious of any restriction on liberty of thought and speech in this country.

THE NEW YORK *Irish World* of June 23 declares that "there is a strong movement in influential Catholic circles looking towards the removal of Secretary Thompson on account of his book against the Catholic Church." The Boston *Pilot* makes the same declaration. The conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism is creeping into American politics, despite all the foolish assertions to the contrary. But this Catholic movement, if really in existence, will only intensify the Protestant Evangelical determination to govern this country. Where is the politician of eminence who *dares* to uphold the principle of strictly secular government? Can he be named?

THE EXCLUSION of all Jews by Judge Hilton from the Grand Union Hotel, at Saratoga, has created an immense excitement in New York. It is a miserable exhibition of race proscription, mixed up with private feuds and business rivalries; and we regret to believe that it will revive the old jealousy between Jews and Gentiles which ought long since to have been buried forever. It is a terrible blunder to suppose that the world has grown so liberal as to be safe in the future from the devastating effects of religious hatreds; the volcano sleeps, but is not extinct, and these small eruptions give warning of fearful forces at work beneath our feet. Equal Rights in Religion —they will never be recognized and reverenced without many a prior struggle and social convulsion.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition of the National Liberal League have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Dr. G. W. Topping, De Witt, Mich., 200; from Mr. B. F. Underwood, after a lecture at Whitehall, Ill., 67; from the same, after a lecture at Hudson, Mich., 58; from Dr. John G. Jenkins, Denver, Col., 107. Dr. Topping writes: "I herewith send you 200 signatures to the petition. All are adults twenty-one years old or over, and quite a number of them are members of the Methodist and other Orthodox churches. While procuring them, I gave two lectures on Church and State, one in De Witt and the other at St. Johns, Clinton Co., Mich. Think I could obtain more signatures in this section if I had time. May do so yet." Total number of signatures thus far acknowledged—6,705.

HON. ROBERT DALE OWEN died on Sunday, June 24, at his summer cottage on Lake George. He has been prominent all his life as a liberal and a socialist, and was a Vice-President of the National Liberal League at the time of his death. He was a son of Robert Owen, and was born in Glasgow, Nov. 1, 1801. He came to this country in 1826, and assisted in the socialistic experiment at New Harmony, Ind. He served three successive years in the Indiana Legislature, and was active in passing measures for popular education and the giving of property rights to women. He was elected to Congress in 1843 and again in 1845. He introduced the bill organizing the Smithsonian Institute, and was one of its first regents. In 1849 he was President of the Indiana Constitutional Convention, and in 1853 he was sent by President Pierce as Minister to Italy. He was a warm advocate of emancipation in the early years of the rebellion. He published a number of books, including a novel, an autobiography, a drama, and several volumes of discussion and controversy. His writings on Spiritualism—of which he was an ardent advocate—are the best known of his works, especially the volume entitled *Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World*.

THE AVERAGE ATTENDANCE at church in our great cities is strikingly small, considering how persistent and loud is the claim that this is a "Christian country." Says the Springfield *Republican* of June 1: "The New York *Sun* has been counting polls in the churches. Last Sunday reporters went to the houses of worship in New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City, and found that, though the summer exodus had not begun, and the weather was charming to display new bonnets, etc., the majority of the principal churches were not well attended. Hepworth, Beecher, Deems, and Hall had great houses; Grace and Trinity Episcopal were crowded; Dr. Tiffany had a house half full; one church which could seat eighteen hundred had only four hundred and fifty; another with room for eight hundred, had but a fourth that number; some congregations numbered as low as seventy. Giving the hundred churches an average attendance of six hundred and fifty—a liberal allowance from the reporter's figures,—sixty-five thousand of the two million people, more or less, in the three cities, attended the services mentioned. The churches visited were the largest and most popular, and it is probable a census of all the congregations would not double these figures. That leaves one million eight hundred and seventy thousand persons who had not the gospel preached to them in the metropolitan district. Of course Mr. Frothingham's church was not included in these observations,—for he doesn't pretend to preach 'the gospel.'"

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N. B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

The Prosecution of Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant.

A LETTER.

BY MISS FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER.

Sir,—I am greatly obliged by your courteously permitting me to address, through your columns, my friends in the borough of Hackney, to thank them for the kind expressions used by many of them with reference to certain scurrilous attacks which have been made on me, and to explain to them exactly what is the position that I have, after due consideration, felt it right to publicly take up.

I do not write for the benefit of the few persons who have had the impertinence to assume that a book which I openly defend can be one of the class commonly and properly stigmatized and prosecuted as "obscene." Individuals of this stamp are beneath my personal notice, and my only reply to their spokesman will be through a court of law. Nor do I write for the sake of those who think themselves entitled to demand an explanation from me because I am one of their representatives at the School Board; for I do not recognize that that fact gives them any such right. For what I do as a representative of Hackney, I am answerable to those whom I represent; but, upon subjects entirely and completely outside School Board matters, I retain my right of private judgment, and my individual freedom of action; in other words, for what I do in my individual capacity I am answerable to my constituents only as I am answerable to public opinion everywhere. But I address this letter to the hundreds of thoughtful, earnest, clear-headed working and middle-class men and women who have given into my hands a trust of which I am proud, and whom I am entitled to call my friends. To my friends in the borough of Hackney, then, I write, to let them know what is the pretext upon which I am just at present assailed with coarse abuse, vulgar impertinence, and untruthful malice.

I have joined a committee for the defence of the publication of a book, the title of which is *Fruits of Philosophy: an Essay on the Population Question*, by Charles Knowlton, M.D. It must be understood that I am speaking here only of the edition which is now being prosecuted, and for the defence of which the committee that I have joined exists. I had never seen the book before this prosecution began, and am not responsible for any other edition of it than the one before me. It is necessary that I should say this, because I am given to understand that extraneous matter has been sometimes introduced into Dr. Knowlton's work for the purpose of making it salable among the customers of the men who gain an infamous livelihood by the clandestine sale of indecent literature.

It is not likely that many of your readers have seen this book; so I will ask you to allow me briefly to describe its contents. It is a little volume of fifty-four small octavo pages. It opens with what the author styles "A Philosophical Proem," upon the sources of the conditions which men call happiness and misery. This is purely introductory, and is as suitable for the pages of a magazine as it is for any other place. The work proper begins by expounding the law of population. This law was originally discovered by a Church of England clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Malthus, and published to the world by him about the year 1708. Miss Martineau, in her recently-issued autobiography, describes the discoverer of the law, whom she knew well, in these terms: "A more simple-minded, virtuous man, full of domestic affections, could not be found in all England; and the desire of his heart and the aim of his work were that domestic virtue and happiness should be placed within the reach of all." Later on, this distinguished lady remarks, that Malthus' doctrine is "mathematically indisputable, and therefore assailable in itself only by ribaldry and corrupt misrepresentation." The population doctrine, as propounded by Malthus, and set forth by Dr. Knowlton, is now accepted by the whole modern school of political economists. I must not occupy your space in expounding it. Those who wish to study it for themselves must refer to the work of Mr. Malthus, of which a new edition was published by Messrs. Reeves and Turner, in 1872. A clear and good review of this appeared in the *Examiner* for May 25, 1872, and a copy of that number could doubtless still be had from the office of the paper. Those who have to rely upon public libraries will be able more easily to obtain the *Principles of Political Economy*, of John Stuart Mill, where the population doctrine is treated in Book II., chapter 13; or a work on *Political Economy*, by the respected member for this borough, Prof. Henry Fawcett, where they will find the law very ably set out.

But when the professors of political economy have done with the question, what next? Dr. Knowlton's pamphlet proceeds to consider the social and physiological results of late marriages or life-long celibacy. It will be understood that I am not professing to give any idea of his arguments; that I am merely stating what subjects the book deals with. Then comes, from page 17 to page 46, a plain, straightforward account, such as may be found in any standard work on physiology, of the reproductive structure, and a very brief outline of the development of the new being in the human race, connected with remarks on some of the most common unhealthy conditions. Pages 47 to 50 treat of the ways in which this natural process may be obstructed; and the last four pages contain hygienic advice which every adult would be the happier and the better for having and laying to heart on and from their wedding-day,—words of wise counsel, and of the purest morality. This is the whole subject-matter of the book.

As I have before said, I had not seen it before I was asked to join the committee for its defence. Of course, knowing that it was being prosecuted, I naturally expected to find something objectionable in it. My surprise and indignation were great when I came to look at it, and to find that it treated only of subjects upon which every work on physiology and political economy must treat; to find that what this pamphlet was to be prosecuted for were the identical discussions and facts which were already on my library shelves in the celebrated and honored works on physiology of Drs. Carpenter and Kirkes; the anatomy of Gray; the practice of medicine of Tanner; the gynæcological works of Grailly Hewitt, Cazeauz, Churchill, Robert Barnes, Sir J. Y. Simpson, or my old teacher, Dr. Murphy; and the political economies of J. S. Mill and Prof. Fawcett!

Pages 47 to 50 of the book are peculiar to Dr. Knowlton's work, as in the nature of them they must be to works on the medical side of the population question; but although the morality of *following* the advice there given may be open to doubt, the *discussion* of the point cannot by any possibility be called more improper than the preceding and succeeding pages, which might be transferred direct from or to a large medical work.

But surely, it will be said, if the *matter* of the work is simply that which can be found in any large physiological treatise, it must be the *manner* which is objectionable. *It is not so.* Indeed, the expressions are generally singularly well chosen. Writing for popular perusal, the author has evidently tried his utmost to use unobjectionable language; and he has, on the whole, succeeded. Here and there is an expression not in the most refined taste, or a fact which perhaps might, without any detriment to the scientific character of the work, have been omitted; but there are only two or three such instances in the whole work; and, in the main, the subject is far more carefully and delicately treated than it is in many standard scientific works.

Persons who have read the pamphlet, and who are acquainted with the works of Carpenter, Grailly, Hewitt, etc., will know that this is the case. For those who have not read the work, or who could not judge it in comparison with other scientific works if they had, the constitution of the committee for the defence of this book must be a sufficient guarantee for its character. Persons in the position of Dr. C. R. Drysdale, the senior physician of the Metropolitan Free Hospital; of my friend Miss Vickery, the first lady who passed the examination as a chemist and druggist in England, and who has now passed nearly all the examinations for the Paris M.D. degree; of Mrs. Lowe, the wife of a Church of England clergyman; of Henry R. Dalton, Esq., B.A., of Oxford; of Mr. and Mrs. Swaagman,—leaving unmentioned myself, and a host of others of equal social position, unimpeachable respectability, and *totally unconnected* with the defendants, Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant; persons like these, I repeat, do not come forward and openly give their names and their assistance for the defence of an obscene book. The writer of an obscene book does not put his name upon its cover. The publishers of an obscene book do not add their imprint. These facts speak for themselves. I repeat, if this book be brought under that condemnation, then every general physiological and medical work must come under it too.

I must clear away here a misconception which exists in some persons' minds. The book which I defend *has never yet been condemned* by a judge and jury of Englishmen. I am informed that it was found among other works of a different character on the premises of two men who were tried for the sale of indecent literature, but that, as might be expected, there were additions made to it, and plates inserted to alter the pure science to the requirements of the customers of such venders. Do not let me be misunderstood. If the work had already been tried, *as it will now be tried*, and the sale of it declared against the law, my position with regard to it would remain unaltered. I do not for one moment believe that science will be declared obscene because it is published at a low rate; I do not in the least expect that this trial will result in a conviction; but, in the almost impossible event of its doing so, my opinion of the book would remain unaltered, and I should hope that the open publication of such works would continue, and would speedily bring about a reform in a law which had thus been made mischievous, and wrested to a purpose for which its mover never designed it. I go on to explain my reason for this decision.

The book being a physiological work, written for popular perusal, in good language, and without the slightest taint of suspicion of intentional coarseness and impropriety attached to it, the prosecution resolves itself into a barefaced attempt to keep the people, who cannot afford to pay high prices for knowledge, in ignorance upon the most important of subjects. If this book be condemned, the wealthy man who can afford to pay one pound twelve shillings for Carpenter, or one pound five shillings for Cazeauz, can study this branch of physiology and medicine as thoroughly as he pleases; but the poor man who could only afford to pay the sixpence required for this pamphlet must because of his poverty remain in ignorance. I protest against this. I maintain that wealth has no more right to any knowledge than poverty has. I hold that if this branch of physiology be obscene, then it must no more be treated of in high-priced books than in low-priced ones.

But the bare idea that it is so is absurd; no straightforward, plain, honest account of any vital process is indecent in itself. Physiology is the most valuable

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of all sciences. Very early in the progress of my studies I saw how much suffering and death arise from the general ignorance of the structure and functions of the human body, and of those rules for its health which are gathered from its physiology. The longer I live, the more plainly I see this. Mr. Simon, in his report for 1871 to the Privy Council, says that not fewer than one hundred and twenty thousand persons die every year; and an incalculable number more suffer long and painful illnesses, solely because the facts of physiology and the dictates of hygiene are not known and obeyed. I have ever felt, therefore, that among the most useful work that I might be able to do in my life, the task of popularizing physiology held a first place; and I have gladly taken every opportunity of doing this work, both by my voice and my pen.

But not the least necessary knowledge for the people generally to possess is that of the reproductive structure, and the hygiene of married life,—in other words, the subject of Dr. Knowlton's book. I know, as every medical man and woman who has practised in female diseases knows, that ignorance and the error resulting from it, are as mischievous here as in the case of the lungs, the skin, or any other organ of the body. Such subjects should never be written about or alluded to! Every graveyard has its stones crying out against the false doctrine; every hospital for women rears its head as a standing protest against the mock delicacy; the divorce court sends forth its miserable and corrupting stories of ruined homes and unhappy souls, in solemn warning against the dangers of ignorance. It never was intended that young wives should sink into the grave in the full bloom of youth; it is not natural that young mothers should be torn from their infant families; it is not right that children should be born into the world, to sink after a few years' battle against the weakness of constitution given them by their parents; it is emphatically terrible that those who love each other should sin against their affection, and finally murder it outright, because they have never thought of their duty to each other. For all these evils, unrestrained passions, arising from ignorance of physical laws, must be held answerable. Shame on those who know this full well, and who yet will hold their peace while there is danger that it may be declared "improper" to bring light and warning within reach of the studious poor!

There is but one way in which such instruction can be imparted, and that is by the circulation of proper books among men and women, fathers and mothers. Other branches of physiology and hygiene may be taught in schools, or by means of public lectures. This branch cannot be. It cannot be publicly taught in lecture-halls to men and women; and the more completely unconscious of the fact of sex children can be kept, the better for them, morally and physically; therefore it can never be mentioned in schools. If cheap books are forcibly kept from the fathers and mothers of the working-class, they, who most need the instruction, cannot obtain it at all.

I dwell thus upon the practical utility of such books, because that is the great reason why I have felt myself impelled, by an overmastering sense of duty, to defend the publication in this test case. I should equally have felt the impropriety, tyranny, and injustice of an attempt to suppress a cheap work upon botany, geology, theology, or any other subject, while expensive works written in the same tone and treating on exactly the same matters continued to be published unquestioned. But it was only the knowledge of the importance to the good of mankind, and especially of the female half of our race, of the dissemination in the only proper way of this kind of teaching, that could have induced me to expose myself to the insults which I could not but foresee would be offered me in consequence of my action.

One thing more, and I have done. I have no sort of connection with the defendants in this case. I am not in any way one of their party, or concerned in their theological or political propaganda. My acquaintance with Mr. Bradlaugh is the slightest and most casual; and my knowledge of Mrs. Besant is only that she is a lady by birth and education, and that her circumstances are such that she risks far more than even imprisonment and a fine when she stands in the dock for this book. But with them personally I have not the remotest connection. I am defending *the publication of the book*; that its publishers are Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant is an accident in the case, so far as I am concerned. It is honorable to them that they have never gained profit by the sale of the book, but have placed themselves in a position of danger with regard to it, with pre-consideration, and of their own free will. But to me the fact that they were the publishers had nothing to do with the question of the propriety of defending the publication; and in saying this I imagine I speak also for other members of the defence committee. *We are defending the right of publication, not the persons.* For this reason, some statements which have been made to me as to Mr. Bradlaugh's mode of expressing himself in his attacks upon others, and of his general behavior to his followers, appear to me quite aside from the question. I am not in any degree expressing an opinion upon his general language, manners, and speculative opinions. In this particular instance, it so happens that Charles Bradlaugh is doing that which I believe to be noble and brave, and a good and necessary thing to do. I approve of the object he has in view; therefore, in this particular instance, I support him. There my connection with Mr. Bradlaugh begins; and there it ends. I can quite believe that there are some persons so incapable of justice that, whether he is right or wrong in this particular case, they would withhold all support from him, however much they sympathize with his present aim, because they disapprove of him generally; but I cannot believe that such an unfair, underhanded, un-English mode of dealing can be widely adopted by the just and brave people of England.

I trust that I have now made my position perfectly clear; and that it will be understood that I do not specially support Dr. Knowlton's work, far less the right of publishing and selling *any* book, on *any* subject, in *any* tone; but that I do uphold the freedom of the press to issue scientific works at prices which place them within the reach of the people who need them most.—*Eastern Argus* (*England*).

MISS F. FENWICK MILLER AND THE HACKNEY LOCAL PRESS.

In another column we print a letter from Miss Miller dealing with the attacks recently made upon that lady by each of our local contemporaries in consequence of the action she has chosen to take in the case of the Bradlaugh prosecution. It is not our intention to enter into the question whether the book, for publishing which Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant are now being prosecuted, is obscene or not. The case is still *sub judice*, and, unlike our contemporaries, we think it unfair to prejudge an issue, and so bias public opinion when a case is under investigation by the lawful guardians of the public morals, even though the defendants happen to be "very freethinkers," or atheists. But there is one point we do desire to speak upon, and it is this: from the time this journal has been in our hands it has been our custom to speak out, calling a spade a spade, without fear or favor; we believe in the liberty and duties of the press, and have contended for that liberty, and endeavored to discharge those duties. But liberty is not license, and in the attacks just referred to we regret to say our contemporaries, ignoring the old English maxim of fair-play, have passed the boundary line between the two. Without defending a single line in the book now under trial, or endorsing a word of Miss Miller's letter in its defence, we say that it has never been contended in any of the previous prosecutions, nor is it in this, that the work, even if "obscene" and "immoral" according to law, comes under the same category as the vile books of Holywell Street and Wych Street; and, more, that the writer who in the editorial column of a public journal infers or contends such was the case, has either neglected to possess himself of the full facts of the matter under discussion, and if so he had no business to write upon it at all, or, knowing, wilfully and cruelly ignored them to gratify spleen or prejudice. It is absurd for any public journal to contend that Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, with an almost world-wide reputation as a lecturer and a politician, apart altogether from his "freethought," would, just as his future is most promising, throw over everything for the purpose of becoming the publisher of Holywell Street abominations. However much we may differ from Mr. Bradlaugh on theological matters, and we do, wide as the poles, common fairness compels us to say that during the twenty-seven years of his public life his character has been free from the least taint of suspicion of "filthy" proclivities. The work may be condemned; but it will not be because it was written by Dr. Knowlton and published by Mr. Bradlaugh for the purpose of "debauching the minds of the young"; and that is what one of our contemporaries means when describing it as "one of the vilest books that ever disgraced the most abominable of the shops of Wych Street or Holywell Lane" (street), but because it is a quasi-medical work, published in a popular form, dealing with a subject best discussed, if at all, in the privacy of one's study.

The literary fledgling in Hackney which has thought fit to prejudge this case, did so in an article so grotesquely inconsequential and illogical that it is not worth serious attention. For a writer to call upon the electors to convene a public meeting for the purpose of unseating a lady, who is guilty of no other crime than the reading of a book which this writer admits he has "not read" and therefore cannot pass an opinion upon, is simply to call forth pity for the man who has so mistaken his vocation, and contempt for the "organ" that, in the name of a "great party," publishes such unmanly trash.

In conclusion, we advise our readers to suspend their judgment on this matter. We are perfectly well aware that in taking the position we have we risk the loss of popularity with a select few; but we think that we may safely touch the subject in the way we have, and leave our reputation as a Christian journal to protect us from any suspicion as to atheistical tendencies, or of pandering to "prurient tastes." Public morality, we hold, in this matter as in all others, is best served by full investigation and intelligent criticism, not by high-handed prudishness or purblind bigotry.—*Eastern Argus*, *April* 28.

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN EUROPE.

If, a quarter of a century ago, a European statesman had been asked to look forward for five-and-twenty years, and to name the force which would then be exercising the most powerful influence over political affairs, we doubt whether the utmost human foresight would have directed him to a right prediction. It is certain at least that no ordinary observer of that day could have foretold the part which religious ideas, religious zeal, religious hatreds, are now playing, not in one or two countries alone, but almost everywhere, without exception, throughout Europe. At no period, of course, has religion been altogether without influence on politics, and down to the end of the seventeenth century its influence was both constant and profound. But from that time onward until to-day this influence has, save for one period of what may be called accidental reaction, been on the wane. The intensely anti-theological bias of the French Revolution brought religious ideas into line, as it were, with politics; and in the long struggle which marked the period of 1789–1830, and which was closed by Catholic Emancipation in England and the July Revolution in France, it cannot be denied that European statesmen had to reckon with religious almost as much as with political forces. The succeeding era, however, was an era of purely civil questions,—of electoral, commercial, municipal reform in this country; of strivings after the first of these objects in France, and of the gradual growth in other continental countries of those modern ideas which have now given constitutional government to all the civilized nations of Europe, either as a reality, or as the homage which despotism pays to liberty. And liberalism here and elsewhere undoubtedly flattered itself that the retirement of religion from politics was final; that the "civil period" was not transitional but permanent, and that the problem of dissociating the conduct of mundane affairs from all questions connected with the world to come had been successfully solved. The theory might have been narrow and unphilosophic to the last degree; but that it was held very generally and with great confidence it is impossible to doubt. That a statesman of Cavour's eminence should have attached such value to the maxim of "*Libera Chiesa in libero Stato*"; that he should have thought that it described a *modus vivendi*, instead of the conditions of a campaign, or should have believed that a freed Church would use its liberty for any other purpose than to fight,—all this shows, we say, how powerful a hold the belief we speak of had obtained over powerful minds.

To-day we can scarcely look around us in any direction without seeing how mistaken it was. Religion is not only the most potent factor in international politics at the present moment, but it is the most disturbing influence over individual political minds. We are now witnessing a war which is in its circumstances, if not in its origin, a war of religion; and which, in so far as it is national upon either side, is almost wholly a religious war. Even so far, too, as the rulers responsible for it are concerned, it is impossible to define the extent to which the hereditary religious melancholy of an autocratic sovereign has contributed to bend him to the counsels of cooler and more designing minds. Nor need one go as far as Russia, or take so poor a specimen of a ruler as Alexander II., for an instance of what we mean. The one weak spot in the strongest of European statesmen is on the religious side; the one point in which the hard, good sense and political composure of Prince Bismarck has appeared to the outside world to fail him is in his dealing with the religious question in the Empire over which he presides. Opposed to ultramontanism, the German Chancellor seems to lose his self-command, his patience, his sense of the practicable in politics, his foresight of results; and it is at least no improbable conjecture that antagonism of creed has in this case contributed to obscure the judgment with which he would have dealt with a purely political difficulty. In our own country we have a signal and deplorable example of the influence of religious prepossessions upon individual political minds. It was the influence of the Catholic hierarchy which overthrew Mr. Gladstone; and his fall by this agency converted a distinguished statesman into a bitter theological pamphleteer. His first effort in his new vocation was naturally to wreak polemical vengeance upon the authors of his downfall; but the spirit which animated the attack on Vaticanism, surviving in undiminished force, has now found fresh material on which to exercise itself, and Mr. Gladstone has placed himself at the head of the party who for many months past have been openly inciting the Christian powers of Europe to a crusade. It is needless to dwell on the value of this party as an illustration of the truth of the foregoing remarks. With some few among them, perhaps, the genuine detestation of cruelty and oppression is unmixed with any ingredient of religious rancor; but with the bulk of them it is otherwise, and they do not even care to conceal the fact. Not only the Ritualist, who yearns so ardently for union with the most ignorant and superstitious Church in Europe, but the Broad Churchman and the Protestant Dissenter, use language on this subject which shows how, beneath their sympathy with suffering, beneath their indignation at wrong, lurks the ancient and ineradicable hatred of the Christian, as such (we do not mean it ironically), for the Mohammedan, as such, and the feeling that the massacres in Bulgaria were not only an outrage upon humanity but an insult to a creed. It was not a Ritualist, but a Quaker, who reminded an excited audience that not only Batak and Otlouk-eui, but "Jerusalem, Calvary, and the Mount of Olives" were in the possession of the Turk. Nowhere, in fact, has such a spectacle of the invasion of politics by theology been witnessed as in England,—England, where, if anywhere, the civil and secular spirit might be supposed to have established an undisputed supremacy in the conduct of public affairs.

The inquiry might be pursued throughout Europe with results less striking, perhaps, in the extent of their manifestation but the same in kind. In France the intensity of political animosities is only at its highest when the religious question comes in. It is the strife between Ultramontanism and Voltairianism to which French party-conflicts owe three-fourths of their bitterness. "*L'ennemi c'est le clericalisme*," was the frank avowal which the French statesman who had labored to found the Conservative Republic regarded as a necessary confession of faith, and as the minimum of candor with which his more advanced followers would be satisfied. And at this moment the religious strife which embitters the domestic politics of France most dangerously complicates their foreign relations also. The first thought of Berlin on receiving the news of M. Simon's dismissal was, as we have seen, that it was the defiance of Ultramontanism to Protestant Ger-

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many, and the first menace of the revenge of the Vatican upon the government which enacted the Falk laws. The words we have just penned reveal the religious struggle through which the German Empire has been passing of late years, and which has left so deep an impression on the mind of the people as to make them think immediately of Ultramontanism at the first news of a French ministerial crisis. In Italy, as of course, the religious war is identified with the every-day battle of domestic politics; and in the condition of Belgium we see the theological disease in its acutest stage, and marring the otherwise perfect prosperity of the most flourishing little community in Europe. Everywhere, in short, the same symptoms are traceable in a latent or developed form. The world seems to have receded generations into the past; and in the last quarter of that century which was supposed to have ushered in a golden age of civilization, we see religious passion distracting empires, dementing statesmen, and destroying peoples as in those benighted times on which we have been wont to look back with such self-complacent pity.—*Pall Mall Gazette, May* 19.

THE PRIESTLY INFLUENCE IN POLITICS.

Some remarks which we made a few days ago on the perilously increasing influence of religion on politics appear to have stirred at least one political conscience already. They have, at any rate, it is fair to presume, assisted to elicit the anxious protest under which the *Times* printed yesterday the letter of a Mohammedan correspondent, Mr. Hakim, complaining of the denunciations levelled in Parliament and elsewhere against his co-religionists. The appearance of that letter was an instructive commentary upon our observations. We had dwelt upon the fact—too clear to be disputed,—that what is called "anti-Turkish feeling" in this country is, as regards the large majority of those whom it actuates, neither more nor less than anti-Mussulman feeling,—not a political sentiment, that is to say, but a religious sentiment; not mere sympathy with suffering and mere indignation against wrong, but rather, or principally, a pure *odium theologicum*, the ancient and ineradicable hatred of the Christian as such for the Mohammedan as such. We had said that the massacres in Bulgaria were regarded by the great mass of those whose mental equilibrium they so completely overthrew as something else besides an outrage upon humanity,—as an insult to a creed; and but for this offence to the religious sentiment, this stimulus to theological hatred, the denunciations of Turkish misrule, the encouragement of Russian intrigue, and generally the incitements to that war which threatens to embroil Europe, would never have taken the form or produced the effect which they have. And as it seemed to us, so it must appear to all Mohammedans. Mr. Hakim's letter protesting against the hostility to his religion in this country is, as the *Times* justly says, one which it is "impossible to read without a feeling of respect and sympathy." Apparently, it is equally impossible to read it without at least an attempt at self-excuse. Accordingly, Mr. Hakim is solemnly assured that he is mistaken. The Russian masses may be "animated by religious enthusiasm," and "there are, no doubt, speakers and writers among ourselves who seem to share this crusading temper." But the "present alienation of the English people from Turkish rule is independent of any such feeling." They are "moved simply by certain facts of misgovernment," and would be just as much moved by them if the misgovernors were Christian instead of Mohammedan. Nay, it cannot but be so; for "it is a settled principle alike of our home and of our domestic [foreign?] policy to repudiate every attempt to support it by force, and there is nothing we should more deeply lament than that this contest should assume the character of a religious war." With much more to the same effect, and equally resembling the attempt of a prisoner to establish an *alibi* after being taken in the fact. What is said about the "alienation of the English people" is not to the point; for Mr. Hakim was not complaining of English indifference (that and its consequence, Turkish isolation, he submits to), but of English hostility. And to deny that the active hostility of a certain section of Englishmen to the Turks, their active sympathy with the Russian crusade, which we are now told rather late in the day is to be "distrusted,"—to deny that these feelings had in those whom they animated their beginning and end in religious passion is to deny facts not only palpable but avowed. The speeches and the writings of the autumn agitators are full not only of evidences but of admissions of the feelings which actuated them. Not Ritualists only, not only aspirants after union with the Eastern Church, but Protestant Dissenters have talked the language of Crusaders. The height to which the feeling has arisen may be measured by the fact that Mr. Bright, a Quaker by persuasion, expressly excepted this war of religion from his condemnation of war in general, and was warmly moved to that desertion of his principles by the recollection that the holy places of Christianity were in the possession of the Turks. The depth to which the feeling extends, the unconscious manner in which it colors even what profess to be dispassionate speculations on the question, is shown in such remarks as that of the *Times* itself but a few days ago, to the effect that the Germans would not be much moved by the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire, for the reason, in substance, that "the Germans are decided Christians." It is needless, however, to labor the point further. The sentiments of the agitators who, with Mr. Gladstone at their head, have done so much to precipitate a war, now openly proclaimed by the Czar as a crusade of Christianity against Islam, are beyond doubt or dispute. They have been avowed and gloried in by the agitators themselves.

But what we said on this point had reference to a part only of the general subject. We commented at large upon the extent to which religious ideas are influencing modern politics throughout the world, upon the extent to which "religious questions" are constituting themselves the sole issues which divide parties and nations from each other. And more is implied in this than that religionists have become politicians—this they have always been ready enough to do whenever and wherever they have been allowed,—but that politicians have assumed the character, or at least have allied themselves with the designs, of religionists. Nay—and this is the most ominous fact in the situation,—that very political party whose best established traditions ought to have held it aloof is the one which has committed itself most deeply to this most mistaken course. If we ask what is the next "new" cry by which it is hoped to unite the Liberal party, we are told that it is the cry of "disestablishment." It is a mere question of time, we are assured; a mere question of a few years more or less before the leader of the Liberal party for the time being takes the inevitable plunge and heads the assault of the Radicals and political Dissenters upon the Church of England. That, sooner or later, the Liberals, as a party, will "take up" disestablishment seems to be considered as something too certain to be worth disputing; but none of those who so confidently anticipate it appear to reflect upon the meaning and import of their prediction. None, that is to say, seem sensible that what they are prophesying is the abandonment by the Liberal party of one of their most valuable principles,—the subordination of the religious to the civil idea; and that they are prophesying this desertion at a time when of all others the principle most needs to be maintained. For the spirit which we now see rife and rampant in France, in Belgium, in Italy, is active among us too,—is striving for supremacy here as well as there, and is principally kept from attaining it through the accident of that very institution which the Liberal party are, they tell us, destined to overthrow. Abroad, Ultramontanism is taxing all the energies of Liberalism to hold it in check; the Ritualists are our Ultramontanes; and here it is Liberalism which is to set them free. The apprehensions well expressed in the letters we printed the other day on the subject of disestablishment, are apprehensions present to many serious minds; to most, indeed, of those who prefer examining a political question for themselves to echoing a "party cry" provided for them by others. It is impossible not to feel that the connection with the State is the one influence which now keeps English Ultramontanism under some sort of control, both directly in its restraints upon the Ultramontanes themselves, and indirectly in that semi-secularizing effect upon the whole body of the Church which keeps down the number of Ultramontanes. Sever this connection, remove this control, and the immediate effect would be to give free action to sacerdotalism, while the ultimate result would be to increase the number of sacerdotalists. The need of unity among those whose ecclesiastical theories were alike in the main would operate to mark sharply off from each other the several parties in the Church; and we can scarcely doubt that that party which makes the strongest appeal to the "professional instinct," so to speak, to *esprit de corps*, and to the inborn human love of power, would attract to itself the largest accessions of strength. We should then have not a floating element of English Ultramontanism, but a compact body of English Ultramontanes, proceeding doubtless by other than Continental methods, but animated in the main by that sacerdotal spirit which is the same in its broad characteristics all over the world, and aiming persistently at the uniform object of their order,—the establishment of the domination of the priest over all the civil and domestic relations of life. And this is the work of all others to which English Liberals, at this time of all others, are expected to lend a hand! Of the Radicals we do not speak: destruction is their *métier*, and they are too much accustomed to think destruction an end in itself to trouble themselves at our solicitation about the consequences. Nor do we address ourselves to the Dissenters; they are sectaries first and politicians afterwards; and though they will in our judgment be wofully disappointed by those religious and social results which they anticipate from disestablishment, we do not expect them to forego the pleasure of deposing a Church from whose doctrines they dissent, and humbling a caste whose superior status and consideration offend their pride. But that Liberals who are neither Radicals nor Dissenters, and who have been supposed to recognize certain political principles too valuable to be given up to gratify sectarians and destructives,—that these should lend themselves to the disestablishment policy in full view of the consequences it entails, is discouraging indeed. It is an addition to those proofs so sadly multiplied of late that English Liberals have ceased to understand their business, and to comprehend the true purposes for which as a political party they exist.—*Pall Mall Gazette, May* 22.

MONCURE D. CONWAY'S ESSAYS.

GREAT COMMOTION CAUSED BY HIS TEACHINGS IN HOLLOWAY—MR. CONWAY'S POSITION SUSTAINED—GENERAL TENOR OF HIS NEW WORK—A GLIMPSE OF THE "RELIGION OF THE FUTURE."

LONDON, April 13.

A new volume of essays by Mr. M. D. Conway has just appeared under the title *Idols and Ideals, with an Essay on Christianity.* (Trübner & Co.) This last essay was published separately a few months ago, and, writes a friend, brought on a war which shook Holloway to its centre and left the Eastern question nowhere. Mr. Conway's evening congregation in that district, having grown too large for its little iron church, obtained a lease of the fine hall called the Athenæum. This the Vicar of Holloway, after the manner of his kind, resented. He undertook to preach down the new faith, threatening with eternal penalties those who let the hall, who happen to be mainly his own parishioners. Doubting, however, whether his own anathema would insure the complete damnation of the heretics and their lessons, he called to his aid the Christian Evidence Society. That society sent four clergymen—Bampton and Hulsean lecturers, men of proved courage against infidels,—who discharged four sermons at Mr. Conway, which were published. They also printed in the local paper six reviews of the pamphlet on Christianity, including among other amenities incident to theological discussion, an elaborate and bitter accusation of atheism. This Mr. Conway did not himself directly answer. He sent the book and the review of it to the President of the Christian Evidence Society—no less a person than the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England,—agreeing to abide by his decision whether there was or was not any atheism in the book. The Archbishop behaved manfully. He wrote Mr. Conway a long letter, declaring that he could find no atheism in his teaching, and expressing his disapproval of the fashion of imputing names and doctrines to people who disclaimed them. So the Vicar and the Christian Evidence Society fell by this shaft feathered from their own wing. A week or two since a vote of the share-holders of the Athenæum ratified by fifty-four to six the letting of the hall to Mr. Conway's congregation. Although nearly every share-holder is an Orthodox Christian, they saw no reason why Holloway laymen should be more Orthodox than the Archbishop of Canterbury. So ended one more effort at persecution. It had the result which persecution usually has. It promoted the freedom which it strove to stifle. It has doubled Mr. Conway's congregation, increased his salary, and circulated his book. The strife went on for six months, its record occupying on an average some five columns a week in the Holloway paper.

As to the non-atheistic character of Mr. Conway's essay, the judgment of the first prelate of the Church of England may be accepted as decisive; but he certainly would not pronounce it Orthodox. On the Christianity of the Church, the Christianity of tradition and history, Mr. Conway does certainly make war. "In judging the tree by its fruits," writes he, "I must affirm my conviction that the fruits of Christianity, though not altogether evil, were preponderantly evil." He sums up his criticism on it in a compendious sentence: "The chief root of its evil was that it taught mankind that their supreme duty is to believe certain propositions; and that the very worst sin man or woman can commit is to disbelieve those propositions." Mr. Conway is, in the good and right sense of the word, a freethinker. To him, naturally, nothing is more abhorrent than the effort to repress freethought, and the effort to set up in place of it, as the Church and every sect that for eighteen hundred years has called itself Christian has tried to do, the despotism of dogma. This plain speaking will shock and pain many worthy people; certainly much to Mr. Conway's regret, himself a kind-hearted man. But they may find some alleviation of their distress in the thought that it is not, after all, the best part or essence of Christianity on which Mr. Conway passes sentence. If he condemns Christianity such as the professors of Christianity have made it, he is far from condemning the religion, the virtues, the ideas which they label Christian. These are not declining; it is Roman Catholicism and Calvinism that are declining; sectarianism of all kinds, and the human fabrics reared by so many hands and alleged to be of divine origin.

You perceive that Mr. Conway takes a sanguine view of the growth of freedom. Other recent observers have thought Romanism was never a greater power than at this moment. Mr. Conway's remark that Christian enthusiasm is spent, may not, after all, be inconsistent with that view. Neither is he at a loss for the means of supplying the void which the disappearance of Christianity must leave. A man of so emotional a nature as Mr. Conway could not be insensible to the emotional and other religious wants of the world in general. He gives us glimpses into the future as he would have it; and believes it will be when the existing "barbarous" religion shall have yielded to the advances of civilization. We shall still have a Bible, but it will not be the Hebrew Scriptures and New Testament only; it is to be enlarged by adding to it the manifold Scriptures now rejected, which make up the canon of revelation to humanity—a sacred anthology in fact. Christ will be left to us, stripped of his divinity; and be held as one of a high and holy fraternity of seers and teachers, stretching through all ages, whom no one race can claim, who speak from universal reason and right. As for God and immortality, some better notions are to be hoped for than those contributed by what Mr. Conway calls the strongest manifestations of Christian enthusiasm in our time; *viz.*, Mormonism, Shakerism, Moodyism, and Spirit-rapping. I quote the passage which seems to contain the most exact account of what Mr. Conway expects from the Religion of the Future:—

All our hope of new light now comes of the liberation of the human mind in every part of the world from these other worldly methods which have so conspicuously failed; and the concentration of the combined energies of all the mind, heart, and wealth of the earth to the work of civilizing religion and raising it to equality with our material and scientific progress. We have found that gazing into the sky does not reveal God; now let us try what will come of exploring the earth, and man, and history.

The Chinese sage said to men, "Since you do not yet know man, how can you know God? Since you do not comprehend life, how can you comprehend death?" Some of us believe—I believe—that eyes

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turned from phantom gods have caught glimpses of a divine life in the evolution of Nature and the mystical movement of the heart of man. Already some have listened deep, and heard a sweet music to which the ages keep time, and man ever marches to a happier destiny.

The universe is the shrine of Reason; it is the abode of Love; it is the temple of Consciences. These we have derived from it, and from us they shall return to it in that perfect trust which no surrounding darkness can extinguish, not even the darkness of the grave. But it is with these our larger hope is ascending. We know that Reason has hardly begun to tell its story, that Love has been drooping in the dungeon of fear, and Conscience hardly awakened from the drugs of superstition. They have yet to fulfil their career in religion which has been so long denied them. They can find their freedom and fulness only in the unity of mankind. Of old the races streamed out through the earth, like pulses from the heart of Nature, that every member of the body might be fed from a common life; and though member has warred with member, still has their secret life centred in that one heart. Now let the day of harmony dawn! Now let member coöperate with member, and nation say to nation, "I have need of thee!"

As a statement of a creed, this may be thought to lack precision; and I can imagine an Orthodox opponent of Mr. Conway protesting that it is no better than a sort of religious communism, or, at best, a poetic translation of the doctrine of fraternity in politics. I do not know that Mr. Conway would care to defend himself against even such a charge as this. He expressly anticipates that the new prophets, nobler than Christian or Mohammedan, are to be born of the enthusiasm of humanity, and expressly teaches that the highest religion of to-day is to look and labor for a nobler day.

The essays which precede this are all on topics more or less closely related. Such titles as "Growing Superstitions," "The Praying Machine," "Anthropomorphism," and others, indicate the bent of Mr. Conway's mind. He grapples courageously with problems for which the most devout souls of all times have sought solutions. He presses everything into the service of his favorite speculations,—science and art and literature are only the hand-maids to a possible religion. It would be too much to say that this book will satisfy all minds to whom reflections on the mysteries of life, human and divine, are familiar. But whoever reads them without prejudice, and can put up with free handling of subjects called sacred, will find them suggestive, full of genuine sympathy, and of feeling often poetic in its essence and eloquent in expression.—*G. W. S., in New York Tribune.*

THOMPSON ON THE PAPACY.

The Hon. R. W. Thompson of Indiana, Mr. Hayes's Secretary of the Navy, published a book last winter on *The Papacy and the Civil Power*. It is a very full statement of evidence and arguments which, in the opinion of Mr. Thompson, go to show that the Papal power, and especially the Jesuits, is the foe of civil liberty and republican institutions. Mr. Thompson does not anywhere seek to conceal his opinions concerning the Roman Catholic system and idea. He believes that they are essentially retrogressive in their nature, and that the welfare of mankind, and especially of the people of this country, demands that they should not be permitted to gain the ascendancy. Mr. Thompson does not go out of his way to abuse the Roman Catholic hierarchy, although he uses very plain terms in dealing with it; and it is evident, that, while he means to administer a powerful blow to Roman Catholicism in this country, he means to be fair. Nor can it be denied that his work is an able one, whatever may be said of its purpose or of the premises and conclusions of the author.

Such a work must naturally make a stir in the land. It could not fail to be unpalatable to the Roman Catholics; and we have been much interested to see how they would receive it and what reply they would make to it. The book has been published about six months, and there has been plenty of time to peruse it. So strong an arraignment from such a source could not be overlooked; and the Catholic pulpits and publication offices are beginning to be occupied with comments and criticisms upon it. We noticed a few days ago a sermon by a priest in Washington, the Rev. Father Boyle, devoted entirely to Mr. Thompson and his book. Father Boyle seems to have preached an interesting sermon; but, after considerable general denunciation of all those who attack Catholicism, he fell afoul of Mr. Thompson's acquaintance with the Latin and English languages, to which he devoted so much of his time that he did not have much space left to deal soberly with the points of Mr. Thompson's work. We do not know how thorough is Mr. Thompson's acquaintance with the Latin language, and it is quite likely that the construction of some of his English sentences is not absolutely faultless. Yet we should have been glad if the Washington preacher could have devoted less time to those matters, and dealt a little more with the arguments and disputed statements in the book which he was criticising. We regretted to notice that in calling attention to an error in Mr. Thompson's English, Father Boyle (who seems to have corrected the report of his sermon for the newspaper in which it appeared) attempted at one point to make it appear that there was a misconstruction where there was none at all.

A more extensive "reply" to Mr. Thompson appears in print "addressed to the American people" by F. X. Weninger, D.D., of the "Society of Jesus." This gentleman has written several works which were referred to and quoted from by Mr. Thompson in his book. He makes an error at the start, by saying that the work in question appeared during the presidential canvass last year; but this is perhaps unintentional. Father Weninger answers Mr. Thompson's main point as follows:

The assertions . . . which Mr. Thompson makes on the necessary antagonism between the Catholic Church and free institutions are characterized by pitiful ignorance and blind audacity. He is reckless of logic, of history, of common-sense, of charity; and presents himself before the loyal American people as a narrow-minded bigot. No scholar would venture to repeat the stale calumnies which have so often been refuted. But Mr. Thompson writes as serenely and flippantly about the history and aims of the Catholic Church as if he were scribbling about some club or meeting-house in his native village. In answer to his accusations against the Church as the enemy of liberty, I tell him, that, if ever this country should become a Catholic country—that is, if Catholics should ever be in the majority, and have the control of political power,—then he would see the principles of our Constitution carried out to the fullest extent; he would see that these States would be in very deed *United*. He would behold a people living in peace and harmony; joined in the bonds of one faith, their hearts beating in unison with love of their fatherland, with charity and forbearance toward all, and respecting the rights and conscience even of their slanderers.

The writer does not deny that the doctrine that the government of the Church is above all merely civil government is taught everywhere by the Roman Catholics, but he says that they recognize in this republican form of government "the same title to allegiance that is possessed by any legitimate form of government, *viz.*: that it is a government by divine right." But he immediately afterward says: "If there is any danger to the free institutions of this Republic, it will come from the principles of Protestantism logically developed. Those who deny divine authority, in matters of religion and conscience, cannot, if they are consistent, have much respect for the authority of the State. Their obedience is not a matter of conscience; their allegiance depends rather on their interest than on their sense of high obligation. The man who claims the right to say: 'The Church, it is myself,' why should he not also claim the right to say: 'The State, it is myself?' Protestantism, so far from having originated with the people, or being the palladium of their liberties, was, from the very beginning, used by princes and kings as an instrument of despotism."

Father Weninger answers the charge that the Jesuits are opposed to Republican institutions, by asking why, if that is true, Bismarck does not use and sympathize with them. He has always taught his hearers, he says, that it is their duty to sustain the Union even with their blood—this in answer to the charge of disloyalty. The following are some of the concluding sentences of Father Weninger's reply:—

"We advise Mr. Thompson to send his book to the Czar, Alexander III., and to Frederick William, Emperor of Germany. He may expect from them, as a token of their sympathy, the orders of St. Andrew and of the Black Eagle. From clear-minded, self-thinking, patriotic Americans, he cannot expect anything but the *decoration* of their contempt. As long as American hearts *will* beat in American bosoms and the blood of their fathers *shall* flow in their veins, such efforts as Thompson's *shall* not succeed. True, genuine Americans will protect the Catholic Church in this country, and will finally join it. . . . We leave the volume, whose argument we have killed, as a carcass to be devoured by those Texan buzzards—those stinking birds—we mean that kind of men who love to feed on corruption, calumnies, and lies, and are attracted by the stench of them."

The writer winds up, by stating that "it is evident to every critic that Mr. Thompson did not write the book himself, but only adopted it"; and therefore his "reply is not directed to him, but to the real author of the book."—*Sunday Herald.*

CHURCH MORTGAGES IN NEW YORK.

Recent foreclosure proceedings in the case of Dr. Hepworth's Church of the Disciples and similar procedures in other suits have lately directed attention to the fact that many of the finest and costliest of the fashionable churches in this city are heavily mortgaged. No other class of improved real estate in the city appears to be so heavily encumbered as that of its religious associations. Of course no sort of property has more uncertain tenure of its income, the whole depending in large measure on the popularity of the ministers engaged and in the good-will and prosperity of the church-members.

Nearly the whole of the debt created by these mortgages has been for the purpose of enlarging edifices, or the construction of new ones. There can be found scarcely an example where a church has incurred debt for the purpose of increasing the salaries or the numbers of its laborers, or to enlarge its contributions to general charity or missionary funds. *All has apparently been for show.* Indeed many of the churches owe their existence to the mortgages with which they are encumbered.

The following list shows the financial condition of many of the New York churches which are mortgaged, and of some religious societies. All mortgages registered prior to 1869 are omitted, and others less than $9,000 in amount disregarded, except in the grand totals. The other figures are exact, as taken from the County Register's books:—

American Bible Union, No. 32 Great Jones Street	$20,000
American Tract Society, No. 150 Nassau Street	163,000
Annunciation, P. E., No. 142 West 14th Street	16,000
Ascension, P. E., 5th Avenue and West 10th Street	35,000
Ascension Chapel Mission Association, P. E.	21,600
Atonement, P. E., Madison Ave. and East 29th St.	25,000
Brick Presbyterian Ch., 5th Ave. and W. 37th St.	25,000
Christ P. E. Church, 5th Avenue and East 35th St.	29,000
Covenant, Presbyterian, Park Ave. and East 35th St.	$29,000
Disciples, Cong., Madison Avenue and East 45th St.	189,000
Fifth Avenue Baptist, No. 6 West 46th Street	42,000
Fifty-third Street Baptist, 53d Street and 7th Ave.	67,000
First Baptist, No. 43 East 39th Street	45,000
First Baptist of Harlem	22,000
First Ger. Bapt., East 14th Street and 1st Avenue	18,000
First United Pres., No. 233 East 116th Street	12,500
Fourth Avenue Pres., No. 288 4th Avenue	25,000
Fourth Ger. Ref. Prot. Dutch	10,000
Fourth Ref. Pres., No. 365 West 48th Street	20,000
Grace Church, P. E., Harlem	10,000
Heavenly Rest, P. E., No. 551 5th Avenue	137,000
Holy Apostles, P. E., 9th Avenue and West 28th St.	12,000
Holy Saviour, P. E., East 25th St. and Madison Ave.	60,000
Holy Sepulchre, P. E., East 74th Street and 4th Ave.	50,000
Holy Trinity, P. E., Harlem	65,000
Holy Trinity, Ev'n Lutheran, No. 47 West 21st St.	28,886
Incarnation, P. E., Madison Ave. and East 35th St.	14,000
Intercession, P. E., West 155th St. and Boulevard	45,000
Jane Street M. E., No. 13 Jane Street	14,000
Madison Ave. Ref., Madison Ave. and East 57th St.	100,000
Madison Square Pres. Church, Madison Ave. and East 24th Street	45,000
M. E. Church, East Circuit of New York	45,000
M. E. Church, Harlem	40,000
Memorial, Pres., Madison Avenue and East 53d St.	130,000
New York Pres. Church, No. 169 West 11th Street	15,000
North-West Prot. Ref. Dutch	20,000
Phillips, Pres., Madison Avenue and East 73d Street	250,000
Puritans, Pres., West 130th Street and 5th Avenue	155,000
Plymouth, Baptist	18,000
Ref. Prot. Dutch Church	471,000
Ref. Prot. Dutch Church, No. 307 West 34th Street	25,000
Ref. Low Dutch Church, Harlem	28,000
Sacred Heart, R. C., No. 447 West 51st Street	15,000
Second Cong. Unitarian Church	64,000
St. Andrews, P. E., Harlem	60,000
St. Bernard, R. C., No. 332 West 14th Street	70,000
St. Esprit, R. C., French Church of	10,000
St. John, Evang. Luth.	16,000
St. John the Baptist, R. C., No. 209 West 30th Street	75,000
St. Luke, Ger. Evang., No. 233 West 42d Street	30,000
St. Nicholas, R. C., No. 125 2d Avenue	19,000
St. Stephens, P. E., No. 55 West 45th Street	34,000
St. Teresa, R. C., Rutgers and Henry Streets	27,000
St. Vincent de Paul, Asylum of, R. C.	5,000
St. Vincent de Paul, Church of, R. C., No. 127 West 23d Street	65,000

RECAPITULATION.

Presbyterian	$706,000
Reformed	644,000
Protestant Episcopal	453,000
Roman Catholic	220,000
Baptist	212,000
Methodist	79,000
Lutheran	44,886
Total	$2,367,886

—*N. Y. Tribune, June 9.*

Poetry.

[For The Index.]

WORSHIP.

Base, craven instinct! born of ignorance
And fear, that bow'st man's forehead to the dust
With downward-bent and beast-like grovelling glance;
The nobler faculties of spirit rust
Beneath thy tyranny, unused, repressed.
Reason to sense gives not its high behest;
So that all things distorted are, to suit
The ends of superstition vile. Sword, cross,
And sceptre sway the brutal, stupid crowd.
Truth, bruised and bleeding, lieth crushed and mute;
While triumph o'er her mitred hierarchs proud,
Proclaiming fiercely that her gold is dross:
But soon will come her day of sovereign power,
When priests, mobs, kings, will 'neath her glances cower.

B. W. Ball.

Boston.

[For The Index.]

FAITH.

Believe and trust, though clouds may darkly lower,
And hope the herald seem of stern despair;
Bend not before the blast, but with new power,
And firmer will, still persevere and dare.

With caution choose the path thy feet shall tread;
Then hold thy course, unwavering, firm, and true:
Though disappointment fill thy soul with dread,
Seek for the good it surely brings to you.

Prize, but ne'er test thy friends: build no ideal,
That, shattered, leads to bitterness and woe;
That which alone may win a guerdon real
Is in thyself—thyself to act and do.

With patience work and strive, serene, undying,—
The only helper of the aspiring soul;
Though oft deceived, still trusting and relying,
With time and faith, thou yet shalt win the goal.

Carlotta.

Chicago.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 23.

Joseph E. Reed, $1.50; J. K. Morley, $10; S. S. Hunting, $7.90; Emerson Bentley, $4; H. F. Marshall, $1.25; Cash, $5.35; Geo. H. Foster, $1.60; Dr. E. Moyer, $1.75; Joseph Bristol, $3.25; J. L. Stoddard, $26.40; John Curtis, $25; Benj. J. Jones, $1; W. C. Little, $3.20; D. G. Francis, 10 cents; Thomas Douglas, $3.65; A. E. Heobt, $3.20; Chas. Hazeltine, $1.60; G. B. Stebbins, $3.20; John Howes, $6.40; Thomas Nye, $12; Thomas Butler Gunn, $3.83; Stevens & Kalloch, $1; Mrs. L. F. Johnson, $1.25; Chas. M. Green, $1; Mrs. F. Wason, $1.50; John Logan, $4.04; J. C. Keams, $1.60; Wm. Harrison, 10 cents; Dr. Robert Ormiston, $3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 28, 1877.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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THE PRINCE OF WALES horrified the Sabbatarians recently by visiting Grosvenor Gallery on Sunday afternoon with two of his children.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD will lecture at the Paine Memorial on Sunday forenoon, July 1, in reply to Rev. Joseph Cook on the subject of Materialism. The ability of the lecturer, who is exceedingly well fitted to handle this subject, will doubtless attract a large audience.

A FRIEND who evidently has a keen sense of the ludicrous sends us this: "Sussex County, New Jersey, has produced a five-year-old boy who, when his Sunday-school teacher told him how Jesus took little children in his arms and blessed them, earnestly inquired: 'When will he be round again?'"

THE GRAND RAPIDS (Michigan) *Post* of June 9 says: "The valedictorian of the Williams College class of 1871 was Mr. John L. Stoddard, of Boston, who was sent through with the expectation that he would become an Orthodox minister. He afterwards travelled extensively, and studied for the ministry, but within a few weeks he has abandoned Orthodoxy and become a radical contributor for THE INDEX, the infidel organ. Mr. Stoddard was the most brilliant scholar Williams College had seen for years when he was there. He will be in his new relations a most efficient workman, and he has certainly proved the sincerity of his convictions by sacrificing prospects that were, in the social sense, of the most flattering description."

OUR LIST of editorial contributors receives this week a most valuable accession in the name of Hon. Elizur Wright, who has been an occasional contributor and a warm friend to THE INDEX from the beginning, and who kindly consents to give it an editorial article now and then. Born in 1804 at Canaan, Connecticut, Mr. Wright was educated for the Orthodox ministry, but failed to pass the examination on account of doctrinal unsoundness. For several years he was Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at the Western Reserve College, in Ohio, and subsequently became the first Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. A lot of Abolitionist tracts sent by the Society to Charleston was burned on the public square by the excited South Carolinians, who offered a reward for the capture of the mailers. Mr. Wright was rescued from kidnappers only by the intervention of some hackmen; and his house in Brooklyn would have been mobbed and destroyed, if the Mayor had not tardily consented to protect it. As editor of various journals in Boston, particularly of the *Chronotype* (founded in 1845), he spent years of active service in the Anti-Slavery cause, and conspicuously identified himself with the little band of moral heroes who roused the conscience of the North against the great crime of the nation. From the year 1858, he held for about six years the office of Insurance Commissioner for the State of Massachusetts, and has made himself a great authority on the subject of life insurance, on which he has published some valuable books. In the literary world, however, he is best known by his free metrical version of La Fontaine's *Fables*, which is to-day the standard translation, and exhibits a wonderful sprightliness, brilliancy, and aptitude for the performance of a very difficult task. A thorough radical in religion, Mr. Wright never hesitates to express his opinions with equal courage and clearness, yet with a strong reverence for all that ought to be revered—as appears very plainly in his article on the opposite page. We congratulate our readers on the prospect of more such articles as this, and only hope that the writer's quite indefensible modesty will not interfere with their frequency.

THE BRADLAUGH-BESANT PROSECUTION.

The prosecution of Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant has been concluded, as announced in the following telegram dated London, June 21:—

"In the trial of Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Annie Besant, for publishing a pamphlet alleged to be immoral, before Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn, Mr. Bradlaugh to-day finished his defence.

"The Lord Chief-Justice, in summing up, said a more injudicious and ill-advised prosecution was never brought into a court of justice; but if the jury were of the opinion that the book was calculated to injure public morals, then, however pure and good was the intention of defendants in publishing the work, their duty was to find them guilty.

"The jury, after being out an hour and a half, returned the following verdict: 'We are of the opinion that the book is calculated to deprave the public morals; but we entirely exonerate the defendants from a corrupt motive in publishing it.'

"Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn said: 'I direct you upon that to find a verdict against defendants.'

"The prisoners were ordered to reappear a week from to-day, in the meantime being allowed out on bail."

During the progress of the trial, the circulation of the book (Dr. Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy*) is reported to have increased from 700 to 100,000 copies. The verdict of the jury must be satisfactory to all friends of the defendants so far as it publicly vindicates the entire purity of their motives, and thereby prevents their enemies from using this prosecution to break down their characters in public estimation. It was an act of extraordinary daring to do what these defendants have done, rising to the level of heroism and sure to receive the admiration which all heroism elicits. The Lord Chief-Justice told the plain truth when he said that "a more injudicious and ill-advised prosecution was never brought into a court of justice"; and the usual effect of such prosecutions is illustrated by the astonishing increase in the sale of the condemned book. The defendants come out of the fiery ordeal of the prosecution, not only without the slightest stain upon their reputations on account of publishing the book, but even with a marked and very unusual expression of personal respect on the part of the jury.

The effect of the book itself upon public morality, however, is a wholly distinct question, much more difficult to answer than the question of motive; and we cannot help thinking that there is a measure of truth in this part of the verdict also. The book is one which not only gives scientific information respecting the reproductive system (doing so in language of great delicacy, against which no just reproach can be brought), but also describes in detail how to prevent conception by other means than by absolute continence. This is the feature of the book which gives it its real character, as a cheap propagandist publication of the Malthusian school; and it is undoubtedly this feature which determined the judgment of the jury. That such a book conveys knowledge which, in the hands of the immoral, can be made subservient to the most immoral purposes, such as adultery and seduction,—that, if scattered by the hundred thousand copies, it will certainly fall more or less into such hands,—and that its effect on public morality is therefore certain to be bad to at least some extent,—we do not see how any one can deny. The book is analogous to one which should give specific directions for preparing the most fatal poisons, and for using them so as to defy all subsequent detection; would any one doubt that, scattered broadcast over the land and coming into all sorts of hands, such a book would tend to make murder dangerously easy and frequent? It would only contain scientific facts properly expressed; yet the hard common sense of mankind would consider it an "immoral book," giving information which had better be intrusted only to scientific men as such, and not disseminated indiscriminately among all classes of the population. If, furthermore, the book were issued in the direct interest of a quite possible form of Malthusianism which should advocate on philanthropic grounds not only the prevention of an increase of the population, but also a positive reduction of it,—which should add to its lists of poisons and its specific directions for using them direct advice to administer them secretly to all hopeless invalids, to all very aged persons, and in general to the classes whose removal would be to the purely economic advantage of the community,—such a book would probably and not wholly unjustly be considered immoral, however excellent and philanthropic might be the motives of its publishers.

Nevertheless, this does not fully dispose of the case; it does not by any means justify the legal condemnation and suppression of such a book as Dr. Knowlton's, or of any other book written with an evident purpose to elevate rather than to degrade mankind. So unspeakably precious is the liberty of the press that, in all dubious cases, freedom should receive the benefit of the doubt. The way to make men moral, in the long run, is not to keep them in ignorance; it is not to suppress the honest thought of any writer, however crude or erroneous; it is not to set up the present knowledge of the community as an absolute finality, and to impose penalties on those who have the courage to proclaim sincere convictions which the majority consider impious or immoral. The principle of suppression is that of the "Sacred Congregation of the Index" at Rome, and is in disfavor everywhere, except where insolent bigotry reigns supreme. The wiser and nobler course, nay, the course sure to be far more successful in the end, is to place no obstacles in the way of publishing any well-meant book, dear or cheap, but rather to multiply means of information, to overwhelm half-knowledge with knowledge, to conquer the immoralities of well-intentioned but practically mischievous literature by a fuller and higher instruction of the whole people. Public opinion, thoroughly enlightened and brought to bear with full force against any really immoral and therefore dangerous principles, will be a thousand times more efficacious in averting their evil effects than a public policy which, striving to stamp out an incipient fire in perilously combustible material, only succeeds in scattering sparks in every direction. Admitting that the Knowlton book is really immoral in its tendencies (and all that can justly be alleged against it is that immoral persons will be likely to put it to immoral uses), the result of the present attempt to suppress it will beyond a doubt be to multiply whatever mischief it might have done many thousands of times. On the contrary, if the parties who instigated this prosecution had taken the pains to publish as cheaply, and scatter as widely, some book which should teach the principles of a high and pure sexual morality in terms free from all low associations and comprehensible by everybody, is it not more than likely that any evil effects of Dr. Knowlton's book would be in the main effectually neutralized? The suppression policy in this case, as proved by the increased sale, has turned out to be an egregious failure from the start; the policy of supplementing this book by further information and wise warnings, even if not absolutely successful, would at least have succeeded better than that.

There can be no question among right-minded people that the circulation of literature cunningly calculated to stimulate the passions or to facilitate vice, especially when addressed to children and youths, is a high crime against society, and ought not to be tolerated anywhere. Those who are too young to protect themselves against its demoralizing influences ought to be protected by the community which has everything at stake in their purity. But that should be the limit of the suppression policy. Books designed for no such purpose, but addressed to the reason and conscience of the reader, ought not to be suppressed at all, even though the theories advocated may not be reconcilable with the moral convictions of the majority, and though the information communicated may be capable of abuse. It is in this latter class that we should include the Knowlton pamphlet. The just limitations of the freedom of the press do not extend to this treatise, which is not at all obscene, and was manifestly written with a sincere desire to do good. If its moral or immoral character is to be judged by the very evident motives of the writer, it is not an immoral book; but if its character is to be determined by its actual influence on public morality, we should say that this influence is likely to be mixed, partly moral and partly immoral. The same may be said of a great many other books which no one has ever dreamed of attempting to suppress on moral grounds; as for instance the Bible, which Rome suppresses, if she can, only because it undermines the authority of the Church.

With these views, when we were requested to allow our name to be placed on the Bradlaugh Defence Committee, we could only reply that, if the Committee were simply understood to defend the freedom of the press in a test case, we cordially consented; but that, if they were also understood to defend the thesis that this particular book is not immoral, we could not conscientiously do so, since that is a question not to be decided solely by the motives of the writer. Whether our name was added, or not, we do not know. But our readers will be much interested in the letter of Miss Fenwick Miller (printed on a previous page), who with admirable dignity de-

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fends her course in giving to the Committee the use of her own name. It is difficult to find words strong enough with which to commend the courage of ladies who, like Mrs. Besant and Miss (now Mrs.) Fenwick Miller, do not flinch for conscience' sake to allow their names to be connected with a case so repugnant to the instincts of their sex; and surely every one but the malicious will rejoice that the verdict at least places them beyond any possibility of incurring the reproach they risked so bravely. We would also call attention to that passage of the editorial article accompanying Miss Miller's letter in the *Eastern Argus* (also printed in this issue) which says: "It is absurd for any public journal to contend that Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, with an almost world-wide reputation as a lecturer and a politician, apart altogether from his 'free-thought,' would, just as his future is most promising, throw over everything for the purpose of becoming the publisher of Holywell Street abominations. However much we may differ from Mr. Bradlaugh on theological matters, and we do, wide as the poles, common fairness compels us to say that during the twenty-seven years of his public life his character has been free from the least taint of suspicion of 'filthy' proclivities."

The contest that these defendants have made has been above all for the freedom of the press; whether the actual publication in question is or not "immoral" in a strictly utilitarian sense, it is preposterous to contend that it is "immoral" in any sense that implies deserved disgrace to the publishers; we have not a shadow of doubt that the only righteous verdict would have been complete acquittal, since the law ought not to condemn any book whose motive of publication was so evidently honest, philanthropic, and free from any taint of wilful impurity. That the defendants have been even partially condemned throws discredit on English law, which does not yet permit its full and rightful freedom to the press, but throws none on them; and, whatever penalties they may be obliged to undergo, they may rest assured of the sympathy of all who fitly value that intellectual liberty in whose cause they suffer. No matter if the condemned pamphlet is in one sense immoral, that is no just cause for punishing them for publishing it; for if all books liable to the same objection should be condemned, nine-tenths of the works advocating Christian theology should receive a far heavier condemnation. It would be monstrous and unendurable for the law to undertake to suppress all "immoral" books not immoral in manifest motive and intent; yet, unless it does this, it is a great wrong to imprison these defendants. The result of their imprisonment cannot fail to be an extension of the just freedom of the press; and it should be no small consolation to them to remember that they will not suffer in vain.

"REVERENCE."

"A lingering trace of reverence is still discernible in the occasional use of capitals."—*Springfield Republican.*

This is a criticism by implication on two books; one by Conway and the other by Frothingham, both outside the pale of Christianity. The *Republican's* wonder seems to be that there should be any reverence left in a man who is outside of such a pale. The sentence which the *Republican* quotes from Frothingham, as giving "in a condensed form about the essence as well as style of both books," is as follows:—

"James Martineau's tender wisdom gains nothing in charm by being attributed to his beautiful fiction of a Christ, and Mr. Moody's painful caricatures of Providence have an unfair advantage in being sheltered behind the authority of the Hebrew messiah."

Here certainly is as much orthographical reverence as could be desired, with the exception perhaps of the word Messiah.

But supposing Messrs. Conway and Frothingham really have no more reverence for Christ or Providence than they have for Messrs. Martineau and Moody, does it follow that they have less reverence than they ought to have, for what is supremely reverend?

Reverence for will, as such, is nothing but fear, not the noblest quality in human or any other nature. Will does not become worthier of worship by becoming stronger, even to the extent of being supreme. If there is a supreme will that orders and controls everything in the universe, it is reverend, not because it is supreme, but because it orders and controls everything as nearly as possible according to the principles of order and harmony, which are eternal and above all will.

It may be called blasphemy to think it; but it is none the less true for that, that the human mind cannot conceive of a will strong enough to turn a mathematical truth into a falsehood. Hence there is something conceivable to be reverenced higher than will, even than a supreme will; namely, that which a supreme will must reverence to make it worthy of reverence. Does it not then follow that, if a man should cease to believe in the personal objects of worship which Christianity sets forth—always in capitals,—there would still be left, as objects of reverence, the eternal laws of order and beauty which radiate into the human soul from every possible subject of thought and every cubic inch of the material universe? Nothing to reverence, and yet life everywhere, even in death! Nothing to reverence, and yet every atom of the universe alive, and ready to jump into the arms of some other live atom, if it comes within reach!

The least reverent of mortals is probably the man who shuts his eyes to the actual universe, ignores the eternal, uncreated principles of order and harmony, and lives as much as possible in some one of the five or six theological universes created by the human mind at various stages in the progress of the human race. These theological universes, so far as I am informed, agree in starting from will as superior to law. With them two and two are four, and the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, because God willed and made them so. And a thing is right because God commands it, not that he commands it because it is right. To some minds this is simply inconceivable. They do not on that account deny the existence of will or of mind as something distinct from matter. But if you will make them try to dive infinitely beyond their depth, they have no more difficulty in conceiving of the eternity or self-creation of one than of the other, but it is an insuperable difficulty in either case. They hold it to be an entire and atrocious waste of time to inquire about two such phenomena as mind and matter, so acting and interacting on each other everywhere and everywhen, as to which is cause and which is effect. Knowing that it is impossible for them to conceive that there are *not* eternal and indestructible principles, or self-legislated laws, to which both mind and matter owe allegiance, they are humbly content to study and reverence those laws. Enough of them have been discovered to make men very solemn, earnest, and reverential, without any theology whatever.

ELIZUR WRIGHT.

UNITARIAN OR RADICAL—WHICH?

The final result of the controversy in the Unitarian Society at Revere, Massachusetts, is thus reported in the Boston *Journal* of June 23:—

Supreme Court—In Chambers—Lord, J.

A hearing is in progress in regard to the troubles in the First Congregational (Unitarian) Church at Revere. The subject came before the court in the form of a petition of the "First Parish of Revere *v.* George A. Tapley, William S. Janvrin, J. Irwin Magee, and Lemuel K. Washburn." The petition recites that the parish was formerly known as the First Parish of Chelsea, and was incorporated May 10, 1826; that previous to its incorporation the town of Chelsea transacted its parochial and municipal duties by the same organization and with the same officers; that upon the incorporation the petitioners succeeded to the parochial powers and property of Chelsea; that there is upon the parochial land a meeting-house which has been since the incorporation, and is now, in the possession of the petitioners, who have kept the pulpit supplied with preachers; that at a meeting of the parish on June 7, 1877, in pursuance of a warrant under date of May 21, David W. Stowers, Jonathan Harrington, and Ensign Kimball were chosen as the standing committee of the parish, and were sworn in and attended to their duties, one of which was to supply the pulpit, in pursuance of which they engaged the Rev. Warren Cudworth; that on Sunday, June 10, said Cudworth went to the meeting-house ready to preach; that said Washburn anticipated Cudworth in the occupancy of the pulpit to the exclusion of said Cudworth, and in contempt of the authority of the petitioners, who had terminated the contract with him as past; that the parish is Unitarian in its tendencies, and that Washburn does not belong to and does not believe in the tenets of that denomination, but is a "Radical," so called, in religion, and preaches in violation of the vote of the parish, passed on April 30, 1827, "that no denomination but that of the Unitarian principle shall be permitted to preach in the meeting-house"; that said Tapley, Janvrin, and Magee pretend to be the standing committee by reason of a pretended meeting of sundry persons, who have never been members of the parish and who do not hold to the tenets thereof, and do not desire to unite therewith for the purpose of advancing the cause of Christianity, but solely for the purpose of obtaining possession of the meeting-house and to pervert the same to "radical" uses; that this pretence of the defendants is untrue, because the last-named meeting was held without legal authority, and at it no member of the parish was present, and that neither of the defendants are members of the parish; that they illegally claim the power to supply the pulpit, and have confederated together to enter upon and hold possession of the meeting-house and to exclude the petitioners and their agents, and to prevent any clergyman, by the said Washburn, from occupying the pulpit.

The contempt in which the defendant Washburn holds the authority of the petitioners is shown by the appended note introduced by the petitioners:—

"REVERE, June 9, 1877.

"ENSIGN KIMBALL, DAVID W. STOWERS, JONATHAN HARRINGTON:

"*Sirs*,—As I do not recognize you in the official capacity which you assume, permit me to say that I shall take no notice of any matter which you may be pleased to communicate.

"(Signed) L. K. WASHBURN,
Pastor of the First Congregational Church of Revere."

The petitioners pray that a temporary injunction may issue to restrain the respondents from entering upon or taking possession of the meeting-house, or hindering the petitioners in the free use thereof; that the respondents may be required to answer, and for such other relief as may be found just and equitable.

The respondents contest the matter, as they view the troubles, claiming that they are the lawfully constituted parish committee.

The real question underlying this quarrel is whether the parish shall be Unitarian or "Radical"; and this will be determined for the present by the decision of the Court as to which of the two committees is the legally constituted one, with power to supply the pulpit, and to recognize members or fix and control the membership.

The trouble has been growing for months. Mr. Washburn has been pastor for two or three years; but on account of the radical character of his views there has been an increasing dissatisfaction on the part of a portion of the society and congregation. These caused to be printed and circulated a circular in which reference was made to a sermon preached by Mr. Washburn, April 29, 1877, on the subject, "Am I a Unitarian Minister?" Also to an article published by him in the *New Age*, Dec. 30, 1876, in which occurs the following paragraph: "Let us see if Christianity can stand criticism, or if Radicalism cannot. I believe that the Christian doctrines are false and injurious, and that they should be disproved and cut from our civilization. They deform it. Let us rid the world of worship of Jesus; of worship of the Bible; of the silly and nonsensical performances witnessed in Christian churches. One cannot enter a Christian Church without stooping, nor listen to the exercises in them without shame. Radicals cannot go to Christian meetings without loss of self-respect."

It is contended by the respondents that the "parish" means the territory, and that "members of the parish" means all legal voters of the vicinity who attend the meetings of the society; and the first evidence taken was upon the point as to the proceedings in former parish meetings, it being found that others than those in the list of 1848 had been in the constant habit of participation.

After hearing the evidence and arguments on both sides the Court granted the injunction prayed for.

Alfred Hemmingway and George Kimball for the petitioners; Charles S. Lincoln for the respondents.

The Supreme Court of Massachusetts, substantially like the Supreme Court of New Hampshire in the Dover case, has decided that Unitarianism and "Radicalism" are incompatible with each other,—that trustees identified with the latter cannot hold, administer or control property vested in a "Unitarian" society,—that they are to be ejected from the meeting-house of such a society, even though, as in this case, they represent a large majority of the society itself. The issue between Unitarianism and Freedom is thus forced upon the attention of Unitarians in Massachusetts, who can no longer ignore it because it is away off in New Hampshire. The protest against Christianity, even in its excessively mild Unitarian form, now becomes a home matter—a matter which must press heavily on every sensitive Unitarian conscience. The Supreme Court of the State, brushing aside the flimsy sophistries with which this vital issue has been incontinently smothered, now decides in effect that a minister cannot be Unitarian and Radical at the same time, and that, if the latter, he is an interloper and intruder in a Unitarian pulpit. Will the Unitarian papers at last treat this subject with the frankness which its gravity demands?

With Mr. Washburn, who is thus exiled by Massachusetts law from a society strongly attached to him by a large majority, and who is turned adrift by the triumph of Unitarian enmity to freethought, we have the deepest sympathy. He is a young man of unimpeached character, as brave as he is bright and liberal, and capable of splendid service in the field of religious radicalism, if only opportunities are opened to him. Several months ago, before these troubles came to a head, he called upon us, and expressed strong sympathy with the objects and principles of the Liberal League movement. He would render most valuable aid to this movement, if he could be constantly engaged in working for it; but, like many other earnest

and devoted spirits full of enthusiasm for this cause, his services cannot be had for lack of organized support. The liberals of the United States little dream what intellectual power and high moral purpose are lost to their cause, simply because they themselves are too inert or indifferent to give it scope for exercise. How can a young man like Mr. Washburn, forced out of the public advocacy of freethought because he is too brave and sincere to take false denominational shibboleths upon his lips, find a chance to continue his work in the dearth of organized liberal societies through the country? Here and there is one, but not enough to afford lecturers the bare necessities of life. If there were only a few hundreds of such societies, liberals would be astounded to see what intensity of now suppressed enthusiasm would blaze forth in advocacy of their own ideas. We speak of what we *know*. Young men have again and again appealed to us for aid in getting into this noble work; and it has been with inexpressible mortification and sadness that we have been obliged to confess that we were powerless, that the liberals of the country are too much engrossed with their private affairs to give the time and thought necessary to advance their own cause through local organization. They do not know their own numbers or strength. If they did, they would not be contemned or trampled under foot by Orthodoxy as they are to-day. Their cause is not that of a sect, but that of the whole country, aye, of all mankind; and its very universality will remain the source of its greatest weakness, until they themselves come to comprehend that they have a vast public duty to discharge. Speed the day when American Liberalism shall shake the slumbers from its drowsy eyes, and lay its resistless hand on the rudder of the national destiny!

Meanwhile, though wholly unsolicited by him, we ask all who can to invite Mr. Washburn to lecture in their town. His address for the present, at least, is Revere, Massachusetts.

Communications.

HUMAN INSTINCTS.

"I understand by *instinct* a law working to a given end by impulse, yet blindly,—the subject not knowing why he thus works; a law innate, inherent in the constitution of the animal, not acquired, but transmitted, the origin of which is to be found in the intelligent Author of the universe."—*Haven's Moral Philosophy*, p. 330.

"The difference of mind between man and the higher animals," says Mr. Charles Darwin, "great as it is, is certainly one of degree and not of kind."

That instinct is intelligent force, or physical force combined with intelligence, and operating throughout all organized life, we think there can be no reasonable doubt. That this intellectual force is the power of God—all powerful, and everywhere present—should also appear reasonable. If God possesses and exerts all power, then all the forces of Nature, all the actions, movements, and effects produced, are in, by, and through him. All animals, from the lowest *protozoa* to the highest mammals, even to man with all his superior endowments of thought, conscious intelligence, and affectional emotions,—all are only the production of forces derivable from the same omnipotent and original power, the power inherent in Nature; for Nature and omnipotence are inseparable, Nature being that which is seen and tangible, and omnipotence its hidden powers. Both are one, as the life and the body are one.

"Nature! What is Nature?" says George H. Calvert, in his *Life of Goethe*. "All that is, from the clod under your feet to the farthest star over your head; from the commonest impulse of the heart, to the finest aspiration of the soul; all phenomena, mental and physical, psychical and sensible, spiritual and corporeal, are embraced in Nature, are all manifestations of the supreme mind."

The principle of life, and that of instinct and reason, emanate from the same source, either directly or through various instrumentalities, and are but different appropriations and degrees of the activities of the divine mind and power. Human instincts are properly those of the vital functions, and belong to the corporeal organism. They may be innately derived from Nature in common with the instincts of other animal organisms, or they may be formed by the confirmed habits of individual experience, which, as the saying goes, becomes "a second Nature." But, as the habits of the parents descend to their offspring, so do these become innate instincts, inasmuch as the organism is conformed to produce them, and are in this way also derived from Nature, and yet all from God, the primal power of all being.

Now assuming, according to the quotation at the beginning of this article, "that instinct is a law working to a given end, yet blindly," then human instinct, whether it concerns the mind and soul, or otherwise, must work in the same way—is intuitively acquired, and is perfectly independent of man's present reasoning powers; and, therefore, all intuitional or instinctive impulses are unintellectual on the part of the subject, as much as are those of the ant or the swallow, until submitted to the inferences and decisions of reason. Again, instinct and intuition, being both the activities of Nature's diffusive mind, are intrinsically the same; the former belonging more particularly to the physical constitution, though occasionally to the psychical, while intuition is more especially supposed to designate the affections of the mind and its emotions, though both act without conscious intent. Yet how can mind exist and continue to be a verity, if deprived of the only qualities that give it distinction from animal passivity, the attributes of the will-power and rationality?

We are, however, often reminded by writers whom we would suppose to know well whereof they speak, that there is such a thing as the "instinct of reason." We have always supposed that there was a "difference in kind" between these two powers—the one impulsive and the other a motive power,—one coercive of its subject, the other originative and creative; but all within the boundaries of Nature. We have also heard of "philosophical instinct," which may be intended as co-partner with the "instinct of reason." These instincts, if not innate and transcendental in their nature, like that of intuition, and beyond that of man's common nature as a reasoning and moral being, most certainly give the results and benefits of reason without the exercise of that faculty, which human nature claims as its own distinctive attribute. Even presuming that these gifts of rational instinct are organic impressions, and come by normal human processes, by inheritance or personal habits, still, if they operate from any cause so as to be superior to and destructive of man's present reasoning powers, they destroy his volitional *status*, and make him equal to the animals that are below him in the sphere of being,—to a mere automaton, whichever way his faculties may have been substituted or extinguished.

Our thoughts, many of them, may be said to be instinctive or intuitional, inasmuch, as they seem to be spontaneous, and arise in the mind without the action of the will. What more can be claimed for those which are supposed to be peculiarly deposited in the soul from a higher source than has ever been committed to the human mind to be evolved by the exercise of its own functions? These ordinary thoughts, not usually claimed as instinctive, but continually springing up in the mind without any apparent cause, are, it appears to me, as really intuitional as any other thoughts; even as those pertaining to Deity, immortality, and the sense of right. So that, if all casual thoughts are not intuitional, none of them are. But those thoughts which many suppose to be instinctive or intuitional doubtless arise from organic tendencies impressed on the constitution, either innately, or according to educational influences from the environment of the individual.

All thoughts and ideas must surely arise from the impressions made upon the mind by external things, and by the comparing and deducing facts from such impressions. With regard to what have been called "innate ideas," though the intent as affecting the organism may have been just, yet a moment's consideration ought to dispel the conception of there being such a thing as inborn thought. But may not instinctive and intuitional thoughts be placed in the same category? Measured by the laws of Nature and the human mind, these, to me, are unaccountable conceits,—deductions from nothing; for they surely transcend and distort the functions of the soul, and overleap the boundaries of created being.

The fallibility of reason, to be sure, is proverbial; and it may, after all, hardly be wondered at that some may lose their faith in it, and substitute in its place some mere imaginary notions of their own, thinking, doubtless, that they can fancifully conjure up something just as near the truth as that fallible faculty can furnish. But the failure of reason to ascertain the truth, we may always know, is on account, not of imperfection in reason itself, but of our imperfection in the use of it—in our failing to reason rightly. "But," say the opponents of faith in reason, "there are other faculties and functions in man, other sources of perception and conviction than the understanding; these are the sense of duty and loyalty of the affections to an invisible Supreme." But whence came this sense of duty—this "Moral Sense," as it is sometimes called, but by the application of the powers of the mind and the ignored understanding? Reason with yourself; would you know what you should do to your neighbor? Do even as you would that he should do unto you. Sift out the true and the good from the débris of surrounding things and events? Then shall you, indeed, have "a sense of duty," and a conscience void of offence toward God and man.

Reason and the understanding are supposed to be incapable of deducing from the things that are seen those very facts that concern the progress and welfare of humanity the most. They depend upon a vague notion of moral sense welling up within them from the sources of germ-creation, super-sensuously distilled, and independent of natural organs or functions. Yet the advocates of this system of ethics are incautious enough to call it "Science in Religion." Science is the very acme of reason and intelligence; yet when these persons repudiate reason as insufficient for human needs, they vauntingly claim their system of religion to be established in science. They denounce reason as unreliable, yet would fain claim it as their own method, in antagonism to those who never abandon it, but constantly and honestly pursue it, and are guided by its decisions. Moral sense is indeed begotten by reason, and as such is the highest attribute of humanity; otherwise, if not so produced, if it is begotten by the caprice of circumstances, and its convictions are not brought before the bar of reason to be tested by its decisions, it may answer for a blind faith; but such a faith is no more than blind instinct at all creditable to man in his advanced estate, and should be relegated to man in a purely savage condition.

R. P. THOMSON.

SAN JOSE, Cal., June 8, 1877.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

No. XIII.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

We were brought by the reasonings of the last article to the verge of a seeming necessity for excluding will-force and freedom from any part in the universal arrangement and administration of things. It was shown that inherent necessity or fixed fatality must be admitted to go for something in the universe. It now remains to inquire whether they must, therefore, be admitted to go for everything. This is no longer a mere question for the metaphysicians. Physical science is taking a strong hold upon it. In philosophy the question is identified with that of efficient or back-lying causes and final or front-lying and soliciting causes (teleology); the former being formal, mechanical, invariable, and so favored by the fatalists; the latter being plastic, vitalic, and spontaneous or self-originative, and so favored by the advocates of free-will and divine intervention. In natural science the question comes forward as between evolutionism, in the purely mechanical sense, as the sufficient and total explanation of all that occurs (materialism), and what we may call supra-materialism, which posits the necessity of other forces than the purely mechanical and external laws of being, to account, at least, for some of the occurrences of the universe. As the former of these views (materialism) reduces all eventuation to a single variety of causation, it is also denominated monism (from the Greek *monos*, SINGLE); and as the latter (idealistic) view, admitting a fixed order of external causes as operating in part, yet posits other forces, or some other force, as essential to the production of other classes of phenomena, it is called dualistic, as predicating a doubleness of method in the operation of universal things.

Dr. Ernst Haeckel, just now the leading scientophilosopher of Germany, an earnest disciple of Darwin, but surpassing the master in the tendency to metaphysical discriminations, is one of those who has most fully discussed this subject, in the light of the natural sciences, and he may be cited as the most pronounced and representative monist. Agassiz, Richard Owen, and St. George Mivart may be mentioned among the ablest representatives of the opposite school. None of these last must be understood as opposing evolution for what it may prove to be worth; but as opposing the assumption that it (as merely external and mechanical, or what is the same thing, efficient-causative), covers the whole ground, and excludes the necessity of any other causation.

Haeckel characterizes these two schools of thought and theory,—the first as *mechanical-causal*, *monistic*, or *unismal*; the second as *final-causal*, *teleological*, DOUBLE-FACED, or DUISMAL (I translate from *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte*, Berlin edition, 1868, p. 16). He says rightly, in characterizing the duismalists (p. 17), "that it is entirely indifferent whether we adore this (interpolated) creative (or originative) power as a personal God, or whether we conceive it as a life-power (*vis vitalis*) or as telic purpose and cause (*causa finalis*)." "In each case," he adds, "we betake ourselves to the marvellous, as a means of explanation"; and this resort, he holds, must be absolutely excluded from the beat of the natural sciences. He might have added to the ranks of the duismalists all those natural scientists who believe in type forms or organic types, and who are known as transcendental anatomists, of whom Goethe, Oken, and Carus were preëminent instances, as contrasted with Cuvier, Buffon, and the ordinary school. It is on this ground that I class Richard Owen here, as he is perhaps the most eminent living defender of the theory of organic types.

It is a curious and valuable fact which Haeckel points out, that monism or unism is the triumphant doctrine throughout the abiological or inorganic range of the sciences; and that duism or dualism still prevails, lingers, as he would say, in biology (vegetology and zoölogy); that is to say, that the unismal theory prevails in the lower range, and the duismal theory in the higher range of these sciences; or, rather, that the latter statement was true until Darwin broke through the distinction; and that now the monistic or unismal doctrine is rapidly conquering in biology also, and, as he supposes, is destined absolutely to triumph in both spheres. That is to say, the supposition of the existence of any principle of spontaneity, not rigorously referable to the chain of antecedent and purely mechanical phenomena, is to be chased from the dominion of life, as absolutely as it is assumed to have been from the dominion of death.

The admission by naturalists of the occurrences of those seemingly abnormal forms called "sports" offers some difficulty to the certainty and simplicity of this theory; and other difficulties arise within the immediate scope of the sciences in question, which, however, I do not propose to discuss; but to suggest, rather, some farther out considerations which stand related to the subject.

The idea of a spontaneity producing the new form independently of any efficient or back-lying causes, allies itself with that of final or front-lying cause, soliciting or, as it were, drawing forth and on the exceptional occurrence; and this again with the supposition of a typical plan or programme to be enacted; and so with the notion of a will or wills, residing either in the thing itself, or elsewhere, and operating on it. Again, obedience to an efficient cause is compulsory, fatal, necessitarian; and obedience to a final cause is voluntary or attractive. The one operates *à tergo*, the other *à fronte*. We are thus brought to the simple consideration of the two forms of force which we call, in simple language, a *push* and a *pull*; and the denier of the existence of final causes is simply affirming that everything in

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the economy of universal things is accomplished upon the principle of *push;* and that nowhere is the principle of *pull* illustrated. When science substituted pressure for the older idea of suction, that was an argument in his favor; but that was in chief part in the inorganic realm, and even then we are still taught to regard gravitation as *attraction;* and are we at all prepared to discard the notion of attractive forces throughout the higher range of universal affairs?

Doubtless the disputants in this controversy who deny the existence of final causes, and so of any spontaneous and attractive domain anywhere, are not aware of the sweeping nature of their negative proposition. They are not aware, probably, that it is again the old question of fixed fate and free-will in a new arena, and under new conditions; that it is, at the other extreme, the question of mechanical traction and pulsion; that it is, on middle ground, the question of physical coercion and moral suasion in the control of the family, the school, and the State; that is the question of compulsory or slave labor and of "attractive industry" in every department of work, etc., etc. They do not know, that by denying final causes and spontaneity, they are affirming, virtually and analogically, that nothing anywhere either is or should be *drawn* or *pulled*, and that everything is and should be *driven* or *pushed*. The generalizations of universology are, however, like mathematical formulæ, by which numerous and remote classes of phenomena are drawn together by a common element of unity in the perception of the sameness of law which underlies them; and the question of teleology is thus bound up in the same fasciculus with these other related questions.

But in the usual order of development compulsory method comes earlier, and yields gradually to the presence of attractive method or charm; slavery first and freedom afterwards. It is in accordance with this order that efficient causes, only or mainly, should be recognized in inorganic nature, the lower and prior sphere of natural things, and that final causes should be recognized in greater measure, in the organic or living world; and the doubt must still be entertained whether Haeckel, and his compeers, even by the aid of Darwin, will be able to reduce all the happenings of the sphere of life to the dead mechanism of efficient causes.

Absolutely pure monism is indeed impossible. Haeckel founds himself, in asserting it, upon a quotation from Goethe, to this effect: "Matter can never exist and be actual without spirit, nor spirit without matter." This is an unfortunate authority and an unfortunate quotation for his purpose. First, it discriminates force as living power, from dead corpuscular matter, or from matter looked at in that aspect; and secondly, it identifies force with spirit (Geist). This is ample warrant for the duism along-side of unism or pure and exclusive monism; and then for *their unity*, which makes Goethe to be, what preeminently he was, a trinismalist (in a naturismal way). It is altogether a secondary and incidental question whether matter and spirit can exist apart. The first and fundamental question is: Do they both exist? Is the discrimination between them one that has to be made, and so that the study of its significance is important? Probably none but an extreme theologian, or an extremist of the opposite school, say Mr. John Fiske, in his anxiety to put matter and spirit so far asunder as to preclude all possibility of reasoning from the one to the other, would insist on the point that spirit, if it exist at all, must exist, or in certain states exist, or be capable of existing, entirely divorced from matter. The contrary conception, that matter and spirit always co-exist, that they are inexpugnably married or united; and that they, in some perhaps unknown or undefined sense, accurately reflect each other, so that what is true of one is true in some way, to be discovered and defined by science, of the other,—this is far more the prevalent drift of modern thought on the subject; a drift which is as yet vague or indeterminate, but which universology renders definite and exact.

Another important result of this *dictum* of Goethe, adopted by Haeckel, is the clear identification of force and spirit. This idea once accepted, there is no farther difficulty. Force and matter (hence spirit and matter) are clearly co-existent and inherently united, and measurable each in terms of the other; and yet, clearly distinguishable as the state and the dynamic manifestations of existence, respectively. And it is this complex idea which is really meant by the monism or unism of Haeckel; a *complexity* which is insisted on as being *a pure simplicity*. Those who are then called dualists differ from that view only in this: that they conceive that total concrete existence exhibits two spheres of being, in the lower and least developed of which matter, as such, predominates, with only those subordinate manifestations of spirit which are called mechanical forces or force; in the higher and more developed of which, spirit, as such, predominates, manifesting itself first as *life*, then as *mind*, and finally as that spontaneity or free-will, which seems, from time to time, to interfere with the steady and habitual course of the lower and more observable laws of Nature. It is even a fair question whether there be not a whole set of *occult laws* in universal Nature, which are set over against, and are constantly prone to counterwork, that set of the *overt laws* of Nature which our scientists are worthily investigating, only mistaking them for the whole, while in fact they are merely the half of the universal truth of things.

If then, spirit, the mind-side of things, and the occult constitute an equal half with overt matter (and its force); and if yet there is an identical framework of adjustment combining the two, and constituting them into the obverse and the reverse of the same general body of existence, the field of scientific investigation is simply enlarged thereby, while yet the method of attacking the whole problem is clearly indicated. If this be true—and it is certain that the universological analogies all concur in demonstrating it,—then thought and ideas are entities, and not a mere resultant of force in matter; matter and force (mechanical, efficient causes) are only naturismally originative, while scientismally or logicismally, mind and spirit are so; and universal existence is the prolification from their joint action. In this point of view immortality is as probable, not to say certain, as mortality; perpetual life as true at least as perpetual death; and we have only to ascertain in what form this truth is manifested.

This special identification of matter with efficient causes or the universal push, and of spirit with final causes or the universal pull, simplifies the issue, and will lead to important solutions; and, further on, this larger identification of numerous seemingly unrelated and remote conceptions, by virtue of a subtle sameness in their manner of standing related to numerous other things, illustrates the way in which it becomes possible to found the unity of knowledge. The most diverse aspects of thought and being and practical affairs are found to be colligated in the bonds of an all-embracing and systematic analogy, repetition, or echo of resemblances, which are traceable from a common fountain-head of unity in diversity, out into detail. That fountain-head is the fixity, the undeviatingness, the utter stillness, *or the mechanical uniformity in movement*, of things, on the one hand, which coincides with oneness; the change or deviation of parting, departing, etc., on the other hand, which coincides with twoness, and *their* coaction or combined unity in the production of whatsoever result. These, again, are the UNISM, DUISM, and TRINISM, which lie at the basis of the science of universal things; and which, when grasped and comprehended and rightly applied, will recast all human thinking, the whole sphere of education, and the life of the world; substituting definite knowledge for opinion, and substantially in all spheres.

Hundreds of other related ideas crowd into connection with those which have been designated. For example, in the matter of family, church, and political government, the *efficient-causal*, compulsory and purely mechanical fixed law method is masculoid and paternal; the loving, solicitous, attractive, or *final-causal* method (ginger-bread in place of the rod) is feminoid and maternal. So remote a matter, therefore, as woman's rights, stands intimately related with the vindication of the doctrine of final causes.

In conclusion, let me call the attention of thoughtful readers to a series of profound investigations into the basis of induction, a thesis supported before the Faculty of Letters, in Paris, by J. Lachelier, translated from the French by Sarah A. Dorsey, and published in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, St. Louis, during 1876 and 1877, and particularly to the treatment of the subject of final causes, in its issue of January, 1877.

RELIGIOUS REVIVALS.

MR. EDITOR:—

Notwithstanding the steady growth of Liberalism during the past year, Orthodoxy has been able to add to the numerical strength of its churches in many parts of the country. It has put forth every effort to accomplish this result. The course pursued shows that the method in which it has the greatest confidence is "getting up revivals." It has not gained anything in its contests with science, for, as Huxley says, "extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules"; and the means it now employs to swell its numbers are a confession that appeals made to the understanding and judgment of men fail to produce the desired result. Since there is no use in addressing the intellect with the expectation of making any considerable accessions to the churches, the only thing that remains for the leaders of Orthodoxy to do is to make increased exertions to obtain converts from the unintellectual and uneducated. As much as we dislike to acknowledge it, it is a fact which candor compels us to admit, that in this country, as in every other, the masses are ignorant and steeped to the eyelids in superstition. Under the influence of strong religious tendencies and devotional feelings, the result of ancestral experiences through ages of unreasoning faith, accustomed to "think in herds" as they have been taught from childhood, and moved in no other way so readily and profoundly as by appeals to their prejudices and emotions, they constitute an element with which the Orthodox clergy may hope for a long time yet to continue their influence and to perpetuate their authority. This is the element from which the churches, East and West, have been strengthened the past year and more. This is not simply an inference from a consideration of the means employed by Orthodoxy to increase her strength and influence—although as such it is quite legitimate and proper,—but a fact attested by the observation of thousands, admitted by the more candid and honest among the clergy, and easily demonstrated by reference to the intellectual calibre of the converts that have been added to the churches in any community during the recent revivals.

If the character of the converts do not bring honor directly to the Church, their numbers augment her power and make her more dangerous. Large organizations even, though composed chiefly of unintellectual men and women, like the Catholic and Methodist churches, may be able to influence society and the State to a far greater extent than smaller bodies made up largely of educated persons. Brought into ecclesiastical organizations and controlled by bigoted and narrow-minded, yet conscientious, leaders, the element to which I have referred will, I apprehend, be the most dangerous, because the most ignorant, unreasoning, and fanatical element with which the friends of State Secularization and impartial religious liberty will have to deal in the future. For this reason alone, if for no other, I cannot regard religious revivals, even though some incidental good can be justly claimed for them, with that indifference which I hear some Liberals express. The longer I live the more deeply I am impressed with the importance of a great, organized, systematic, sustained effort among the independent minds of this country to counteract the evil effects of superstition by the diffusion of science and liberal views, and at the same time to labor earnestly and unitedly for the triumph of those noble principles which constitute the platform of the National Liberal League.

Respectfully, B. F. UNDERWOOD.

THORNDIKE, Mass., June 14, 1877.

THE INTEREST DOCTRINE BRIEFLY STATED.

BY BISHOP FERBETTE.

The doctrine of money interest may be briefly stated thus:—

First, we must suppose the debtor to be solvent; for if the money is less safe with him than with the creditor, the loan contract becomes complicated with an insurance contract, and we must study a single case. Secondly, we must suppose the money to be as safe with the creditor as with the debtor; for if it is made more safe by the loan, the borrower is entitled to wages for safe-keeping, and so the loan becomes complicated with a contract of service and wages, and the case again is not a simple one. In a simple case, the conditions of which are by the nature of things necessarily found in every loan, the creditor is justly entitled to be compensated for all that he parts with by the fact of the loan, and should receive that compensation from the party in whose favor he parts with it. On examination we find that he parts with two things in favor of two different parties:—

First, he parts with the capital itself, and that in favor of the borrower. The borrower is therefore bound to repay to him the capital at the stipulated time or times, and is bound to nothing more.

Secondly, he parts with the certainty that, when the stipulated time comes, the money will be repaid to himself and not to his heirs, as he is not immortal. By incurring that uncertainty, he damages himself and benefits his heirs to an equal amount; and the amount is proportional to the duration of the loan and his probabilities of death, taking into account his age, according to tables of mortality. His heirs, therefore, may justly indemnify him for the risk incurred by him in their interest, by the payment of a sum or sums, called interest, of an amount proportional to the greater or less probability that the capital will be repaid to them and not to him.

But, supposing the heirs say that they don't care about the matter and will have nothing to do with it, and the borrower is greatly in need of the money, and the capitalist consents to lend it to him, what shall happen? Shall the capitalist incur without compensation the probability of the money being repaid to his heirs instead of him? And shall his heirs gratuitously receive at his detriment the benefit of that probability for which they have refused to indemnify him? Or shall the borrower himself offer to step into the place of the heirs in indemnifying the lender for the risk incurred in their behalf, but himself never receive any compensation for the money thus advanced for them?

The borrower, in that case, can offer to vicariously indemnify the lender for the risk incurred as aforesaid. But having paid what he has paid instead of the heirs and on their behalf, he is entitled, on his reimbursing the lender or his heirs for the capital, to deduct all that he had paid in the form of interest. The Catholic Church teaches that the lender is bound to provide for that deduction by his will. In defect of such will, the heirs themselves are bound to allow that deduction, which the borrower may demand and the courts must award. All laws and stipulations to the contrary effect are null and void.

The purchase of a life annuity for a premium differs in substance from a loan contract, as the premium or capital is never to be repaid. But the justice or injustice of a premium and annuity contract is based on the same principles as that of a loan and interest contract. The annuity can never be perpetual; and the premium ought to be equal to the sum of the expected annual payments according to life insurance probabilities. Office expenses are extraneous to all contracts, and are to be borne by both parties alike, or by the party most specially benefited.

[The ingenious Bishop omits altogether a chief point in the case: namely, that the lender parts with the *use* of his money during the time of the loan. What about that?—ED.]

ORGANIZATION.

SALAMANCA, June 14, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

May I request all the freethinkers residing in Central and Western New York, including towns as far east as Syracuse and Binghamton, who are in favor of a freethought organization for that territory, to send me their names so soon as they read this note?

As there is to be a three days' grove-meeting of the Liberals of Central and Western New York, near Wolcott, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th days of August next, it is proposed, if thought advisable, to form a permanent organization at that time, to be known as "The Central and Western New York Association of Freethinkers." H. L. GREEN.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THERE WAS quite a tempest in a teapot over the Sunday question at the Presbyterian General Assembly in Chicago: "The synod and presbytery of Allegheny some time since pronounced, in the case of certain members of the church in Sewickly, Pa., that the fourth commandment and the Presbyterian standards rendered any share in the publication or sale of a Sunday newspaper inconsistent with God's law and with membership of the Presbyterian Church. The assembly have now confirmed this judgment by a nearly unanimous vote, and declared that, if the session of Sewickly does not proceed to discipline its offending members, it must itself be disciplined. What the Presbyterian standards require as to publishers of Monday newspapers, whose work is done chiefly on Sunday, we still remain in ignorance of,—no test case having been made. Dr. Bettinger, pastor of the offending church, pertinently asked if the assembly would extend its condemnation to street-cars and railroads in which some of its members own stock; but the assembly, after a 'personal' discussion, waived the question."

IT IS quite evident that Judaism, however "reformed" it may be, is not yet ready to sacrifice its claim of being the one and only absolutely true religion. The New York *Reformer and Jewish Times*, in its issue of May 11, said: "In his sermon last Sunday, the Rev. Dr. John Hall said: 'When the day shall come that Jewish zeal, intelligence, ardor, genius, courage, and enterprise, combined with Jewish knowledge of all law, shall be subsidized to the service of Christ, no tongue can tell what blessedness shall be. Then the millennium shall come with all its brightness, when men shall seek God as now they despise and reject him.' The Jews are not likely to be 'subsidized to the service of Christ' as long as the perpetuity of the religion of Moses remains one of the fundamental doctrines of Judaism. Modifications, arising out of the local, social, and political conditions, may be made and have been made *always in the spirit of the code itself*; but to suppose that the revelation of Sinai will ever be superseded is to misapprehend the very central idea of that system—is to misinterpret the history and mission of the Jewish race. It is, indeed, to make the marvellous preservation of the Jewish people an impenetrable mystery, a problem without a possible solution."

THE "RIDSDALE JUDGMENT," which has called out a protest from Dr. Pusey against English decisions on the Church question, is thus explained by the *Nation:* "The discussion of the relations of Church and State in England is likely to receive a new impulse from the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of the Rev. Charles Ridsdale, who was charged with various ritualistic practices, and appealed to the Privy Council from an adverse decision of the Court of Arches. The tribunal consisted of ten judges, besides four bishops and an archbishop; and as the decision was unanimously agreed to, it may be regarded as the final one with regard to the points involved. Accordingly, no parochial clergyman of the English Church (bishops were not mentioned) can hereafter wear any other vesture than the surplice during the administration of the communion. With reference to facing the east, the decision was a compromise. The opinion was expressed that the clergyman should stand at the north side of the communion-table, facing the south; but not wishing to force a specific direction where none is to be found in the Rubrics, the judges limited their decision to the requirement that the clergyman must so stand that the communicants present may be able 'to see the breaking of the bread and the performance of the other manual acts' necessary; in other words, he must not turn his back to them. The use of wafer-bread and the placing of a crucifix on the screen separating the chancel from the nave of the church are forbidden. The decision is an important one, inasmuch as it determines the position of the Established Church with regard to some matters which have been for a long time in dispute. The course of the extreme Ritualists may now be looked forward to with some interest, as upon it may depend the continuance of the present agitation for disestablishment."

NOBODY into whose hands this number of THE INDEX falls should omit to read, from the first to the last word, Mr. Frothingham's most beautiful and wisely discriminating address on Theodore Parker. We do not think that any one else has expressed so fair and just, so sympathetic and at the same time so conscientiously impartial, an estimate of this great character. It is a very noble tribute to one who was worthy of such tributes as few men are. Integrity in its highest sense, catholicity, outspokenness, manliness of personal character,—these are, in Mr. Frothingham's opinion, the secrets of Parker's persistent hold on the attention of mankind. If we were to add anything to this list of resplendent virtues, it would be a great, deep, and unaffected warm-heartedness, which lit up all his writings with a sunny radiance from within and made "the common people hear him gladly." This is a very different thing from the mere trick of eulogizing "sentiment" and "heart," which one may be an adept in who himself is as devoid of genuine warmth as a cold potato. Parker was no fastidious critic, carping and cavilling and never satisfied except with the odor of frankincense burned by admirers under his own nose. If he saw what was cruel or false, he blazed out with a splendid, fiery wrath that shrivelled up the offender, while his ordinary mood was that of a wholesome, hearty, inborn kindliness which made him love, not only *humanity*, but *men*—a distinction with a mighty difference. His "sentiments" were too real and powerful to be merely paraded on State occasions as elegant adornments of his person, and then wrapped up carefully in camphor and laid away for preservation till next time; they were his life, fired his soul to heroic words and deeds, and created great surges of feeling and high purpose in other souls. Here was an element of permanent power which ought to be included among the others. It helped largely to make the man whom Mr. Frothingham so skilfully and so admirably portrays.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Claim of Theodore Parker.

AN ADDRESS.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

On the thirteenth of May, 1860, Theodore Parker was buried in the Protestant burial-ground, hard by the Pinti Gate, in the Italian city of Florence. The services were extremely simple,—the reading of the Beatitudes by an old friend; that was all. There was no address, no prayer, no idle, sentimental word of eulogium. It was a festival,—the "day of ascension"; and the streets along which the little procession passed were gay with flags and merry throngs of people in their spring attire. The deep-hearted friends of the departed prophet hailed the omen as one of promise for his future. Scarcely was the body cold in the ground when the Civil War broke out which for four years absorbed every thought of the American people. Twelve years of doubtful peace have barely sufficed to "trammel up the consequences" of the convulsion. All this time Parker has been sleeping; his memory tenderly cherished by his friends, his influence deep in a few centres, his name spoken with reverence among earnest people, but his books piled upon publishing shelves, and his works unknown to the people for whom he gave his life. It was believed, even by many of his warmest admirers, that his day was over; but now, at the moment when the country, recovering from the effects of its deadly conflict, is entering on a new career of peace, the name of Parker is heard again. It is thought worth while in some quarters to assail, depreciate, calumniate him; in other quarters, it is thought worth while to defend, vindicate, and interpret him. His beliefs and his disbeliefs are made subjects of discussion; his position is readjusted. The old enemies are confronted by new friends; and the ancient battle between Christianity and Rationalism seems likely to rage again around the standard which he set up. It may not be thought untimely, therefore, to offer some thoughts in explanation of the hold he still has on the minds of men.

To what does this man owe his resurrection and his present power? Why does he survive? Why are people still interested in him and his ideas? I cannot think the revival of *sympathy due to the ideas so much as to the man.* The ideas are no longer new or startling. The man is more original and startling now than he was in his lifetime; for he lived in the most earnest period of our moral history, when one form of his greatness was shared by many heroic men and women. We live in an age of lassitude, when heroism is discredited, and truthfulness is unpopular. The school of theology to which he belonged is not, probably, on the increase, the forms of thought having changed much in fifteen years; the school of philosophy, of which he was a prominent champion and an eloquent interpreter, is, on the whole, at present losing ground in the intellectual world. The particular movement which he inaugurated and led has in great measure spent its force, and is traceable now as an indefinite influence rather than as a clear current. His writings are interesting more from their exuberance and glow than from their originality of thought. In the multiplicity of books, his will be likely to receive less notice than they deserve.

The new interest in Parker can hardly be owing to his disbeliefs. They were never of primary importance in his own estimation, but, however pronounced, were altogether secondary; and now similar disbeliefs are so common as scarcely to attract attention. He did indeed reject the doctrines peculiar to the Christian system, rejected them explicitly and vehemently. But so did the large, respectable, and intelligent sect to which he belonged; so did multitudes who were not of this sect; so do much greater multitudes now,—thinking men, going much farther than he did, and resting in conclusions which he dreaded. In his own city and generation he made himself conspicuous by the energy of his assaults on what he considered the abominations of the popular theology, and the practical evils to which it led. But this immediate, temporary prominence will not explain the fact, that now he is a power. It is clearly seen, at present, that the doctrines of trinity, fall, incarnation, atonement, salvation, judgment, are parts of a consistent scheme professed by Christendom, but of no concern to simply philosophical minds which, outside of Christendom, deal with speculative questions on their rational merits. These are disposed to leave the Christian system to itself, and to substitute for the policy of assault the policy of neglect. The fierce charges that Parker led against dogmatism and superstition are discontinued. The flanking manœuvre is more in vogue. His method looks, to our eyes, rude, unskilful, mechanical, conducted with vast learning and ample ability, but proper to a more primitive warfare than is practised in the modern world of intellect. The Prince Ruperts have given place to the Von Moltkes; and it is highly improbable that their tactics will ever be revived.

Neither could the sudden rejuvenescence of Parker be ascribed to his beliefs; for his beliefs are not in the current of living mind to-day. They that hold them hold them, in large measure, on other grounds than his; and such as do not hold them will not, in large numbers, be persuaded by the arguments that were of greatest weight to his own mind. The arena of argument has shifted its locality. The believers in God and immortality rely on other evidence than that by which he was satisfied, and hold their faith in other forms than commended themselves to him. To say that he was a *believer* in the cardinal truths of religion is to say nothing; he was a *passionate* believer in them; he believed clearly, positively, and with all his soul. Of such believers, there were not many in his day; they are very rare in ours. The annals of Christendom contain but few names so bright as his; he was an apostle in fervor of conviction. One wonders, in reading his discourses on Theism and Atheism how he could have spoken as he did,—how he could have described the atheist in language so sad, so bitterly discouraging; how he could have described him as sending out his intellect, and receiving nothing from it when it came back,—"Nothing but the reflection of its own littleness mirrored on the surfaces of things"; as sending out his moral sense, and seeing it return "silent, alone, and empty"; as sending out his affections, and hearing from them the announcement, that "there is naught to love"; that he may love "gravitation, cohesion, the primary qualities of matter," but that "naught else abides"; as sending out his soul, and again being horrified by the message that "the universe is a disorder, and man a confusion." His belief in personal immortality was noble, was inspiring, simply and grandly human; but we marvel that he could have laid on it the stress he did, saying: "If to-morrow I am to perish utterly, then I shall only take counsel for to-day, and ask for qualities which last no longer. My fathers will be to me only as the ground out of which my head-corn is grown, dead. They are like the rotten mould of earth; their memory of small concern to me. Posterity: I shall care nothing for the future generations of mankind. I am one atom in the trunk of a tree, and care nothing for the roots below, or the branch above. I shall sow such seed as will bear harvest to-day; I shall know no higher law. Passion enacts my statutes to-day; to-morrow ambition reverses the statutes: and these are my sole legislators. Morality will vanish; expediency will take its place." The enthusiasm that prompts such declarations is worthy of all respect and sympathy; but the doctrine will not commend itself to the deepest-hearted men and women of this generation; and the suggestion it offers to the trifling and careless, that unbelief in personal immortality logically consorts with sensuality, will be of sinister omen and dangerous consequence. To tell unbelievers, who are many, that their unbelief conducts inevitably to beastliness is a terrible incentive to beastliness in those whose humanity needs all the support that can be given. The wise preachers of this generation are using much effort to make it appear that morality is *not* dependent on belief in a future life.

Mr. Parker's faith in the essential rectitude of human nature need not be insisted on. It was his great faith,—the soul of all his faith; out of it his whole system grew. This explains his enthusiasm for Jesus, as the consummate Man—so eloquently expressed in the well-known sonnet:—

> Oh thou great Friend to all the sons of men,
> Who once appeared in humblest guise below,
> Sin to rebuke, to break the captive's chain,
> And call thy brethren forth from want and woe,
> We look to thee; thy truth is still the light
> Which guides the nations, groping on their way,
> Stumbling and falling in disastrous night,
> Yet hoping ever for the perfect day.
> Yes, thou art still the life; thou art the way
> The holiest know,—light, life, and way of heaven!
> And they who dearest hope and deepest pray,
> Toil by the light, life, way, which thou hast given.

The charge of *infidelity* cannot rest on the man who had such faith as this. We do not look for such faith among *infidels.* It is rarely found among *believers.* Yet it is not this faith which makes Parker's memory dear to living men; for of those who hold his memory dear, the greater part, we must believe, do not share his enthusiasm for the Man of Nazareth, of whom they profess to know much less than he felt persuaded of: and they who hold his memory in dread entertain views of Jesus quite incompatible with such as his.

Parker's power over the present generation is certainly not due to his faith in prayer, or in the personal providence of the Infinite God; who, having made the world in perfect wisdom, from perfect materials, for perfect ends, watches over it, and makes sure that the end is accomplished. Such a conception of providence is becoming less and less acceptable to thinking man. The believers in providence do not hold it in this guise any more, but, by the aid of science, are forming new ideas of the living universe. The literal theism of Parker is going out of fashion, both as a system to bring unbelievers to conviction, and as a system to furnish believers with consolation. The atheist does not respect it; the theist does not find repose in it as of yore. The school that retains it is becoming smaller year by year.

The more remarkable is the influence which this man still possesses,—the charm he still exerts. Had his thoughts been greatly in advance of his time, it would be merely a thing of course that his power should be recognized more after his death than during his life; but that this should be truly said of a man whose specific thoughts have been distanced in less than twenty years is a remarkable circumstance. There must have been something more than the thoughts; something behind them, or at the centre of them, which outlives them, is untarnished by their decay, is uncompromised by their imperfection; something in the man himself, independent of his views; something which the peculiarity of his views merely served to illustrate; some human quality, which finds its way to the heart of human beings. It is our business now to inquire what this may have been. It presents itself to me in three aspects.

1. The first is that of INTEGRITY. Theodore Parker was a man of integrity. By this I do not mean of mercantile integrity. That he paid his debts and kept his word,—that may be assumed; for it has never, even by his worst enemies, been called in question. He was a man of integrity in a far deeper sense than

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this. He was a *whole man*, sound and complete, in the sense of being perfectly *at one with himself*, mind, heart, will, according well, and "making one music." There was no break between his thought and his impulse; none between his impulse and his determination; none between his determination and his deed.

It is not easy at a glance to apprehend the full significance of this saying. There have been men before, there are men now, in all communions, who faithfully live up to their idea. The notion that the churches are full of hypocrites, that there is a systematic, customary, deliberate, and accepted divorce between creed and conduct, between professors and preachers of religion, finds no countenance on this platform. Talk like that belongs to the cant of anti-religionists, who think more of a chance to make a stab at religion than they do of an opportunity to discourse of truth. In all churches, as I believe, there is a fair amount of sincere fidelity to conviction. But in these cases there is usually an expression of effort which is painful and dispiriting. The believer *works himself up* to the point of consistency; toils, prays, denies himself; confesses to a sharp conflict between his desires and his duties; clips and reduces certain parts of his intellectual system. The faith is forever coming in with power and rebuke, forbidding this, prescribing that. The obedience is not glad or entire, but partial and austere. The religious life is called a battle; the religious character is the result of discipline. With Parker, it was precisely and emphatically the reverse. His whole being responded joyfully to his faith. His loyalty was glad. He loved obedience; to him, service was freedom. He had no inclination to go in a direction other than that indicated by his thought. The path he preferred to tread was the path of duty; his religious experience was his happy experience. The thought of God warmed him; the thought of immortality made him leap and sing; the conviction of Providence supplied him with perpetual motive for praise. Where his mind went, his whole being went also, without hesitation or halt.

Nor is this all. The correspondence between thought and life in this man was *rational*. The thought animated and controlled the life by reason of the natural relation they bore to each other. The thought was not a tradition, not an inheritance from church or ancestry, not a system imparted at a single stroke, in a moment of conversion, but the result of personal feeling, of deep reflection and study. It came to him as he read and pondered, as he walked and talked. Thus accepted, it was *heartily* accepted. It became the basis of his existence,—the mind of his mind; therefore the heart of his heart, the soul of his soul. He used to say of himself, that he loved ease and elegance; but, when the new ideas had fairly taken possession of his mind, the rest of his being fell into accord with them. It may be said of him, that he was *all of a piece*. He was not a man of several lands and climates, the part of him that was alive on Sunday being dead or torpid all the remainder of the week; the part of him that was at home in Jerusalem being a stranger and a pilgrim in Boston; the part of him that lived in the library having no acquaintance with the part of him that walked the street. In public and private, at home and abroad, he was the same person, equally grave, equally gay, equally earnest, always bearing his faith with him,—a faith so cheering and ennobling that it permitted no moment of discouragement or fear, and consecrated every moment to kindness and courage.

Such utter sincerity carries with it an immense power. It is nothing less than the projection of the whole man upon the circle in which he moves and acts. It multiplies his energies, and drives his thoughts in with the whole force of nature. In the judgment of many, this is the secret of Mr. Moody's influence,—a man with a narrow, irrational, repulsive creed, against which human nature rebels; an ignorant man, illogical, rude, he nevertheless impresses, awes, fascinates people who are out of sympathy with his ideas, and even gains the respect of people who regard his ideas by themselves with abhorrence. Even philosophers of the scientific school, while dissenting all through from the opinions advanced by the "revivalists," found themselves drawn to them by the spirit of earnestness which animated their conduct. Men who back up their words by corresponding lives are sure of an audience and of a following. The creed that is fortified by character wins the battle, though it be narrow, stupid, dehumanizing. The creed that is not fortified by character loses the battle, though it be wide, liberal, encouraging, humane. For thoughts alone pass over the surface of society like the wind, softly breathing or fiercely blowing; but thoughts sustained and animated by consistent character have the power of sunshine and rain to quicken the germs and nourish the roots of life. If the small, puny, ghastly system propelled by such force will go so far and achieve so much, it is not at all surprising that a faith like Parker's, so wholesome and encouraging to every element of human nature, sustained as it was by a life entirely in accord with it, should keep alive his memory and his power years after his death, and should cause his influence to revive even on soil which civil war had soaked in blood and sown with cannon shot. So whole-hearted a man as he was is not seen once in a century. A distinguished Orthodox preacher, announcing the fact that a well-known rationalist minister was to lecture in his town, said that some men would do more with a rusty old jack-knife than others would with a whole chest of tools. Parker would have carved his monument with a jack-knife, had he possessed no more effectual instrument; but, having a whole set of tools, he could not fail to build one more enduring than brass.

2. Another point of importance to an estimate of his continued influence is the catholicity of his mind, the receptiveness of other men's ideas. He was a universal reader and listener. All thinkers of all schools laid their books on his table; and he read them with a candor that was, as far as possible, without prejudice. It was a belief of his that the teacher in religion should make himself acquainted with every school of thought, and be willing to learn from all. To be the preacher of a traditional system, the champion of a fixed and unalterable creed, was, in his judgment, an infidelity to the position he occupied, a repudiation of the most sacred vow he made.

To appreciate the moral power of this view, its originality must be clearly understood. To say that it is not the custom of preachers to include in their reading other books than those that support their own opinions is to say what amounts to nothing. It is not putting the case too strongly, to affirm that many teachers make it a rule, a *principle*, to read nothing but what maintains the system they teach. The writings of critics, opponents, or even dissenters are not opened; or, if opened, are read with eyes so keen to detect faults, so dull to perceive merits, that no justice is done them,—as, indeed, no justice *can* be done when the whole mind is diseased by prejudice. The dogmatical training of the sects disqualifies the intelligence for weighing arguments and making allowance for opinions. The assumption which dogmatism starts with, that the system it professes is the true one, and that all others are false; that its truth and their falsity are both certified by supernatural authority; that therefore it is commanded to believe that the books that support the truth shall be *studied;* that the books which oppose the truth shall be *banished* as godless and detestable,—this primary assumption, I say, makes it morally as well as intellectually impossible to read widely or candidly. The conscience is committed to disingenuousness and dishonesty. Ignorance becomes a duty of religion; superciliousness and fraud are acts of piety. To condemn books they have never read; to denounce opinions they have never tried to understand; to malign men they have never taken pains to become acquainted with, is the accepted, approved, consecrated method of "religious" papers. So rare is the example of intellectual candor on the part of the "religious" platform and press, that when an instance of it occurs, it calls forth general remark.

This is one reason of the intelligent distrust of preachers and teachers. This explains the charge of cowardice, meanness, hypocrisy, that is so frequently brought against them,—a charge that is abundantly well supported by a consideration of individual instances, but that loses its point when it is recognized that the individuals are victims of an insane principle, which makes them incapable of reading or understanding or weighing opinions other than their own. Their meanness, therefore, they are not wholly chargeable with, any more than for their feebleness. At heart, after all, intelligent people respect candor and courage; at heart, they distrust narrowness and prejudice, and characterize it as fear. The open-minded teacher, who is known as a lover of truth more than as a lover of his creed, gains the confidence and wins the ear of mankind. The teacher who, knowing what others believe, and weighing it, still has persuasions of his own, will find a multitude ready to hear his word. Though his ideas be new, startling, and unpopular, they will obtain recognition at last.

Theodore Parker was one of these; he did his best to understand the system he controverted; he considered all sides; he knew what opposing schools held, and the grounds which opposing preachers occupied. The *strongest* books were familiar to him, not the *weakest*. It is not asserted nor suggested, that in trying to understand the system he contraverted he was always successful. There were systems or points in systems he could not appreciate. Every mind has its limitations; every generation has its intellectual boundaries which may not be passed over except by men of transcendent genius; and such it is not claimed that Theodore Parker was. There were fields of thought he could gaze on from a distance, but could not explore or traverse. That he *had* the truth, or more than a small fraction of the truth, is not affirmed. That he *loved* the truth more than he did his opinion or the opinions of his sect is affirmed. This love of truth attracted to him multitudes of ingenuous minds, and will continue to attract multitudes more. His "system" may pass away; indeed it has already begun to decline: but the open-mindedness of the man preserves its charm and its power, and will preserve them both, while it is so rare a quality in the professors of religious truth. Nay, we shall be prepared to find Parker's popularity increase on this account; for open-mindedness in religious teachers has not kept pace with open-mindedness in other departments of human speculation. When men venture to read newspapers and magazines, to listen to lecturers on unfamiliar subjects, and to think it practicable to learn something outside of their inherited tradition, the stubborn bibliolatry of the pulpit and religious press is more offensive than it was in other days; and a man like Parker, who was not afraid to think, has a claim on homage.

It may be said that Parker owed his breadth of reading to his enormous reading power, which made easy to him what to others is impossible; and to his prodigious memory, which retained whatever it received. But the disposition to *use* the power,—*whence came that?* Is the love of truth always corresponding to the power to obtain it? Experience often shows that the two are not in concurrence at all. That Parker's reading power and retentive memory were a great advantage to him will not be denied; it enabled him to illustrate in a very complete manner that love of truth which was his characteristic. But had this singular gift of recipiency and retention been no greater than ordinary, the love of truth being the same, the few books would have justified the spirit which the many illuminated; the limited reading would have exhibited the man. He who can candidly read the single volume of his opponent shows his love of truth as well, though not as conspicuously, as he that can candidly read a hundred; for the love of truth is a *quality*, the intrinsic virtue whereof is in no wise dependent on quantity or bulk.

3. Let me name one feature more of Theodore Parker's character which, in my judgment, goes far to explain his popularity; I refer to his *out-spokenness*. He had no concealments, no disguises. He never faltered or compromised. He was no tactician in the pulpit or out of it. Having spared no effort to arrive at the truth, through study and reflection, he communicated it with all simplicity and directness. It seemed to be his endeavor to penetrate beneath all layers of qualification, to avoid all possible misunderstanding, to dispense with all neutral tints, and present his thought,—his *whole* thought,—so that the least instructed and least prepared mind might apprehend his meaning. He never was tempted to imitate the example of the preacher who made it a point to have in every sermon at least one sentence that no one in the congregation could understand. The charge so frequently made against preachers, that they keep back their deepest thoughts, was never, to my knowledge, in mature life brought against him. So outspoken was he, that it was very difficult for him to understand the reserved, reticent men, who from mental indecision, haifness of conviction or knowledge, constitutional prudence or an overpoise of practical wisdom, withheld from the public their private misgiving or persuasion. Perhaps the nearest he ever came to injustice was when he spoke of men whom otherwise he loved and honored who, as he knew well, entertained in the study opinions they did not promulgate to the world. They thought as he did, yet they turned away from him; they agreed with him, yet joined the company of his persecutors. He could not understand how men could send their minds onward in advance of their sentiments, and make pleasure excursions into territory they were not prepared to occupy. The responsibility that rested on the public teacher made imperative upon him the duty of establishing an absolute confidence between him and those who came to him for instruction. To withhold from them the inmost contents of his mind was disingenuous. To conceal them was deceitful. To deny them was dastardly. His hearers might be sure that in listening to him they listened to the honest thought of an honest man. The opinions expressed might be unpopular, even obnoxious; that was to his mind a reason for giving them utterance. The doubt, the disbelief, came to his lips, not as gladly, but as sincerely as the faith and hope. "My friends!" he said in a discourse on Immortal Life, "I look at things as they are,—at least strive to do so; and, if I had come to the conclusion that man was mortal only, I should proclaim my conscientious conclusion strongly and clearly and right out. If I thought in my heart that there was no God, why, then, I should proclaim that odious conviction." And so he would have done; for deep as his love of truth was his faith in truthfulness.

The wisdom of this course is not at present under discussion. There is another side to the question of outspokenness. There is something to be said for the policy of waiting and withholding, lest the word may be hasty and ill-advised. An absolute faith in the truth is quite compatible with distrust of one's own success in finding it; nay, hesitancy in speaking one's whole mind may spring from respect for the entire truth; but it admits of no doubt that the frank, outspoken natures are the most attractive and the most popular. At all events, the common suspicion of craftiness and timidity cannot attach to them. Their frankness alone is a power. But, where frankness is accompanied by ability, the power is something tremendous.

On the whole, then, I should say that *manliness* was Theodore Parker's crowning quality and supreme claim to distinction. That he had other most remarkable gifts is conceded as a matter of course. Everybody knows that he had. But this was his prime characteristic. The other gifts he had in spite of himself,—his thirst for knowledge, his love of books, his all-devouring industry, his unfailing memory, his natural eloquence or power of affluent expression; but character men regard as less a gift than an acquisition,—the fruit of aspiration, resolve, fidelity,—the product of daily, nay, of hourly, endeavor. Hence it is that intellectual greatness does not impress the multitude; even genius has but a limited sway over the masses of mankind. But character goes to the roots of life. In fact, Theodore Parker's eminence as a man of thought and expression in words has concealed from the world at large the intrinsic quality of the person. His reputation as theologian, preacher, controversialist, has concealed the real greatness which comes to light as the dust of controversy subsides. The very causes in which the heroism of his manliness was displayed—as, for example, the anti-slavery cause, to which he devoted so much of his time and vitality—rendered inconspicuous the contribution he made to the treasury of humane feeling. Now that that great conflict is over, now that its agitations have ceased and its heats have cooled, the character of which this conflict revealed but a portion, the career in which this long agony was but an episode, loom up into distinctness.

The greatest of all human achievements is a manly character,—guileless, sincere, and brave; that he by all admission possessed. He earned it; he prayed for it, meditated for it, worked for it,—how hard, his private journals show. And for this he will not be forgotten. For this he will be remembered as one of the benefactors, one of the emancipators, of his kind.

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A FRENCH DOCTORESS ON DOCTORESSES.

I have no intention to plunge into the controversy going on in London on the desirability or otherwise of ladies taking medical degrees. Personally, I am for letting individual women be a law unto themselves. They are the best judges of the path they should follow in avoiding a descent into the workhouse, or in escaping from the limbos for the female mind, which our tea-drinking civilization has created. What I propose to do is, to give the confessions I have extracted from a married lady of good family, blameless life, and very peculiar experiences. She goes into the best society. She understands its shibboleth, and knows how to practice it; but her conformity proceeds from a wish to avoid friction. I have met her at most of the Embassies, at the houses of the most reputed authors, at Thiers', Victor Hugo's, Gambetta's; and I know that she has a footing in the noble Faubourg. Her husband is engaged in the editorship of a journal. He wanted assistance, and she thought that, being gifted with a facile pen, she might as well assist him. In helping him in his work, she perceived she had not a sufficiently rich stock of brain furniture, though of book knowledge she had early acquired a larger store than most girls, or indeed young men. Besides, she had seriously studied pictorial art, which, if it did not make her a painter, taught her to observe accurately, and to seek for beauty elsewhere than in the creations of M. Worth. My friend succeeded fairly in her newspaper work. But she was dissatisfied with what she did. Her "copy" she condemned as spindle-shanked; as lean kine that was devouring all the fat kine, bred of years passed in youth in a fine old library, and in contemplation in a manor house beyond the reach of railways. She felt she needed to study life in its bright and sunny sides; in its splendor and its profound misery. The fairy tales of science were a sealed book to her, and she quietly set before her to open them. To this end she has, without being a doctoress, walked the French hospitals. She gets French medical men—professors and *savants* for the greater part—to introduce her as a colleague. Lecturers and demonstrators wink at the white lie. It saves appearances, and that is all they want. Gambetta has opened to her Belleville and the Red country in the south of France. Citizens in the eccentric quarters of Paris receive her in an open-hearted way; and, perhaps, she may hereafter render them the service of rectifying the impression the so-called realisms of M. Zola are creating.

Apropos of the decision of the Convocation of the London University, I said to her last night, "Do you think, my dear lady, that it unsexes women to send them in among medical students?" "Look at me," she answered, standing up as she spoke, "and judge." With a good conscience, I might have paid her a compliment when I accepted her challenge, and scanned her from head to foot. A delightful, plump, good-tempered little being she was. There was something in her eye which said, "I accept all the social fictions going, just for what they are worth. But I am enchanted to meet with somebody who does not overvalue them. Pray, if you are a knowing augur, treat me as another." "What sculptor has furnished you, madam, with your dimpled hands?" I demanded, as a step towards extracting a confession. "If I knew, I should decline to tell you," she replied. "I dislike beating about the bush. Let us return to your first question. You want to know if I think it unsexes females to send them in among medical students?" I nodded assent. "I never," she said, "heard that people complained of trained hospital nurses and sisters of charity being unsexed. Yet the latter led a very abnormal sort of existence. There are two ways of unsexing women. One I need not mention. The other is to send them to work in factories, which the world is willing enough to do. You may alter their manner and their social ideal. The alteration will be unpleasant to the generation, which is sinking into its grave; but it will suit the one that is rising into life. I know old gentlemen, who think architecture has gone to the dogs, because the Queen did not repeat the Brighton Pavilion at Osborne and Balmoral. Young ladies being doctoresses, and young gentlemen medical students, do not prevent affairs of the heart springing up between them. In my walks round the hospital wards, I have observed symptoms of these affairs. Human nature is the same everywhere. An honest attachment makes a young man bashful, be he a sawbones or a harvest-reaper, and a young woman reserved, no matter how high or how humble her rank. It also impels the swain, or the medical student, to brush his hair, and indulge in ablutions. The worst corruptors are hoary-headed sinners. But you will admit that professors and visiting surgeons and doctors in hospitals are not to be dubbed with this epithet. On the whole, the male students have benefited by finding a class of young female friends *superior* to those whom they were in the habit of making their temporary companions in the Quartier Latin. There are more than seventy foreign ladies engaged in the study of medicine in Paris. Three-fourths are English and Americans; the rest are Swiss and Russian. It is a pleasure to see how neatly and sensibly they are dressed. Their manners are ladylike, and their conduct good. It sobers youth to be thrown suddenly on the sea of life. The feeling that the eyes of the police, the professors, and the newspaper reporters are upon them, checks the youthful spirits of the studentesses who hang well together. Their standard of morality is not, in the main, in conformity with that of a certain Aunt Tabitha, who has become the English type of genteel old maidenhood. Not that they behave themselves worse than that strait-laced lady; but they are less exacting of rigid virtue in others. A pretty studentess came to grief for believing a young Frenchman would marry her as soon as he was old enough to serve those disrespectful citations called *actes respectueuses* on his parents. Her relations at home know nothing of her misfortune. You will jump, I daresay, to the conclusion, that her fellow-studentesses anonymously apprised them of it. They did nothing of the sort. They met to pass a vote of blame on the erring sister, who, if she did not respect herself, should have respected her flag. But it was also resolved that a subscription should be raised to pay debts she had in good faith contracted, and to send her to Zurich, where nobody knew her; there she graduated. On obtaining her diploma, she was encouraged by a Russian lady of rank to settle in Moscow, and she is now the partner of a German doctor, and at the head of a brisk practice. Women brought up in the Greek Church like to be attended in illness by physicians of their own sex."

All this was new to me. But what I chiefly wanted was a personal confession. I pleaded guilty to being a knowing augur, and begged to be accepted in this character. "Question me," said my fair friend, "and I shall answer frankly." Thus encouraged, I asked her to descend into the depths of her moral consciousness, and tell me how her inner woman was affected by her curious experiences. "I breathe more freely because of them." "Does the racket you undergo, and do the painful scenes you must witness, recoil disadvantageously upon you? Has your grain become coarser, or your moral sense blunter?" "I have simply become sublimated," cried the philosopher in petticoats. "I have come to have an *immense pitie* for the human race, and most of all for my half-emancipated sisters. I have learned that no weed is a weed to the artist; no trash trash to the chemist, and nothing unworthy of investigation to the thinker. What the exact drift of the grim comedy called human life is I cannot answer. But it seems to me that the path of many to a higher state lies through putrid fermentation,—a notion which teaches me to be tolerant where formerly I would have flung stones. As to racket there is none. I get up early when I want to attend a clinical lecture. The day previously a rendezvous is made with a doctor connected with the hospital service. If the omnibus drops me too soon, I wait in a *café* until the appointed time, reading the morning papers and sipping a *demi tasse*. There is no mystery in anything I do, and nobody is shocked at it. But, I think it well to tell you that I eschew intimate acquaintance with narrow-minded persons, who object to women living out their own lives. In the hospital I meet the greatest lights of science, who receive me in the double quality of a colleague and a *femme du monde*. They are *aux petits soins*, and I impose upon myself the obligation never to get in their way. Moreover, I stay away when there are cases which they would be embarrassed to treat in my presence." "And how do you dress," I asked, "in your scientific *matinées*?" "In black silk from top to toe." "Do you forswear the condiment of a patch of color somewhere?" "Why, no. A bright bow or a flower detaching itself from the dark mass is an ocular boon to the patients. My hospital bonnet is a perfect beauty." "And your house, does it go to the dogs?" "No, nor to the cats either. Why should it? I am as much at home as most women of my age and rank. Instead of going to shop, and to pay formal visits, I go to where my tastes lead me. Returning, I pass through a market, where I study still life, prices, and the picturesque world of the Halles. I know by heart the eccentric quarters. The more I see of Paris, the more I feel its seductive loveliness. My chief grievance is, that I am not at liberty to ride through the city in the early morning on the top of an omnibus. That is the time it is best worth seeing. You then make the acquaintance of the *vrai peuple Parisien*, at once the most creative, destructive, amiable, ingenious, and ferocious in the whole world." If the above is not set down in the exact order in which it was given, the confession is not the less genuine. I wish I could forward a photo. of the learned lady who made it to the Convocation of the London University.—*Truth* (London), *May* 17.

ONE OF OUR ANCESTORS, "PONGO."

A distinguished personage, whose arrival here on a visit is awaited with considerable curiosity by the public and with great interest by Mr. Darwin's friends and enemies, is just now receiving innumerable calls from his large circle of friends in Berlin. He is called "Pongo," and is the most interesting result of a Prussian scientific expedition into the interior of Africa. When first he was taken to Berlin a special banquet was given in his honor, and he at once became the pet of fashionable and educated people there. We shall probably welcome him as warmly here, for his advent will be regarded as a brilliant addition to the lions of the season.

An account of his habits, furnished by a correspondent in the Prussian capital who is on terms of great intimacy with him, will, I think, interest the readers of the *World*. "'Pongo' is now," the writer believes, "nearly three years old, and he is about three feet high. His body is covered with soft, silky hair, mixed with gray, and reddish on the head. He has a powerful form, muscular arms, smooth, polished black face, with well-shaped ears, and a large, sharp, and malicious eye, which gives him a strikingly human appearance. When one has the pleasure, as I had this week, of spending a morning with him in his apartment, he strikes you—after having got over the slight feeling of disappointment which is produced by the absence of any bridge to his nose—as being singularly like a very amusing, playful, and good-natured negro boy, rather awkward in some of his gestures, and in his mode of progression sometimes distinctly apelike. As he sits, looking solemnly round him, he appears to be thinking of what the next joke shall be, until presently something in your gestures or voice pleases him, and then suddenly he claps his hands together and nods with an air of great delight. He is very sociable, and distinguishes young from old, and male from female visitors. He is exceedingly attached to the society of children of two or three years old, plays about with them as though recognizing them as playfellows of his own age, chases them round the cage, allows them to pull him about, drag him by the leg and roll him over and over, swings with them on the trapeze, kisses them if they will allow him, and permits them to take every kind of liberty with him, without making any unfair use of his superior strength. With older children he seems to understand that he may be more rough, and, when he is racing about with them, he slyly upsets a chair and takes the opportunity of giving them friendly boxes on the ear. When ladies visit him in his large cage, which is suitably furnished with sofas, chairs, and table, trapeze, and all kinds of gymnastic appliances, they have nothing to fear, except from his somewhat importunate amiability. He is particularly delighted if they take him up in their arms; he embraces them and leans his head against their shoulders with a grateful and gratified air; he is by no means willing to be set down again. The Berlin aquarium, in which he now holds court, is rich in varieties of the larger monkeys, and when he goes into the monkey's cage he rules there supreme. Even the chimpanzee, who resembles very much, in his clever, human ways, an old favorite of London at the Zoölogical Gardens, treats him as distinctly his superior. The gorilla, however, appears to recognize the chimpanzee as nearly his equal, chooses him almost exclusively for his playmate, and bestows friendly, but rather rough, caresses on him. He is fond of getting hold of the chimpanzee, keeping him down and rolling over him on the ground. Sometimes Tschego manages to slip from under him, and then Pongo sprawls awkwardly on the floor on both hands, and looks up with an expression of accepted defeat. He walks on the soles of his feet, leaning at the same time on the outside of the hand, but he turns out his toes far more than the chimpanzee, and he carries his head more grandly erect, this seeming to be the mark of high social standing. When in high spirits he has a way of showing the tip of his red tongue, which makes his black face look all the more like that of a negro boy. His mode of life is as human as are all his ways. He sleeps on a mattress rolled in a rug, and at about eight o'clock in the morning he rises in his bed, sits up, yawns, scratches himself, and remains in a sleepy, listless condition till he has taken his milk, which he drinks out of a tumbler. He is now wide awake, and leaves his bed and looks about in the room for something to play with, and perhaps, if he is allowed, to destroy, for he is as mischievous as any child or as any monkey. Then he looks out of the window, clasps his hands, and, for want of some more suitable companionship, begins to play with his keeper. This man must be continually in attendance on him; he does not allow himself to be left alone for a single moment. If he finds himself alone, he utters the shrillest cries until he regains the society of man. At nine o'clock the gorilla is tubbed, an operation in which he takes the greatest delight, expressing his approval in bass notes, which, perhaps, it will be impolite to call grunting. He takes his meals at the usual German hours. For breakfast he has sausages, preserved meat, cheese, and the favorite Berlin white beer. It is extremely funny to see him try to hold the glass with his fat, short fingers, while he is assisting himself with his feet. He is fond of fruit, which he eats with the most gentlemanly deliberation, carefully removing the stone when eating cherries or other fruit of the kind. At one o'clock the keeper's wife brings him his lunch, and he seems to possess so punctual an internal monitor of the time that this should be brought, that he is always extremely impatient if it is not there to the minute, and always goes down to the passage to look for it when he hears the bell ring. He begins by looking into the glasses and tries to steal something out of them, whereupon he usually has his ears boxed, and then the meal begins, consisting of gravy soup, rice or vegetables boiled with meat, etc. Sometimes it finishes up by a most welcome slice of roast chicken; this is his great treat. The keeper's wife is mistress of the ceremonies, and sees that he behaves himself with propriety. Under her chastening eye he is careful to use his spoon respectably. After his meal, however, he wants a siesta, like all other inhabitants of tropical climates. After a sleep of about an hour or an hour and a half, he is ready for more play. In the afternoon he has some fruits, and in the evening tea or milk, and bread and butter. He goes to bed at nine o'clock, lying down on his mattress to be wrapped up in the woollen blanket. He always insists, however, on his keeper sitting by him till he is asleep, which soon comes to him. He prefers, however, being allowed to sleep with the keeper, and then he puts his arm round his keeper's neck and leans his head against him. He sleeps uninterruptedly all night. In this way of life he has lived and thriven, until he has increased in weight some thirty-seven pounds. A short time ago he fell ill with bronchitis. He is a very restless and impatient invalid, and seemed utterly wretched and far from amiable in temper. Many doctors assembled round him every day. He was treated with quinine and Ems water, and a uniform, moist temperature was kept up in the room. Now, however, he has completely recovered. Great anxiety was manifested by the people of Berlin during his illness, and more than a hundred cards a day were left upon him. He may be seen now in the highest state of caprice and enjoyment. He is very much attached to his keeper, and has a great respect for Dr. Hermes, the doctor of the aquarium, whom he treats always with marked consideration, and whose boy is one of his favorite

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playfellows. I know nothing more human than to see him having an elaborate romp with this boy, running round the table after him, skipping along the shelves, hiding himself under the table, upsetting chairs, and ultimately allowing himself to be caught, and going through all his performances of walking up a ladder, sliding down the sides of it, and tumbling over head-and-heels, lying on the floor and rapping with delight, and ultimately jumping into the trapeze alongside of his little playfellow, putting his arms round his neck, and sitting there with his cap on his head and a pipe in his mouth, swinging backward and forward in amicable enjoyment with the son of his doctor."—*London corres. of N. Y. World.*

JOSEPH COOK AND JONATHAN EDWARDS.

On Friday evening, June 1st, one of the written questions proposed to Rev. Joseph Cook was this:—

"Would you advise ministers to preach such sermons as Jonathan Edwards' 'Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God'?"

Mr. Cook's reply was, "Certainly, yes,—with certain changes in phraseology."

As phraseology relates only to the literary style and "mechanical execution of sentences," we have here a full and satisfactory announcement from Mr. Cook, that he accepts the ideas and doctrines of Jonathan Edwards. In this, he is logical and consistent, and we admire the frankness with which he has defined his position.

Until Joseph Cook himself, comet-like, suddenly appeared blazing across the sky, Jonathan Edwards was the greatest light in the firmament of New England Evangelical theology. And he was well worthy of his place. His character was grand and majestic; his life consistently devoted to his ideas of truth; his faith in the authority of the Scripture absolute and unquestioning; his industry and learning unparalleled, and his logic and his reasoning as immovable as the "foundations of the everlasting hills."

He did not undertake to judge God by our human standards of morality, and consequently he most logically and ably defended the great doctrine of the damnation of the heathen, and the eternal punishment of infants.

Mr. Cook appears to disagree with Edwards on these points, and speaks of the doctrine of the damnation of infants as a "pandemonium caricature." But we do not think Mr. Cook can answer Edwards' argument on this topic. Mr. Cook must know that this doctrine is historical, and grows logically out of the doctrines of the original sin and election, and the sovereignty of God.

We are prepared with the evidence from Edwards and many others, whenever it is called for. But, although the champion of the last century and the one of this disagree on this point, it is gratifying to know that they are in accord on the other great doctrines of Orthodoxy. What, then, does Edwards say in his well-known sermon on "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God"?

Text—Deut. xxxii., 35: "'Their feet shall slide in due time.' We find it easy to tread on and crush a worm that we see crawling on the earth: thus easy is it for God when he pleases to cast his enemies down to hell. God is as angry with many now in this congregation, as he is with many of those miserable creatures he is now tormenting in hell. There are but few saved, and the bigger part of men that have died heretofore have gone to hell. God has laid himself under no obligation to keep any natural man out of hell one moment.

"That world of misery, that burning lake of brimstone, is under you. There is nothing between you and hell but the air. The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked. You hang by a slender thread with the flame of God's wrath flashing about it, and ready to singe it and burn it asunder. Now God stands ready to pity you. This is a day of mercy, but when once this day is past, your most lamentable shrieks will be in vain. God will have no other use to put you to, only to suffer misery, and will keep you in existence to no other end. He will crush you under his feet without mercy. He will not only hate you, but have you in the utmost contempt. You shall be tormented in the presence of the holy angels and the Lamb, and all the glorious inhabitants of heaven shall go forth to look upon the awful spectacle. You will know, certainly, that you must wear out long ages, millions and millions of ages, and when you have so done you will know all is but a point to what remains. How many of you, is it likely, will remember this discourse in hell? It would be no wonder if some that now sit here should be there before to-morrow morning."

To show Edwards' ideas of hell, its nature, etc., we quote from another sermon:

"The whole world will be converted into a great lake, or liquid globe of fire, a vast ocean of fire, in which the wicked shall be overwhelmed. Those billows of fire, which are greater than the greatest mountains, will never cease to roll over them, forever and ever. Your souls which shall have been agitated with the wrath of God, yet will still exist to bear more wrath; and your bodies which shall have been burning and roasting all the while in these glowing flames, yet shall not have been consumed, but will remain to roast through an eternity yet, which will not have been at all shortened by what shall have been past."

From the eight volume edition of Edwards, we learn that his preaching constantly abounded in these doctrines. Since Mr. Cook has declared that he would advise ministers now to preach such sermons as the one quoted, we infer very confidently that he indorses the sentiments, though he "would change some of the phraseology." But how could the ideas be better expressed than by Edwards himself? Why should Mr. Cook wish to "change the phraseology," while holding to the doctrines. The language is not at all obscure, and we fail to see how Mr. Cook could at all improve its phraseology without changing its meaning.—*Ex-Calvinist, in Newburyport Herald.*

PAINE MEMORIAL BUILDING.

At the first meeting of the new Board of Trustees at the *Investigator* office, on Monday, June 18, on motion of B. F. Underwood, Horace Seaver was elected Chairman, and J. P. Mendum, Secretary. After a full discussion of all the circumstances or condition of the building, it was voted, that in order to meet its indebtedness and defray its current expenses, the trustees immediately issue an appeal to the liberal public for aid and assistance. The following appeal was then drawn up, and, on motion, voted to be published in the *Investigator*, INDEX, *Banner of Light*, *New Age*, and the German *Pionier*, of Boston; the *Truth Seeker* and *Evolution*, of New York; the Chicago *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, the Milwaukee *Freethinker*, the San Jose (Cal.) *Mercury*, and any other friendly papers:—

To the Liberals of the United States, Canada, and Elsewhere.

We, the subscribers, having been elected trustees of the Paine Memorial Building, the fee simple of which having been transferred to us by the former joint tenants, to have, hold, and manage for the liberal cause, finding a heavy debt upon said property, appeal to you and all interested in the liberal cause for aid and assistance to help meet the present expenses, and to assist in finally removing the said indebtedness.

We find the taxes for the year 1876 ($1102) unpaid, and the property liable to be sold in a few months to satisfy said tax. The interest on the first mortgage will be again due in September, amounting to $1750. The insurance on the building will expire in September; the premium for renewal of the same will be some $400, besides some bills for necessary repairs, etc. With these facts before us, and trusting in your generosity, we appeal to you for aid and assistance. This is an emergency which cannot be put off. Heretofore our Treasurer has hired money to make up the deficiency, when contributions have failed to furnish the means to meet payments. We can no longer depend upon him, as the building is now indebted to him several thousand dollars. This appeal is made now for any assistance which friends may bestow on the building to help us save it until such time as it can sustain itself.

The income from the building at present is not sufficient to pay its expenses; and therefore we, the trustees, in our anxiety to save the property for the liberal cause, consider it our duty to issue this appeal. We are confident that with help from our friends generally, we shall be able not only to defray the current expenses of the building, but to gradually reduce the debt from year to year, until, in the not very distant future, all incumbrances will be removed, and the edifice by its own earnings will be rendered self-supporting. This, briefly, is our object, and it can be accomplished by the coöperation of the liberal public.

Friends, we need offer no excuse for any supposed presumption or selfishness on our part in making this appeal to your generosity and fraternal sympathy. You, equally with us, are fellow-laborers in a common cause and in a common enterprise. The Paine Memorial Building, erected as an enduring monument in honor of the name and memory of a world-renowned champion of freedom and humanity, and as a temple of freethought, free speech, and a free press, belongs to the liberals of the present, and we ask you to help us preserve it for them, and also as a heritage for the liberals who are to come after us and fill our places. It is the only Memorial Building of the kind; and satisfied as we are of its great importance to the cause in which we are all interested, we appeal with hope and confidence to the liberals throughout the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, for their aid and support.

HORACE SEAVER,
JOSIAH P. MENDUM,
B. F. UNDERWOOD,
OSMORE JENKINS,
THOMAS ROBINSON,
} *Trustees.*

BOSTON, June 18, 1877.

MR. T. W. HIGGINSON writes in the *Journal of Education* to refute the imputation on women teachers that their service is of a briefer period than the average of men, and that they oftener enter the profession as a temporary makeshift. "I have had no leisure," he says, "though I have tried to find it, to carry this investigation further than my own residence; but of the permanent teachers employed by the city of Newport, for 1875–6, the thirty-five women have had a collective term of service in this city of two hundred and eighty-two years, giving an average of 8.06 years, and the men, now six in number, show a collective service of twenty-five years, and an average of 4.23 years. Until other statistics are collected to refute these, I shall continue to suspect that much of the complaint against women-teachers, on this score, is mere guesswork."

MIRACLES are becoming uncommonly common. There is the bedridden Chicago crone who prayed and was made whole. There is Mr. F. W. Fields, the lame man with the hip-disease, who taught a Sunday-school class in Chicago, and whose leg grew two and one-half inches after a night of prayer. And now comes Ruth Harris (colored) of Washington. She has been dumb for eight years. She committed some dreadful act, and when accused of it called upon her Creator to strike her dumb if she did not speak the truth. She was struck dumb, and never spoke again until one night last week, when she had a dream. Her mother—who died about a year ago—appeared unto her in the watches of the night, and told her that her powers of speech would return to her. Awaking from her dream, she found that her speech had indeed returned. Rejoicing at the discovery, she turned over in bed, touched her husband's shoulder, and when he was aroused remarked: "What do you think?" He thought the world was at an end, and waited for no explanation. Bouncing out of bed he ran into the street and aroused the neighbors. They returned with him, and found that Ruth could really talk again. So runs the tale. Possibly the miracle-vein is being overworked just now.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

THE *Pacific Methodist* speaks of the prevailing infidelity of the present day as "a mental perversion," though it allows that some "men of talents, education, and general morality have argued against religion from its abuses"; which, however correct when employed by Protestants against the Catholic religion, it thinks is not fair when employed by infidels against the Protestant faith. The editor supposes that "the whole host of unbelievers" are unconscious of their great danger, and avers "we have at least two chances to their one." This is the lowest and most moderate estimate we have ever noticed of the chances in favor of Christianity.

EXAMINATION of infant class: "How many souls have you, Johnnie?" "Two, one on each foot." Next: "How many tongues have you?" "Three, one in my head and two in my shoes." Next: "What is the chief use of bread?" "To spread butter and molasses on." Next: "Where did the wise men come from?" "Boston."

Poetry.

THE WATCHER ON THE TOWER.

TRAVELLER.

What dost thou see, lone watcher on the tower?
Is the day breaking? comes the wish'd for hour?
Tell us the signs, and stretch abroad thy hand,
If the bright morning dawns upon the land.

WATCHER.

The stars are clear above me; scarcely one
Has dimm'd its rays in reverence to the sun;
But yet I see on the horizon's verge
Some fair, faint streaks, as if the light would surge.

TRAVELLER.

And is that all? O watcher on the tower!
Look forth again; it must be near the hour;
Dost thou not see the snowy mountain copes,
And the green woods beneath them on the slopes?

WATCHER.

A mist envelopes them: I cannot trace
Their outline; but the day comes on apace;
The clouds roll up in gold and amber flakes,
And all the stars grow dim. The morning breaks!

TRAVELLER.

Again, again, O watcher on the tower!
We thirst for daylight, and we bide the hour,
Patient, but longing. Tell us, shall it be
A bright, calm, glorious daylight for the free?

WATCHER.

I hope, but cannot tell. I hear a song
Vivid as day itself, and clear and strong
As of a lark, young prophet of the noon,
Pouring in sunlight his seraphic tune.

TRAVELLER.

What does he say, O watcher on the tower?
Is he a prophet? Doth the dawning hour
Inspire his music? Is his chant sublime
With the full glories of the coming time?

WATCHER.

He prophesies; his heart is full; his lay
Tells of the brightness of a peaceful day!—
A day not cloudless, not devoid of storm,
But sunny for the most, and clear and warm.

TRAVELLER.

We thank thee, watcher on the lonely tower,
For all thou tellest. Sings he of an hour
When error shall decay, and truth grow strong,
And right shall reign supreme, and vanquish wrong?

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 30.

E. A. Hodson, $3.20; C. Vonnegut, $3.20; C. L. Nunnally, 90 cents; Mrs. C. E. Watson, $3.20; D. G. Crandon, $10; F. A. Foster, $3.20; H. D. Bennett, $10; Dr. A. W. Thomson, $10; A. B. Tuttle, $3.20; Mrs. E. B. Chace, $13; M. H. Isbell, $3.20; Chas. H. Pierce, $3.20; M. Rimahu, $1.60; E. C. Walker, $1.25; Kirsch & Scheiss, $3.20; Thos. Nye, $1; H. S. Williams, $2; T. A. Hanson, $3.20; Geo. W. Cooke, $1; C. M. Dennison, $2; Geo. Henshaw, $13.20; Anna E. Thompson, $3.20; Lemuel T. Wilcox, $3; N. A. Lombard, $3.20; S. S. Green, $3.20; Maggie Devoe, $1.60; W. L. Heberling, 75 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 5, 1877.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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FREQUENT APPLICATIONS made to THE INDEX office for the Knowlton pamphlet oblige us to say distinctly that we cannot furnish it to anybody—partly because we have no copies on hand, and also because we cannot, with our own views of the pamphlet, take any part in circulating it.

ATTENTION is particularly called to the appeal of the new Trustees of the Paine Memorial Building, in whom the title of the building is now vested. It is needless to say that every enemy of free thought in the country would be delighted to see this building pass from Liberal management, and that the only way to prevent this is to raise money without delay. It is greatly to be hoped that this appeal will be promptly and generously responded to.

THE RAPID PROGRESS of the evolution philosophy is indicated in no way more significant than in the attempts now frequently made to prove that it is wholly compatible with Christian doctrine. Having failed to refute it, the Church is now endeavoring to accept it with the best grace possible. The *Church of England Pulpit and Ecclesiastical Review* has just published a very sincere discourse, delivered before the University of Cambridge, May 6, by the Rev. T. G. Bonney, which illustrates what a powerful hold the evolution philosophy has already taken on the ablest minds of the clergy: "There is sufficient evidence in favor of the applicability of the evolution hypothesis to the human race to make it wise, in my opinion, to face the possibility of its being true. I fear indeed that many earnest Christians will deem this nothing less than surrendering the very citadel of Christianity. Nevertheless, I hope to show that they are only maintaining an outwork which does not strengthen the line of defence, and so, in accordance with the best strategy, should be evacuated while this is possible without loss. . . . Dark as is many a page of the history of Christianity, few are darker, few more calculated to evoke the sighs of believers and the laughter of infidels, than those which relate to its conflict with science. See, for example, how eminent fathers of the Church denounced those who believed in the rotundity of the earth, and welcomed almost as an article of faith the ludicrous celestial mechanism of Cosmas. Listen to Romanists and Reformers alike condemning the theory of Kopernik. Remember the fate of Cecio d' Ascoli, still depicted as writhing in the fires of hell on the horrible frescoes of Pisa Campo Santo; remember the sufferings of Galileo, of Roger Bacon, of Vesalius, and numbers of others of less note. Remember how the Church—I do not say always in her corporate capacity—has again and again declared doctrine to be incompatible with a true faith in which a century or so later the most earnest Christians have seen declared the glory of God. . . . May we, the clergy of the Church of England, in the future be cleared from the reproach which has been too justly laid upon us of being leaders in opposition to scientific inquiries and the most trustless of all men in the might of the truths which we teach. Among the younger part of my audience are doubtless some who in due course will be called to the ministry of our Church. Beware then, I pray you, of the arrogance of a theology which claims that all things have been revealed to it, no less than that of a science which claims that all things have been discovered by it. Be bold in welcoming truth from whatever quarter it comes. Be careful in distinguishing between the accidents and the essence of what you teach, between the husk and the kernel of your faith. Above all be careful in dogmatizing on points where you are without knowledge, or in making up for the weakness of your arguments by the strength of your language."

ANTICHRIST AT HARVARD.

The New York *Independent* of June 21 takes a not wholly erroneous view of the relations of Harvard University to Christianity:—

As for Harvard's religion, the truth is to be found *in medio*. The general spirit of the institution is not hostile to Christianity or to Orthodoxy; but it is utterly indifferent to both,—a form of hostility which is very effective with some young men. There is no vestige of squarely Christian teaching in the curriculum. Believers and unbelievers are indifferently appointed as instructors, and the general impression left by the Harvard management is that it regards all forms of Christianity and Christianity itself as out of its province. The chapel, with its simple service of hymn, prayer, and sermon; the *Christo et Ecclesiæ* on the college seal; the Unitarian divinity school at one end of the town, the semi-attached Episcopal divinity school at the other; the rentals of pews in the neighboring churches,—these show that Harvard, like the honest sailor in the revival meeting, has "nothin' agin" Christianity. It should further be noted that Unitarian propagandism is dead in Cambridge. The authorities take pride in putting all creeds on a level, and this actually has a good effect, in the present state of the University. *Cæteris paribus*, they would nowadays *prefer* to elect a Congregationalist or an Episcopalian to an overseer's or a professor's chair. The students are simply let alone. Those who go in a particular faith generally stick to it; those who go without any seldom acquire one. That is the story in a nutshell. If your son is Orthodox, don't be afraid to send him to Harvard. If you want him to become so, send him elsewhere.

It certainly would not be fair to say that the authorities of Harvard University are consciously "hostile" to Christianity; they pay great outward respect to it, maintain Christian services on Sunday in the College Chapel with due decorum, and on all public occasions assign positions of honorable prominence to the clergy. In fact, the University still doffs its hat to "Christ and the Church" with even ostentatious formality.

Nevertheless, the "general spirit of the institution" is, like that of every other institution of thorough scientific culture, more than "indifferent" to Christianity; it is at bottom "hostile" to it, as the *Independent* (amusingly contradicting itself) immediately proceeds to acknowledge, when it pronounces indifference to be a "form of hostility which is very effective with some young men." There are but two possible attitudes towards the exclusive claims of Christianity—that of obedient, unquestioning submission, and that of active or passive rejection, which is in either form nothing but *hostility*. The attempt to discriminate between "non-Christian" and "anti-Christian"—fashionable as it is with a certain class of radicals, who cannot by any stretch of complaisance bring themselves to concede these exclusive claims, yet who shrink from recognizing or acknowledging the fact that their "indifference" is in spite of themselves "hostility"—has no basis whatever in reason or truth. The only effect of this attempt is to involve one in a really humiliating inconsistency, which keener or sturdier minds are constrained to contemplate with such excuses as charity requires. When Christianity commands implicit faith and obedience, all her true soldiers believe and obey; it matters little to her whether those who refuse to do this take their position in the ranks arrayed openly against her, or whether they merely throw down their arms and embarrass the movements of her own troops by perversely blocking the way. She reckons the latter her foes quite as legitimately as she does the former; and, when she turns her guns upon them, she receives with not undeserved contempt their plea that they are entitled to the privileges of non-combatants. *"He that is not with me is against me"*—has been her invariable answer from the beginning.

When Harvard University, therefore, is attacked as an enemy to Christianity by the Orthodox pulpit or press, and when even the semi-Orthodox *Independent* maintains that its "indifference" is only one species or "form of hostility," we see no reason to wonder or complain. Like every other seat of sound learning and thorough instruction in the sciences, its influence is constantly undermining the doctrinal foundations of the Christian religion, and is doing in the most efficient and remorseless manner the work of the avowed anti-Christian.

There is no other excuse for singling it out for special malediction, however, than the fact that, because its learning is more honest, accurate, and comprehensive, and its scientific instruction more thorough-going and complete, than those of any other American college, therefore its influence is more powerful than any other in this work of needed and inevitable demolition. The quarrel of Christianity really lies, not with Harvard, but with the modern civilization of which Harvard is the richest fountain in this Western world. Harvard has "nothin' agin" Christianity any further than she is "agin" all ignorance and superstition; but, if Christianity as a doctrinal system is synonymous with ignorance and superstition (and this is the case, despite all protest), then Harvard has a great deal "agin" her, and will sooner or later become abundantly conscious of the fact. Harvard University and THE INDEX are in truth engaged in precisely the same anti-Christian work; the only difference is that the former does this work in detail without being aware of its general character, while the latter, without doing this detailed work at all, is making evident its general character to not a few minds of this generation.

Knowledge, education, culture, literature, science, philosophy,—in brief, all that Harvard University stands for and promotes,—these are the real enemies of Christianity to-day, which Christianity can never conquer until she can succeed in extinguishing the whole sisterhood of colleges at a blow. These colleges may at present imagine themselves the great and mighty bulwarks of Christianity, and be sustained and multiplied as such by its friends; that is an innocent and stubborn hallucination which THE INDEX neither desires nor imagines itself able to dissipate. But the still more stubborn truth remains that the combined and cumulative influence of all well-modernized universities, fostering free-thought, disseminating ideas, promoting knowledge, banishing ignorance, and overturning superstition, is Antichrist itself; and the day will come when its beneficent, liberalizing, and thoroughly anti-Christian character will be universally understood. Harvard University would to-day resent such an intimation; its "authorities" would wax indignant over the irritating but scientifically accurate statement that she is doing more to destroy Christianity than could be done by a dozen INDEXES; they would protest, and with perfect truthfulness, that they cherish no purpose whatever to meddle with Christianity in the slightest, but confine themselves strictly to the thorough education of youth in positive knowledge. This is the truth. Nevertheless, what the jealous champions of Orthodoxy see and say is also true, that Harvard University (and all other universities in proportion as they teach positive knowledge and neglect the positive superstition of Christianity) is exerting a mighty anti-Christian influence on modern society. The intentions or professions of the "authorities" have nothing to do with the matter. They cannot help themselves, or modify the fact in the least. The rupture between Christianity and modern culture is absolute and irreparable, though not generally understood; and until this rupture is healed (as it never can be), Harvard University, as the leading promoter and chief seat of modern culture in America, is Antichrist incarnate. The keen scent of bigotry is not at fault; it snuffs danger in the breeze, and already stands at bay. But the universities are the hope of the world, and in their ultimate predestined triumph over Christianity the world will at last emerge from the still prevailing twilight of mediævalism into the full day of knowledge, liberty, and truth.

RELIGION BY AUTHORITY.

"If no happiness is to be expected after death, he is most reasonable and virtuous who strives to satisfy all his passions; and he is most vicious and unreasonable who renounces his present gratification for the sake of morality. The sceptic, therefore, who denies a future life is constrained logically to admit that all virtue is foolishness, and all wisdom consists in self-indulgence and pleasure."

These two sentences are from the *Catholic World* of July. But they would have been growing in congenial soil if we had found them in a Protestant journal or in any "author" who accepts, on mere authority, the common or Christian theory of a future life as his religion.

Perhaps the first thing that strikes a careful reader, and disgusts a candid one, is the misuse of the word *skeptic*. It is not only spelled unreasonably, but it is made to describe not a doubter but a dogmatist. The skeptic does not deny a future life, that is, believe the negation, but holds it "not proven." There are undoubtedly plenty of dogmatists who will vehemently deny the very possibility of a future existence; but it is not proper or fair to call them skeptics. They ought rather to be classed with the believers whose faith transcends evidence and reason.

Beyond this verbal criticism there comes the more important one; that, if the word skeptic had been used in its proper sense, as the writer would doubtless have used it if he had written a little more carefully,—for in consistency he ought to believe that

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the doubter is more likely to be damned than the dogmatist,—the conclusion is wholly unsupported by facts.

One of the first things that occurs to a human being after he gets into this life, and long before it is possible to convey to his mind any theory of another, is, that he cannot gratify *all* his passions without making himself miserable. Even on the assumption that there are no altruistic passions in his constitution, nothing but selfishness and "original sin," long before it is possible for him to have any conception of God or a future state, he learns that unlimited self-indulgence is not the best way, or perhaps any way at all, to be happy. Hence a pretty effective sort of morality springs up in the human mind, including faith in men as well as things, before religion or faith in God can possibly be planted. The wise parent at this period, no matter what are his own beliefs or opinions, is very careful about imposing mere authority, finding that the limitations of the passions are best taught to the child from his own experiences and the things immediately around him. Is it to be pretended that a process of moral training, which always begins without any theology, and acquires strong constraint over the indulgence of the passions before any whatever can be applied, must by and by come to depend wholly on faith in the rewards and punishments of a future state of existence, —a faith which, inasmuch as the finite cannot comprehend the infinite, must be accepted wholly on the authority of other finite beings, equally incapable? Here let us disclaim any under-valuation of authority. This would be a miserably poor world if there were not a general, practical, and everywhere present respect for authority, especially in matters of science, including morality, which is the highest science; to wit, the science of happiness. Authority, subordinate to truth, and within the limited sphere of human powers, has a right to respect and must be respected. Loyal and sensible subjects believe and obey the herald of their sovereign, provided his proclamation seems reasonable, and he does not put on airs. But if he wears a sword, and draws it, threatening instant harm as the penalty of disobedience or doubt, he impairs authority, and brings it into contempt. This, it seems to us, is just about what the Church, Protestant as well as Catholic, has been doing ever since the new dispensation of the Jewish religion was brought into the world. Its moral effect has been exceedingly malign. Science which depends almost wholly on authority—for what all of us, except specialists, know of it is principally by faith—takes a very different course. It never denounces skeptics, but simply refers to its facts and experiments, and with kind words lets them alone. The motto of the apostles, or popes, if you please, of astronomy, chemistry, zoölogy, botany, geology, is, Give the world the facts, and leave it to work out its own salvation. The benign moral effect of this policy on the population of the world is so susceptible of statistical proof that proof is needless. Everybody, including the most interested and bigoted ecclesiastics, must admit that the morals of the nineteenth century are better than those of the sixteenth. And yet the pillars of dogmatic theology, which stood so terribly firm at the beginning of the sixteenth century as to be able to support a very corrupt hierarchy, have been so battered by science, rather than by schism; by the worldly wisdom of Columbus, Galileo, and their followers, rather than by the preaching of Luther or the wit of Rabelais and Voltaire, that now, in the end of the nineteenth century, they must be supported themselves: and all that saves them from tumbling into oblivion is the improved moral character of the hierarchy, itself the fruit of a higher and better morality than such dogmas could ever inspire.

Though a tree may be known, in some measure, by its fruit, it is well to examine the wood and the bark and the manner of growth,—in short, all that its nature comprehends.

The religion of authority which afflicts Christendom, and seeks to abridge the normal freedom of the human mind, more or less, assumes not only the truth but the divine inspiration of certain Scriptures. These Scriptures, the product of many writers in many ages, without much apparent unity of purpose, contain, along with much of mere local or temporary interest, much of history, poetry, and morality worthy to have been transmitted to posterity, and which probably would have reached us without any assumption of its divinity. The writers themselves lay no distinct claims to divine inspiration, or that they were addressing all mankind in all future ages under the immediate dictation of the Almighty. If they had been conscious of having any such mission, as they were certainly in most cases men of commonsense as well as genius, they would have taken care not to lumber up their writings with much that could be of no earthly interest to any but the people of their own day and district. Not a single book of the whole list fairly canonizes itself. Had it done so, none the less would its claim have been submitted to canonizers, who might, by a majority of a single vote, have ruled it out. Hence it is a logical necessity that the Church should make the traditions of the fathers to some extent of equal authority with the canonical Scriptures; and the Protestants cannot escape it, for their Bible does not either wholly or partially canonize itself. All that the Greek, Roman, or Protestant churches, which accept the Scriptures as a wholly and divinely inspired rule of faith, can say, is: "We accept them because the fathers did; and we assume that the fathers could not be mistaken." When they say: "We accept what is in them just so far as, and no farther than, it is consistent with other knowledge and commends itself to our reason and conscience," then they unchurch themselves, and stand with the free religionists. They then reduce their regard for authority to the scientific standard, where it is no longer the master but the servant of reason. They make it possible to have some respect for so-called sacred writers, after they have been convicted of ignorance and mistakes; for to err is human: whereas an error in a book claiming to be a divine revelation damns the whole as an imposture. Scripture and tradition do not pass with them for nothing, but for what they are worth in the presence of all other light.

It cannot be pretended by any healthy and reverent mind, little authority as it may concede to the writers of the Old and New Testaments, that their speculations about God are of no human interest, and did nothing to displace grosser ideas. They were sublime steps in their time. But that they were vague, crude, and incomprehensible, not very sane attempts to know the unknowable, is proved by the fact that the fathers of the Christian Church fell at once to quarrelling about them; and at the end of about three hundred and twenty-five years they were ready to cut each other's throats; and perhaps would have done it, had not a converted king who had some worldly-mindedness and common sense left in him, got the controversy hushed up by calling a convention of Bishops, who, after heated discussion, settled a creed about the Trinity by sheer voting. To this most of the malcontents, who were suppressed but not convinced, being the ablest theologians of the crowd, subscribed, saving their consciences by surreptitiously injecting an iota into a Greek word.

A more practical and mischievous assumption than that about which they quarrelled was the doctrine of the universal taint of "original sin," about which they agreed. Without that knot, they could see no occasion for the intervention of a God. The writers of the Gospels seem to have thought it necessary to save Jesus from the taint of original sin by denying him a human father,—the sacredness of virginity, in the estimation of the people of that day, being sufficient to neutralize the taint on the mother's side. Thus Jesus, the Christ, as to his human nature, was born without sin, as otherwise he could not have been. But this idea of the virgin was afterwards thought not quite sufficient to counteract the taint, so that it early became a common though not universal belief that she herself, though having a father as well as a mother, was born without sin.

To show how utterly the Church relies upon authority and rejects common sense and reason, even when it exists in its own bosom, it is only necessary to refer to its action on this curious tenet. In 1850 the Pope consulted the most eminent of his prelates about making it an article of faith binding on every Catholic conscience, expressing his own desire that it should be done. Of course the majority advised it, but many dissuaded. Among them was the lamented and ill-fated Archbishop of Paris. With humility, but with overwhelming reason and touching pathos, he implored the Holy Father not to do it, seeming to forbode that such an outrage on human conscience would provoke the horrors in which he passed away. He even ventured to ask Pius, "Can the Church propose, under the pain of eternal damnation, a doctrine which is altogether indifferent, in respect of dogma or rule of life?" Yet on the 8th of December, 1854, the Church in council had done it by a strong vote; and Pius IX. published it in a Constitution entitled, *Ineffabilis Deus*, in these words:

"We define the doctrine which holds the most blessed Virgin Mary in the first instant of her conception to have been preserved free from all stain of original sin, by the singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, and through the merits of Jesus Christ the Savior of the human race, to be a doctrine revealed by God, and therefore to be firmly and constantly held by all the faithful."

Reason, thus crushed by ecclesiastical authority, has to suppress the questions which undoubtedly struggled in the mind of the Archbishop of Paris. If Almighty God could preserve Mary free from the stain of original sin, without suspending natural laws and depriving her of an earthly father, why could he not save a superfluous miracle, not the easiest of belief, and do the same for Jesus? Would his merits as a Savior have been any less? Again Mary, though sinless, was not God. She was saved by the "merits" of a suffering God, and, as a matter of "privilege," she of all mankind was saved from ever being a sinner. Where is the morality of such a dogma?

Science has taught the Catholic hierarchy the folly of sneering at Columbus because he didn't think the earth was flat, and of persecuting Galileo because he dared to investigate its motions. It now thinks of canonizing Columbus; and it, some time ago, set Pietro Angelo Secchi to lecturing at Rome on the very things which it forbade Galileo to speak of. Though the Italian government allows Father Secchi still to adorn the Church as an astronomer, and allows the Pope to exercise all his spiritual functions with regal splendor, it is accused by the Catholic priesthood all over the world, not excepting the United States, of holding him a prisoner, and oppressing the consciences of the faithful everywhere, because the Pope is not recognized as a territorial sovereign, independent of the State, and owing no allegiance to it. The superstition of France has been stirred to its very bottom by its ultramontane priesthood, to wrest from regenerated Italy the old dominion of the Pope. They say they have not, and well they may not have, any enmity to a republic which grants them $10,000,000 a year from its budget; but they impudently demand that it shall press Italy to do what no republic or any other government fit to live has a right to do. Whoever will read the last issue of the *Catholic World* will see that, if the Pope should take it in his infallible head to establish himself in the United States, this zealous advocate of religious slavery would be stirring up all the Catholics in the world to petition Congress to give him the sovereignty of some city, and to petition every other government to interfere with our government in his behalf. The recent overthrow of Jules Simon, and the terrible predicament in which the Hibernian French President finds himself, throws a strong light on the cause of the Franco-German war, and demonstrates that a religion of authority, though no longer able, or perhaps willing, to burn individuals for heresy, is as avaricious of power and as dangerous to the peace of nations as ever. There is no safety in giving it more than the tolerance due to all the dangerous, while they keep within the pale of strictly secular law. E. W.

A GENTLEMAN was very much annoyed at night by a person who was walking heavily in the room above, and unable to sleep; he ascended to the room to ascertain the cause, and found a man walking up and down, apparently in great distress. His sympathy induced him to inquire the cause. At first he could get no response, and the man, with his hair in his hands, still continued to pace the floor. At last, induced by the kindly tone of his visitor, he stated the cause of his great anguish. "I owe my friend Brown $500, which I am utterly unable to pay." "My friend," said the gentleman, "I can give you advice which will relieve your distress." "What is it?" anxiously inquired the distressed individual. "You have walked far enough," replied the gentleman; "my advice to you is to go comfortably to bed, and let Brown walk awhile."

BARNUM was travelling once on board of one of the river steamers, where they feed you for a moderate outlay (seventy-five cents a meal) very sumptuously, but the portions supplied are usually of microscopic dimensions. He called at tea-time for a beefsteak. The negro brought him the usual little shrivelled mite of broiled flesh, certainly not sufficient for more than two mouthfuls. Barnum poised the morsel on his fork, scanned it critically, as though it were a sample of steak submitted to his inspection, and then returned it to the waiter, saying, "Yes, that's what I mean. Bring me some of that."

THE NEW YORK *Times* is embarrassed by an obscurity in one of Rev. Dr. Talmage's sermons. That great divine said, with all the indignant eloquence of his arms and legs, "that a ship once sailed from Boston on board of which were three missionaries and twenty-four thousand gallons of rum." What the *Times* can't find out is, whether there was too many rum for the missionaries or too much missionaries for the rum.—*Commonwealth.*

Communications.

IS CHRISTIANITY THE GREAT MORAL FORCE OF THE WORLD?

I do not propose to go into an extended consideration of the subject, traversing the broad field of history, but to briefly note two modern instances.

For nearly forty years, Rev. Dr. Joel Hawes was minister of the "Centre Church" (Orthodox Congregational), of Hartford, Conn. His connection with his society closed in the year 1863, or thereabouts. He was called to that position when it was still the custom to settle a minister for life, unless some flagrant immorality or heresy gave occasion for his dismissal. Though never a brilliant man, he steadily grew in favor with his denomination, and after a few years assumed a leading place in it. On all questions of doctrine and church polity he became an authority. Of great ecclesiastical erudition, a master of the traditions, and perfectly sound, he was looked up to as a man of great wisdom, and in matters of controversy often referred to as a court of final appeal. Occupying such a position of respect and influence in his denomination, of course his immediate society would regard him with pride and admiration. Besides, at that time, a sacredness attached to the ministerial office which it has since largely lost among Protestant sects. The minister was ordained of God as well as man, and, if not quite infallible, was at least divinely guarded from serious error. If he did not receive specific and literal instruction and guidance from on high, he was divinely inspired with general wisdom. He was God's interpreter to the people, and received deference accordingly. The wide reputation he had acquired as expounder and defender of the faith, together with the exaltation belonging to his office, placed him very high indeed in the estimation of his people. He was almost, if not quite, an object of worship. His word with them had all the force of law. By their encouragement, his position in relation to them became that of dictator, his authority absolute; and great complacency was felt and manifested by those having charge of the oracle. This worshipful attitude of his people of course had the effect to encourage in him an autocratic habit, which was more and more confirmed as the years went on. He was naturally inclined to magnify the office which he held; and his people were willing to receive from him a reflected glory. In exalting him, they were also a little way lifted up.

The extraordinary inflexibility of will, and confidence of opinion, naturally promoted by this flattering deportment of his people, was unperceived by them so long as it was their happiness to defer to him, as to one in immediate communication with the divine source of all knowledge and wisdom. But the favor of God and the worship of the people seem to be no barrier against the infirmities of age. The prophet of the Most High grows old, and his vital force is exhausted, just the same as the man of science or the man of sin. As the minister passed his threescore years, his people proposed to provide him with a helper. This he declined from time to time, as the offer was renewed, maintaining that he was still in such vigor of body and mind as to be well able to fulfil all the duties of his position. But the time came when he could no longer conceal from himself the fact that his physical power was waning somewhat; and he reluctantly accepted the offer of a colleague. A young man was engaged for the place who possessed many attractive qualifications. The members of the society congratulated themselves on having secured so efficient a helper for the old man, and at the same time one whom the younger portion could sympathize and associate with, as well as look up to; and all for a while was harmonious and lovely.

The contrast between the two men, of course, was great. One was of the past; the other, of the present. One was profound, solid, sound, antiquated; the other equally sound, but fresh and inspiriting. The people soon began to find out what perhaps they would otherwise never have discovered, that they were really getting tired of listening to the cogent, but monotonous and prosy presentation of the same old round of doctrines, and were delighted to have them set off with a bit of color that was not lurid, enclosed in fancifully illuminated borders, or made to serve as background for graceful studies of philanthropy and art.

When the young man preached, the house was filled; while the old man discoursed to a "beggarly array of empty boxes." To this he was not unmindful, and doubtless felt the slight to be as undeserved as it was cruel. Perhaps a half-conscious presentiment of such a state of things made him refuse as long as possible to accept the proffered help. Slight differences soon arose between the two pastors on matters of minor importance, which at first were settled by the ready submission of the junior. But differences grew larger, more serious, less easily settled. The old minister could not see why his authority, based upon the superior wisdom of age and experience, should not be as absolute as aforetime.

The young minister could not see why his position did not give him some voice in the management of affairs. So there was a breach which grew wider and wider: the people took sides; and the side of the young man was much the larger. The strife became intensely personal and bitter, as contests between religious factions always are. Of course the old pastor was still essentially the same man that he had been,—in many respects what his people had made him. It can hardly be supposed that a few weeks or months had served to greatly change his character, or render him less entitled to respect and veneration. Yet the same people, who a short time before sat in worship at his feet, now heaped upon him all possible abuse, upbraiding him especially, and in no mild terms, for those traits which they themselves had been instrumental in making prominent in his character,—stubbornness, wilfulness, an autocratic spirit. The assault upon him became virulent, venomous, pitiless. Those who had been most extravagant in their laudation, most submissive and obeisant, were now the most bitter in denunciation, the most unfeelingly unsparing in their efforts to publish the weaknesses of a character which a short time before they had seemed to regard as perfect. The result was the forced resignation of the pastor, followed not long after by his death.

The other instance to which I wish to refer is, in all its main features, identical with the one already related. Dr. Woodbridge was, in like manner, settled in his youth at Old Hadley, Mass.; in like manner worshipped for nearly half a century, and in like manner disposed of. His compulsory abdication took place two or three years before that of Dr. Hawes, and under exactly the same circumstances. The minister grew old; the colleague came; the old man was repudiated,—the god deposed. Gray hairs found no respect; long and faithful service no consideration; with scorn and bitter reproaches he was turned adrift, and the people felt no shame.

To me these incidents carry their moral so conspicuously that there is no need that I should do more than barely call attention to it. These people had been for many years under the most strict and constant Christian training. Their opportunities for appropriating, and manifesting in their characters, the results of the soundest Christian theology and ethics were exceptionally favorable. Their preceptors in Christianity were of the strictest order, of widely acknowledged ability; and they gave much time in listening to exposition and instruction, which were received with child-like confidence. They were subjected from youth to age, Sunday and week-day, day and night, to the most powerful and penetrating Christian influence. Being in the very focus of Christian light, they might be expected to radiate whatever good that light should bring to them. In their knowledge and practice of the common virtues —sometimes called the Christian virtues—they might be supposed to be somewhat in advance of others less favorably situated, if the claim which the votaries of Christianity make for it is true,—that it is the great moral force of the world. If that claim is just, when the trial came they would have had a measure of wisdom to comprehend the situation,—to see how far they themselves were responsible for it; the charity, forbearance, and forgiving spirit, which would surely have maintained the relation of goodwill, affection, and respect between pastor and people.

All these years of superlative Christian training had brought to them nothing, unless it was an added capacity for rancor, blunted sensibilities, increased selfishness. They were now forced to see that the man whom they had worshipped was not altogether perfect; and the violence with which they met such a revelation was due perhaps, in part, to their chagrin at having been duped so long, albeit by their own credulity and blindness. I would not affirm that they were of a lower moral tone, less refined and delicate in feeling, or more hasty and severe in controversy than that part of the community which is not professedly Christian; but, in view of the claim which Christianity makes, we have a right to demand that they manifest the possession of those attributes and virtues which are maintained to be the offspring of Christianity in more than ordinary prominence and activity. In a situation which required much wisdom, forbearance, self-control, and mutual concession, the worst passions had full sway,—neither held in check nor modified by the vaunted moral influences of Christianity.

These incidents are given as a single item in the vast array of evidence which might be cited to show that Christianity is no leader in the moral or intellectual progress of the world, but rather follows far behind, and dimly reflects the moral sentiment of the age.

J. A. J. W.

CLERICAL DIFFICULTIES, AND THE REMEDY.

To the Editor of The Index:

Dear Sir,—I find in one of the morning papers the following interesting item of business transacted at the annual meeting of the General Association of Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, now in its third day's session. It may be remarked, in passing, that the reason for this body being called "The *General* Association," etc., is possibly because a proportion of the Congregational churches of the State are excluded from its membership, for sectarian and theological reasons.

In "The Business Meeting" on Wednesday, "the Rev. Daniel T. Fiske, D.D., of Newburyport, Chairman of the Committee to prepare a compendium of doctrine for the instruction of the young, reported that while the desirability of such a compendium was obvious, it was not advisable to enter upon the work at the present time for three reasons: First, want of time; second, the improbability that the committee themselves could agree upon any compend of doctrine to be reported; third, with ample time and with agreement on their part they would not be able to report any compend of doctrine which would command general approval of the ministers and churches represented in this body. Therefore the committee asked to be discharged. The report was accepted, and the question coming upon its adoption, after a short discussion it was voted that the report be laid on the table on the ground that it would not be well to have it understood by the public, as it would be if the report were adopted, that the committee were unable to agree on matters of doctrine; that if the committee agreed the convention could not; and if the convention should finally come to a decision, that decision would not be accepted by the churches."

The above report seems to me to be noteworthy for two reasons: first, as forming one among many items of evidence that the plans and operations of the Orthodox clergy include a systematic suppression of truth, more or less extensive, and are detrimental to the public welfare in this manner, as well as by their habitual teaching of false doctrine; second, as enlarging the already abundant proof that this body of men does even now wield such means of influence, pecuniary and other, as to persuade the conductors of the periodical press to coöperate with them in the suppressions in question. For instance: the report above quoted appears in but one of the city papers, the others giving only the first five lines of the extract, and omitting (no doubt on strong persuasion) the reasons assigned by the committee, and the debate upon those reasons in the Association, matters more interesting and instructive than anything else in the proceedings of the meeting.

Think, reader, for a moment, of the deep significance of the vote of the Association above described. They agreed to evade all action on the confessedly important subject before them, expressly "on the ground that it would not be well to have it understood by the public" that neither the reverend committee nor the reverend members of the Association could agree upon matters respecting which they all declare from the pulpit that the truth is plain, clear, and unquestionable, settled thoroughly by the creed, after having been settled thoroughly by the Bible!

When Mr. Moody tried to prevent the reporters from communicating to the public his remarks about the Young Men's Christian Union, and the Orthodox ministers who saw no harm in preaching the gospel to that body, it was wittily said that perhaps he had found a new reading of a well-known passage of Scripture, thus: When thou backbitest, enter into thy closet and shut the door. A friend to whom I repeated this joke, said he was glad of Moody's exposure, but sorry for the manner of it, since any assembly had a right to hold its sessions in private, if it so desired. I, having just seen the above record of the action of the Congregational Association, suggested that there might be some reason in a different view of the case; namely, that if, in a meeting of teachers by profession, plans were concerted to suppress and conceal from their pupils matters properly belonging to the course of instruction, and needful to the pupil's welfare, that welfare might claim exposure of such treachery, even to the extent of disregarding the secrecy enjoined by the conspirators.

C. K. W.

Boston, June 21, 1877.

JOHN HEPBURN.

Milwaukee, June 16, 1877.

Friend Abbot:—

The Index just come to hand, containing a notice of the funeral of Mrs. Little, reminds me of a neglected duty. I ought to have sent you a notice of the funeral of John Hepburn, published in the Milwaukee *News*, May 6, the day after the funeral. Although several weeks have passed since we laid the good old man in the grave, I wish you would publish it, as it is the best way I know to convey the news of his death to old friends in London; among others G. J. Holyoake, of whom he thought so much.

He was a socialist of the Robert Owen school, and came to this State in 1845, with Thomas Hunt and others, to establish a community. Of course they failed. Since the breaking up of this attempt at community, he has constantly resided in Milwaukee. A few days before his death, in conversation with him, we found him as hopeful of the ultimate success of socialism—as he understood it—as in the days when he subscribed his mite to the "Harmony Hall" experiment in England.

Those who were participators in this simple funeral ceremony will not easily forget it. In the silence of the Forest Home Cemetery, on a calm and beautiful morning, when all Nature seemed so bright and peaceful, friends still in the vigor of manhood lowered the coffin, containing the body of John Hepburn, gently into the grave; while around stood his only daughter and her husband and children, and friends of the family, among them all that are left of his gray-haired companions,—all but one, and he prevented from being there only by blindness.

In the short time spent at the grave, there passed before the eyes of his old companions a retrospective vision of forty years past,—their hopes, disappointments, and successes; and loving tears coursed down their furrowed cheeks as they thought of hours that had been made happier by the unceasing hopefulness of him with whom they now parted forever.

John Hepburn lived a life of purity, and died loved by all who knew him,—loved best by those who knew him best.

A. Bate.

In Memoriam.

Most of the residents of Milwaukee will recall to mind meeting often on our thoroughfares a white-haired old man of diminutive stature, always appearing to be hastening on some important errand, so eager and intent was his manner. He was only known in this way to the majority of those who might have thus met him. A few knew him by name; fewer still personally or intimately.

This earnest little figure will never more add its modicum of activity to the moving panorama of living energy that threads the city pavements, intent upon the various purposes for which that energy is requisite. During the past week his life went out suddenly and sweetly; and yesterday, in the bright

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May-morning sunshine, loving hands laid him away, to rest, at last.

John Hepburn was a Scotchman by birth, a resident of Milwaukee for more than thirty years. In the old country, and in the new, he labored diligently, in his very limited way, for every cause which to him meant a better time for all men and women who were poor, oppressed, and degraded; and these labors were continued unremittingly up to the very day of his death.

There may be some who will remember him as a zealous friend of the Young Men's Library Association in its early, struggling history. A number of valuable books are now in the library; and on the fly-leaves may be read, "Presented by John Hepburn." Yet he was a very poor man at that time, and daily toil with meagre pay was his heritage. Whenever there was an opportunity for the little effort he was able to make, he was sure to step in, zealous and helpful.

In character, he was as guileless as a child. Not the innocence of ignorance, for he was a reader and a thinker. Like a child, too, in that, his enthusiasm never seemed to receive the chill of aging years. In the home circle—his home for many years being with his only daughter, Mrs. James Richter—he was helpful, cheerful, content; the playmate of the children, the intelligent companion of the elders. A purer, truer life possibly never passed through its mysterious weaving of weal and woe, and kept so clean and fair a pattern. It was unmarred by a single taint of selfishness, weakness, or shame. He even denied himself all the little luxuries that the pocket money given to him by his friends could have furnished, and devoted every penny to promote in his little fashion some cause that to him meant progress. This was his only religion; and he was a devotee in the religion of philanthropy. By it, he lived a life of useful beauty; in it, he died a death of tranquil satisfaction. It was his desire that neither clergyman nor solemn obsequies should mark his burial with anything different from the religion he had lived and died in; and his wish was carefully regarded. The funeral was attended only by acquaintances, the most of them friends of forty years or more standing. They laid flower tokens on the coffin, and dropped tears of genuine affection on the serenely restful face, and then carried him to his grave, where there was no ceremony save a few tender, truthful words spoken by a life-long friend and comrade in their common cause of progress for man.

Who shall attempt to estimate the value of this simple, earnest life? Judged by any worldly standard, the figures would be small. Yet in the surging sea of human pain and oppression, some word or act of this brave soul may have been as the pebble dropped in the ocean, whose influence upon the water is never quite lost, and touches at last the shore.

> Nor is a true soul ever born for naught;
> Wherever any such hath lived and died
> There hath been something for true freedom wrought,
> Some bulwark levelled on the evil side.

B.

"SOCIAL DEMOCRACY."

To the Editor of The Index:

Dear Mr. Abbot,—I am glad to find that my letter in The Index of June 21 was written under a misapprehension of the intended application of your remark to which it referred; and I thank you for your courteous invitation to present in The Index "a clear, definite, precise statement of what social democracy aims to accomplish."

I am quite conscious of my inability to do justice to so excellent an opportunity; still the hope of arresting the attention of some among the many thoughtful and liberal-minded readers of your paper to the important social problems involved in the question of labor and capital urges me to do my best to respond to your wish as briefly as I can, and as promptly as my other engagements and the desire to do my best will permit.

Suffer me, however, to take advantage of this occasion to make one or two remarks regarding the passage you have quoted from Mr. Ernst's paper in your comments on my letter; the sentiments expressed in which passage I understand you to accept as "very wholesome truth."

I confess that I am very much surprised at this indorsement, considering the vagueness of the entire passage and the utter absence of any reasons, either in the passage quoted or in the article quoted from, for the string of conclusions arrived at by Mr. Ernst.

If German socialism is based upon Lassalle's teachings, it seems to me that Mr. Ernst's own account of the man, and especially Heine's opinion of him, given in the letter quoted in the article, should absolve his well-considered and largely adopted theories from the charge of "crudeness"; and, in the absence of any definite information in your quotation—or in the rest of the article, for that matter,—as to what the theories in question really were, and as to the exact nature of the "legitimate consequences" and "inevitable results" that would accrue from their adoption and practice, I cannot see how you can be so easily satisfied. Nor does Mr. Ernst, anywhere that I remember, show *how* "the accumulation of capital and rent was shown to be a moral act"; and what does he mean by the accumulation of *rent?* Also, what is the meaning of "trades," as he uses the word in the same sentence? "Hence," he says ("hence," from what?), "war either against labor or capital is war against moral civilization." Change the sentence to this: war *between* labor and capital is war against moral civilization, and all social democrats will indorse it; they will also fully indorse (with their own interpretation) your own sentence which immediately follows the quoted passage.

Social democracy does not propose *any* antagonism between labor and capital; it simply recognizes an antagonism that already exists—not between the two abstract terms, but in the relations between the two classes of men who represent these two elements of production and distribution; and its very object, and only object, is *to remove this antagonism*, and thus to bring about that *equitable* coöperation, without which, as you justly say, "Social prosperity will be [indefinitely] postponed."

As to the war which the socialists are said to "wish for," I do not know how it may be in Germany, but certainly it is the very thing that we in America are desirous of avoiding. We believe that nothing but the adoption of the social democratic system of industry and commerce—that is, of production and exchange—*can* prevent war either in this or in any other civilized country.

Above all things, social democrats believe in the rightful sovereignty of the collective will of the people in matters of common interest; in the efficacy of the *ballot* for its expression and enforcement; and they hope to accomplish their purposes by a true education of the people, mainly through the teachings of social friction. What those purposes are, and on what principles they are based, I will try to show in another article.

W. G. H. Smart.

Boston, June 21, 1877.

IS IT A "FORTUNATE GUESS"?

Editor of The Index:—

I think Mr. Chadwick is in error when he says: "Seen from your stand-point, the belief in the moral law has been a fortunate guess so far;" and I think the ground of his error is the supposition that you, in the advocacy of the scientific method as applied to the subject of religion, claim to use some other instrumentality for the discovery of truth than what always has been used, while (if I understand you correctly) you are simply urging the recognition of reason as the final arbiter on all questions within the purview of human intelligence. This, in fact, it always has been; for, even if the world has hitherto deferred to "authority," *it has used its reason in its choice thereof.*

But, granting that Mr. Chadwick is right in the above remark, in what respect is his theory (to wit, that "the genesis of morals is not intellectual at all, but emotional") superior to his assumption of what yours is? What there is more reliable in the shifting emotions of human nature than in a "fortunate guess," I fail to see. Now it seems to me that, as tested by the method of science, moral law is simply right law; and that the only indication of the rightness of a law is its beneficence, which latter quality can be fully apprehended only through experience. It required ages of experience for the world to become capable of appreciating the practical value of the Golden Rule. Some laws are so beneficial, their application being limited by so few exceptions,—in short, they contain so much of rightness,—that men have attributed to them a supernatural origin, and in some sort canonized them as they have certain good men. The only office of emotion in this matter is, according to its character, to impel us either to obedience or to violation of recognized right law; and, consequently, as the elder Mill maintained, it is liable to be called upon to give an account of itself at the bar of reason. I conclude that the world always has learned, and always must learn, its golden rules and discover its "moral laws" by climbing the rugged hill of Experience.

J. N. C.

N. P. ROGERS.

Lincoln, Neb., June 20, 1877.

Editor Index:

Dear Sir,—I notice a "Freethinker's View of Appleton's Cyclopædia" in The Index of the 14th instant. It recalls to mind that a few months since I had occasion to look in this Cyclopædia for N. P. Rogers; and was quite surprised, as well as disappointed, in not finding the slightest notice of one of New England's brightest, freest, and purest authors. I was the more dissatisfied when I found many men of less note had found a place there.

My Cyclopædia is for sale.

Yours for truth, Benj. F. Fisher.

THE WOLCOTT GROVE MEETING.

Salamanca, N. Y., June 24, 1877.

Editor Index:—

As has been announced through The Index, the Liberals of Central and Western New York are to hold a three days grove meeting in Cosad's Grove, near Wolcott, N. Y., the 17th, 18th, and 19th of August. At that meeting it is proposed to perfect a permanent organization for the western half of the State. The expenses of the meeting will be considerable, and must mostly be borne by Mr. J. M. Cosad, the builder of the Liberal Hall and the owner of the grove. To assist him a little, please allow me to ask the readers of The Index, and others who may feel so disposed, to remit such sums as they may choose to Mr. J. M. Cosad, Wolcott, N. Y. Efforts will be made to secure a goodly representation of the Liberal public, and make the meeting a grand success.

H. L. Green.

[We hope the Wolcott meeting will be a great success,—all the more so if the proposed organization shall have the courage to enter into the Liberal League movement explicitly and earnestly. The principle of State Secularization should be proclaimed by every liberal society; and its professions should be backed up by active work. Why not get the signatures of all the members of this meeting to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition, and make the organization auxiliary to the National Liberal League? This step would not interfere in the slightest with its local independence, but would give needed aid and sympathy to the most important liberal movement of the time.—Ed.]

THE SUNDAY SOCIETY.

The second public annual meeting of the Sunday Society to obtain the opening of museums, art galleries, libraries, and gardens on Sundays was held in the large hall, Freemasons' Tavern, on Saturday afternoon. The hall was crowded. The chair was occupied by the Dean of Westminster, the president of the society. Among those on the platform were Professor Tyndall, Professor Huxley, the Rev. John Oakley, the Rev. Mark Wilks, Professor Henry Morley, Dr. B. W. Richardson, Joseph Arch, Mr. James Heywood, Sir Henry Thompson, the Rev. W. Rogers, Mr. E. R. Russell (Liverpool), Mr. W. H. Domville, Dr. J. Shaw, the Rev. H. G. Henderson, Miss Anna Swanwick, Mr. Lewin Hill, the Rev. Arthur Mozley, Dr. W. C. Bennett, Mr. J. F. B. Firth, Mr. A. Elley Finch, and Mr. Thomas Henry Farrer, secretary of the Board of Trade. Mr. Mark H. Judge, the honorary secretary, stated that letters expressing regret that they were unable to attend the meeting had been received from (among others) the Bishop of Exeter, the Marquis of Ripon, the Marquis of Huntly, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, M.P., Sir Richard Wallace, M.P., Sir Sydney Waterlow, M.P., Sir Arthur Guinness, M.P., Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P.; and that Lady Burdett Coutts would have been there but for an illness in her family. The president, in his address to the meeting, said he did not address those who wished that Sunday should be altogether abolished, nor, on the other hand, those, if any, who thought that the mode of observing Sunday in England did not require any alteration. The question for consideration was, What is the best mode of enjoying one of the greatest institutions of this country for the purpose of the religious and moral elevation of the people? It was cherished by all sects and churches, and was almost the only institution which the Legislature forced on the whole nation. The object of the society was, he understood, to maintain, on the one hand, the value of the English Sunday, and, on the other hand, to do the best they could to improve it. Every institution worth preserving was worth improving. "*Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna.*" The meaning of that was, "You have got something good; make the most of it you can." The English mode of observing Sunday was different from the Continental mode, whether Protestant or Catholic. The opportunities afforded by this one free day were grievously neglected in this country. To a vast number of the working-classes in our great towns Sunday was the only day which afforded an opportunity for innocent and healthy recreations and studies. In the direct interests of religion, and in the interests of morality, which after all was only religion under another name, this society advocated the enjoyment of that opportunity. In the direct interests of religion, because it was important that the religion of the country should not suffer in the estimation of the young, the uneducated, or, he would add, the hostile or indifferent, by being associated with enforced gloom or listless idleness. It was well said by Richard Baxter, "The devil is a great undoer by overdoing." In overdoing religious observances there was great risk of undoing the vital, essential elements of religion itself. This society also advocated the enjoyment of opportunities for instruction in the interests of morality. No stone should be left unturned which could give some means of escape from temptation, some places of resort where rich and poor might meet together, or at any rate where the poor and their families might meet one another—such as Kew Gardens or the picture galleries at Hampton Court. He understood there was a general testimony of the moral advantages which those institutions had afforded. With regard to the opening of the national museums and galleries this society proposed two conditions,—first, that the general character of the day must not be infringed by an undue extension of the hours during which those buildings should be opened; and, second, that the rights and liberties of the public servants who would be employed must not be unduly curtailed. Professor Tyndall moved the first resolution, "That this meeting rejoices in the progress of the movement for the opening of museums on Sundays, as shown in the second annual report of the Sunday Society, and requests the chairman to sign a petition praying the House of Commons to support the resolution which is shortly to be submitted to it for the opening of the national museums and galleries during a part of Sunday." The resolution having been seconded by Professor Henry Morley, and supported by Dr. B. W. Richardson, was carried almost unanimously. Professor Huxley moved the second resolution, "That in the opinion of this meeting the Sunday Society should appoint a deputation to wait upon the First Lord of the Treasury to solicit the support of the government to the measure for the opening of the national museums and galleries on Sunday afternoons." The Rev. John Oakley seconded the resolution, which, having been supported by the Rev. Mark Wilks and Joseph Arch, was carried. On the motion of Professor Flower, supported by Mr. James Heywood and Mr. E. R. Russell, thanks were voted to the president.—*London Times, May* 14.

A close-fisted man invited a friend to dinner, and provided only two mutton-chops. Upon removing the cover he said: "My friend, we have a Lenten entertainment; you see your dinner before you." Taking the two chops upon his own plate, his friend replied, "Yes, but where is your dinner?"

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as t is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THOLUCK, the great German Evangelical scholar, has just died at Halle.

THE KING OF DAHOMEY is reported by the steamer *Volta*, arrived at Liverpool on July 4, to have determined to offer to his fetich a human sacrifice of five hundred of his men. The Czar is offering thousands to his.

PROFESSOR CLIFFORD, discussing in the *Contemporary Review* for January the "Ethics of Belief," said with sententiousness and force: "It is wrong always, everywhere, and for any one, to believe anything on insufficient evidence."

PRESIDENT MACMAHON declares the necessity of "encountering the extending radicalism of France." He can only encounter it as a dam encounters a mighty river. If he makes himself too high, he will be swept away by a torrent of his own creation.

TROUBLE IS apprehended in Montreal to-day (July 12) on account of the Orangemen's annual parade. Protestantism and Catholicism in Canada are constantly disturbing the public peace with their quarrels. How hard it is for the world to learn the lesson of equal rights in religion!

THE STEAMER *Queen Victoria* took a number of Papal Zouaves from Ottawa to Montreal on the third of July. The Zouaves hauled down the British flag from the steamer's peak, substituted the Papal flag, and maltreated the captain for remonstrating. That is the issue the Papacy is raising in every country of the earth; and the United States will yet take her turn.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition of the National Liberal League have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Mr. Charles Schroeter, speaker of the Freie Gemeinde at Painesville, Wis., 98; from Mr. C. A. Seckler, Perry, Iowa, 53; from Mr. S. Gensberg, of New York city, and Mr. Wm. Fels, of Patterson, N. J., 74 (collected chiefly at Baltimore). Total thus far received—6,930.

A NEW YORK dispatch of July 2 states that "the college of Romish Cardinals have ordered the Romish clergy in France to actively support MacMahon's candidates in the coming elections." Next to the Pope, the college of Cardinals is the highest authority in the Roman Catholic hierarchy; and this order does but illustrate the mode in which the Church, conquered as it now is by the Jesuits it once proscribed, will henceforth enter politics everywhere.

THE TENDENCY of superstition to explain great disasters as interpositions of Providence has received a queer check. More than one pious believer would wince at such law as this: "The fire insurance companies are said to have refused to pay the losses by the Mount Carmel (Ill.) tornado, which caused several conflagrations by stoves being overturned among the *débris*, claiming that these were 'acts of God,' such as are specially excepted by the terms of the policies."

DR. THOMAS LAYTON, orator of the day at the New Orleans Catholic celebration of the Pope's Golden Jubilee, said of the Catholics: "The just rights of the State are sacred in their eyes; but they live for something more than the State. The Catholics cannot yield, and sooner or later the State must." Such sentiments as these, cherished by every sincere Catholic, are preparing national complications which will task American statesmanship to the utmost; and the prospect of its success is not flattering, when the shortsightedness of even liberal thinkers is taken into account.

NEARLY at the same time that Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant were "condemned to six months imprisonment, a fine of £200 each, and to enter into an engagement to behave well for two years," the Earl of Redesdale, in the House of Lords, exposed to the whole nation the disgusting obscenity of a book issued by the Ritualist party of the English Church, under the name of *The Priest in Absolution*—a manual for the guidance of priests at the confessional. This was printed by the "Society of the Holy Cross," for private circulation among clergymen; and the most respectable men among the Ritualists are implicated in it, including Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, Rev. Arthur Tooth, etc. Verily, if English law lets these churchmen escape after condemning Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant, it will be fairly open to the reproach of "straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel."

SUCH DISPATCHES as that below forbode a large, even if silent, following for such leaders as Governor Chamberlain. If any politician is imagining in the foolishness of his heart that equal rights are a dead political issue, he is destined to a rough awakening before long. Read this: "*New York*, June 27. A New Orleans dispatch says that the Nicholls school board propose having distinct schools for blacks and whites. On being remonstrated with by wealthy colored men, Gov. Nicholls declined to interfere with the school board. The colored committee then stated its intention to oppose this flagrant violation of distinctive pledges and constitutional obligations, and left the Governor's presence determined to defeat and overcome the proposed violation of their common rights. The public schools of New Orleans have been common for the past ten years, and even before the war certain classes of colored citizens had access for their children to the schools."

THE PAN-PRESBYTERIAN COUNCIL was opened at Edinburgh on the Fourth of July. The first business was to discuss the project of establishing "harmony of confession" among the Reformed churches. Dr. Schaff introduced the subject, and, if he is to act as chairman of a commission, the future creed is probably foreshadowed in the "Catholic Consensus of Greek, Latin, and Evangelical Christendom," contained in his just published *Creeds of Christendom*. In this "Consensus," the very first article is given as follows: "The Divine Inspiration and Authority of the Canonical Scriptures in matters of faith and morals. (Against Rationalism)." Here is the ulterior purpose of all this pageantry of Christian consolidation—*opposition to Rationalism*. The new organization is to be the great sun-glass; "Christian truth" is to be the fiery luminary; and you and we are to be the fuel at the focus! Nevertheless, we shall all become ashes in a natural way, before all Christendom can be brought to re-unite on a single creed.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

Are Protestant Churches Infallible?

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

The press has widely reported two recent depositions from the Orthodox ministry for alleged heresy, one of Rev. Mr. Miller, by a New Jersey Presbytery, the other of Rev. Dr. Augustus Blauvelt, of Kingston, N. Y., by the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church. The New York *Evening Post* of June 9th, commenting on these transactions under the heading "A Commonsense View of It," thoroughly approves the exclusion. Its approval is founded, not at all on the theological and sectarian grounds impelling the two ecclesiastical bodies, but on the following reasons:—

"In this country, since membership [in religious societies] is voluntary, and retirement from membership is voluntary, a society may with perfect propriety say to one of its associates, 'You came here of your own choice, knowing what our rules are; you are at liberty to withdraw if you do not like our rules; but so long as you are with us, we insist that you shall conform to our rules.' We do not see how this plain proposition can be answered."

The *Post* intensifies its condemnation of the expelled ministers by adding:—

"There is not a shadow of excuse for the disturbances which they [the Millers and the Blauvelts] create in their respective denominations, because, the moment they dissent from the faith or practice of the denomination, they may turn to other sects, who will receive them with open arms."

The *Post's* conclusion upon these two points, though plausible to readers unacquainted with the rules and customs of the churches in question (namely, those which call themselves "evangelical"), is unsound, in consequence of a defect in its minor premise. The member of a church of that class, who, after fair trial, finds the Church's position unsatisfactory because unsound, and therefore wishes to leave it, is *not* at liberty to withdraw quietly and reputably, as he entered. If he chooses to go at all hazards, of course they cannot keep him; but their rules and customs require that a discreditable stigma shall be affixed to him, which is entered upon their records, and published to their community, and inevitably made known, through them, to the community at large. Substantially, the cry of "mad dog" is raised by the church after any member withdrawing in this manner, and that equally whether he is seeking freedom from the restraints of religion and morality, or whether, being more religious than the church, he finds it neither suited to promote his spiritual welfare, nor willing to profit by his admonition.

The Orthodox churches assume that he who enters one of them is a member for life, unless either honorably transferred to the membership of some church theologically like-minded, or expelled with the stigma of immorality or of heterodoxy. This rule, expressed more or less distinctly in the "covenants" of not a few of them, is held as the right ground of practice in the whole Orthodox communion. The case of Henry Ward Beecher's church in Brooklyn is the single exception which proves the rule. He and his church are the big flies, which unceremoniously break through the webs of custom and prescription. They are so big, and wield so much influence, that the other churches of that persuasion, even under the able leadership of Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon, have not been able to enforce discipline against them. But none the less sufficient is the web to hold any smaller fly which should attempt to break it. The rule of allowing the departure of a member only by regular dismission to a sister church, or by excommunication, is still the rule, and still regulates the custom, of the entire body of Orthodox churches.

The *Post* meets this fact, and seems plausibly to dispose of it by saying the dissenting member knew this rule when he joined the church, and so, having voluntarily come under it, he is bound to acquiesce in it. Nevertheless, there are other facts vitally connected with the case, which may go far to justify a different conclusion.

It is true, not only that he who joins an Orthodox church understands his union with it to be for life, but that he rejoices and triumphs in the permanence of the relation, considering it the height of happiness and welfare. He takes this view in consequence of believing what he has heard taught from childhood by the ministers of that church, and apparently acquiesced in by his parents and teachers and the most pious people of his acquaintance; namely, that the articles of the creed upon which the Church is founded are absolute and unquestionable truth, proved such by being founded on the Bible, which is God's Word to men, an inspired and infallible record of the facts and doctrines properly belonging to religion. Those who accept and enter upon church membership in the sects called Orthodox do so on the ground that these pretensions of the Church and assertions of its ministry are sound and true; that, by joining that party, they at once fulfil a duty and obtain an inestimable privilege, putting themselves on God's side, and joining his chosen ones to do his work in the world.

Such is the beginning of the new convert's life. He lives by faith, and his faith is capacious as well as undoubting. He believes in the Church just as he believes in God. Is it not God's institution, his appointed instrument for the conversion of the world, directed by his providence, guided by his book, and enlightened by his spirit? The repetitions of the pulpit, heard Sunday after Sunday from childhood upwards, and obviously accepted as truth by the most devout people he knows, seem to give him perfect assurance that in yielding to their call he is putting himself on the side of God and of truth, and will never need to change. It is these ideas and feelings, the direct result of the Church's action upon the susceptible mind of the new convert, which induce him to promise that he never will change.

But what if, coming sooner or later to the conviction that he ought more perfectly to understand the theological basis of his creed, and seeking to confirm by knowledge what he had accepted from the Church by faith, what if conscientious examination shows him that he has been grossly misled by the Church's assumptions? What if he finds that, among the doctrines which he has received as undoubtedly true on the authority of the catechism, the pulpit, the creed, the scriptural commentary, and the rules and customs of the Church, some are unproved, unreasonable, and improbable, and others are thoroughly disproved? What if he finds strong reason to believe that the reciprocal relations between God and man, and the duties of human beings to God, themselves, and their fellow-creatures, are materially different from what the Church has assumed and taught concerning them? What if full and fair trial has shown him that connection with the Church and conformity to its ways of thinking and acting are a hindrance rather than a help to his efforts to lead a right life?

The supposititious case above sketched is the case in which a very large number of men and women actually now find themselves; and the number seems increasing, year by year, with the progress of scientific investigation, and the wider acceptance of the idea that freedom of inquiry, and judgment according to evidence, are not only rights but duties; and duties preëminently in the sphere of religion, where the Church has always stigmatized them as dangerous and sinful. This change is coming inevitably, and irresistibly, over the minds of more and more of the people of New England and of the great West; and even a proportion of Mr. Moody's captives in both sections of the country, who, after having "got religion" in a moment of excited feeling, have been placed by that skilful operator in the grasp of the machinery which is to make church-members of them, will by-and-by discern how their confidence has been abused and their career misdirected.

But, if the obligation rests upon every man to follow truth, in spite of entanglements in which previous error may have involved him, this duty makes most emphatic appeal to the minister, whose special business it is to find and diffuse truth in the departments of theology and religion. Take the cases of Mr. Miller and Dr. Blauvelt, whose integrity, devoutness of spirit, and honesty of purpose are admitted by all parties. By faithfulness in the search for truth, and in the utterance of it when found, reproach, instead of grateful approval, has befallen them from the ecclesiastical authorities of their respective denominations. But it was their youthful veneration for these very authorities which originally led them into error. They now find that their supposed conversion was in part perversion; that the body of doctrine which persuasion from the Church and the clergy induced them to accept and subscribe to was in part false doctrine. Does the delusion into which they were thus led by the best and purest impulses, devoutness, humility, and reverence for supposed wisdom and goodness, suffice to annul the prior and perpetual obligation to seek truth, to dig for it as for hid treasure, and to declare it when found? Above all, are the proved deluders and misleaders to stand triumphant in the judge's place, and frown upon, censure, punish, and silence those whom they led into the wrong path, but who, by faithfulness greater than theirs, have escaped from their false position?

To accept new truth when discovered, and manfully to declare his acceptance of it, seems a duty which the minister owes to himself, to his character, to his integrity. But the two ministers of whom I have been speaking owe a special duty to their parishioners also. Deluded themselves by the Church's teaching, they have (innocently, because unconsciously,) been active in extending the delusion among their hearers. They have spent years in teaching what they now find needs to be untaught; and they must inevitably feel some sense of responsibility to the persons thus misled, and a desire personally to rectify an error which, with the best intentions, they see themselves to have committed. Is the technical objection of their obligation to fulfil an agreement for the benefit of the party which had deceived them in the contract, to outweigh the other obligation, of restitution to those whom they have wronged? This would be to sacrifice the greater to the less.

Moreover, looking at priority of time in the matters in question, it seems to me that the rightful position of Mr. Miller and Dr. Blauvelt is that of accusers and not of defendants. They made the agreement which the Church now insists upon, after, and in consequence of, the delusion practiced upon their inexperience by the Church. They were first entrapped into signing what they ought not to have signed. If their own loss only were in question, it might possibly be well enough to let the technical objection rule, and allow themselves to be expelled as unfaithful and guilty persons; but, considering their intellectual and spiritual relation to their respective congregations, and the right of those congregations to share in the light newly gained by their teachers, those teachers were right, it seems to me, in exposing the origin of the errors in question, and spreading before the public the evidence in regard to those errors.

All Protestants clearly see the unsoundness of the Church position here treated of when it is exemplified in the doctrine and practice of the Papacy. When a Roman Catholic, venturing to look for himself into the evidence of the doctrine which has been taught him, finds the evidence deficient and the doctrine erroneous, and joins some church which seems

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to him to stand on a better foundation, every Protestant will approve both his wisdom in examining and his courage in acting; will maintain his right first to inquire, and then to act in accordance with his conviction; and will brand as persecution the action of the priest who publicly curses him, and warns the congregation against him as a vicious and dangerous character. But the difference between the Roman and the Orthodox Protestant churches is one of degree only, not of kind. Each discourages that sort of examination which assumes the possibility of error in its own position, and views the question in regard to its doctrine as an open one, to be decided this way or that, according to the evidence; each claims a right to hold for life the person who has once joined it, irrespective of his discovery of preponderating evidence on the other side; and each stigmatizes as criminal the person who, having found such evidence, ventures to act upon it.

The error common to both churches, I may say to all or nearly all churches, is the attempt to set bounds to the discovery of truth; to decide that certain specified propositions shall always be held as truth, irrespective of new light which advancing intelligence may throw upon them. This doctrine must necessarily have the same pernicious effect in religion and theology as it had on astronomy in the time of Galileo, and as it would still have on astronomy if still applied there. Wherever applied, this doctrine not only obstructs scientific inquiry and bars out knowledge in that department, but tends to an arrest of intellectual development. The fact that it is still so applied in church-matters, among Protestants as well as Romanists, explains the fact that not one in a hundred of either faith can give adequate reasons for his belief. If one of them, even when intelligent in other matters, ventures to answer an inquiry concerning the grounds of his faith, his answer will be found, on analysis, to amount only to this: that his religious teachers have assured him that there are good grounds for it; just what would be said with the same confidence by any Buddhist or any Mussulman to the missionary sent to convert him.

While we rejoice that the Church can no longer condemn free thought and free speech to the stake or the dungeon, we should remember that every step of the progress of science and civilization in this department has been resisted by the Church to the extent of its power; and we should honor those courageous men who, in publishing what seems to them important truth, brave opposition and reproach so considerable as the clergy can yet visit upon those who dissent from their doctrines.

SPENCER'S SYNTHETIC PHILOSOPHY.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. By Herbert Spencer. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. 734. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877.

The general verdict seems to be that this is the most interesting and successful of Mr. Spencer's works. Even from those whose judgments are adverse, or are suspended in regard to the great synthetic system of philosophy, to which he has devoted his life, there are expressions of surprise at the new and strange light his researches throw over the rise and growth of the religions and social customs for which a divine origin has been generally assumed.

To those, however, who are favorably inclined to the new philosophy—the successful indication of the main scientific laws that underlie and explain the conditions and progress of all human societies in their ever varying phases—will seem to assure victory along the whole line.

There is much to encourage the friends of Mr. Spencer in this view. For, after all, is not the main question, the question of our age, simply this: Is there, or can there be, any such science as sociology? There is a large literature, ever increasing, seeking to answer this question, and thus calling attention to its importance, theoretical and practical. How practical it is, a moment's thought will show; for, if there is or can be such a science, then the opinions of mankind, the government of society, and the education and morality of its members ought to pass, and in time must pass, from our present religious, political, and social rulers into the hands of those who can understand and apply the laws of this science. Nor can there be a reasonable doubt but that the scientific method and influences, if properly applied to our social order, would greatly relieve those miseries which too often, and to so many, make life a curse.

A new system of social philosophy, then, from the scientific stand-point, if not a failure, is indeed a great event. It may mean an immense and far-reaching change in human affairs, however slow and gradual its advent may be.

It is agreed at the outset by all, that Science can give no solution of man and his societies until she can give us an explanation or philosophy of the world in which he lives, and of which he is, in the scientific view, the highest organic result. It is evident, therefore, that any opinion about Mr. Spencer's sociology must be worthless, which does not rest upon some knowledge of this "synthetic philosophy" of which it is a part, and perhaps the keystone.

It is now about fifteen years since the attention of thinking people of both hemispheres was called to the attempt of Mr. Spencer to elaborate human knowledge into one grand synthetic system of philosophy. The notice received less regard than it otherwise would from the belief that the work proposed was more than one man could ever accomplish, especially under the conditions of delicate health and limited means. But the intellectual hero has toiled on, regardless of the indifference of the stupid, and the ridicule of those who ought to have known better, until now the world is beginning to speculate about the danger of his success. We have already before us *First Principles* (1 vol.); *Principles of Biology* (2 vols.); *Principles of Psychology* (2 vols.); and the *Principles of Sociology*, of which the second volume is in preparation. The prospectus of the whole course has also been published, together with the essays and minor works of Mr. Spencer in several volumes, from which the general scope and burden of his synthesis is apparent.

The undertaking is grand and justifiable. It is the attempt of one "who has made all knowledge his province," to organize that knowledge into a philosophy by means of one, or of a few general laws prevailing throughout all phenomena, material, social, and mental. If this synthesis can be achieved, it will eventually place in the hands of man a power over the world, over society, and over himself, of which the consequences are incalculable in extent and beneficence.

In the strictly scientific point of view, also, the new synthesis is needed. About 1600, the Copernican astronomy swept away the Old World, and gave mankind a new environment. Modern science is the attempt to know and realize that world; modern life and society the attempt to become adapted to it. Science has conquered the material, vegetal, and animal, and now threatens the social world; but she is overwhelmed by her own victories. She cannot administer the provinces she has conquered. Her officers in charge of them are disorganized specialists, generally under half pay from the enemy, and without any knowledge of their comparative relations, and therefore of the values of their respective departments. From such a host coöperation for social influence, government, or education is practically impossible. Nothing can bring order out of this chaos of opinion but a general positive synthesis, that will discredit the half-hearted specialists as no longer worthy of the scientific name the moment they talk of the limits of her empire.

That this work is superfluous may be claimed by the adherents of Auguste Comte. They say that he did this work once, and that he did it well. *How well*, the comparatively independent labors of Mr. Spencer will enable the world to judge better than ever before. Comte may be, as Mr. John Fiske intimates, the Copernicus of sociology; but what his life and works mean, we shall see better after the Galileo and Newton of the new science reveal to us the world in which he really lived. The new philosophy is not the product of any one philosopher or sect, and all attempts to synthesize, or restate it, whether as the positive, synthetic, cosmic, or experimental philosophy, can but add to its clearness sufficiency and strength.

There is no room for a summary of Mr. Spencer's philosophy here. For it the reader is referred to his works, from which alone a competent knowledge can be obtained. Nor, as to the final success of the undertaking, would a prophecy be in place. How far that great, patient, thought-worn brain shall be able to draw together the lines of the world-thought, and place them in the hands of the world-controllers, only the result can show. But one thing the history of all similar efforts do show: that is, that in the end it will be judged by its practical utility, *usus coronabit opus*. It must culminate in some direct, practical, *religious* influence upon the social and individual life of mankind, or the great labor will have been in vain. The word *synthetic* must become *religious*, in the scientific sense of that word, when the philosophy reaches man and society.

But before that, and while we are being called to its first study of society, it may be well to try to brush away some objections to the whole philosophy that may stand in the way of its social application. If this is done, the *Sociology* will need fewer words. The objections are: That the law of evolution is a law of the organic and social kingdoms only, and has no application to the material world; that the classification of the sciences should follow the order of phenomena from the more general to the more special; that the "unknowable" has no religious, scientific, or social value.

1. The point of the first objection appears from a glance at the common or positive classification of the sciences, which may be condensed as follows:—

1. THE MINERAL KINGDOM.	Astronomy, 8. Physics, 7. Chemistry, 6.
2. THE VEGETABLE KINGDOM.	(Protistology.) Vegetal Physiology, 5. (Botany.)
3. THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.	Animal Physiology, 4. (Zoölogy.)
4. THE HUMAN KINGDOM.	Sociology, 3. Morality (Ethics) 2. Psychology (Education) 1.

Now, it is claimed that the great laws of gravity, correlation, and chemical combination make the synthesis of the mineral, *i. e.*, the material kingdom and its special sciences, and that evolution has no place there; that "stones do not grow," and that fluids and gases are like them in that respect; that the crystals and vapors are formed, but never *evoluted* from each other; that the attempt to apply this law to inanimate matter, is an attempt to *biologize* the cosmos, just as materialism is the reverse error of applying the laws and properties of matter to vital and mental phenomena.

It is true that Mr. Spencer has made the law of evolution the back-bone of his philosophy, and sought to find instances of it, and to give it a kind of meaning in regard to the material world. Suppose him to be all wrong in this, it does not invalidate the application of the law where it does prevail; to wit, in the *protoplasmic* world of plants, animals, and societies. In them this law, which he has grasped so firmly, and elucidated so beautifully, makes possible the synthesis that completes what the other great laws we have named had already been made to do in the material world before Mr. Spencer became a philosopher. He very properly omits any review of these material sciences in his work as being unnecessary, and he would probably have escaped the present objection entirely, had it not been for the "nebular hypothesis." The ingenuity and time he has wasted upon this flimsy* hypothesis is greatly to be regretted, for it seems to discredit his whole philosophy. That it was a *hypothesis* should have kept it beyond his reach until observed verification had placed it beyond doubt. The aggregation hypothesis of Mr. Proctor (*Other Worlds than Ours*, chap. 9,) makes it probable that our solar system has a very different and a much pleasanter future from that imagined by Mr. Spencer in those concluding chapters of *First Principles*, which seem to be written to justify Byron's "Dream of Darkness." Which of these hypotheses is the more accurate, the observation of future ages may show, and then the truest of them will be added to the philosophy of the "knowable." Meanwhile we must wait.

Let it be remembered that the sciences of logic and mathematics and of the material world had been coördinated before Mr. Spencer began his labors, and that they are incorporated—though he does not especially treat of them—as the foundation of his synthesis. Bearing that in mind, the "nebular hypothesis," and all appertaining thereunto, may be brushed away without the slightest danger, and, probably, to the great improvement of his system.

But the moment we pass from the material to the organic or protoplasmic world, we meet the new and great facts of life, growth, evolution,—of differentiation and integration; and of them, and of that world, the written part of Mr. Spencer's philosophy is the great explanation. He it was who took the law of evolution in its rude form from the earlier biologists, and has proved it to be the great synthetic law throughout the higher register of the sciences, as Newton did the law of gravity through the lower. His great work on biology, to be read with the explanatory works of Darwin, Huxley, and Haeckel, is the organic world displayed. Such works are absolutely necessary to prepare the student for the study of the succeeding sciences of psychology, sociology, and ethics. It is clear that people have no means of forming, and have no right to have opinions about the subjects of these latter sciences, until they have become familiar with the rudiments and processes of biology.

2. The next objection is, that Mr. Spencer has adopted a classification of the sciences that breaks the back of his philosophy in two places, and so makes three isolated disconnected departments, but never a whole. He divides the sciences into the *abstract* sciences, dealing with *relations; viz.*, logic and mathematics. Then *abstract-concrete*, dealing with *properties; viz.*, physics and chemistry. Then *concrete* sciences, dealing with *aggregates; viz.*, astronomy, geology, biology, psychology, sociology, ethics.

One is amused to find astronomy and psychology in the same department. The child, the savage, the philosopher, have seen that the world is easiest divided into *animals*, *vegetables*, and *minerals*. The philosophers have found the best classification to be the subdivision of these great kingdoms into subclasses of phenomena with their respective sciences, proceeding from the more simple and general to the more limited and special, from the infinite and the stars to man. So it has seemed best to Comte, Mill, Bain, and the mass of scientific philosophers.

Mr. Spencer has set his face resolutely against all this. On this subject he is ready to meet child, savage, and philosopher with the heroism of Mrs. Partington, and we think with a similar result. The old classification is too simple, true, and useful to be ever dislodged. It needs no defence from Mr. Spencer's objections to those who have learned to think by it and to apply it.

The objection to Mr. Spencer's classification is, not that it is not true from his point of view, but that, as Mr. Mill says, it serves no useful purpose. It seems to serve the contrary, for it has probably to answer for his unfortunate treatment of *nebulæ* to a course of biology; though the reverse may be the case, the celestial biology may be the father of the classification,—each worthy progeny of the other.

The point to be observed is that Mr. Spencer's synthesis is really truer and better understood on the old classification than on his own. Even the nebular hypothesis, as a part of astronomy treated under the laws of matter instead of life, becomes innocent enough, and was so treated by Comte.

This unsatisfactory classification fortunately makes no trouble when we reach the organic world, which Mr. Spencer has chiefly elaborated, unless it be in his treatment of psychology before sociology. The point may be taken that man did not acquire a soul, in any proper sense of the term, except by the transition of brute into man, and that this transition was made by society. That the mental life of man was therefore a social product, and is intelligible only as a deduction and counterpart of social progress, and should have been investigated after instead of before sociology. In short, that Mr. Spencer's work on *Psychology* is a philosophical anachronism.

But this objection, if well taken, may be obviated. If by psychology is meant the science of sensation, it should have been included as a part of biology, and may be read as such. If it be admitted that the rise and growth of the *Ego*, that is, of human consciousness, is a social product, Mr. Spencer's present work presents the investigation that should be read before his *Psychology*. He indeed argues that the very conception of the *Ego* arose from the effort of the dreamer to separate himself from his dream-self —his *alter Ego*—(*Sociology*, p. 157). Certainly, the processes of reasoning analyzed in his *Psychology*

*How flimsy, the little book called *Modern Genesis*, by Rev. W. B. Slaughter (Nelson & Phillips of New York, publishers,) noticed in the *Library Table* of May 31, 1877, will help the reader to know.

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take for granted the highest stages of civilization. Is not the individual, then, the result of society, and inexplicable without it? If so, should not the explanation of the *Ego* be the result of all science and psychology, and stand as the last science in the order of the special sciences? Even if so, Mr. Spencer will doubtless include in his *Ethics*, or some subsequent work of his system, the parts that seem to be omitted in his *Psychology*.

3. The next objection is that Mr. Spencer has presented *the unknowable* as the basis of religion, and so has foreclosed himself from rendering his system one of use in controlling the feelings and lives of men. In other words, his whole system is an infertile hybrid, born of science and metaphysics. "The unknowable absolute is the monotheistic development of Fetichism," says Mr. Lewes, in his *Problems of Life and Mind* (p. 396); and, again, he says religion cannot be successfully founded on the *Unknowable*; "for religion which is to explain the universe and regulate life must be founded on the known and knowable relations." Certain it is that the religious value of the Infinite in the hands of theologians has been in proportion to its supposed knowability. In order to keep a foothold for any religion at all they have had to rebel against the logic of Sir William Hamilton, Dean Mansel, and Herbert Spencer. Drs. Calderwood and McCosh declare the Infinite to be in some way knowable, and practically treat it as a person; and only thus can they make "it explain the universe and regulate life."

But it does not follow that the *unknowable* is to have anything to do with regulating life in Mr. Spencer's synthesis. Even if not, it still answers two most useful purposes: it stands as the fundamental and innocent conception upon which the cosmos can be imagined to rest as if in infinite space; and it is the grave of all the ghosts and fetiches, big and little, which have haunted and cursed the earth since man began to imagine. It serves a religious purpose, therefore, in founding and explaining the universe, and it may subserve a religious purpose, also, in giving man his freedom from the ghosts, and leaving him to explain the world by law, and *only* by law. For, thereby, he obtains the knowledge of the cosmos, by which only he can intelligently regulate his life. But it may not be necessary to look to the unknowable for the regulation of life. The work before us discloses society as an organism lying between man and the world. It is the humanity, the "immortal individual" of Pascal, Comte, and Goethe, coextensive with the human race in time and space. This fact is of the profoundest meaning. What are and should be man's relations to that grand organism? The answer to this question will show how life should be regulated; and the consequences near and remote will furnish the motive and the joy of life. Mr. Spencer will have to meet these questions far away from the unknowable: to wit, in sociology and in the sciences nearest to man; and when he touches them, no matter by what names, he will give us the substance of religion, theoretical and practical.

With these general reflections, we turn to his last work—the *Sociology*. T. B. WAKEMAN.

—*Library Table, June* 21.

AGITATION IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

Ever since Thomas Carlyle introduced to the youth of Scotland the learning and literature of Germany, Scotland has been more or less stirred up with the leaven of rationalism. In spite of the strong safeguards which the ecclesiastical system of Scotland throws around the faith once delivered to the saints, Calvin and Knox, enough of the leaven has been able to find its way to the brain ecclesiastical there as to cause more or less uneasiness to those who feel themselves charged with the important trust of keeping sound the Orthodoxy of the people. At no period in the history of the Kirk have "new lights" been more numerous or more outspoken than now. Since the days of the famous ten years' discussion touching the "headship of Christ," as against the headship of the Crown, culminating in the "disruption" of 1843, there has not been such deep and general commotion as now. It was truly a grand sight, as Lord Brougham once remarked on the floor of the House of Commons, to see three hundred ministers of the Kirk turn their backs upon manses, glebes, and stipends, rather than be disloyal to the idea that the Church and not the Crown should decide as to the qualifications of a minister for his office; and never since the days of the Reformation has there been seen in any branch of the Church a more sublime spectacle of self-sacrificing devotion to a principle than that presented by some of the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland in that memorable 1843. The Crown, through the civil courts, said, in effect, "We furnish the churches, the manses, and the glebes, and pay the stipends, and insist on saying who shall enjoy them." The Church said, "You may do as you please with your temporalities; but in spiritual affairs *we* are supreme." At the point of the bayonet, in one or two instances men were inducted to office over a people unwilling to receive them, and the Kirk was rent in twain. The voluntary system has proved successful beyond the most sanguine anticipations, although for many years numbers looked longingly back to the flesh-pots of the Crown-supported Establishment, for almost all believed themselves unjustly deprived of their rights as to the emoluments from the Crown. But a great change has at length come over the Free Church, and she now unites with other dissenting bodies, the Independents, and the U. P. Presbyterians, in pleading for "disestablishment and disendowment," and *that*, to-day, is the skeleton in the closet of the established Kirk.

But she is not alone in having a skeleton. The U. P. and the free churches have each got one of their own. While for years those bodies kept themselves clear of all taint of heterodoxy, and could with some degree of chuckling point to one and another in the Establishment who were hardly "sound," and could say with some show of reason that Establishments tend to foster heresy, they have now to deal with heresy, deep-rooted and widespread, within their own folds. In the U. P. Church are such men as David Macrae, Fergus Ferguson, and George Gilfillan, anxious and earnest for a revision, if not a shelving, of the venerable instrument of theological torture to the German-tainted Scotch mind, the Westminster Confession of Faith. In the Free Church, Professor Robertson Smith, of the Divinity School at Aberdeen, has proved a very firebrand by his article on the word "Bible," furnished to the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. And so, what with disestablishment meetings on the one hand and presbytery meetings to try for heresy on the other, Scotland is in a fair way to have lively times. Rev. Dr. Wallace, late of Grey Friars Church, Edinburgh, and late incumbent of the chair of ecclesiastical history in the university, but now editor-in-chief of the widely-read *Scotsman* (newspaper), a man of liberal sentiments and sound learning, keeps the public intelligently informed on all ecclesiastical and theological matters; and as the Scottish mind takes as naturally to metaphysics and theology as the Scottish stomach takes kindly to oatmeal and whiskey, there is no probability that interest in the awakened discussion will flag there even through the dog-days, or that the skeletons above alluded to will cease to haunt for many a day to come.

Rev. David Macrae, in his Jonesbytery, brings forward a motion that "the subordinate standard of the Church" (meaning the Westminster Confession of Faith) "be either set aside altogether, or brought into harmony with the supreme standard" (the Bible) "and the actual belief of the Church"; and in a speech characterized by much frankness of expression as to his *own* belief, and much freedom as to the real belief of his ministerial brethren, has aroused something more than a hornet's nest about his ears. He is not without some support from the clergy, although it is as much as a man's life-ecclesiastical is worth to do as he has done. Rev. Fergus Ferguson finds himself in the same, or even a worse plight, for a certain Elder Wilson has had him libelled for heresy. At a recent meeting of the Synod of Glasgow, where the matter of revision of the standards was discussed, the following clause of a declaration by that body seems to be levelled at Mr. Ferguson: "The synod strongly disapproves of and condemns the conduct of those persons who, having solemnly professed to give their assent to these standards, do, notwithstanding, indulge in denouncing them as erroneous and unscriptural, and in impeaching their brethren of the eldership and the ministry with not believing and not preaching the doctrine of them." This led Mr. Ferguson to determine on the resignation of his charge as minister of the Queen's Park Church of Glasgow; but, at the earnest solicitation of some of his ministerial brethren, he has been induced to withhold it. Meantime, the work of the committee appointed to consider whether he has been sufficiently guilty of heresy to enable the presbytery to cut him off from exercising his ministerial function, goes on, and, in all probability, he will be suspended, which is, virtually, expulsion. But, whether he be or not, the war will go against the now antiquated dogmas of the confession, for the school-master is at work in Scotland, and the scientific method and rational spirit is in the air, and is "dreadfully catching," and that once very Orthodox land may now be called the land of heresy.

In the Free Church the difficulty is even worse; for has it not been discovered that one of the very men set to the work of keeping the stream of theological supply clear of all heresy has been poisoning that stream with German notions about the Bible? The chief cause of offence is in the fact that Professor Smith has written in his Bible article that some of the books ascribed to Moses could not have been written by him, inasmuch as institutions are alluded to and described which it is now well-known did not come into existence till seven or eight hundred years after the time of Moses. A committee was appointed to look into the matter. The committee reported, and in the report they said that, while they regarded with very grave concern some of Professor Smith's teachings, and regarded their influence as dangerous, and calculated to awaken suspicion as to the infallible inspiration of the Scriptures, they yet could not say that he was open to the charge of heresy; at least not *so* open as to justify them in "libelling" him for that offence. This did not satisfy those in the Church who think John Knox knew what was Orthodox, and the matter has been before the public mind during the whole of the last year. Pamphlets have been numerous, and newspaper articles innumerable; and now the General Assembly, which has just closed its sessions at Edinburgh, has, by a vote of four hundred and ninety-one to one hundred and thirteen, suspended the unlucky man, under suspicion that his teaching has a dangerous and unsettling influence and tendency. But the General Assembly, it seems, has done a thing without precedent, and, according to Professor Candlish and others, is contrary to the constitutional law of the Church. When Professor Smith's case came up in the Assembly, that gentleman came forward in a manly way and said, inasmuch as suspicions had arisen as to the soundness of his teaching, and as he felt the importance of being cleared of all such suspicion, he would, at the next meeting of his presbytery, request that all the charges against him be reduced to the form of a libel, and he be judicially tried by that body. Pending this trial he should be suspended. There would have been time for this trial, and he found guilty or acquitted before the meeting of his college classes next fall. This was and the former had given notice of the motion which looked to the immediate suspension of the learned professor. Discussion proceeded on this motion, and while it was ruled that the merits of the case should not be entered upon, it was difficult to restrain the speakers. Professor Candlish opposed the motion, and proposed another which looked to another mode of procedure: *viz.*, to wait for the judgment of the Aberdeen Presbytery; but it was of little use, and when a vote was finally taken it was with the result above given. It is a significant fact that the result of the vote when announced was received with cheers by the house, but with hisses from the students' gallery, indicating clearly what is the temper of the young blood of the Church. Professor Candlish then gave the following reasons of dissent, which were signed by thirty-four members: "For myself and all who may adhere to me and dissent from this decision; first, because to require Professor Smith to cease from discharging his duties as professor before any charge against him has been formulated is at variance with the law of this Church, and without precedent in its history; second, because it does material and grave injustice to him; third, because, on the same grounds on which this is done, he might be permanently suspended from his professorial office without regular process by way of libel; fourth, because the object aimed at in the decision could have been secured by the regular operations of the laws of the Church." From all of which it can be seen just what is in store for the Church, in the way of discussion at least. It is a noticeable fact in relation to this whole case of Professor Smith's suspicious teachings, that no one has attempted to show that his views are not well supported by sound learning, and arrived at after careful and critical examination of the questions; nor does any one seem to doubt that Professor Smith is better qualified to deliver an opinion on the question in hand than any of those who seek to cut him off. The question with these "defenders of the faith" does not seem to be what is *truth* in this relation, but what is allowed by the laws of the Church. Professor Smith does not deny the inspiration of the Scriptures; nay, he asserts he believes in it, according to the requirements of the standards; but the difficulty seems to be how to render harmonious and consistent with the Orthodox notion of inspiration the conclusion which in his critical and scientific investigations, he has been led to. He seems to have no particular difficulty himself, any more than Dean Stanley has, in subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles of his Church, and yet holding views as broad and catholic as most men. But whatever may become of Professor Smith (and from the indications it seems hardly possible he can ever teach or preach again in that body), it is not probable that the learning and spirit of critical inquiry which has led him to write as he has written is going to be suppressed. But is it not likely that such proceedings as those just concluded at Edinburgh will deter young men of ability and independence from entering a ministry where they must leave behind them all hope of progress in theological science, and be content with the results of the ancient Westminster divines? Is there not some danger that suspicions may be awakened that the views of this branch of the Church, while they may be "Orthodox," are yet not defensible on grounds of sound reason, and cannot bear the light of learned and critical examination? Let the doctors take heed, and learn the supreme importance of asking the previous question, what is truth, rather than what is Free Church Orthodoxy.—*Sunday Herald, June* 24.

RUSSIAN PERSECUTION.

The correspondence recently produced (in a parliamentary paper "On the Treatment of the Members of the United Greek Church of Russia") shows the Russian government to have followed the precedent of Louis XIV. with the most exact fidelity. No doubt the prejudice of the Imperial Russian authorities against the United Greeks, like that of the French Royal persecutor against the French Protestants, was at first and at bottom political. The Uniat Greeks were suspected of Polish sympathies, as, indeed, is everybody in Russia who belongs to a religious community connected, however remotely, with the Western branch of the Christian Church. The first measure taken against them, and prompted by this suspicion, was a close counterpart of the earliest aggressions on the Protestants. The Uniat Greeks were declared to have innovated on their primitive religious usages and ancient ritual; they had borrowed from the Latins such damnable inventions as organs and benches; the iconostasis in their churches exhibited hetorodox features; there was no "Imperial odor." Accordingly, a peremptory order was received from St. Petersburg that the Greco-Uniat rites should be cleared from everything Latin. The oppressiveness of such a direction is only less remarkable than its hypocrisy. For there is no more disputed question in ecclesiastical history than the original condition of the Uniat Greeks. Each of the contending churches—Latin and Greek, Papal and Orthodox—vehemently asserts that they naturally belong to its fold, and differ from the rest of its flock merely from having been corrupted by its sectarian enemies. But the received historical account of their present institution, under which they acknowledge the Papal supremacy, but have married priests and a vernacular liturgy, is that given in these papers by Vice-Consul Webster, who traces them to the ecclesiastical *statu quo* before the final separation of the Greeks from the Latins. In any case, an order to the Uniat Greeks to clear their rites from everything Latin is extremely like an act of Parliament enjoining on the Church of England that it so purify itself from everything not recognized by primitive Christianity. Such an ordinance, begging as it does a most prodig-

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not enough for such men as Drs. Wilson and Begg, iously difficult, historical question, is in effect a mere violent piece of oppression, and as such it was regarded by the Uniat Greeks. They displayed, as the Russian Minister of the Interior puts it, "religious fanaticism and stubborn resistance." Like the French Protestants, they went out into the desert. Then followed the persecutions, which Colonel Mansfield, writing as Consul-General from Warsaw, called "massacres." "The mortality among the peasantry bivouacking in the forests in the severe weather was frightful. . . . Orders have been given to the Cossacks to hunt them back into the villages, so that the peasants bivouacking have been constantly on the move, retaliating by hanging the Cossacks here and there when in isolated parties." In one district, the peasants defied the military to introduce the strange priest. As a measure of repression, fifty blows with the Cossack whip were given to every adult man, twenty-five to every woman, and ten to every child, irrespective of age and sex. One "fanatical" woman received a hundred blows.

"Having exiled the Bishop to Viatka," says Vice-Consul Webster, "and deported some twenty thousand of his followers to Saratoff and other provinces, the government sent Russian priests to proselytize the rest. . . . There now remain about sixty thousand Uniats, all of them small land-owners. As they will not change their religion, the government persecutes them by putting them in prison, by flogging them, and by billeting Cossack troops, who commit every license, in their villages." And the tragi-comedy ends, precisely as did the French preface to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by the return of the United Greeks in a mass to the bosom of the Orthodox Church. The *Official Gazette* described the ceremony of re-admission with pompous solemnity. The United Greek clergy of Cholm, with the Archpriest Popiel at their head, were received at the Winter Palace by the Emperor, who had just attended divine service. They presented their humble petition, soliciting reunion with the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church, "which was the Church of their fathers." The Emperor replied in an address which, now that the whole history of the previous transaction is before us, it is difficult not to call blasphemous. "Having listened with peculiar pleasure to your declarations, I above all thank God, whose ineffable goodness has inspired you with the wholesome thought of returning to the bosom of the Orthodox Church. . . . I thank you for the consolation you give me. *I believe in your sincerity*, and I pray God to support you in the course which you have just deliberately adopted."—*Pall Mall Gazette, April* 21, 1877.

PROFESSOR ADLER AT FLORENCE.

The lecture of Prof. Felix Adler, of New York, was attended at Cosmian Hall, last Sunday, by a large audience. The speaker was eloquent, as expected. He said:—

"A great conflict is raging. The battle between science and the old religious beliefs has been waged now for years and years, and is not by any means over yet. We are entering a new age, with new conceptions and new ideas. These conceptions, called the new ideal, offer a rich mine of generous motives and make us stronger and greater men. The old ideal, especially that of the middle ages, is passing away steadily from among us. It was a supernatural, transcendental idea, which regarded man as an exile from the kingdom on high, hoping continually to return there, if he only passed his life here in prayer and devotion, and dismissed from his mind all earthly cares and troubles. Slowly and by degrees have we learned to appreciate Nature in its true light. We have found that the human body is not alien to the mind within it. The new ideal makes us regard ourselves as the sovereigns and creators of the world, and presses us onward to new and better thoughts, while the old ideal emphasizes prayer and supplication. In these supplications a request was often made to the Deity as if he were a man. There were also prayers for rain, for good crops, and plenty of children, that the villages might be populated. In many American churches to-day prayers are offered on certain occasions that must be considered not only an insult to our intelligence, but also a direct contradiction of the belief in an all-wise Providence. When people pray in time of drouth for a moderate rain, or at any time pray for seasonable weather, the modern view of the new ideal enters its emphatic protest against these prayers. The laws of Nature are never broken. The rains and winds follow their bidden course, regardless of prayers. The world is a cosmos, and to pray for its disarrangement is simply monstrous. It is to pray for its virtual destruction. The very men who profess to believe in an all-wise, great ruler, are the very first to belie their professions by indulging in such prayers. The disarrangement of a single part of the world's machinery would destroy the harmonious working of the whole. The new ideal teaches that as time proceeds all will be better. Mankind will submit with better dignity and greater fortitude to the inevitable. It teaches us to look forward in ages yet to come to a race of men brighter and stronger than those ever seen. In the remote future these men will reap what we have sown, and they will gather the fruition of our labors. The old ideal professed to see in the past ages the very best that was ever given to man. The oracles then spoke, and whatever they uttered was regarded as imperishable truth. Not so says the new ideal. It does not throw contempt upon the entire past, but, while gauging it at its true value, it nevertheless looks to the future with greater hope. The circle of duty in which we move is not as yet wide enough; but mankind begins to understand that the more we advance under the inspiration of the new ideal, the more exacting will become our duties, not only as citizens of a great country, but as members of the great brotherhood of man.—*Hampshire County (Mass.) Journal, June* 30.

AN APPEAL TO THE THINKING CLASSES IN AMERICA.

In this first year of our second century of national existence there are said to be three millions of unemployed persons in the United States.

Who can tell us why or how this appalling situation arose? Who can set forth in colors sufficiently vivid the degradation and demoralization it is bringing upon the sufferers and upon our country? We are dealing with wide-spread effects; let us search into their causes. Are these the ripened fruits of our boasted civilization? Or is this crisis an ordeal through which every nation must pass? Now, if ever, is the time for our legislatures, our political economists, and our social science reformers to exert themselves for the benefit of a bankrupt people.

As I am a woman, and therefore cannot be expected to understand so profound a mystery as political economy, I do not pretend to have any solution of these questions ready. But I have asked myself, with an earnestness springing from intense feeling, Is there no remedy? Can anything be done for these idle millions?

I believe that a few clear heads, a few strong wills, and a little money judiciously expended, can control the world. If *I* cannot answer the question, I can at least state it and summon the wise and the good to answer it, and in their replies I shall recognize the *vox populi vox Dei*, the crystallization of that universal reason which is the voice of God speaking to the understanding.

I appeal to governors, to legislators, to journalists, clergymen, physicians, lawyers, teachers, workers in whatever field, and thinkers with whatever title, to give their minds to the solution of the great problem of the cause and cure of national misery. Think of it, study it, observe the facts, and communicate your conclusions to the most convenient organ of publicity. Discuss it in the press, in legislative halls, in the sessions of societies, upon the lecture platform, in the pulpit, and in the private gatherings of friends.

Will not the periodicals which receive this appeal second my proposal, and aid it by making known its practical contents, to the end that the best talent of the country may be stimulated to the study of this great issue? I desire that every aspect of the subject may be thoroughly discussed in the columns of the American press. To that end I offer three premiums, one of $100 in gold, one of $75, and one of $50, for the best newspaper articles of about two thousand words upon some feature of the "Labor Question," considered in its widest scope. These articles are to be signed by some *nom de plume*, and sent to the office of the *Library Table* before the first of October next, and the awards shall be made by a committee to be appointed by the "American Social Science Association" at its meeting at Saratoga in July. I reserve the right of accepting at $20 any of the essays which may not receive the premiums.

ELIZABETH THOMPSON.

Mrs. Thompson has deposited funds in the East River National Bank, for the payment of the prizes awarded to the articles that may be approved by the committee of the American Social Science Association.

CHARLES JENKINS, *Pres.*

DISSENT IN RUSSIA.

The Russian *St. Petersburg Gazette*, in an article on the Russian Church, observes that the number of dissenters in Russia has very much increased of late, especially among the masses of the population; and that even in the higher classes of society the mystical doctrines of fashionable preachers and the manifestations of "Spiritualists" have undermined the influence of the Orthodox clergy. This is certainly not due to any excessive tolerance by the government of sectarianism, for "the State could not do more to support Orthodoxy than it does, unless it adopted a system of intolerance like that practised in the Middle Ages." The writer next enumerates the laws which are now in force for the protection of the State Church in Russia: "If a member of the Orthodox Church changes his religion, both he and the person who instigated him to do so are punished. When the adopted religion is a non-Christian one, the *instigator* is punished with hard labor; when it is the Roman Catholic or a Protestant faith, he is banished; and when it is that of a Russian sect he is 'interned.' As for *the person* who leaves the Orthodox Church, he is in every case placed at the disposal of the ecclesiastical authorities for suitable correction, and his property is sequestrated. Members of the Orthodox Church are forbidden to marry non-Christians, and the children of mixed marriages (except only in the Baltic provinces) are bound, under severe penalties, to be brought up in the Orthodox religion. The right of propagating religious doctrines is possessed exclusively by the State Church; the members of other religions are not even allowed to convert pagans to Christianity. The establishment of new religious communities, too, is strictly forbidden." And yet, continues the writer, though the State thus protects the Orthodox Church, the latter is daily losing ground in the empire. "It is not the fault of the State that, notwithstanding such severe protective laws, the Tchonvasses, Tcheremisses, and other alien races, are being converted in masses to Mohammedanism; that whole villages which were regarded as Orthodox are now found to be Mohammedan; that the Mohammedan propaganda is rapidly spreading northwards, while the Orthodox propaganda finds but few supporters."—*Pall Mall Gazette, Jan.* 5, 1877.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE OLD GODS.

Zeus.

Shrank I long since, O Jehovah,
On my hill-throne to a shadow;
Ceased to summon into conclave
Gods of ocean, stream, and meadow.
Reigned I, while the nations dreaming
Peopled air with shapes immortal,—
Whom the poets saw in vision,
Thronging oft my cloudy portal.

But e'en to the Age of Reason
You your kingdom have extended,—
Naught have gained you; your dominion
Will at last like mine be ended.
Storm-clouds on the heights of Sinai
Form no more your dread pavilion;
Round its barren base no longer
Kneel the low-browed, awe-struck million.

Where we dwelt, the mountain ether,
With its keen breath, chills and freezes,—
Zion, Meru, and Olympos
Fan no more celestial breezes.

Jehovah.

Fell I, too; I am a shadow,—
Primal man's imagination
Shaped me, throned me in the heavens,
Deemed the All my hand's creation.

Of the Universe the vision
On man's soul at length is breaking;
Scorns he now his ancient sky-gods,
At whose bolts he erst was quaking—
Law of duty in his reason,
Not on stony tablets, findeth—
All things into ordered cosmos
Feels the nameless might that bindeth;

That through boundless space, duration,
Restless, tireless throbs forever,—
Thus illumined, men our lieges
Will be, as they erst were never.
Even now our airy sceptres,
Bards, so loyal once, are scorning;
Myths they call us—men colossal,
Visions of the young world's morning.

Brahma.

I, an oceanic essence,
Formless, bodiless abstraction—
As a dream was ever worshipped,
An abyss of mere inaction.
O'er the the golden horn of Meru
Float I tranquil, calm as ever,
Mindless, passionless my votaries
Change from me cannot dissever.

Ormuzd.

I, an optimistic vision,
Am the good time always looming,
When the earth, a sinless garden,
Shall with amaranths be blooming.

Odin.

Darkly with its sky-wide branches
Yggdrasil, the ash tree, waveth;
Dead was fairest Balder long since,—
Wind of doom through Asgard raveth.

Pantheos.

As in inlets, bays, the ocean
Ceaselessly its billows urges,
So through finite spirits rolling
Heave and flash my radiant surges;
Like the tranquil, cloudless ether,
Plain and mountain-peak transcending,
I, the pure and sovereign reason,
O'er low vales of sense am bending.

Thorough boundless space, expanded
In the atom too, I'm dwelling;
Every moment feels me pulsing,
Though through Æons I am swelling.
When, in sense and languor sunken,
Grovel every race and nation,
Some great soul, idea-drunken,
Make I stem the degradation.

Pour I through his lips and glances
Surge-like, flame-like life remoulding,
Till eternal truth and beauty
Man's purged eyesight is beholding,
God's provincial, cloud-compellers,
Primal races, nations swaying!
Other than your petty sceptres
Is the universe obeying!

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 7.

E. Wilcox, 25 cents; W. P. Wesselhoeft, $3.20; Nath'l Little, Jr., $3.20; H. Balcom, $3.20; Geo. H. Foster, $1.67; W. L. Foster, $15; Samuel Colt, $30; Geo. Lewis, $2; J. W. Scott, $2.20; Philip Hake, $6.94; W. E. Mott, $3.25; Louis Liebman, $3.20; Geo. Mannfeld, $3.20; W. H. Eastman, $3; Isaac N. Sterne, $3.20; John Gardner, $3.20; O. P. Whitcomb, $3.20; Mrs. M. E. Adams, $1; Wm. Hogan, $3.20; Dr. E. B. Foote, $5; Mrs. R. P. Maynard, $3.20; Nath'l Allen, $3.23; C. M. Wetmore, $5; Hiram Colt, $40; Mrs. E. W. Leggett, $3.25; John Wiley & Sons, $2.50; Col. A. D. Streight, $1.35; A. N. Alcott, $2.75; S. Harrington, $3.20; Cary Bros., $10; S. C. Gould, $1.75; W. E. Eaton, $3.20; Chas. T. Fowler, $1.60; Louis Ash, $3.20.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 12, 1877.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, *Editorial Contributors.*

IN HIS closing Monday lecture on May 28, Rev. Joseph Cook said: "America is but half a Republic until it Christianizes politics, the colleges, trade, fraud [!] and even dead Orthodoxy." So, at least, the Boston *Journal* reported him next day.

THE ATTENTION of all who are interested in the labor question is specially invited to Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson's offer of premiums for the best essays on this subject, which will be found in another column of this issue. Mrs. Thompson's mode of eliciting thought upon this topic is as well-considered as it is generous, and we take pleasure in helping to make it widely known.

A PRIVATE correspondent recently sent us this kind word of encouragement: "Your writings of late upon the subject of science, as a test in matters of religion, have been very interesting to me. I think you have reached 'hard-pan.' I believe your position in regard to intuition is impregnable, being founded on a correct scientific view of the constitution of the human mind; and I have faith that your views possess elements of early popularity, inasmuch as they promise to furnish at last a method (for which the world has longed through ages) of divorcing religion from superstition. Heaven speed the day when theological mountebanks, with their 'third subsistencies' and the like, will have nothing wherewith to feed their conceit."

REAR-ADMIRAL MAXSE, of the British Royal Navy, has just published an exceedingly thoughtful little treatise of about seventy pages, entitled "Woman Suffrage, the Counterfeit and the True: Reasons for Opposing Both." It is for sale by W. Ridgway, 169, Piccadilly, London, W., at one shilling. The "counterfeit" is the "Propertied Single Woman" suffrage measure of the English Society; and Admiral Maxse opposes it frankly for these reasons: "1. Because it is falsely termed a Woman Suffrage Movement. 2. Because the measure advocated will create an invidious distinction between wives and other women, at the expense of the former. 3. Because its success will constitute a triumph of the representation of property as against the representation of persons. 4. Because the effect of the bill [Mr. Forsyth's] proposed will be to strengthen the reactionary party, and thus to impede National progress." The "true" woman suffrage is that advocated in this country, of which he says that "generous sentiment inclines to it"; yet this, too, he opposes, claiming that all government is a matter of expediency, not of abstract right—that the question at issue in this case depends on the characteristics of the majority of the female sex, not on those of the exceptional few,—that among these general characteristics are "constitutional timidity, mental not less than physical," inability to appreciate remote and indirect causes of existing evils, inveterate tendency to "care more for persons than for ideas"—and that these general characteristics create a very mischievous subservience to conservative, tory, and above all clerical influences. These views are urged with genuine English frankness and no little force; and they ought to receive the most candid consideration of both sides on the question. If the *Woman's Journal* is to deal with the depths rather than the shallows of its own movement, it will cease to ignore objections which, more than any others, are turning the tide of liberal thought on this whole subject. It is a mistaken policy to avoid discussing the relations of woman to the Church, if the persuasion of independent minds is the object aimed at; and the ballot will scarcely be gained for woman by anything short of that.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE COLLEGES.

The universities of Harvard, Cornell, and Michigan, although not strictly secular, represent nevertheless a hopeful tendency in this country to render collegiate education independent of ecclesiastical or sectarian control. Both Harvard and Cornell have laymen as Presidents; while Michigan, with a Methodist President, has not yet learned the wisdom of this policy, but permits the Methodists to exercise an undue influence in the administration of the university—as evidenced in the recent prohibition of dancing at Commencement. The time has not yet come when American public opinion, moulded so largely as it now is by the prevalent and potent superstition of Christianity, will allow any university to be prosperously conducted in total independence of the Church. The Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, of which much is hoped by those who know the vast importance of emancipating education from the yoke of sectarianism, is yet too young to have acquired a fixed character; though it is understood to be controlled by a very liberal policy at present. Cornell is quite as independent in this respect as any American college; yet its Trustees have been compelled by sectarian clamor to adopt a special new law in order to prevent the continuance of Professor Adler's able and dreaded lectures within its walls, notwithstanding his application for re-appointment at the close of his first engagement of three years. He did not, as was reported, resign his professorship, but desired to continue it; Mr. Joseph Seligman, who was so absurdly and oppressively excluded by Judge Hilton from the Grand Union Hotel at Saratoga because he is a "Jew," distinctly offered to renew the special endowment by which Professor Adler's services had been originally secured; and in order to avoid re-appointing him a new regulation was passed forbidding the endower of a professorial chair from even nominating its occupant! We are not at all disposed to censure the authorities for yielding to a popular clamor which threatened the usefulness of the institution; perhaps they could not discharge the difficult duties of their high position in any other way. The fact, however, remains that no American college can afford to appoint professors who are prominently identified in public opinion with obnoxious heterodox views in religion, although many professors cherish them in private without molestation. There is no such thing in the United States as complete university freedom. The really free university is an ideal not yet attained in this great republic. Even despotic Germany is her superior in this respect.

So far from being intellectually emancipated, most of our American colleges are subjected to a degrading sectarian domination. They are used too much as mere adjuncts and tributaries to the churches. Denominationalism governs by far the greater number of them, to the melancholy detriment of education. President Porter, of Yale, delivered to the graduating class of this year a baccalaureate sermon entitled "Personal Faith in the Personal Christ the Essential of a Rounded Manhood and a Successful Life"—the essential character of such faith to a "successful life" being unhappily as plain as it is the reverse of plain so far as "rounded manhood" is concerned. Rev. Dr. Peabody, of Harvard, delivered before the Adelphi Union of Williams College an address on "The Three Eras of the Positive Philosophy," in which he argued that the new philosophy is on its way from unbelief to the Christian faith. President Chamberlain, of Bowdoin, has just delivered a baccalaureate sermon on "A Kingdom of Priests," advocating the idea that the State is a "divine institution"; that it is a "mediator and minister between God and man"; and that its authority does not rest on the aggregated wills of individuals, but that every man should be a "king first of righteousness and then of peace, and priest of the Most High God." But the most significant of these annual discourses by university magnates was President Seelye's "Inaugural Address" at Amherst College, which was a distinct declaration that "Christian" education is the true object of all university training, and that "faith in Jesus Christ and his atonement" should, in all university administration, "tolerate nothing which makes its aim to set aside his claims." Were it not so long, we should republish this remarkable paper, to illustrate the lamentable blindness with which Christianity smites the present guardians of the highest educational interests in this country. But we cannot forbear giving a prominent place to this condensed account of it, taken from the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of June 29:—

The inaugural address delivered Wednesday by President Seelye of Amherst College will unquestionably receive much attention from scholars and the general public. Having so high a reputation as a scholar of various culture and a man of superior ability, both in thought and in the world's practical affairs, there is a somewhat peculiar and uncommon interest in his assumption of the office of president of Amherst College. This address defines with distinctness and force his idea of the origin and aim of all educational work. After a reference to the fact that the educational institutions of this country were in their origin closely allied with religion, he proposes the subject of his discourse in the question, "Is this wide-reaching relation of religion and education, after all, only accidental and temporary, or has it a rational ground, which is therefore abiding, and on which, if we are wise, we shall still continue to build?"

His answer, as might be expected, is an affirmative one. The first position he takes in support of his thesis is, that there is no inherent law of progress in human nature by which it is constantly seeking and gaining for itself an improved condition. The notion that there is such a law he brands as "quite superficial," and not supported by the facts of history or of human nature. On the contrary, the inherent law is a law of deterioration, and even progress is by virtue of an impulse communicated from without and above human nature, manifested first as an emotion of the soul and then inspiring the intellect with its aspirations, which work themselves out in the refinements of living. Human nature is powerless either to originate or to perpetuate progress. The higher precedes the lower always. No savage ever civilized himself. No ignorant people ever advanced to knowledge without being first acted upon by an influence other than that which knowledge itself supplied. Art always precedes science, and art itself is always preceded by religion. The primal condition of the human race was its most exalted condition. The original age was one of peace and purity, and from this high station the race has fallen by its inherent law of deterioration, and only recovered itself as it has been from time to time influenced by a supernatural impulse coming from God. Hence, he reasons, it is a mistake to attempt to civilize a savage people until they are first made religious.

All our present civilization is due to the religious quickening of Christianity; but the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and the consequent scattering of Greek scholars over Europe, not the discoveries of Columbus and Kepler, not the new method of reason taught by Bacon, are to be credited with the achievements of these modern ages. It was the Reformation, in its dawning long before Luther, which dispelled the darkness of the Middle Ages. The saints who wrote the *Theologia Germanica*, and the *Imitation of Christ*, were the real pioneers of modern civilization. The beginning and end of man's endeavors toward progress are in the supernatural. So the intellectual life depends upon the religious life, or revelations of the supernatural developing aspirations for the supernatural, and "education divorced from religion is like a tree severed from its nourishing roots." The conclusion of this argument, as President Seelye reasons, is that the informing law of our whole educational fabric should be faith in the atonement of Christ. The college should not only have the Christian name written on its seal and in its earlier records, but graven in its life. It will seek for Christian teachers, and only these. Only by so doing can it have freedom in the truth, and be liberated from prejudice, superstition and narrowness. "Only that tendency of thought which divorces itself from God and the supernatural and the Christian atonement shall we wisely discard from our process of education, and this not simply because such a tendency is untrue, but because it is necessarily empty and vain, and because it has no power of permanent progress, and because the schools and systems of education left to its control will become first superficial and formal, and then barren and dead." He would consecrate the college anew to Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Savior and his atonement, "tolerating nothing which makes its aim to set aside his claims."

We have but sketched the course of thought of this lofty and eloquent address, which will repay reading in full. It is a strong plea for excluding from colleges all questioning of the truth of Christianity,—perhaps we should not be wrong in saying all questioning of the truth of Christianity as understood by Protestants; perhaps even all questioning of it as held by what are termed the Protestant Evangelical denominations. It is an address that invites controversy. Despite President Seelye's assertion that it is a "quite superficial" notion that there is in human nature an inherent law of progress, there are many who believe it, and they will flatly deny his sweeping declaration that all the facts of history and human nature controvert it. And of those who would admit, if only for the sake of argument, this proposition and the other propositions concerning the dependence of human nature for its inspiration of progress upon a supernatural and divine influence, and the tendency of that impulse when excited to seek the supernatural again, there are some who will think it at least a fault of logic to assume that this last condition necessarily implies a recognition of the doctrine of the atonement by Jesus Christ as it is held by the Church in Amherst College, any more than it implies a recognition of the doctrine that the Holy Ghost is an equal person of the Trinity. If President Seelye is right in his argument, the Catholic Church is right in its theory of education; and, if his theory is the sound one for colleges, it is the sound one for all schools, and the Catholics are right in their demand for a share of the school-taxes to educate their children in their form of Christian faith. Indeed, it would appear that the Roman

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Catholics have been right from the beginning in subordinating all philosophical and all scientific education to religious education; and, as they hold quite as strongly as President Seelye does to Christ and his atonement as a basis of civilization, it ought to be the fact that civilization has made farthest and surest progress under Catholic auspices.

The *Advertiser* well points out the strong Catholic tendency of the doctrine preached by President Seelye, although he himself would be the last man to admit such a tendency in it. It is true, however, and we wonder that so intelligent a gentleman as he unquestionably is should not see the fact, that, if faith in "Christ and his atonement" is the overmastering concern of man, our entire educational system should be made to inculcate these doctrines explicitly and continuously; and that the system which most completely sacrifices all other objects to this one alone is the most thoroughly "Christian," and therefore the best. What could such a man say *consistently* in favor of a non-sectarian, honestly secular public school system? Nothing whatever. Logic would oblige him to condemn such a system as one of those things which no Christian ought to "tolerate." Catholicism and Evangelicalism join hands at least in the attempt to drag Science after the triumphal car of Christianity, like the slain Hector after the chariot of Achilles. The weak compromise of Protestantism melts away at the touch of logic, and nothing is left but the irreconcilable extremes of Catholic Parochial Schools and Secular State Schools. May the American people yet learn to see and to understand what so profoundly concerns their future prosperity, virtue, and peace!

It is deeply to be regretted that the majority of the colleges of the United States are placed by their representative spokesmen in the attitude of "Defenders of the Faith" rather than in that of simple Educators of Mankind. When our highest institutions are in this manner prostituted to the service of superstition, the cause of unperverted knowledge is retarded and imperilled. The sanctity of truth as such is lost sight of in the fanatical propagandism of creeds, and the fountains of science are choked up with the *débris* of crumbling ecclesiastical systems. When will it be possible to emancipate the great centres of learning and national enlightenment from this degrading thraldom to an outgrown Past?

A CARD, OFFICIAL AND PERSONAL.

I take this opportunity to announce to all persons interested in the Free Religious Association and who may have occasion to correspond with me as its secretary, as well as to personal friends, that I have changed my residence, for the present, to *Grantville, Mass.*, and that this is now my post-office address. Letters addressed to me at New Bedford, where I still hold my ministerial connection (going there for the Sunday services), will reach me, though not as a general rule so immediately. Liberal religious newspapers will confer a favor by printing as an item of information this change of address. Let me add that I invite correspondence on all matters of interest to the Free Religious Association and to the progress of free religion. This correspondence has been much interfered with during the last two years by my long absences from home and frequent changes of post-office. Foreseeing this result, I was myself desirous of resigning my office as secretary into other hands, and should have done so if the judgment of friends had not prevailed against my own. Now that I am to be, as is hoped, more permanently located, I trust to be able to take up all the duties of the office again and to renew its efficiency,—having lost no particle of faith or interest in the great movement—too great for any one mind to represent—for which the Free Religious Association stands. I hope, too, to resume my place more regularly hereafter in THE INDEX as editorial contributor,—an engagement which numerous calls and cares of late have permitted me only infrequently to fulfil. WILLIAM J. POTTER.

RENAN ON PRAYER.

It is with pleasure that I present to those readers of THE INDEX, who have been disgusted with the recent appointment of a "Day of Prayer for Grasshoppers," the following extracts from the *Dialogues et Fragments Philosophiques* of Ernest Renan, a work which, I believe, has not yet been translated into English. J. L. STODDARD.

I do not object to prayer as a mystic hymn. Every act of admiration, of joy, and of love is in this sense a prayer. But selfish prayer, the prayer by which a finite being seeks to substitute his will for that of the Infinite Being, this I reject, and hold it to be even a sort of insult offered (no doubt innocently) to the Deity. In primitive ages, when a hero was devoured by a cancer, he was believed to be eaten by a god. Fresh meat was therefore offered to the Deity on the supposition that he would prefer this to the flesh of the sufferer, and would leave him. In a somewhat similar way the unscientific man believes that there are supernatural beings acting directly in the affairs of the world, from whom he may obtain by means of supplication an action conformable to his desires. But that such supplication has ever been followed by its desired effect has never been proven. The Greek philosophers saw this perfectly. One of them, Diagoras of Melos, to whom some one pointed out the offerings of the sailors in a temple of Neptune, remarked: "*They count the saved, but not the drowned, who, nevertheless, had made vows like the others!*" How admirably said! Yes, in such matters one only takes note of the favorable cases; the sponge is passed over those which do not accord with the illusions which one wishes to indulge in. This is the explanation of all miracles. A prayer is in reality a request for a miracle, since he who prays solicits the Deity to change for his advantage the course which Nature would otherwise follow.

The sick man who prays to recover, when, according to the natural order of things he must die, asks for a miracle. The peasants who make their processions* in order to secure rain, or to cause it to cease, in reality request a miracle. They ask that rain may fall at a moment when naturally it would not fall, an event which would require for its accomplishment an utter evolution in the state of the atmosphere. A copious rain in the month of June depends upon phenomena which took place in the month of May amid the icebergs of the north pole. The Deity must, therefore, have known a month beforehand the prayers which were to be addressed to him; he must have turned his attention to the action of the icebergs, and either interfered in their formation or prevented the ice of the pole in its southerly advance from having its ordinary effects in the chilling and condensation of vapors. What is this, if not a miracle?

In order that the wide-spread belief in prayer should be well-founded, it would first be necessary to *prove* some cases where prayer has been efficacious; that is to say, where prayer has caused events to follow a different course from the one which they would have followed without it. Now such a proof has never been given and never will be. People have prayed ever since the beginning of the world; but we have no proof that a prayer or a vow has ever been answered. Nearly three thousand Carthaginian inscriptions, bearing a close resemblance to each other, have been recently exhumed. On each one of these some pious Carthaginian tells us that Tanith and Baal-Hammon have heard his prayer, in proof of which he has erected this little votive tablet. Very well; but Tanith and Baal-Hammon are false gods! No one any longer admits that they were able to grant the favors sought. The three thousand inscriptions of Carthage attest a mistake. Heaps of votive tablets cannot therefore be considered as a proof that a prayer has ever been answered. Even though the mass of a population should believe that they had experienced the efficacy of prayer, that would prove nothing. The Carthaginians claimed to have experienced the same efficacy, and were deceived, for their gods, as every one will now confess, were powerless.

However, a trial by statistics would be easy. In a time of drought let us suppose that twenty or thirty parishes in one section of the country make processions in order to obtain rain; twenty or thirty others do not. By means of registers carefully kept and operating in a large number of cases, it would be easy to see, first, if the processions had any effect; second, if the parishes which made them were more favored than the others; and third, if the quantity of rain with which they were blessed was proportional to their fervor.

This experiment could be tried in a thousand ways. One might, for example, arrange in two separate halls children attacked by the same disease, taking care that there should be no fraud in the division.† Upon the children in one hall pious persons should be allowed to place medals believed to be miraculous; upon the other children nothing should be put; we might thus discover if these made any appreciable difference. But this has never been done, and all sensible persons will, I think, concede to me that, if it were tried, the result might be predicted in advance.

The same absence of supernatural intervention is seen in the events of history. The most pious and Orthodox nations are often beaten by the less pious and less Orthodox, without the faintest proof that a superior providence has favored any other party than the most courageous and the strongest. The pretended god of armies is always on the side of the nation which has the best artillery and the best generals.

Nature shows in her government an absolute indifference to right or wrong. The sun rises equally upon the evil and the good. There is not then a single fact that leads us to believe that there exists outside of humanity finite beings capable of acting on our planet. This does not mean that no intelligent and active beings exist outside of humanity; but it does mean that such beings do not extend their action as far as our planet. For, if such a strange action existed, we should recognize it. Let us suppose some ants establishing their republic in a very solitary place, where man would only pass two or three times in a century. Let us furthermore suppose that these ants are able to arrive at a knowledge of some of the laws of Nature, but are not capable of understanding the enormous being who, from time to time, crushes them. Their natural philosophy would resemble ours; but they would be obliged to admit that the laws underwent every forty or fifty years a strange disturbance; that then an unknown, gigantic being, an intermittent, inexplicable force, passed by and destroyed everything. If the ants were philosophers, they would not at all confound the passage of such a being with a tempest or a water-spout, phenomena which are entirely mechanical and with which no personal intention is concerned. Man, conceived of more or less vaguely, would be for these ants what the Deity was for antiquity,—a being more powerful than mankind, interrupting occasionally the world's affairs. Now it has never been proven that such a being exists above man. No phenomenon like that which the ants were supposed to have beheld ever takes place among mankind. Volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, epidemics,—these were formerly believed to be effects of this sort, evincing the wrath of God. At present, however, no educated person entertains such an idea. These events are now regarded as perfectly natural. Among the causes of the eruptions of Zorullo and Hecla, no academy of science would consent to reckon, as having even the slightest influence, the sins of the Mexicans or Icelanders. There are countries very much less moral than Iceland which are never troubled with earthquakes!

*It is perhaps needless to say that M. Renan here alludes especially to the custom so common in France, and other Catholic countries, of making solemn processions about the fields praying for rain, a bountiful harvest, or fine weather.—TR.

†The reader will be reminded by this proposition of the recent celebrated "Prayer Gauge" of Tyndall. It is but just to say that these *Dialogues* of M. Renan were written in 1871, although they were not published until five years later, owing to the disturbances in France.—TR.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD OF SOCIAL REGENERATION.

With the scientific method in religion, which, we confess, with all due respect to those who entertain a different view, seems to us the essential one to rational progress, should be united the scientific method in social regeneration. The popular conception has always been, as it is still, that there is some short cut to social and moral perfection; that the most effective mode to the end is through some spasm of excitement, certain sudden and summary influences, rather than the evolution of natural processes. It is thus the world abounds in specifics for its maladies. Every religion, church, sect, reform, claims to have discovered the great panacea for all our woes, the sovereign elixir for the rejuvenation of mortal existence, the sole path to a paradise regained. The world is to-day full of quixotic moral enterprises, shootings of Niagara, hap hazard expenditures of zeal and energy for the benefit of mankind which avail but little because they are neither conceived nor prosecuted according to practical wisdom and intelligence. It is impossible for any one of real discernment and power of reflection, to contemplate the comparative failure of these endeavors, to witness how often their promises come to nothing, as is inevitable, without feeling that the one thing needful for the world's redemption is a scientific study of, and acquaintance with, the absolute facts and laws of society and human progress, the recognition of the fact that human life cannot be transformed by main strength,—that something more is needed for genuine reform than earnestness and good intentions,—that there is a social science as well as a science of physics, an order of invariable sequence in

respect to it no less than in our material surroundings.

If we would make the world better, we must seek to apprehend the causes and influences which have conspired, and still conspire, to make it as it is. At the beginning of all effort to improve our species is a proper regard for the conditions of birth, the responsibility of parentage. It is of the first consideration what kind of beings shall be born into the world. The first requisite to success in life, it has been said, is to be a good animal. It is important that a human being should start in the race of life with as sound a physical constitution as possible. "Sickness," says Emerson, "is poor-spirited, and cannot serve anyone; it must husband its resources to live." It is thus that the physically infirm become in a great degree the dependent and helpless class of society. Their mental and moral natures are also liable to share in their bodily feebleness. Much may be done by wise, educational, and directing influences to counteract and remedy original defects; but they generally tell upon the whole after-character. Rightly assorted marriage and rightly constituted parentage are essential to the future welfare of society. Its reformation, to be most thoroughly effective, must begin even before the birth of the individuals of which it is to be composed. It must begin with a due sense of the responsibility of parentage,—with the essential education of future parents to secure the best characteristics in their children; nay, with the parents' parents, since it is a truth of science no less than a declaration of scripture that the sins or deficiencies (and it might be added, also, the excellences or virtues) of the parents descend to the children, even to the third and fourth generation.

But not only are the circumstances of one's birth, with reference to the future of society, of great importance, but also those into which he is ushered. That there is a most lamentable amount of incompetence in this particular, not alone among the impoverished and ignorant, but also among the more fortunate and favored classes, is patent to every one. Is there not reason to believe that the mortality which prevails among children might be much reduced by a more intelligent acquaintance with their physical natures and the diseases incident to them,—a more thorough education of woman in the requisite qualifications of maternity? Should not a young woman be instructed in the care of children as well as in the acquirements of the school or college course or fashionable accomplishments? We can only hint at these things at present.

Another powerfully determining element with reference to the social condition, and its improvement, is the situation people occupy, the material environments of their lives. Indeed, it might almost be said that this is the fundamental consideration, the one which should receive first attention in the work of social regeneration. The individual is moulded very largely by his circumstances,—acquires in no small degree through them the distinguishing traits and tendencies of his character. To secure a virtuous and progressive state of society, its members must be well housed and fed. Poverty and wretchedness are the hot-beds of vice and crime. The most potent cause of the social evil, it has been affirmed, is the want of bread.

It is necessary, in order to improve society, that the home should be rendered as attractive as possible. This may be accomplished through the effort to impart to it a cheerful and tasteful aspect; but even more by the charm of intelligence and sympathetic and affectionate fellowship. The relation which the home sustains to public morals and individual character is very imperfectly apprehended. It may be the centre of restraining, inspiring, and ennobling influence, or serve but to inflame and aggravate the lower impulses and tendencies. There is much emphasis in churches upon the importance of "Christian homes," of setting up the family altar in them, and the like; but little, comparatively, in regard to those practical characteristics upon which their real welfare, their most effective and elevating influence, ultimately depends. The art of making them comfortable, healthful, inviting, intelligent, and affectionate; the art of thrifty and economical management (so essential to their permanent peace); the art of congenial and ennobling fellowship, avoiding jarrings and irritations, and subduing the waywardness of their inmates,—these things are overlooked. May we not in our external labors for social reform too greatly under-estimate these internal obstacles to our success, and need more radical methods in this respect than those to which we are accustomed to give our principal energy and enthusiasm? In order to further the regeneration of society, we should strive to set in operation those agencies and influences which conspire to render it more rational, genial, and sympathetic. We must endeavor to counteract the allurements of vice with higher and purer attractions.

Finally, our reforms will prove abiding only as they are accompanied with the general improvement and advancement of society. Let us be fully persuaded that intemperate zeal, spasms of moral and religious excitement (such as the revival mania that we have witnessed of late), dependence upon supernatural and traditional religious theories, inevitably prove disappointing and unsatisfactory in their results. They can never effect the world's redemption. Let us be assured that there is no leap in human development; that in order that others may share in our appreciations and perceptions, it is necessary that they should be brought somewhat near to our standing-point; that society can be advanced toward its best ideals only in the ratio of its enlightenment.

The great demand, then, of to-day is increased intelligence, a more thorough and pervading acquaintance with those laws of life upon which human well-being depends, and the consequent renunciation of all forms of superstition and intellectual servitude, demoralizing customs and tendencies. A system of education in our schools and institutions of learning superior to that which prevails, rendering them better adapted to the ordinary requirements of the world we live in, is indispensable. It should recognize the fact that we live in a world of inherent law that cannot be regulated by our unenlightened and narrow impulses and theories,—a world that is ruled by law rather than subject to an arbitrary and capricious will outside of it, which may be turned this way or that by our propitiations and importunities.

The general elevation of society to which we have referred, as the scientific and true method of reform, is the necessary preliminary to its advancement in all specific directions. It includes all other progress. Such labors will be felt not in narrow circles alone, but throughout the whole range of social relations and interests,—in the Church as well as the State, in the legislative hall as well as among the people who are governed, in all conditions and circumstances of mental and moral activity. Thus shall come at last a better and more glorious society than that of which the most ardent enthusiasm ever conceived,—the perpetual millennium of wisdom and virtue.

D. H. C.

Communications.

RIGHT-THINKING AND RIGHT-DOING.

Conversing recently with a gentleman of thought and culture about the various methods often brought to bear upon the same reform, he expressed the opinion that the sole test of any method must be the amount of direct and tangible benefit it can produce. So the reform be accomplished, it does not greatly matter by what (honest) means it is done. This is a plausible theory. It seems to pierce the heart of the difficulty at once, and point out a short cut to success. The plea of practicality is always a strong one. Certainly, it would appear that the most pressing need of the hour was to convert men to a higher standard of action, to reduce the number of crimes, to promote industry, frugality, and sobriety, —to make good men out of bad men.

Admitting that this moral conformity (and it does not deserve a much better name) is the great *desideratum*, it follows that we have only to congratulate ourselves on the variety of ways and means at our command. The road to heaven—*i. e.*, goodness,—formerly supposed to be a straight and narrow path, difficult to find and difficult to keep, suddenly diverges into several broad highways. Spiritual pilgrimage is made easy and comfortable with all the conveniences of modern travel. It is like taking a summer trip, this striving after perfection; there are any number of routes leading to the same destination, each offering its own variety of scenery by the way.

Some of us have quarrelled a good deal with the old theology because it makes salvation dependent on belief alone; but the new theology commits almost as great a blunder, when it goes to the other extreme and substitutes morality for belief. In one sense of the word, the preachers are right when they sneer at "mere morality." The morality which proclaims itself from the house-top, and boasts of its severed allegiance from reason, deserves all the scorn it receives. It is idle to say that right-thinking has no necessary connection with right-doing. The goodness which works according to its humor, prompted wholly by impulse, is not worth the name. People may stumble into goodness unaware, but the awkwardness of the situation is soon manifest. The motive and conviction which lie behind the deed may not form such an essential part of its nature as to determine whether it be good or bad; but they are by far the strongest waking forces which a man has. If it is not so, then the entire system of progress becomes mean and underhanded. The inebriate who has reformed through a suddenly-acquired love for Jesus, or through the excitements of the red-ribbon movement—*i. e.*, through fear or vanity,—is as truly reformed, as fine a specimen of regenerate manhood, as one who silently and unheeded has endeavored to gain a manly control of himself. Instead of meeting evil and temptation in an open hand-to-hand conflict, men are taught to dodge past them in the dark; to waylay and circumvent them. No wonder Satan is a sly fellow; he has to be, to encounter the ingenious moral trickery of men.

The reader is doubtless familiar with examples of a class of persons who all their lives play a game of "hit and miss." Their acts, so far as they are rational and just, can be regarded in no other light than as so many sublime happenings. There is no single, deep, all-embracing principle which governs their lives. The writer calls to mind a woman who is invariably as wrong-headed as she is right-hearted. Take a special case of wrong or suffering to her, and she knows exactly the right thing to do. Attempt to enter into an analysis of the causes which brought it about, and she immediately involves herself in a labyrinth of argument in which she confuses and loses herself at every turn. The mystery of such natures lies in their possessing an abundance of common-sense without one whit of logic, and in their utter inability to grasp a principle and trace its bearings on the various phases of human conduct. Housed in the darkness which comes from undisciplined thinking, they fancy the play of checkered light on the wall to be the whole of God's truth, and are blinded and bewildered when the curtain is drawn aside, and the whole of the broad sunshine let in.

The pure philanthropist is always in a hurry, and would impose a higher moral standard upon the world at once. His good-will runs into wilfulness. He is forever battling with impossibilities, in his attempts to make men good before they are wise; correct in practice before they are sound in principle. He thinks a great deal of humanity in the rough and in the lump, and has not time to watch the silent processes of growth in a few solitary specimens. He likes to strike off averages, which, as we all know, consists in an indiscriminate mixing of higher and lower quantities, not altogether to the advantage of the higher. He is as fond of quoting the text, "By their fruits ye shall know them," as the mere theorist is of avoiding it. It is the fruit, solid, ripe, and plump, he is after, and all the signs of fruitage, leaf-bud, and blossom he regards as so much dilatory trifling on the part of the plant.

In certain respects nothing is easier in the world than to be a philanthropist, or so-called "practical reformer." Honor and good-will follow him who plunges with reckless enthusiasm into the *mêlée* of public benefaction. Only cold looks of avoidance and dislike await the man who, in charitable as all other enterprises, looks before he leaps, and refuses to lend a hand, even to a labor of love, which he believes conducted on unsafe and injurious principles.

That progress which consists only of the better and swifter performance of what we term the duties of life is very incomplete. Real growth is a full, free, and harmonious development of all the faculties, intellectual no less than moral. He who thinks to transplant a few virtues out of the common stock into the sandy waste of his own sterile life is doomed to disappointment. There is no soil like character for the blossoming of a noble life. "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." It is one thing to possess a smattering of moral principles, and be able to make fitful application of them here and there; but quite another to arrive at a clear understanding of the nature of virtue itself; to know that it is only another form of reason. Let no one be afraid of Reason. She checks the lower impulses only, but guards with jealous care that sacred realm where dwell the noblest aspirations and the purest resolves. Mental culture is continually evoking a new and higher moral standard. The rational faculty, that which can discriminate and set aside, even to the tearing down of our most cherished idols, is the one to rule. Reason, clear, cold, and calculating though she be, is our safest guide; else all action becomes chaotic, springing from nothing and ending no whither.

CELIA P. WOOLLEY.

CHICAGO, June 27.

A WOMAN'S PLEA FOR SINCERITY.

When Harriet Martineau died, leaving an honest utterance of her disbelief in immortality, the religious press, seconded by the secular press, protested loudly against such sincerity; one ministerial writer taking the ground, if we understood him fairly, that it were far better for humanity had Miss Martineau died, giving a tacit assent to the tenet which she could not clearly accept, than to have left this legacy of unbelief to the world. He deplored the harm which her earnestly expressed opinion would work among the young admirers of her life and writings, and also among those who were already "partially unsettled by the prevailing scepticism of the age." He urged that in matters of theology no one can think for himself; human reason is fallible, and what the carnally-minded reject as contrary to experience, the spiritually-minded accept without asking any questions, or refer the whole matter to a God of miracles and special providences.

There were others who took a more cheering view of Miss Martineau's scepticism; others who, themselves believing in the indestructibility of the soul, believe likewise that intellectual integrity is worth more than a profession of faith, and that truth is better than all the creeds, inasmuch as the creeds are naught, except as they embody something of its eternal principles.

We need not despair of that person who, being

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called upon to answer to theological tests, dares to do so according to his conscience; neither should we disparage that age which has developed men and women who feel called upon, in matters of religion, as well as in others, to say what they honestly think. Lives, not formulas embodying doctrines, are the true exponents of men's religion, if we give to the term *religion* its highest significance.

If we have read her history correctly, Miss Martineau's life compares most favorably with the lives of the best of those who accept all the religious dogmas; and we do not fear that her doubts will injure those whom her pure and earnest precepts of life have led to a higher plane of action and endeavor. The truth is, we have learned to say we believe many things about which we do not know enough to form an honest opinion; we *suppose* we believe, when, in fact, we do not know whether we believe or not; and so we go on in our ignorance and our cant, until we really *suppose* that people who do not think as we do are on the road to eternal ruin. We should be surprised at being told that we do not think at all.

The truly earnest soul, humbled by the contemplation of its own small gains, but possessed of the royal love of knowledge, and an infinite longing for the highest, is tender and considerate toward the honestly held opinions of every one; and whether Erasmus accepts the Christian miracles, as Huxley denies the "Miltonic Theory of Creation," feels assured that neither has done this without a reason; however it may depart from the credulity of the one, or fail to fathom the science of the other. It finds whatever good the creeds contain, and recognizes a prophet in every thinker sent forth upon the earth.

It is a great obstacle to enlightened progress, that so many half-educated, narrow-thinking men denounce and ridicule, to those over whom they have influence, the great thinkers of the age, whose shoelatchets they are not worthy to unloose.

A few months ago, some of the American journals were jubilant over Carlyle's estimate of Darwin,—surely the weakest and most puerile thing Carlyle ever said; and nothing can account for it but ill-temper or dotage. Since when has Carlyle been remarkable for unflinching Orthodoxy? And they do say that, in its moral aspects, the life of Charles Darwin is not unlike that of a Christian gentleman of the highest type! Nothing in the Evolution theory inconsistent with all this? Strange!

The Church says that the world is given over to Mephistopheles, the demon of doubt; but there are those who fear that the Church is most true to his dark philosophy, if she would make herself a foe to science, or place a dogma above the highest integrity of a human soul.

> . . . . . One, indeed, I knew,
> In many a subtile question versed;
> Who touched a jarring lyre at first,
> But ever strove to make it true;
>
> Perplexed in faith, but pure in deeds,
> At last he beat his music out.
> There lives more faith in honest doubt,
> Believe me, than in half the creeds.

O. F.

CHILDREN'S MEETINGS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Your editorial on "Children's Fraternities" touched so vital a topic that I am tempted to add a word of my own. To put that word in the shape of propositions, I would say:—

1st. Until the Free Religious movement provides something for the children which shall be to Free Religion what the Sunday-school is to the old faiths, it will have done but half its work.

2d. Call the thing provided what you will—Sunday-school, Children's Meeting, Children's Lyceum, or Children's Fraternity,—it must approach the children not as *wards*, but as *peers;* not as those to be done for so much as those who need help in doing for themselves.

3d. The effort must include rational enjoyment, such as sociables, picnics, etc.; rational worship, such as shall recognize truth and goodness, right thinking, and doing; and rational instruction concerning the religious history of mankind.

Of course there will be no difference of opinion about appealing to the social nature and supplying its wants. May I suggest a thought or two concerning the worship and instruction?

It seems to me the first thing to be done with both these is to eliminate from them every shadow of theological bias or opinion. In the one we want inspiration, not cant; in the other we want facts, not myths. This will not offend; on the contrary it will foster the spirit of reverence for all that is pure and noble and true. In the Sunday-school with which I am connected, we have substituted for the Lord's Prayer, which seemed to some, though not all, of us, open to grave criticism, a simple aspiration, addressed to no one, such as a soul longing for the highest and purest might naturally express. We have also substituted for the old form of benediction one which is a simple expression of the hope that we may be blessed in going as in coming, in giving as in receiving. Instead of the old style of alternate readings filled with meaningless, or worse than meaningless, phrases, we use a little book of prose and poetical selections (quite limited in size, but we think very good in quality) compiled by the teachers and superintendent. Add to these singing from Mr. Blake's *Morning Stars*, a book of rare merit, and we have what proves to us an attractive and rational service.

A word now about instruction. So far as we deal with religious history (and we ought to deal with it comprehensively and thoroughly), it should be, it seems to me, from the stand-point of universal religion. Begin with the oldest or the youngest as you choose, but do not end with either. Do not allow a prejudice in favor of either. Keep out of the child's head, if possible, the idea, so often inculcated, of the comparative immensity of Christianity and the comparative littleness of all the other systems. Do not be so disrespectful to the young mind as to give it *Arabian Nights Tales* for facts; but present to it the real merits, and at the right age defects, of the different systems impartially, and let it form its own conclusions. In this way the child will come to love and honor all the great religious leaders, and will in the end cherish a higher regard for Jesus, because it recognizes him as one of a noble company of divine men, of which Confucius and Buddha are members. But we have no guide for such instruction as this. The field waits for tillage. More than one man's hands must be put to the plough. Question papers and books are needed; the incorporation of kindergarten principles and methods is needed; intercommunication and conferences of those interested in the work are needed. By all means, let us have a mutual comparison of notes. I send this fragmentary statement of a few of the many things which might be said, hoping it may help to call forth something more valuable from some one of greater experience and wisdom. Sincerely yours,

F. A. HINCKLEY.

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL A UNIVERSITY FOR THE MILLION.

With most persons in this country, Sunday is a day of rest from labor, or of relaxation from the turmoil of business. How the day shall be most effectively utilized for the benefit of such persons is a grave question. Sleepy inactivity does not afford the best refreshment for the weary or careworn; spiritual, mental, and social culture and enjoyment are far better invigorators for the working world.

Cannot the Sunday-school be modified so as in a higher degree to supply the intellectual needs of a large portion of the people? Instead of its present comparatively narrow scope, why not make the Sunday-school a university for the million, where young and old, rich and poor, Christian and non-Christian, may come together to give and receive instruction? It is not so much a change as an extension that is here proposed. Some classes, as at present, will recite the Scripture they have memorized; other classes, as at present, will apply the rules of interpretation to passages of Scripture under consideration. But for others, why not provide teachers and classes in whatever branches of knowledge may be expected to make men happier, better, or more useful? For example, there might be classes for teaching or reading Greek, Hebrew, Latin, French, or German. There might be classes for the study of botany, physiology, astronomy, archæology, psychology, or ethics. History classes might be formed for the study of Church history, the history of missions, history of Christian dogma, the history of reforms, etc. Or classes could be formed in natural, systematic, and comparative theology, and in many other branches that would in part supply the culture and knowledge for lack of which so many are perishing.

It may be objected that the conscientiousness of some or the bigotry of others will make such a Sunday-school impracticable. To this it may be replied that a school might be so managed that every class would be under the teacher of its choice, and that pupils might be assigned to classes only with the consent of their parents. General exercises could be so arranged as to avoid offence; or, if necessary, they might be limited to a reading, a song, or an instrumental symphony.

It may be said, that in many communities competent teachers for many of these branches cannot be found. This admitted, it is nevertheless probable that in every community some competent teachers of these, or other equally useful branches of knowledge, can be found. The stimulus which an earnest class affords, and the thought and study which it necessitates, are of incalculable benefit in the training of teachers. Let the demand for teachers be made, and let every man and woman become a teacher who is capable of giving help in some department of useful knowledge, and soon the supply will equal the demand.

Perhaps it will be objected that such an extension of Sunday-school studies will tend to secularize the Sunday-school and the Sunday also. To this, with some it may suffice to say, that the original Sunday-school devised by Robert Raikes was undertaken for the purpose of giving the elements of an education, beginning with the alphabet, reading, and spelling, to poor children who had not been able to attend school during the week; and the Christian world has approved of the enterprise. Is there not equal reason for utilizing the Sunday, and calling into activity all unemployed teaching talent to bring a higher education within the reach of multitudes who will never see the inside of a college? In a word, shall the Sunday-school become a university for the million?

T.

THE INTEREST DOCTRINE.

My short article on "The Interest Doctrine Briefly Stated" (INDEX, June 28) is accompanied by the following clever little editorial note:—

"The ingenious bishop omits altogether a chief point in the case: namely, that the lender parts with the *use* of his money during the time of the loan. What about that?"

A few developments, which the briefness of the article alluded to excluded, will show that, far from overlooking this point, I give it the principal place.

"The creditor," I say, "is justly entitled to be compensated for all that he parts with by the fact of the loan, and should receive that compensation from the party in whose favor he parts with it. On examination we find that he parts with two things in favor of two different parties:—

"First, he parts with the capital itself in favor of the borrower. The borrower is therefore bound to repay to him the capital at the stipulated time or times, and is bound to no more.

"Secondly, he parts with the certainty that, when the stipulated time comes, the money will be repaid to himself and not to his heirs, as he is not immortal. . . . His heirs, therefore, may justly indemnify him . . . by the payment of a sum or sums, called interest, proportional to the greater or less probability that the capital will be repaid to them and not to him. . . . Supposing the heirs say they don't care about the matter, and will have nothing to do with it, . . . the borrower . . . can offer to vicariously indemnify the lender for the risk incurred as aforesaid. But having paid what he has paid instead of the heirs and on their behalf, he is entitled, on his reimbursing the lender or his heirs, to deduct all that he has paid in the form of interest."

Developments indeed seem superfluous to make it clear that the lender, when "he parts with the capital itself in favor of the borrower," "parts with the *use* of his money during the time of the loan." In full compensation for this, his money is to be repaid at the stipulated time, with an opportunity to enjoy it then instead of having spent it before. Supposing, for example, the sum lent to be $500, and to constitute the possibility of a summer trip to the White Mountains, his lending the money for ten years simply adjourns the trip for ten years. The question whether, when the ten years are elapsed, the lender or his heir will have an opportunity to go to the White Mountains, then comes as my second point; and my subject is thus fully, though briefly, treated in its two branches. There is absolutely no possibility of a third one without introducing some of those extraneous elements which, as I have shown, must be excluded from the consideration of a loan-contract *per se*. Such would be the question of the solvency of the debtor, of the possible depreciation or enhancement of the value of the metal within the ten years, etc.

JULIUS FERRETTE.

[A lends to B $500. B repays it in two hours, without interest. A then lends it to C, who at the end of a year repays it with $30 additional, as interest. The question is—has C been swindled out of his $30? We believe that this sum is only a fair compensation for the *year's use* of the money. If the Bishop believes otherwise, we submit that his belief should be capable of explicit proof, and that avoidance of the issue is *not* proof. Is there no difference between the loans to B and to C, and ought C to pay back nothing more than the original $500?—ED.]

"ONE STAR DIFFERETH FROM ANOTHER STAR."

The following is a *verbatim* account of a conversation which recently took place between a Boston lady and the editor of a Nebraska newspaper:—

The editor spoke of Col. Ingersoll in terms of the highest encomium, finally remarking: "He's an infidel, too." "You seem to consider that a compliment," said the lady. "I do, I do," he replied promptly; "and there's Emerson, he's another; and James Freeman Clarke, and E. E. Hale. You *do* have great men your way. There's Ben Butler and Mr. Savage. Emerson's beautiful, beautiful; but he don't suit me like Bob Ingersoll."

BOSTON, June 28.

MRS. PARRY.

CLARINDA, Iowa, June 19, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

For several months last past, Mrs. Mattie H. Parry, of Beloit, Wisconsin, has been in the lecture-field in south-western Iowa and north-western Missouri.

Mrs. Parry is one of the ablest lecturers on the rostrum. She stands on the same broad platform that THE INDEX does, theologically, and challenges the clergy and all to meet her in discussion; but she is seldom troubled with disputants.

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J. R. BAKER.

A PUZZLED PRIEST.

BOSTON, June 26, 1877.

MR. EDITOR:

Dear Sir,—The following pregnant bit of a discourse by a Roman Catholic priest was heard by a niece of mine. If you enjoy it as much as I have done, I think you will give it to the readers of THE INDEX:—

"If the Virgin Mary had not listened to the embassy of the angel Gabriel, it is difficult to see how the redemption of the world could have been accomplished."

Yours truly,

THEO. BROWN.

LITTLE BOB begged hard the other day, when some friends were dining with us, to be allowed to come in and sit at the table during dessert, which I told him he might do, provided he neither talked nor annoyed people by asking for fruit. He very readily assented to this condition, which he honestly fulfilled to the letter. At last I heard the poor little fellow crying and sobbing most pitifully. "what is the matter, Bob?" I said; "what are you crying about?" "Why, pa," he replied, "here I am, asking for nothing, and getting it!"

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION for the Advancement of Science meets at Nashville, Tennessee, on August 29.

REFERRING to the *Priest in Absolution*, the London correspondent of the New York *Tribune* says: "The book for which Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant are to spend six months in prison is a good Sunday-school treatise by the side of this."

THE RIOT at Montreal on the twelfth of July was a most disgraceful affair. The Orangemen have as complete a right to parade in public as the Catholics have to make similar displays; the wisdom of the celebration is no affair of any one but themselves, and their voluntary surrender of the right on this occasion gave them a peculiar claim for protection in their other exercises. Only the inordinately credulous will believe that the Catholic Church could not have controlled the mob, if she had desired to do so; her power is too well established to leave a reasonable doubt on this point. Further, the inactivity of the police, which has so naturally excited the indignation of the better-disposed people of Montreal, can only be explained by treachery or intimidation on the part of the city authorities. The similar riot at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, shows the absolute necessity of protecting the Orangemen in their right of parade, until it is no longer questioned or infringed by any one. It is folly amounting to criminality for the authorities to evade the duty of establishing equal rights in this matter; the consequence of yielding to the mob will be practically to make the Catholic Church the mistress of the country. It is to be hoped that the British government will not show the white feather in so grave a matter as this. We have little sympathy with the Orangemen as a body, but we do hope to see their rights protected for the public weal.

THE CATHOLIC parochial schools, it seems, are to be henceforth exempted from taxation in Ohio. This is a great victory for Rome, and a formidable blow at the public school system. The defences of secular government are gradually giving way under the indefatigable attacks of its enemies, and its friends continue to look on in apathy. A despatch of July 12 from Cleveland says: "A case that has attracted public attention has been on trial in this city for several days before Judge Jones in the equity branch of the Common Pleas Court, in which Bishop Gilmour (Catholic) sought to enjoin the County Treasurer from collecting $3900 of taxes assessed on lands alleged to be held by him in trust for the use of Catholic parochial schools. The Bishop himself and other clerical witnesses were cross-examined exhaustively, and a large number of papal documents, decrees of various councils, an encyclical letter of the Pope, etc., were introduced by the defendant to show that the parochial schools were organized and conducted for purposes hostile to free institutions and opposed to the public policy of the State, and were not therefore to be construed as coming within the exemption clauses of the statues either as public schools or institutions purely of public charity, and to show that the bishop holds title to property, not as trustee, but that he is absolutely accountable only to the Pope of Rome. To-day Judge Jones held that the establishment of these schools was not in any legal sense opposed to public policy unless they were tainted with illegality of origin, purpose, or tendency, or were in contravention of public morality; that the bishop was really the trustee of the property for school purposes, and that a court of equity could enforce the trust; that the school property was not exempt as public school property, but that, being built and partially carried on by voluntary donations, and no income arising therefrom, they were exempt from taxation, as institutions purely of public charity and under the same law as other sectarian colleges and institutions of the State, so far as general taxation was concerned, but not exempt from special assessments for sewers, paving, etc."

THE LONDON *Punch* of June 30 has a picture of "A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing." The wolf is a Ritualistic clergyman of the Holy Cross holding a copy of the *Priest in Absolution* in his hand, and led by the ear out of doors by Mr. Bull, who remarks to a fearfully disgusted Britannia: "Whenever you see any of these sneaking scoundrels about, ma'am, just send for me. *I'll* deal with 'em, never fear!" On the opposite page are these decidedly spirited lines:—

Punch to the Priestly Paul-Prys.

Pah! 'Tis a loathsome task; a piece of work
That *Punch*, as well as REDESDALE, fain would shirk;
But, lest the pest should suck fresh life from doubt,
"War to the Knife!" the tocsin must ring out.
Stand up, you Priestly Prys! Sham Roman pranks,
Mock-monkish tricks we look for from your ranks—
Matters of course, as ills familiar borne,
Or flagellated with half-careless scorn;
But when the gnats that pester poison too,
They must be crushed—and so, Jack-priests, must you.
What poison worse than the foul canker-worm's,
Dropped in the germ to blight the opening bud?
Nor casuist wrigglings, nor sophistic squirms,
Henceforth can clear you; it should stir the blood
Even of Gallios, whom your mummeries irk
No more than puppet-posturings, to see
The leaven of your impious piety
In black and white once more at its foul work.
Hearts in these fevered days are not too clean,
Imaginations not too sweet. What then?
You'd peep and pry into the souls of men,
To scent uncleanness out with snouts unclean;
You'd poke and pry upon e'en childhood's tracks
For the snake's trail. In maiden minds you'd wake
Spectres more easy raised than banished. Take
Your nostrums hence! Sham-Spiritual quacks
Must not be trusted with our households' health.
We dread your creep of super-subtle stealth,
Nor will we trust your fumbling hands to feel
About the roots of life. Let Spirit deal
With Spirit frankly in free daylight. Learn
That still our English natures scorn and spurn
This fleshly inquisition of the flesh,
Whose pryings serve no end but to enmesh
Confessor and Confessed in Sense's snare.
So stand aside, let in the fresh June air,
With flowery breath to sweeten once again
The place your presence taints. 'Tis all in vain
You'd burrow, molewise, in the dirt. Give o'er!
We will not have this bastard-birth of Rome—
Will guard from it the purity of home,
Or crush it, like a viper, at the door!

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in ts general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Unbelief:

ITS NATURE, CAUSE, AND CURE.

A DISCOURSE IN SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL, LONDON, APR. 8, 1877.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

In the new magazine, the *Nineteenth Century*, a new kind of article has been introduced. It is called a modern "Symposium." A group of eminent men of various schools of belief set themselves to consider whether, or how far, human morality depends upon religious belief. Most of the statements appear to me remarkable for the elaboration with which they beat about the heart of the problem without touching it. The simple question is, whether the religious belief is a revelation from without, or an evolution from within, human nature. If Christianity, for instance, is a supernatural revelation it must have been given to make the world better, and of course the world would lose morally if belief in it should fail. On the other hand, if Christianity be an evolution, a historic product of human nature, the same force which created it will work on as it disappears and bear us above it.

As to the plain proposition whether a man's morality is related to his belief, there is no question at all. The experience of mankind in every age and place is that recorded in the Bible, "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he." But he must think it in his heart. It must be a genuine conviction. The "Symposium" would never have been written if this genuineness had not departed from the popular faith in the theology whose forms stand around us. "All that we are is founded in our thought," said Buddha. Our moral systems are so because man so thought. He once thought hanging the right punishment for theft, and then men were hung for stealing. That once moral law has become immoral, because the underlying belief has changed. Men still think hanging necessary to prevent murder, and so long as they think so men will be hung for murder. Man once thought men could be made moral by threats of hell and promises of heaven; he has found out that these threats and promises easily disconnected themselves from morality, and even encouraged immorality by persuading men that by priestly conjuration they could pass from the worst life, from the very scaffold, straight to the arms of Jesus.

Supernatural religion was of old the rival of morality. Its wrath was poured out on those who trusted in morality and good works. We have among us two totally different and discordant religions. One is for the glory and pacification of God; the other is for the improvement of man and the culture of this world. One is a religion whose legitimate embodiment is in sacraments, ceremonies, mysterious creeds, all related to man's estate in another world. The embodiment of the other is in social duties, charities, law and order, equal justice, and the pursuit of happiness. If belief in either of these religions were to fail, the institutions growing out of it would fail. If the root of belief in the other-world religion were cut, its foliage and fruit would wither,—that is, sacraments, supplications, mysterious dogmas, priests, bishops, and a vast number of litigations and quarrels, whose cessation would hardly demoralize society however deplored by the lawyers. If belief in the religion of morality were uprooted, then the corresponding growths would decay,—love and truth, charity and sympathy, justice and purity, all the social and civic duties.

Because the branches of these two trees mingle in society they must not be supposed to have one root. The priest and the moralist are both interested in the preservation of peace and social order. The priest cannot carry on his temple amid social chaos, and he borrows the ethical system. The moralist finds mankind selfish and passionate, so he borrows some of the menaces of the priest to frighten people into obedience. By this alliance our society has been formed in which morality is labelled Christian, and Christianity is warranted moral.

Nevertheless, it was never an alliance of equals. Christianity at an early period gained the upper hand, because it was believed to command the more terrible sanctions of reward and punishment. Morality could threaten or bribe a man for only the few years of life; but the binding and loosing of the priest extended through endless ages. He could always look down on kings and laws, and say to the people, "Fear not them that at most can only kill the body; but fear us who have power to cast both soul and body into hell for ever."

So Christianity became a throned ecclesiasticism: the priest became supreme. He denied that morality was any religion at all; it was only a policeman. He would not deny it might be valuable if it supported his ceremonies and authority; but if it claimed to be the main thing, he made war against it.

So poor Morality had to make the best terms it could; and it has gone on until now conceding that Christianity was the main thing, itself a dependent. Prayer, it agreed, was more important than justice; belief in the Trinity more essential to life than kindness, and theft a mere peccadillo compared with confounding the substance or dividing the persons of the godhead.

By this subordination the two as master and servant managed to get on peaceably until now. But now—even in our own day,—a tremendous break has occurred between them. And it came about in this way: the progress of knowledge discovered and proved that the fundamental dogmas of supernatural religion are untrue,—the speculations and dreams of ancient, ignorant tribes. This discovery has brought on a new set of moral questions altogether. The servant has been called suddenly to judge the character of his master. Does his master speak the truth? Certainly he has not in the past. Will he in the future? What! and admit all his divine knowledge to have been a pretence! Impossible! Then, says Morality, can I remain moral and still support untruth? Theology suggests, Why not shut your eyes to this discovery of untruth in your old master, or at least wink at it? But is *that* moral? asks Morality, anxiously. Is there not a morality beside that of conduct—a morality for the intellect? If there are mental duties, then to assent to a fiction is as immoral as adultery. To believe a proposition aside from its truth, to believe it merely because of some advantage, becomes intellectual prostitution. The purity of the mind is bargained away.

It is vain now to claim the old authority of religion over morality; it is a part of the new discovery that there can be no authority but truth. So the system which sits in the seat of a religion, but finds itself opposed in the name of morality, has been compelled to try and save itself by claiming to be the very soul and self of popular morality. Disbelieve, it says, if you must, but keep quiet about it; for if the masses come to disbelieve with you, they will break all restraints. They hold what morality they have, only because the priest has adopted morality, and told them it is part of their means of escaping hell; but if you take away all their preternatural terrors, they will not be restrained by mere considerations of public good, or the beauty of virtue.

To this, Morality, merely as a prudential thing, confidently replies: Admitting your old hopes and fears still bind the ignorant, it is only the ignorant. You leave the educated world suspended between the old and the new; what is to keep the keepers—to lead the leaders—to prevent the cultivated class from sinking into mere hypocrisy, luxury, selfishness? Nay, the obligations your superstition imposes on the ignorant must become ever weaker even for them. The spread of knowledge, which is inevitable, will mean the spread of lawlessness. Every new schoolhouse we are building must prove a centre to radiate recklessness. As a mere practical policy your attempt to keep up the delusions is itself a delusion.

But Morality has a higher answer than that. As superstitious religion crumbles, Morality itself has ascended to be a religion. From being servant it assumes to be master; it claims to be itself a faith, a belief, and affirms that truth is to be maintained on principle and apart from any possible overt acts. It is not mere outward rule and law, but contains an inward life which inspires it to believe in what it affirms, and to religiously trust that the fruit of right will never be wrong, whatever may be the appearances to the contrary.

This is the living faith of the present; it will be the commanding faith of the future. Theologians call it unbelief, but in no sense is it that. Its attitude towards the superstition which sometime superseded it is that of disbelief; but there is a vast difference between disbelief and unbelief. The unbeliever is one who has not accepted a thing; the disbeliever has positively rejected it. The unbeliever may not believe a thing because he never heard of, or never examined it, or does not wish to admit it; the disbeliever has considered and denied. Consequently unbelief does not imply that there is any belief at all in the mind. Disbelief implies that a proposition has been rejected because there is something already in the mind which excludes it. Consequently a man cannot be a disbeliever of one thing without being a believer in some other thing. But unbelief is a mere blank, passive state of mind; and it deserves some of the evil accent it bears to the religious mind, because it is generally the counterpart of a torpid indifference. He who disbelieves in science, he who believes in morality, he who worships humanity, or adores reason, cannot be called an unbeliever. He is a great believer. As to the rest, no intelligent mind exists which does not disbelieve something.

The Christian calls the man of science an infidel, or unbeliever; the Mussulman calls the Christian an infidel. Every religion is infidelity to other religions; and while sectarians thus call each other by hard names, all victims of idle words, the real enemy of all religion, unbelief—systematic indifference, cynical contempt for all high principles,—is sapping the strength of every civilization. No student of history can view without concern the moral dangers which attend the crumbling of any religion. We have before us the fearful scenes which followed the decline of the gods and goddesses of Rome in universal contempt and unbelief: amid the fragments of their statues and the blackened ruins of their temples stands Caligula knocking off the head of Jupiter and setting his own in its place, and Nero lighting up his orgies with burning Christians for his torches. When Vespasian came to rebuild the temples, repair the altars, and set the gods back in their shrines, what he could not bring back was belief in them. Titus tried the same. Titus was strong enough to carry to the temple of Jerusalem the same desolation that Nero had brought on Rome; but Titus was not strong enough to carry into any mind the faith that had become a mythology. And amid those ruins Belief never sprang up again until called from its grave by the voice of a great soul, whom the old moral world crucified because he announced a new moral world,—setting the religion of simple purity and love against established superstition and proud sacerdotalism.

There are not wanting prophets who, remembering these things—remembering, too, the terrors amid which Romanism went down in France, Germany, and England,—predict that the decay of dogmas in the popular mind will be followed here, too, by the carnival of rapine and lust. I hope not. But if we are saved it will be because the real believers of our time—the disbelievers in superstition—have grown wise enough to anticipate and forestall the danger. The evil in those historic examples was that moral

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principles had not been cultivated in and for themselves. The light suddenly blazed on a long bandaged eye and inflamed it. The whole order of society had been made to rest on gods and goddesses, and when belief in them gave way the superstructure tumbled down. Undoubtedly the like fate would befall us if the people were still taught that the only motive to be honest is to get to heaven; that self-restraint is only a prudent investment in paradise; that any crime may be outweighed by accepting the blood of Christ. If popular morality has no root of its own, if it is a mere graft on the decaying limb of a dying trunk, then when the dead tree falls, down goes all that was grafted on it.

But I would fain believe that such is not the case with our public morality. It has crept into our courts that a man may testify the truth without kissing the Bible, and may minister justice without believing in hell or heaven. It has made its way even into the admissions of the priest that his church presents no higher morality than the societies of those who reject his morality. The noble lives of the great disbelievers, who were yet the martyrs of their belief,—the Lyells and Grotes, Mills and Channings, Mazzinis, Strausses, Parkers, who sleep in honorable graves; the Emersons, Huxleys, Darwins, Carlyles, Spencers, at whose feet this living generation sits and learns not so much any theory as the great moral lesson of courage and fidelity,—these have not spoken to the world in vain. How far it has penetrated into the popular mind that virtue, kindness, truth, and honesty are independent of religious phantasms—good and essential in themselves—rooted in the honor of humanity,—this cannot be estimated. Our sanguine hopes that we shall escape the political Nemesis which has heretofore pursued legally established falsehood may be disappointed.

Assuredly we cannot escape the moral Nemesis. Even now one phase of the decay of superstition is upon us,—a phase which in previous ages was represented in social ruin. It is the phase of mere unbelief; the general dropping out of belief of the old Orthodoxy, accompanied by an indifference to all religion, chiefly shown in a pretence to believe what is not believed.

One hundred years ago, when Soame Jenyns wrote his hard, dogmatic defence of Christianity, a certain clergyman wrote on it: "Almost thou persuadest me *not* to be a Christian." Since then the dismal theology of Soame Jenyns has run its course; it has sought in Nature signs of the vindictiveness of God; in hereditary disease, proofs of God's hatred of man for Adam's sin; it has paraded human misery on earth as a happy augury of endless misery hereafter. It so completed in the real mind of this country the work Soame Jenyns began in that old clergyman, it has quite persuaded men not to be Christians. Nobody can see the gay, smiling, money-getting, eating, and drinking multitudes around us, from the merry-makers of Good Friday—once funereal—to the clergyman with his old port, and imagine that they believe in hell, or the devil, that riches hinder heaven, and the world is all accursed. But, alas! the departure of belief has left them in mere unbelief. One thing untrue as another, they stick to that which is most convenient. They make religion a mere minister to their social, political, or even pecuniary advantages.

Now, because this phase of no-faith does not break out in blood and riot, let us not imagine that it can exist without serious harm. A reign of terror were hardly worse than a reign of chronic hypocrisy and selfishness. Real unbelief means heartlessness, and it must lower the whole character of both individual and national life. Maybe society can get along in that way; a colony of ants gets along; but there can be no grandeur in a country which has no faith; there can be no ascent of national genius where there is no moral earnestness. Also a man may get along in one way by cauterizing conscience and burying enthusiasm. When a shrewd fellow once defended his base occupation by saying, "I must live," a wit replied, "I don't see the necessity." A man has indeed to justify his right to consume and occupy a part of Nature. A weed has no right to soil and sunshine that might turn to corn and wine. But what good thing can grow in barren soil under a sunless roof?

Under no such murky atmosphere, shrouding every star of ideality, can we raise our own minds and hearts, or those of our children, to any high aims, or secure beautiful characters. It cannot be done by a spurious devotionalism, the hectic spot of a dying faith; it can as little be done by cold-hearted absorption in pleasures of life, which should be only its fringe. It is no true belief to have faith in the senses and their satisfactions. Belief is that which trusts in principles, recognizes laws and obeys them; and whatsoever it finds to be true, raises that to be the pole-star of its progress. The man of unbelief is the mere organism of external influences. When you have found what is respectable in his neighborhood—what is strongest,—the biggest church, the successful party, you have found all there is of him. There is nothing in him to build on. In the far West, among rough adventurers, along the Mississippi, with all their oaths and vices, one often finds that after all they have some principle; deep down there's something they'll fight for, some point of honor they'll die for. The half-savage pilot who swears and drinks, and then sinks with his boat to save the passengers; that noted gambler who, at the late St. Louis fire, lost his life in saving others,—you can build that man into your social wall. But you can do nothing with your smooth-polished gentleman who believes in nothing, and holds himself ready to affirm or deny anything you please so long as the mellifluous flow of his self-seeking existence is undisturbed.

It should be recognized that the great ages have always been ages of belief; and though they have uttered their mighty disbelief, they have never sunk to the sunless gulf of unbelief.

There are two etymologies of the word belief,—some derive it from the old German *belieben, to belove;* others making it *be-leben,* to live by. But in either case it marks the height from which the ordinary use of the word has descended.

Whether belief was of old that which a man lives by, or whether that a man loves, or beloves,—such indeed must a true belief be to any man if it is to serve him or others. Eight hundred years ago, two great French theologians were teaching the world. One Abelard, the other Anselm. Abelard said, *Intellige ut credas;* Anselm replied, *Crede ut intelligas.* The world turned from Abelard, who said, "Understand, that you may believe," to follow Anselm, who said, "Believe, that you may understand." So, putting out their eyes that they might see better, they groped their way until, mad with disappointment in the thickening darkness, like blind Samson, they pulled down pillars of throne and temple in revolutionary wrath.

It is time now to remember the long-forgotten motto of Abelard: "Understand, that you may believe!" He only reaches his aim to whom his aim is clear. You can only live by a belief when it has entered profoundly into both brain and heart. It is something you are to believe, belove, live by. You shall fall in love with it. Where that faith goes there will you go; its people shall be your people, its God your God. And if amid all the great events and causes of our time you can find nothing that can so kindle your enthusiasm, it is because you are the victim of that organized unreason which has set up a tyrant for men to worship, and made the merit of belief consist in the absurdity of the thing believed.

Wonderful, indeed, it would have been if, after ages of monster-worship and compulsory belief of the incredible, the very organ of faith should not have suffered atrophy in many. But let none rest content with that mere despair—the suicide of faith,—unbelief. Let every mind know that it is its nature to believe. If a mind will only ascend from unbelief to disbelief, if it will face the fact that the dogmas do not fill it with conviction and joy, and ask itself *why not;* if it will consider and think, it will intelligently disbelieve, and that disbelief will be the other side of a belief. An aged authoress once told me, "I do not believe in miracles because I believe in God." If you do not believe in jealous Jehovah, it is because you believe in supreme love. If not in depravity, it is because you believe in man. Follow that earnest scepticism, and it shall fall like a blossom before the fair fruitage of a larger faith.

THE PRIEST IN ABSOLUTION.

THE CLASS OF LITERATURE CIRCULATED BY THE SOCIETY OF THE HOLY CROSS—PECULIAR PRACTICES ADOPTED BY CLERGYMEN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—AN INFAMOUS MANUAL OF CONFESSION.

An extraordinary scene occurred in the British House of Lords on Thursday, June 14, which is thus reported in the London *Times* of the 15th:—

"The Earl of Redesdale rose to call the attention of the House to a book entitled *The Priest in Absolution,* which had been privately printed by, and was at the disposal of, an association of clergymen called the Society of the Holy Cross for private and limited circulation among the clergy. The book, the subject of his notice, was brought under his observation a short time ago, and he ventured to think that the fact of such a work being in existence was well worthy the consideration of their lordships' House and of the whole country. The society by which it was printed and circulated was one called the Society of the Holy Cross, and had among its members many well-known and in some respects very excellent men. Rev. A. H. Mackonochie was Master of the society, and on the Council were Rev. Dr. Littledale, Rev. A. H. Stanton, Rev. C. T. Lowder, and Rev. H. D. Nihill; and Rev. A. Tooth was one of the Foreign Missions Committee. With regard to the book itself, he believed it had been compiled by a gentleman now dead, from whose widow the society had purchased the copyright. It seemed to be regarded with suspicion even by those who had published it, because in the preface there was this passage:—

"'To prevent scandal arising from the curious or prurient misuse of a book which treats of spiritual diseases, it has been thought best that the sale should be confined to the clergy who desire to have at hand a sort of *vade mecum* for easy reference in discharge of their duties as confessors.'

"That statement was not a little remarkable; and he was informed that in reply to one clergyman who had requested copies of the work to be forwarded to him, this reply was received: 'I am unable to comply with your request without reference to some well-known priest of your acquaintance.' Bearing in mind the doctrines of the Church of England, the doctrines laid down in this book were rather extraordinary. He would not quote many extracts to their lordships, but to show the character of the book he felt bound to quote two or three. Here was one:—

"'There is no resource for the spiritually sick but private confession and absolution; and to make that effectual it is necessary that the penitent be examined with discretion and expertness.'

"Again:—

"'Children may receive absolution with much spiritual benefit after seven, or even five or six.'

"'The priest must be careful not to be too reserved in questions, lest he risk thereby the loss of a great good for the sake of the less.'

"'Children may be asked with whom they sleep; if they have played with their bed-fellows; touched each other designedly or unbecomingly.'

"'Adults, with whom they had to do; whether more than once with the same person; when it took place; how often the sin was committed; how often interrupted before committed.'

"He did not like to go into these matters, but he ought, perhaps, to bring one further subject of examination under their lordships' notice, to show how grave was the matter to which he had ventured to direct attention, in the hope of putting a stop to the practices inculcated by the book:—

"'In regard to married persons, the priest is bound ordinarily only to inquire, when he finds it necessary, of wives if they have rendered due benevolence, and that only in the most modest way he can, and not inquire further unless he be asked questions himself. Wives should be asked if they have not caused their husbands to blaspheme by not rendering due benevolence. Wives often by refusing the latter are damned, and cause the damnation of their husbands by driving them to thousands of iniquities. The questions should be veiled in discreet language: "Do you obey your husband in what belongs to the marriage state?"'

"The danger arising from auricular confession was admitted in the book, for in one passage it was stated that the confessor 'should abstain from every word which springs from tenderness,' and that 'though he may say 'My dear son' to a young man, prudence forbids him to say 'My dear child' to one of the other sex. Then there was this testimony in the book as to the result of the system:—

"'It is only too easy during long interviews to be exposed to the incursion of impure affections, and to lose more than is gained. Circumspection is the more necessary when the youth or appearance of people, or the subjects of confession, or their great piety or wickedness, might cause more easily bad impressions on his or their hearts. Pity, I say, has been more than once a wreck upon which imprudent confessors have been wrecked, who, by commencing with a simple spiritual esteem, have ended insensibly with a sensual and carnal love.'

"It was a doctrine of the Church of England that there were only two Sacraments. According to this book, Confession and Absolution were a Sacrament. Another doctrine of the Church of England was that there was but one Mediator between God and man. What did this book say?

"'To think of the Ever Virgin Mary and her purity, and to beseech God to hear her intercession on behalf of those who long for likeness to her immaculate example.'

"This was the manner in which the book described 'the Priest':—

"'The Priest as a Judge. It is in his capacity as judge, in remitting or retaining sins, that skilful adroitness supplies him with means for bringing the sinner to a right state for receiving absolution.'

"It was further stated: 'The priest is judge in the place of God.' That was, he assumed to himself perfect infallibility of decision in respect of the persons who came to him to receive absolution, and thereby to be relieved from all responsibility on account of their sins. He submitted to their lordships that the time had come when the laity should move in this matter. Hitherto it had been treated too much as one exclusively for the clergy. Since he put his notice on the paper his attention had been called to a book entitled *The Priest's Prayer-book, designed as an Appendage to the Book of Common Prayer.* Fifth edition. Much enlarged; 369 pages. In this book were directions under the heading, 'Communion of the Sick with the Reserved Sacrament.' What did the rubric of the Church say in reference to the consecrated elements?—

"'If any remain of that which has been consecrated it shall not be carried out of the church, but the priest and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him shall immediately after the blessing eat and drink the same.'

"And the twenty-eighth article was in these words:—

"'The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.'

"But what did the *Priest's Prayer-book* say?—

"'The priest then takes the Blessed Sacrament from the pyx and, holding it before the sick person, says, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.' He kneels down and adds, 'Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof, but speak only and Thy servant shall be healed.'

"He did not know whether the book had been seen by the right reverend Bench. He thought it was deserving of their attention, and he hoped their lordships would be of opinion that the time had arrived when there should be a decided condemnation of practices such as those indicated in the volumes from which he had quoted his extracts. [Hear, hear.]

"The Archbishop of Canterbury then arose and said: 'The fact that such a book should be printed and circulated is to my mind a matter of very great concern. The noble earl spared us from many details; but, at the same time, he read quite enough to show that no modest person could read the book without regret, and that it is a disgrace to the community that such a work should be circulated under the authority of clergymen of the Established Church. [Hear, hear.] . . . The persons who put this book forward have no authority but one which they have arrogated to themselves. [Hear, hear.] They have been in no way invested with authority by their superiors to do what they have done in this matter. [Hear, hear.] And, my lords, those restraints which in the Church of Rome are imposed in order to prevent those results arising which we might expect to arise from the practices to which I am referring, are certainly wanting in this case. [Hear, hear.] Now, I do not know whether the law is broken if a book of this nature is circulated without being publicly

sold; but I cannot help thinking that the person who circulates a book of this kind, even though he refuses to give it to a clergyman who applies for it, unless he refers to some third party, is trenching very near the confines of the law. [Hear, hear.] ... They (the clergymen) have made a most grievous mistake in endeavoring to pry into the secret thoughts of the human heart in matters of this delicacy. [Hear, hear.] I am certain that if such a course is persevered in by them it will have very evil results: first, in the harm it will do their own minds; secondly, in the harm it will do to the minds of those who come to them; and, thirdly, in its effects as regards the influence on families of the clergy of that Church whose interests they wish to further. [Hear, hear.] I cannot imagine that any right-minded man could wish to have such questions addressed to any member of his family; and if he had any reason to suppose that any member of his family had been exposed to such an examination, I am sure it would be the duty of any father of a family to remonstrate with the clergyman who had put the questions, and warn him never to approach his house again. [Cheers.] I have ventured, my lords, to express my feelings on this matter very strongly; but I have no reason to think that I am not the mouthpiece of the right reverend Bench on this occasion. Indeed, I have reason to know that in reference to one clergyman, one of my right reverend brothers, who is now present, took immediate steps, and had the satisfaction of receiving from the clergyman a disavowal of future connection with either the book or the society.' [Cheers.]

"Lords Oranmore and Browne said that the subject was not a new one. He had brought it under the notice of the House and of the right reverend Bench, but he did not think that the Bishops had shown themselves sincerely desirous to condemn the practices denounced that evening by the most reverend Primate.

"The Earl of Harrowby thought that the speech of the most reverend Primate must have been most satisfactory to their lordships, because his grace had told them that any clergyman who adopted the practices recommended in the book published by the Society of the Holy Cross ought not to have access to any of their houses. He regretted, however, to think that those practices were being inculcated very widely. He had heard of a case in which instruction for the confession was given by a person who said he himself did not approve of the practice, but, as the young men whom he was instructing would be called on to hear confessions, such instruction was necessary for them. This was no light matter, and he was glad to perceive the tone in which it had been treated. Nothing could be so fatal to the character of this country as that such a system as that of the Confessional should spread among us.

"Most of the London papers reported the proceedings referred to, and all united in denouncing the book in unmeasured terms. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, an evening newspaper and review noted for its respectability, says: 'Prudery is too often the passive ally of obscenity; and the grossest outrages upon morality often escape the full measure of their deserved condemnation because, like certain noisesome animals, they are too filthy to be approached. We are resolved, however, that the *Priest in Absolution* shall not altogether escape in this way. We will quote all that we can, and a great deal more than we like, of the excerpts which lie before us; and our readers will be able to judge of the book from the fact that it contains far more indecent things than any of those which we have ventured to print. ... The head of confession is the delicate one of the seventh commandment:—

" 'Penitents should be questioned as to thoughts; whether they have had corrupt desires, or had taken "morose delectation" in impurity, and whether they have clearly turned their attention to them and consented to them; whether girls, widows, or married women have been the subjects of their thoughts, and what evil they thought to do with them. If, however, they cannot answer satisfactorily, they should be asked whether they have lusted after persons they have met or who have come into their minds, or whether they have been in the habit of dwelling impurely upon the thought of one person in particular through their never resisting bad acts of consent thereto; and whether they have always lusted after such a person, or only as often as they looked upon them. Lastly, they should be asked if they have taken means to follow up evil thoughts, for then such means become endued with interior wickedness, and therefore are to be explained as being exterior sins, or deeds in their commencement. As to obscene words, penitents should be asked, (1) in whose presence and how often they uttered them; whether before men or women, married or unmarried, young persons or adults; (2) what terms they used. ...

" '*Desunt parva et spurca.*'

As to acts. They should be asked with whom they had to do; whether more than once with the same person; when it took place, with the view of learning what occasions of sin might be avoided; how often the sin was consummated, and how often it was interrupted before consummated.'

"Under the head of 'Duties of Married Persons' is included a quantity of matter far too offensive for quotation. We can say no more of it than this: that it places the marriage-bed itself under a system of the strictest surveillance, and furnishes the priest with a series of the most minute inquiries into details which are left *sub lodice*—to use the expression of a heathen poet whose plain-spoken indecency was ten times less disgusting than the innuendoes of the 'Christian' confessor—by every decent man or woman in the world.

"We leave our readers to ponder the foregoing passages from the *Priest in Absolution*, and to consider whether they care to submit their wives, sons, and daughters to such religious training as this, and to teachers of whom the Primate of their own nominal Church has admitted that a layman would be justified in warning them 'never to approach his doors again.' And having duly pondered the extracts from this disgusting book, we would ask them this further question, What claim have the men whose *vade mecum* this is to be considered Englishmen at all? They are of no country. They have renounced their own along with the reformation which they disown and vilify. They belong only to the bastard sect of their own creation—that offspring begotten of sacerdotal arrogance upon effeminate vanity,—that incarnation of the spirit at once of the mystagogue and the man-milliner. What claim to be heard on any question of English politics, domestic or foreign, can attach to men who live only to assert that principle of priestly domination,—of priestly intrusion into the household,—under which Englishmen were the most restive of all races, even in the so-called 'ages of faith,' and which in the present age they regard with more disgust and abhorrence than any other nation upon earth?"

MR. JOHNSON'S WORK ON ORIENTAL RELIGIONS—CHINA.

It is five years since the Rev. Samuel Johnson published the first volume of his work on *Oriental Religions and their Relation to Universal Religion*. The volume was devoted to the religions and civilization of India; it represented the fruits of the study and research of a score of years; and it challenged admiration by its profound scholarship, earnest purpose, and broad view. We have now, from the press of J. R. Osgood & Co., the second volume of the series, treating in the same broad and scholarly way the religions and civilization of China. Mr. Johnson puts in a single word the main difference between the Hindoos and the Chinese by calling the mental quality of the one family cerebral and that of the other muscular. In the one case, we have an imaginative, metaphysical race, who think away matter, and hate the physical toil which develops its uses; in the other, apparently a swarm of plodding utilitarians, sternly adherent to things actual and positive. The Chinese are not pure materialists, but they do not hold ideas apart from concrete embodiment, so as to study them in their own right, and in their capacity for growth. This quality of the Chinese mind is illustrated in the inflexibility of their written language, and it furnishes the key to their immobility of character, and their childishness; their immense civilization appearing to be, in many respects, an arrested development. Mr. Johnson does not consider that the Chinese mind is wanting in ideality, but that the abstract is to them inseparable from some fixed, actual embodiment, and as a result of such constant experience of limitation there is a perpetual schooling in moderation and repression, and compromise between extremes. This, he remarks, is that password to Chinese wisdom which meets us everywhere in philosophy, politics, manners, literature, faith, "the middle path; the mean." He shows the application of this principle to logical processes, to language, jurisprudence, and character, to morality and religion. He analyzes the multitudinous and conflicting testimony concerning the Chinese character, and defends it from the charges of dishonesty and impurity. He credits the Chinese, upon the whole, with honesty, social order, peaceableness, courage, endurance, benevolence, warm domestic affections, industry, cheerfulness, and a passion for traffic. Their apparent cruelty he ascribes to defective sensibility; their immobility is counterbalanced by a peculiar alacrity of the social sentiments and attractions, and by certain natural reactions. "Their qualities," the author observes, "eminently fit them to enter into the spirit of the present age, and to work in its paths as a two-fold force of moral conservatism and industrial progress. Not less do they serve to warn us by the stunted state of their imagination and ideal faculty, by the lack of free individuality and original force, of the dangers of mechanism and uniformity in culture. And this is timely service, in view of many similar educational tendencies that begin to flow already in America from the jealous assertion of a universal equality of minds, and of every one's capacity for all functions; an unlimited power being expected from prescribed methods and the machinery of drill. Many prejudices will be removed, and wider conceptions of the unity of races will prevail, when our growing acquaintance with this great people shall bring us to do justice to their democratic instincts and affinities, to their local liberties, to their universal aim in education, and to that grand theory of office as a function of knowledge and virtue, which they have so persistently striven to embody with more or less success, while free America, by general confession, has of late most perilously thrown it aside."

Having thus analyzed the qualities of the Chinese mind, Mr. Johnson, in the remainder of the first division of the volume, proceeds to consider their industries and science, the history of their external relations—including the opium war, the cooly trade, and the treatment of immigrants in California,—their ethnic type, and the resources of their country. In the second division, which bears the general title of "Structures," he treats at length, and with great thoroughness and interest, their systems of education and government, their language and literature, their history and their poetry. The third division, upon "Sages," discusses the lives, teachings, and influence of the great leaders in philosophy and religion. It opens with a statement of the doctrines and results of Rationalism, as held by the thinking class in China, followed by a sketch of the life and character of Confucius, an outline of his doctrines, and a survey of their influence, and by a similar, though briefer sketch of Mencius, and the Mencian doctrines. The fourth division presents an analysis and history of the beliefs of the Chinese. Among the foundations underlying these beliefs are enumerated patriarchalism, the ancestral shrine, the future life, Fung-shiu (the doctrines relating to the elemental powers), divination, and theism. Next is given a history of Buddhism, the methods of its coming, its development, and the forms it assumes among the Chinese. An account of missionary failures and fruits follows. Mr. Johnson considers Protestant missions a still greater failure than those of the Nestorians and Catholics, as far as religious results are concerned, although they have rendered real service in enlightening the minds and healing the bodies of the people, and deserve recognition because of their literary and scientific results. In the next section, Tao-ism, as taught by Lao-tse and Tao, and exemplified in the schools of faith developed by them, is described; and in the last section we have a survey of the teachings of philosophy, as embodied in the Y-king, or book of transformations, in metaphysics, and in anthropology.

The volume, whose principal topics we have thus hastily and imperfectly stated, presents a very fascinating subject for study, and will repay the most careful and painstaking perusal. No mere compilation of facts and opinions—with whatever care and diligence it might be made—could be compared for a moment with this work, which is in the highest sense original, and constitutes a genuine and important addition to the world's store of knowledge. It is strong, vigorous, and closely-knit; rich in its accumulation of facts, and richer still by virtue of the subtle thought and controlling purpose which bind together the vast stores of material, and make them available to the reader,—giving to each its proper relation and significance. The value of the work is enhanced, and the circle of readers to which it appeals is greatly widened by the rare excellence of the style in which it is written,—a style which is dignified without being ponderous, and which has a certain crispness and freshness whose charm holds the reader's attention throughout. We do not know how extended may be the design of the work which Mr. Johnson has undertaken; but if it were to go no further than the publication of these two volumes—each of independent interest, though part of a common scheme, and each containing in its nearly a thousand broad pages an exhaustive study of the people whose religion and civilization it considers,—it would be a work sufficient to constitute a noble monument of a life-time of patient study and labor, and to entitle the author to the respect and gratitude of scholars everywhere. We trust, however, that the author will be permitted to carry out the work to the limits originally suggested to his mind, after the same thorough fashion in which he has begun it.—*Boston Journal*, *July* 6.

THE LAST MAN.

WHAT WILL BECOME OF HIM?—WILL HE BE DROWNED SUFFOCATED, BLOWN UP, BURNED, FROZEN TO DEATH, CRUSHED, OR WILL THERE NEVER BE A LAST MAN?—A COLLECTION OF CURIOUS THEORIES.

In all the discussion which has agitated the world over the Mosaic and geological accounts of the creation, no question has been more argued than that of the origination of the race. There is nothing like variety, even in scientific argument; and we have heard so much disputation as to whether Adam or an anthropoid ape was our primal ancestor, that we are now impelled to turn to the diametrically opposite end of creation, and consider, not the beginning of the first, but the end of the last man. Speculation as to future events—especially if several billion or so years distant—is not particularly profitable; but if a personal originator of the race is to be made an object of present theory, similar theorizing as to the personal terminator of the race is certainly just as useful, both hypotheses being equal in the speculative nature of their basis, and it being certain that we cannot know anything more definite about the subject of the one than about that of the other.

M. Alphonse de Candolle points out that the terrestrial surface is constantly diminishing, and that elevated regions are being lowered, through the incessant action of water, ice and air. Besides, earthly matter, washed or ground away, is being carried into the sea, which is thus filling up; consequently in course of time the present configuration of the land will change. Continents will be divided into islands, and these will be gradually submerged. The human race will be driven by the encroaching waters from island to island. Finally the sun will rise on a vast waste of sea, dotted perhaps with far-separated islets which once were mountain peaks. One by one these will be submerged, until finally but one is left,—Kunchainjunga, the loftiest summit of the Himalayas, perhaps; or, more likely, some new coral reef which an insect to-day is laboring down in the depths to build up. Here will perish the last man, and the body of the last relic of our race will be washed away by the waves of the mighty flood. Therefore (1) if the last man does not starve to death, he will probably be drowned.

Another theory is, that of the periodicity of deluge, proposed by Adhemar, which depends on the fact of the unequal length of the seasons in the two hemispheres. Autumn and our winter last with us one hundred and seventy-nine days. In the Southern Hemisphere they last one hundred and eighty-six days. These seven days or one hundred and sixty-eight hours of difference increase each year the coldness of the pole. During ten thousand five hundred years, the ice accumulates at one pole, and melts at the other, thereby displacing the earth's centre of gravity. Now a time, it is reasoned, will arrive when, after the maximum of elevation of temperature on one side, a catastrophe will happen which will bring back the centre of gravity to the centre of figure, and cause an immense deluge. The inventor

of this theory fails to consider the probability of the centre of gravity returning as gradually as it was displaced; but, with this defect, the hypothesis from another point of view goes to show that (2) the last man will certainly be drowned.

Every few years or so we have a comet scare; and when the flaming star appears in the sky, there are plenty of nervous persons who fret themselves over the chances of our earth coming in contact with it. It is, of course, not without the limits of possibility that such a collision should occur. If it did, our globe would plunge into an atmosphere of gas, which, mingling with the air, say those who predict this mode of death to our planet, would produce an explosion which would destroy every living thing. Such being the case, the person capable of breathing deleterious gas longest would survive the rest; and therefore (3) if the last man is not suffocated by cometary gas, he will be blown up.

It is believed by many astronomers that there is a retarding medium in space, based on the fact that Encke's comet, in thirty-three years, loses a thousandth part of its velocity. If the ether resists our earth's motion in its orbit, then the centrifugal force will be constantly lessened, while the action of gravity will remain constant; so that the earth will describe a spiral path, always approaching the sun. The effect of this would be to convert the tropics into a desert, which would gradually expand towards the poles, from about which the ice and snow would be quickly melted. Finally, the intense heat would turn the whole globe into one barren waste; but before then the human race would have disappeared. The probabilities in such event point to the supposition that (4) the last man will be sunstruck.

There are certain classes of rocks which are constantly becoming hydrated, and are thus occluding immense amounts of water. The theory has been broached, that, in course of time, the seas will thus be dried up; and water being absent, our atmosphere will disappear, the earth becoming a waste similar to the moon. But, before then, the atmosphere would probably become too rare for human existence. As the air pressure decreases, as M. Bert has shown, the privation of oxygen produces the deleterious effects experienced chiefly by aeronauts and mountain climbers. Consequently, in view of this theory, (5) the last man will be suffocated.

Our sun itself may come to an end in two ways. First, as Mr. Proctor has recently very graphically explained, being but a variable star, it may suddenly blaze up, and go out as other suns are known to have done. In this case, the intense heat of the colossal conflagration would destroy everything on the earth, and perhaps even vaporize the earth itself. Should this event occur, (6) the last man will be burned up.

Or the sun may cool down. The glacial zones would thus enlarge; the race will be crowded nearer and nearer to the equator, by the encroaching glaciers coming from the poles. The small space will no longer support the life upon it; and, in the terrible struggle for existence, only the fittest will of course survive. Finally, after the earth becomes covered with the vast ice-sheet, man with his wonderful capacity of adaptation to surrounding circumstances will probably subsist for a certain period; but in the end the constantly augmenting coldness will assert itself, and thus, eventually, (7) the last man will be frozen to death.

It has been suggested, that the cooling of the earth will lead to the production of immense fissures in its crust, similar to those already visible in the moon. The surface of the earth would thus be rendered extremely unstable, while the dwellers thereon for safety would be compelled to take refuge in caves. It is possible that the troglodytic remnant of the race might meet its fate in some great cataclysm or eruption; and hence it is assumable that (8) *the last man will be crushed in some subterranean cavern.*

Or supposing that the people adapted themselves to their surroundings, and managed to live on the surface, until the time when the earth becomes so cracked and broken that, as predicted, it falls apart, flying off in fragments into space. Possibly a part may exist large enough to preserve its atmosphere. It may either be a satellite of the first larger body within whose sphere of attraction it may come, or it may fall into another world. In such case, (9) the last man will be killed by the crash of orbs; but if he is not, and no one can tell to what extremes of resistance the race may develop, he will become an inhabitant of a new world. Evolution does not necessarily imply progress; and possibly the race may have retrograded until the human being possesses the nature of the plant-louse. Such being the case, this single inhabitant will spontaneously produce posterity of both sexes. A new race of men will begin, to continue *ad infinitum*. Hence (10), there will be no last man.—*Scientific American.*

CHARLES DICKENS ON THE SUNDAY QUESTION.

It would puzzle the most austere of the Sunday legislators to assign any valid reason for not opening the British Museum on Sunday. The Museum contains rich specimens from all the vast museums and repositories of Nature and rare and curious fragments of the mighty works of Art in by-gone ages, all calculated to awaken contemplation and inquiry, and to tend to the enlightenment and improvement of the people. "But attendants would be necessary, and a few men would be employed upon the Sabbath." They certainly would, but how many? Why, if the Museum and the National Gallery, and every other exhibition in London from which knowledge is to be derived and information gained, were to be thrown open on a Sunday afternoon, not fifty people would be required to preside over the whole; and it would take treble the number to enforce a Sabbath Bill in any three populous parishes. . . . I should like to see the time arrive when a man's attendance to his religious duties might be left to that religious feeling which most men do possess in a greater or less degree, but which was never forced into the breast of any man by menace or restraint. I should like to see the time when Sunday might be looked forward to as a recognized day of relaxation and enjoyment, and when every man might feel what few men do now, that religion is not incompatible with rational pleasure and needful recreation. Above all, the more ignorant and humble class of men who now partake of many of the bitters of life, and taste but few of its sweets, would naturally feel attachment and respect for the code of morality which, regarding the many hardships of their station, strove to alleviate its rigor and endeavor to soften its asperity. This is what Sunday might be made, and what it might be made without impiety or profanation. Let those who have six days in the week for all the world's pleasures appropriate the seventh to fasting and gloom, either for their own sins or those of other people, if they like to bewail them; but let those who employ their six days in a more worthy manner devote their seventh to a different purpose. Let divines set the example of true morality; preach it to their flocks in the morning, and dismiss them to enjoy true rest in the afternoon; and let them select for their text, and let Sunday legislators take for their motto, the words which fell from the lips of that Master whose precepts they misconstrue and whose lessons they pervert,—"The Sabbath was made for man, and not men to serve the Sabbath."

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THE WONDERS OF PRAYER. A Remarkable Record of Well Authenticated Answers to Prayer. How God Answers the Prayers of Christians, Helps those who Trust in Him, and Fulfills [*sic*] Faithfully All the Promises of the Bible. Living Evidences of the Constant Power and Presence of God among Men, as fully Illustrated in the daily cares and experiences of His Children. Helps to Christians in Doubt, Fear, Sorrow, or Trouble, to Trust Him fully in Faith, and a cordial Welcome to All to come and give their Love or cast their Cares upon the Great Comforter. By Henry T. Williams. New York: Henry T. Williams. 1877.

A BOOK OF AMERICAN EXPLORERS. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson, author of *Young Folks' History of the United States.* Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1877.

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POTTER'S AMERICAN MONTHLY. Philadelphia: J. E. Potter & Co.

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THE SANITARIAN. New York: P. O. Box 1956.

THE HERALD OF HEALTH. New York: Wood & Holbrook.

Poetry.

TO THE SPHINX.

O sleepless Sphinx!
Thy sadly patient eyes,
Thus dumbly gazing o'er the shifting sands,
Have watched Earth's countless dynasties arise,
Stalk forth like spectres waving gory hands,
Then fade away with scarce a lasting trace
To mark the secret of their dwelling-place—
O sleepless Sphinx!

O changeless Sphinx!
In the fair dawn of Time
So grandly sculptured from the living rock,
Still bears thy face its primal look sublime,
Surviving all the hoary ages' shock;
Still art thou royal in thy proud repose
As when the sun on tuneful Memnon rose—
A changeless Sphinx!

O voiceless Sphinx!
Thy solemn lips are dumb;
Time's awful secrets hold'st thou in thy breast;
Age follows age; revering pilgrims come
From every clime to urge the same request,
That thou wilt speak; poor creatures of a day,
In calm disdain thou seest them die away—
O voiceless Sphinx!

Majestic Sphinx!
Thou cronchest by a sea
Whose fawn-hued wavelets clasp thy buried feet;
Whose desert surface, petrified like thee,
Gleams white with sails of many an Arab fleet;
Or when wild storms its waves to fury lash
High 'gainst thy form the tawny billows dash!
Majestic Sphinx!

Eternal Sphinx!
The Pyramids are thine;
Their giant summits guard thee night and day;
On thee they look when stars in splendor shine,
Or while around their crests the sunbeams play;
Thine own colossi, who with thee remain
Colossal genii of the boundless plain!
Eternal Sphinx!

J. L. STODDARD.

—*Boston Transcript.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 14.

John R. Thomas, 30 cents; A. D. Dickinson, $3.25; L. A. Foster, $1.50; H. B. McNair, $1.20; Dr. S. Wolfenstein, $3.20; Russell Marston, $25; J. A. J. Wilcox, $8.20; Charles Nichols, $2.85; W. B. Clark, $5.20; M. M. L. Cummings, $3.20; Dr. A. F. Erich, $3.20; J. A. Peters, $2; Dr. S. W. Johnson, 75 cents; Hannah L. Putnam, $5; Jacob S. Howes, $1; John Curtis, $6.40; Hon. G. F. Talbot, $3.20; a friend, $5; Richard Hall, $25.20; G. G. Miner, 75 cents; Mrs. C. E. Crain, 5 cents; John D. Caldwell, $6.40; Lucy Smith, 50 cents; Carl Doerflinger, $2.10; E. M. Wyckoff, $1.60; S. W. Rathbone, $3; W. H. Boughton, $3; W. Archibald, $3.25; Preston Day, $3.20; M. M. Waterman, $3.20; Asa C. Pierce, $3.20; C. S. Palmer, $3.20; Robert Reid, $3.20; R. T. Starr, $3.20; J. H. Clark, $3.20; R. D. Israel, $6.50; H. W. Wellington, $3; Wm. Rotch, $3.20; E. P. Wright, 50 cents; Mrs. A. F. Wood, $3.20; Cash, $1.75.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 19, 1877.

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DO THE readers of THE INDEX, or any of them, love poetry? If so, they will thank us this week for republishing some exquisitely melodious and fascinating verses by Mr. Stoddard, "To the Sphinx." They are simple even to sublimity, and constitute a poem fit only to be compared with the severest and loftiest of Bryant's—perfect in form, grand in imagery, full of that almost oppressive sense of infinity which poetry of the highest class wakes in the soul like the moaning of the distant sea. We would rather have been the author of this short but masterly ode than have written volumes of the diluted stuff that passes for poetry in these sensational and unclassical days.

MR. C. D. B. MILLS, of Syracuse, N. Y., who kindly permits us to add his name this week to our list of editorial contributors, was born at New Hartford, N. Y., in 1821. His father, a most estimable and respected man, was a clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination, and reared his children in the strictest manner. Mr. Mills himself was trained for the ministry, at first under Rev. Beriah Green, of the Oneida Institute, and afterwards at Lane Seminary. Being licensed to preach in 1844, he soon found himself out of sympathy with Calvinism, withdrew from all ecclasiastical connections, and has remained independent ever since. For a few years he preached in Northern Ohio, chiefly at Brownhelm, where he addressed a small independent society of liberals, and also had charge of an academy in Elyria. In later years he has found himself obliged to seek business occupation in Central New York; but his leisure has been devoted to studying, writing, lecturing, and the various practical reforms that appealed to his highly conscientious nature. In 1876, he published an excellent little work on *Buddha and Buddhism*, and valuable articles from his pen on Giordano Bruno, Spinoza, Pythagoras, Zoroaster, etc., have appeared in the magazines. We regret that his first editorial contribution should be on so sad a theme as the death of his brother, Hon. H. A. Mills, one of the kindest and most faithful supporters of THE INDEX; and this second bereavement, following so closely the death of his father, will quicken the sympathies of many an unknown friend.

A COMMUNICATION headed "Christianity at Cornell University," dated "Ithaca, June 17, 1877," and signed "T. S.," was recently published in the New York *Tribune*, as follows: "In a recent issue of yesterday, under 'Notes on Education,' you make mention of Mr. Yatabe's strictures on Christianity before a Japanese audience, and say that he is a graduate of Cornell University. Now this is all true, but, at the same time, it is apt to injure Cornell unless the following explanation be made: Mr. Riokichi Yatabe was a Buddhist and an enemy of Christianity before he came to Cornell University, and his infidelity is not therefore to be laid at the doors of that institution. This explanation should be unnecessary; but ever since its foundation Cornell University has been bitterly attacked by sectarian colleges and the religious press generally, and such an item as the one just noticed will doubtless be made the text for renewed thrusts at one of the best educational establishments in the State. I would mention that President White's recent letter in the *Cornell Era*, which deals with this very question—*i. e.*, religion at Cornell University,—has been published by the university for gratuitous distribution as an offset to these assaults. The gist of the letter is that the university is opened every morning with religious exercises; that the Young Men's Christian Association has the finest hall of any American college; that the university sermons are preached by the best talent of all denominations in the American ministry; and that it is the universal opinion of all those who are acquainted with the institution that its students have more genuine religion among them than is found in several of the sectarian colleges."

REVIVALISM vs. VERACITY.

Not very long since the Boston *Advertiser* published a paragraph which went the rounds, as follows:—

Mr. Moody wants the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to change its name to the Woman's Evangelical Temperance Union. It is said that when the ladies asked, "Why?" he replied, "So as to get rid of your Unitarian and Universalist members." "But that will rule out Mrs. Livermore, our President," said they. "Well, rule her out," was the response; "she isn't a Christian."

We happen to know, by the testimony of an unimpeachable witness, that the above statement was submitted to Mrs. Livermore herself prior to publication, and accepted by her as accurate in every point—in fact, as "her own statement." It drew out a letter from Mrs. Moody, which we copy from the Boston *Globe* of July 4:—

NORTHFIELD, Mass., June 26, 1877.

Dear Sir,—Yours of the 25th, with clipping from paper, has been received, and my husband asks me to answer for him.

As I heard the conversation from which I suppose the statement is made, I am better able to say that the article misrepresents what Mr. Moody said.

He did not say at any time that Mrs. Livermore is not a Christian. Furthermore, Mr. Moody never suggested that the name of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union be changed to the "Woman's Evangelical Temperance Union."

The thought had never suggested itself to him, and your clipping is the first time the idea has come before him. Yours very truly,

MRS. D. L. MOODY.

On this letter, the *Christian Register* very pithily remarks: "Mr. Moody has been concealed behind his wife long enough. Let him now come out and speak for himself like a man."

But the matter was not allowed to rest thus. The *Globe* of July 10 contained the following communication, which is surprising enough in face of the foregoing denials:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GLOBE:—

Sir,—Mrs. Moody's letter of contradiction in the *Globe* of July 4 does not cover all the facts in the case, which are briefly these: During the progress of the revival Miss Frances Willard sought an interview in Park Street Church with the Secretary of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and made this demand:—

"I have sent for you to say that you must change the name of the 'Woman's Christian Temperance Union' to the 'Woman's Evangelical Temperance Union.'"

"For what reason?" inquired the Secretary.

"So as to get rid of Unitarians and Universalists," was Miss Willard's reply. "You cannot go on with your Christian work unless you do, but will be hampered by them continually."

"We shall never make any such change of name!" was finally the reply of the Secretary.

"You will have to come to it," said Miss Willard, "for Mr. Moody has already made arrangements to start another organization, unless you do."

Miss Willard had similar conversations, at other times and places, with other ladies of the Union, refusing to speak at a temperance meeting in Malden at the same time with Mrs. Livermore, giving, as the reason of her refusal, the fact that "Mr. Moody thought that she (Miss Willard) had already compromised herself by speaking at Tremont Temple on the same platform with Mrs. Livermore."

This debate concerning our Woman's Temperance Union, its name and its President, went on for weeks. At last, to end the matter, a committee of two ladies was appointed to see Mr. Moody personally. We will not enter into the details of the interview. Suffice it to say that Mr. Moody repeatedly charged these ladies "not to blame Miss Willard for the course she had pursued, as she had acted under his direction, or by his counsel." And when they sought to convince him that their President is a Christian woman, his reply was: "If Mrs. Livermore *is* a Christian, why don't she come out and join the Church?" These are very briefly the facts in the case, every one of which can be substantiated in a court of justice.

In conclusion, we have only to say that we regret the publication of these disagreeable occurrences; but Mrs. Moody's letter leaves us no other alternative. The head and front of our offending seems to have been that we have persistently refused to change our broad name for a narrow one or to surrender our President on a sectarian issue. We aim to be a Christian organization; we utterly refuse to become sectarian, and welcome to our membership all Christian women who will join us in our efforts to abolish intemperance.

MRS. L. B. BARRETT, *Secretary*,
By order of the Executive Committee of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Massachusetts.

Here is a strange case—a very grave and painful one for all who desire (as we certainly do) to regard Mr. Moody as incapable of unblushing falsehood. Mrs. Moody, writing avowedly in his name, denies that he said Mrs. Livermore is not a Christian; or that he suggested a change of name of the Union. Mrs. Barrett, by order of the Executive Committee of the Union, affirms in substance exactly what Mrs. Moody denies. A more direct issue of veracity could scarcely be conceived. What a spectacle!

But Mr. Moody himself sent the following letter to the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, which published it in its issue of July 13:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN:—

In reply to your note, asking what was said by me to give rise to that report that I had stated that "Mrs. Livermore was not a Christian," I write to say, that some of the members of the Boston Ladies' Temperance Christian Union felt that they in their work had not been recognized by me as they thought their work deserved, and furthermore were grieved that I had not encouraged co-workers with me to enter into the temperance work with them. I can see nothing that such a report could have arisen from more than the conversation held with the committee of ladies from this society, to whom I explained my reasons for not coöperating with them.

My strong belief has been and still is that the drunkard's only hope is in a renewed heart, with new desires and strength from God to keep him. I have no faith in a simple pledge alone. I believe the power strong drink has over a person cannot be broken by man's will. It needs God's power to help overcome this terrible appetite. Believing this, and seeing many cases that have been saved by reliance on God's power, and many failures where trust has been placed in one's own strength, I explained that I could not, with these convictions so strong, connect myself with *any* society, where there might arise opposition to what I consider the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. Of course to disagree on these points would only give rise to argument and endless discussion, and the real object of the society in this way be to a great extent defeated.

(By fundamental doctrines I mean regeneration—"Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God";

Justification by faith—"By him all that believe are justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses";

Atonement—"Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures"; and the doctrine of the resurrection of Christ.)

There was no feeling against any person, either felt or expressed during this or any other conversation in reference to the society, and I was surprised to find such a statement attributed to me, which was as unjust to me as to the lady mentioned. If this had not been one among many other statements for which I am not responsible, I should have contradicted it immediately; but there being so many statements of things said and done by me of which I would know nothing till I read them or heard of them from others, I have found as a rule that it was better to take no notice of them. I write now only in answer to your letter and to repeat that I have never expressed to any one that I believed Mrs. Livermore was not a Christian.

My idea is that life is so short, and the work to be done so great, and the workers so few, that our time can be better spent than in controversy.

Yours truly, D. L. MOODY.

NORTHFIELD, Mass., July 6, 1877.

Notwithstanding the shortness of life, and the greatness of the work, and the fewness of the workers, we submit that Mr. Moody can in no manner spend his time more usefully, whether for himself or his cause, than in proving himself guiltless of wilful unveracity in this particular case. There is an old-fashioned prejudice against lying, not confined by any means to "infidels," but shared by very many "believers" who have hitherto supported the Evangelist in his revival; and this prejudice will go very far towards neutralizing his influence in this community, when he returns in the autumn, unless he can successfully explain the peculiarly ugly situation in which Mrs. Barrett's letter leaves him. There are many curious persons who will study his case with interest, as furnishing valuable data for considering the question—"what is the real influence of Christianity upon Morality?" If a man can be converted, convert thousands, become the head and front of a great Christian revival, and yet stoop to a cowardly mendacity from which many an "infidel" is preserved by a mere unregenerated sense of honor, the world (which persists very stupidly in thinking truthfulness an essential part of morality) will be in great danger of concluding that, when Christianity is set up as the great bulwark of Morality, the pretence is nothing but a "pious fraud."

Mr. Moody would have been wiser to manifest "the courage of his opinions." By his own peculiar tests of Christianity, Mrs. Livermore is *not* a Christian; he is very careful, in the above highly diplomatic letter, not to say that she *is*; and it is evidently the "wisdom of the serpent," rather than the "innocence of the dove," which makes him refrain from speaking his mind fully on this point. But the question now is not about his courage, but about his veracity; and we think we can assure him that, if he desires to succeed in Boston next autumn, he cannot possibly "spend his time better" than to dissipate the cloud which now rests upon it.

OBITUARY.

Died in Galesburgh, Ill., on June 6th, of consumption, Hon. H. A. MILLS, of Mt. Carroll, Ill., in the fiftieth year of his age.

My brother has gone in his prime, quickly following our father, whose death was noticed in THE INDEX of April 26th. For some time he had been in declining health, more manifest, however, to others than to himself. Of large ambition for accomplishment in his chosen field of work, he doubtless exerted himself quite beyond the limits that his strength would justify, and hastened the wasting attacks of that disease that was surely carrying him to the tomb. Early in March last he visited Florida in the hope that, in that mild and genial clime, he might gain improvement, if not full recovery, but without essential benefit. Returning homeward, he was overtaken by death at the house of his daughter, Mrs. Carr, of Galesburgh.

Mr. Mills was not unknown to the readers of THE INDEX, having been for it an occasional correspondent, and a fast friend throughout. He was a member of the Index Association, and was deeply devoted to freethought and intellectual liberty universal. In all the relations of social, civic, and business life, he was very greatly esteemed by his neighbors and acquaintances through a wide region of country, and his death brings a heavy loss not only to his dear household, but to the community as well. It is especially severe and irreparable to the friends of a free and rational religion in his own town and county. He stood like a pillar for intellectual freedom.

His end was peaceful. He died as a brave man should, calm, poised, and in perfect trust. He had reposed all on Truth and the Everlasting here; how should he not still rest on the same arm in that darkness?

May the remembrance of his luminous virtues, his unwavering fidelity to the end to the high trusts he had taken to honor, be to us that remain a presence full of incitement and quickening to do ever braver, greater, and more! C. D. B. M.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., July 8, 1877.

GOD AND NATURE.

In the conflict between Orthodox theology and science, or perhaps one might more properly say between the assumptive and the inductive method in theology, the most noteworthy of recent utterances are those of two eminent scholars on taking the presidency, one of Amherst and the other of Dartmouth College. Teaching is by far the most important function in human civilization, and whether our head teachers are to confine themselves to facts, and theories that seem to be supported by facts, or to deal out exploded fictions, is the most serious of all questions. A teacher fallen behind time, earnestly and sincerely inculcating what was once received as truth, and is still by him supposed to be true, may be admired as well as deplored. But the spectacle of one who, out of regard to popular prejudice, shuts his eyes to facts and upholds a theory which facts have subverted, is without a redeeming trait. The politician who upholds a policy because it commands a majority of votes, and not because it is right, is bad enough. The teacher who holds a doctrine because it is popular, when he has no reason to believe it true, is far worse.

It is quite possible that President Seelye in his baccalaureate sermon, in which he attempts to glorify the Orthodox God by abusing Nature, may be sincere. He is certainly eloquent and serious. But when President Bartlett, in his inaugural address, hurls bitter sarcasms right and left on all the laborious living specialists in science, and pets only those scholars who have not openly quarrelled with the Orthodox theological creeds; when he almost canonizes Thomas Arnold and forgets to name his son Matthew—a man to whom, if Christianity survives this century in any shape, it will owe more than to any hundred like his father,—it is difficult to believe him sincere. Under the teachings of such a man we can only look for crops of Rev. Cooks, going about as flying artillerists to guard future Moodys by cannonading the infidels with pop-guns. Such a teacher cannot but be an infidel to the inductive method and essentially a foe to science. This is not denying him all virtues as a man, or great force as a thinker,—thinking still in vain. But we are obliged to regard him as Matthew Arnold does the Pope,—"That amiable old pessimist in St. Peter's chair, whose allocutions we read, and call them impotent and vain."

President Seelye, of Amherst, takes for the text of his sermon the first eleven verses of the Book of Ecclesiastes, or in effect the whole book. This wonderful book, we believe, has always been regarded as rather obscure by the commentators, not so much by the difficulty of its language as by the difficulty of reconciling such plain language with other Scriptures. It is said that for some time after it was written, though when it was written is a little doubtful, the wisest of the Hebrews endeavored to conceal it from posterity, as containing things heretical and contradictory. It finally, however, came into the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures on account of its undeniable merits, for it contains some of the sublimest expressions and weightiest truths ever clothed in human language. But were it not for the fact that it is found within the lids of the "Holy Bible," its view of Nature, and especially of human nature and human life, would be considered by most people decidedly sombre, if not morbid. And its author is far from relieving the picture by any revelation of a future life in which there will be less of the "vanity and vexation of spirit" which he bewails here. On the contrary, while he admits that the knowledge and wisdom to be obtained here are worth something, he says: "There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest." He says that when dust returns to dust, "the spirit shall return to God who gave it," and "God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil." But here is no word about life after the judgment, nor anything to confine this to human beings. It must be remembered that this preacher had already said, "A man hath no preëminence above a beast," and had asked, "Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth?" It is difficult to give this latter passage any meaning worthy of its place in such a book, except that it assumes both men and beasts to have spirits, and emphatically denies that any one knows any difference in the destiny of these spirits. To be consistent with his conclusion above quoted, the preacher must mean that while their bodies return equally to dust, their spirits return equally to God who gave them, by him to be judged. On the result of that judgment he is wholly silent. He admits the being and government of God, for he recommends obedience to His commandments and to enjoy this life as much as possible while obeying them, "vanity and vexation of spirit" notwithstanding. But where, in the whole book, is one glimmer of anticipation of a happy perpetuation of the individual existence for even the most obedient, after the judgment? For all that the preacher says, the spirit, in his opinion, may be absorbed in the infinite spirit, like a drop in the ocean, or be sent back into some new man or beast, to live a new life of "vanity and vexation of spirit" if a man,—but unconscious, it is to be hoped, of the former one.

It is on this sad and sombre book, rather than on that most cheerful view of Nature, and especially of human nature, which characterizes the succeeding book, supposed to have been written by the same author at an earlier period, that President Seelye founds the address with which he sends into the world the young men who have been nourished by the Amherst Alma Mater. And he does not relieve the sadness the little he might have done by quoting the close of the eleventh chapter. In his grand attempt to glorify the popular theological conception of God, he starts by abusing Nature. He accuses Nature of exciting neither man nor beast to anything but laziness. If we understand him, till a supernatural knowledge of God or "spiritual life" is supernaturally brought into the human mind, there is neither work nor thought. Lest this charge should seem incredible, we quote a few sentences:—

> A spiritual life must first penetrate and clothe and crown the natural life in man, or man remains immersed in Nature, never rising above it, never gaining any mastery of it, moving in and by its currents, and never seeking to control or change them, with no more progress than the brutes possess, and making no more efforts to improve his state than do the beasts that perish. It is the knowledge of God alone which lifts a man above the brute, which makes him conscious, first of himself, and then of his wants, and which is a living impulse to labor because it is a living inspiration to all growth, and to all great and good attainments. The old Egyptians, by their doctrine that there was nothing to be seen in Nature, but the same worlds coming over and over again with all things, and all events repeated just as they had taken place; the old Pythagoreans and Platonists with their notion of the *magnus annus*; the old Stoics teaching the cyclical return of the world and all things in it, through rarefaction and condensation, with a final conflagration,—illustrate not only the tendency of the human mind to cherish such a view of Nature, but also show how destitute of life and progress such a view must always be. In every case, just so far as this thought took possession of the thinking of the time, there was no thinking left; the observation of Nature, and the impulse to the study of Nature, died out with this view of Nature.

Has President Seelye forgotten the Pyramids, thought by some to be sublime monuments of human labor? Has he forgotten Aristotle, a greater than Pythagoras or Plato; himself a pupil of the latter and whose own pupil conquered the world with a Homer under his pillow; Aristotle whose writings after being buried more than a century rose from the grave and were about all the philosophy there was in the world till the days of Bacon? Perhaps the labor on the Pyramids, President Seelye will say, was wasted. But was not that of Aristotle as much as could be expected of one man, even having a knowledge of God, and has it not been useful to mankind? If the President will have it that a "spiritual life" first penetrated the "natural life" of Aristotle, it would seem that it must have penetrated it naturally, or from Nature. Why then abuse Nature?

If President Seelye is inclined to attribute every great and useful work to a spiritual life, or the knowledge of God, then he ought to have been in Congress earlier, for he could certainly, by the converse of his proposition, have justified the "*Credit Mobilier*," whose proceedings were attributed to an inspiration anything but divine.

The more common and reasonable opinion seems to be that we owe our transcontinental railroad to a natural greed of wealth, very much as Europe owes some of her most admirable architecture to ecclesiastical tyranny. In truth, out of Nature come both good and evil things, the good often out of the evil, and this mystery has not been much cleared up by the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, or the Orthodox scheme of human salvation.

The President of Amherst pretty plainly intimates, in the following question, that this world without the theology of his Church is not worth living in,—just what we should expect of a man who thinks mere justice or righteousness in the Constitution is not God enough:—

> If man is only a member of such a world, only a bubble breaking on the breast of this great sea, made of the same elements, and vanishing into the same as the unnumbered others which have gone before, or which shall follow, who is he of all these dancing, fleeting, momentary myriads of the same commingling, that expects a permanent remembrance?

Well, who expects a "permanent remembrance," any way? Only a "bubble breaking"! We protest against such blasphemy of Nature. The bubble, living marvellously under law, has no fear of death. The bubble, whether riding on the crest of the ocean wave, or smiling like the bow of heaven in the washtub, is "a thing of beauty and a joy forever." So is a well-conducted life, though it be but momentary. Life a bubble! There are differences in bubbles. Life a dream! There are happy ones. Whosoever loves Nature, and learns of her all the wisdom he may, will be too full of work and of happiness to worry himself much about what is above and beyond Nature. There have been such men and women, joyfully living the lives and accepting the fate of bubbles,—Christianity sometimes tries to steal the credit of their lives.

But, marvellous to behold, the Amherst preacher, after having thus abused Nature considered independently of the Orthodox theological idea of God, or in the absence of a supernatural revelation, as a wild, misshapen Caliban, no sooner comes to regard it as designed and created by that God, than he changes his tone. Now Nature is the perfection of beauty, full of indescribable variety and harmony! All this is truly pitiful. Why cannot these head teachers recognize the fact that under the most conscientious study of all the things that can be studied, the notions stereotyped into creeds fifteen hundred years ago, which they call the "knowledge of God," have died out of the best and wisest minds of our age in the Church as well as out of it? A flood of facts has overwhelmed all the sacred fictions and left their authors on the level of the rest of human nature. Their long-venerated creeds have really gone to the same "measureless Golgothas" to which President Bartlett has justly consigned the "slaughtered theories" of science. There they will stay. Matthew Arnold no more believes in the personality of God than Charles Bradlaugh does. If Hume undermined belief in the miracles of the Bible, Matthew Arnold has exploded it as with nitro-glycerine. But who is Matthew Arnold? He is a churchman, advocate of Christianity and the Bible, lay inspector of schools under the British Council of Education, fellow of Oriel College, and lately Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Son of Dr. Arnold, the

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famous head-master of Rugby, who has been fairly canonized for his Orthodoxy, it cannot for a moment be supposed that he has lapsed into heresy by any defect in his training, or from any worldly consideration. Hear what he says in his most recent book, *God and the Bible*:—

At the present moment two things about the Christian religion must surely be clear to anybody with eyes in his head. One is, that men cannot do without it; the other, that they cannot do with it as it is.

And he holds that all the knowledge of God that either the Bible or Christianity can give us is, that He is "the eternal, out of ourselves, that makes for righteousness." If we do not learn as much as that from Nature herself, without either (and Arnold has reduced them both to mere parts of Nature), we study her to little purpose.

Now as parts of all Nature, the Bible and Christianity are no more rejected by the men called infidels or atheists than the works of Aristotle, Bacon, or Newton.

Why must the *odium theologicum* be so carefully nursed against heretics, when the Church—every church—is full of them? E. W.

Communications.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

What are we to understand by the term Religion? Your correspondent, Dr. Horsch, criticised me some time ago for having said that religion is an evil. If he and the readers of THE INDEX have given due attention to two passing events—the Turko-Russian war and the Seligman-Hilton affair,—I think the correctness of my saying will be sufficiently proved to them. Whatever may be the *ostensible* reasons on the part of Russia for engaging in the present war, the *actual* reasons are obviously very different from her pretended ones. But religion is made, as it so often is, to cloak and justify the selfish and covetous motives of Russia. She pretends to be the "generous champion" of Europe, of civilization, of humanity, and of Christianity. But what we do find is, and ever was, the true character of this "generous champion" in Europe? The traditional enemy of all progress and liberty, the assistant of tyrants, and the terror of their subjects. Whenever and wherever there was a liberal movement of the people, whenever a sovereign, driven by the loud demands or still more energetic action of the people, was about to confer on them more rights and liberties, Russia invariably interfered and prevented the grant. Who has forgotten the Russian hordes aiding Austria in treading down the victorious Hungarians in their heroic struggle with Austria in 1848–49? Certainly not yet the noble Magyars, as the recent letter of the venerable but exiled Kossuth to them and their present agitation shows. Or ask torn and bleeding Poland what the true character of this "generous champion" is. The proclamation of the Poles in Turkey in respect to the present war will answer this question. Or ask again even all Christians except Greek Christians (to say nothing of the Jews, whose maltreatment in Russia and by the whole Slavic race seems but a matter of course) how tenderly they, Christians as they are, are treated by this "generous champion" of Christianity and humanity. By what mild persuasion and kind measures are they forced to embrace the Greek faith?

But, aside from the traditional Russian covetousness and policy, it is its *religion* that brings all these sufferings on the unhappy peoples of Europe, especially those subject to Russia or under the more immediate influence of this "generous champion," as it is again *religion* that is made to sanctify this outrageous policy, and that is used to uphold and strengthen it.

Not enough, however, that religion is thus desecrated and misused by the "generous champion of Christianity" in Europe and rendered the greatest evil of that continent; even here, here in "free and independent America," this pernicious character of religion exerts its baneful influence. In spite of all that cruel Russia has been doing and is still doing in Europe, in Hungary, in Poland, and even in Russia itself,—in spite of her unjust policy towards Turkey, born out of her covetousness of Constantinople and other desirable portions of the Turkish empire,—the large majority of Americans, and almost the unanimous voice of the press in this country, are in sympathy with Russia and antagonistic to Turkey. And why so? Why is it that we find "the freest country on the globe," "the land of the brave and the home of the free," thus in an unholy sympathy with the most despotic, the most tyrannical sovereign in all Europe, if not in the world, the bitterest enemy of civil and religious freedom, and the most cruel ruler of modern times, and denying justice and sympathy to the Sultan and his cause, although incomparably more humane and liberal than the Czar of all the Russias? It is because of the evil inherent in religion,—because Russia is a Christian country and Turkey non-Christian!

Christian, forsooth! Does the mere confession of the Greek faith without regard to goodness and morality make the Czar a Christian, and are all his persecutions of all but *Greek* Christians, all his outrageous tyrannies, all his murders of peoples and patriots, all his opposition to their liberties and freedom, to be forgiven him and ignored, because he makes an unrighteous war on the unbelieving Sultan, in whose parliament there are sitting Moslems and Christians, Greeks, Jews, Armenians—representatives of all nations and sects with equal rights and privileges, and in whose empire all creeds and nationalities enjoy equal or nearly equal rights, unless they forfeit them by revolts and disloyalty? But such are the vaunted blessings of religion, such its iniquities, prejudices, and corruptions.

Judge Hilton's *ukase* to the managers of his Grand Hotel at Saratoga, excluding Jews from its walls, is another fruit of the tree of religion. If such an order had been given three or four hundred years ago by some petty sovereign or chief-magistrate of a city, confining the Jews to their *Ghetto*, it were not to be wondered at; for it were at least in conformity with the spirit of those benighted "dark ages" of bigotry, intolerance, and fanaticism. But when in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century, in a country that boasts of the freedom, liberty, and equality of all its citizens, and the liberality of the spirit permeating its society, laws, and institutions, a man of Judge Hilton's standing perpetrates such an outrage, there can be no excuse, much less justification for him. And when Judge Hilton tries to excuse himself by saying Mr. Seligman is only a "trade Jew," and does not believe in the Bible, etc., his act gains yet another aspect, and his injustice reaches and affects all those who reject the Bible as a book of revelation. Who gave him the right to inquire into the belief and religion of his guests, and to judge them as to their Orthodoxy or heterodoxy? Would he not, in accordance with this same rule, have to exclude almost all the best taught and educated, the *savants* and thinkers, the *intelligence* of the Lord? Are they not almost unanimously heterodox to his Orthodoxy?

More plausibility, at least, there may perhaps be for the Judge's other excuse,—the unbecoming behavior of *some* Jews at the hotel. No doubt there may be *some* reason in that. There are always among the guests at such places more or less of the class generally known as "shoddy,"—having wealth, but no education, and hence also no manners. But then this class is by no means confined to Jews alone; and Christian "shoddy" is not a whit better behaved or less disagreeable than Jewish. He shall then judge and treat them *individually*, but not bigotedly and fanatically discriminate between them as to their religion and nationality. If there are "shoddies" among the Jews, there are also among the Christians; and, in proportion to numbers, as many well-educated and well-behaved people among the former as among the latter. The Judge, and those bigots who side with him, would do well in reading an article of the New York *Herald* (of the 20th or 21st June, if I mistake not: "Only a Jew"), and the sermon of H. W. Beecher, last Sunday, in the same paper.

But what is all this bigotry, fanaticism, and intolerance of Judge Hilton and his *confrères*, but the result, the outgrowth of their religion, of religion such as we find it and of what passes as religion, the evil and curse of *such* religion? To such a religion as you, my dear friend (and with you, perhaps the most intelligent portion of society), understand it—a religion demonstrable by, and in accordance with, science, or at least in accordance with reason,—I have no objection whatever. Though I may doubt whether such sublime "religion" will ever be the portion of humanity, I also well know the honesty and sincerity with which you look and hope and work for it; and far be it from me to discourage you in it. Yet I cannot help believing that when science shall have accomplished this feat, it will not be religion any more. Morals, ethics, and, perhaps, even politics, may possibly reach such high development; but *religion* never! At least not what to-day is, even in its best sense, understood by the term. This it is that induced me to put the question to you with which I began this article, "What is Religion?"

There are, in this country alone, spent annually millions upon millions upon the propagation of "religion"; and all that this enormous waste of money produces is bigotry, fanaticism, superstition, and (worse than all) hatred, persecution, divisions between man and man, misery, suffering, and unhappiness, instead of love, fraternity, and blessings. If not all, but merely a considerable fraction, of these countless millions thus annually spent, worse than uselessly, were appropriated to the diffusion of knowledge, light, and education, and the ameliorations of deserving poor, what an amount of good they would do! If education and instruction were made general, if lyceums were to take the place of churches, lectures the place of preaching, science and morals the place of religion, how society would be benefited! How the miseries we complain of would vanish, and how happy humanity would be made! But these things never will be as long as religion divides, prejudices, governs, and *curses* mankind! MORRIS EINSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, June 29, 1877.

BIBLICAL OBSCENITY.

Mr. Chadwick's censure of Thomas Paine for preferring "charges of obscenity" against the Bible will freshly recall to the reader's mind a subject that has never received the attention that its importance deserves. Partly from a disinclination to shock the public mind, and still more from a personal disinclination to work in a cesspool of filth, the subject has been treated partially and indirectly. George Francis Train some years ago issued several numbers of the *Train Ligue*, containing some of the most shocking passages of the Old Testament. Casting them into the streets, he defied the authorities. Being arrested, he pleaded guilty to "quoting obscenity from the Bible." He afterwards threatened to issue a book to be called the *Pagan Bible*, containing a complete collection of all obscene Biblical passages. Proving a "white elephant" on the hands of the authorities, they at last discharged him. In the meanwhile, however, the Young Men's Christian Association, taking the alarm, had a bill "omnibused" through Congress making it a criminal offence hereafter to "quote obscenity from the Bible." It would seem that at least a considerable portion of the Bible was placed in the category of the lowest, most depraved, and vilest publications! This law embraced much more, and has done great injustice to parties who were discussing questions having an important social bearing. But this does not concern us at present.

Of course, bibliolaters may allege impure motives as possessing those who "quote obscenity from the Bible." But surely, a liberal who should write a work on Bible-in-schools, and embrace these passages in an appendix as an illustration of his argument, could not with justice be accused with impurity of motive. That the Bible as a whole is a holy book, and in part most obscene and immoral, is a strange anomaly. Let those who are interested in the matter take the patience to read through the Bible, making note of obscene passages, including enough additionally to preserve the sense, and they will have enough material to form a large octavo scrap-book of nearly sixty double-columned pages. While the biblical writers, perhaps, may be excused from immoral motives, yet it cannot be denied that they used a freedom of language and an indelicacy of expression that would be inexcusable in any writer of the present day. B. I.

[Can the writer, or any other person, favor us with an exact transcript of the law above mentioned as having been "'omnibused' through Congress"? We should be very grateful for it.—ED.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

No. XIV.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

From the consideration of the God-mind or pivotal mind, as a within, and of the man-mind, or circumstantial mind-sphere, as a without, I passed to the consideration of mind collectively, as a within, and of matter as its without (the commencement by an act of anticipation of this total elaboration); and from that I passed again to the consideration of mind-and-matter, as entity at large, as a within, and of a net-work of fixed relationships, amounting to fatality or a system of immutable laws, and a world of things constituted on that determinate plan, as the without, or enclosing matrix of any and all special entity, whether mental or material, or whether as personality, consisting of both matter (or body) and mind. I, then, in the last preceding article, identified *efficient* causes with the fatal (and especially materialistic) theory, and *final* causes with spontaneity and freedom; and these again with *push* and *pull*, or with compulsory and attractional or attractive methods, universally.

There were, perhaps, reasons enough given and suggested why we must practically accept, as extant in the general economy of things, some portion of the principle of pull along with the seemingly very prevalent presence and activity of push; of spontaneity, freedom, and charm, along with necessity, compulsion, and force *à tergo*. But the purely metaphysical vindication of freedom, as a possibility, in the nature of things, in the face of the seemingly overwhelming argument in favor of an absolute necessity, is still a *desideratum*.

A defender of the doctrine of free-will is reported to have said: "I am certain that I can do as I am of a mind to"; to which his contestant replied: "I am equally certain that you can't do any otherwise"; and that seemed to settle the argument in favor of a backlying necessity, as the last word on the subject, and as covering the whole ground.

But are we still quite at the bottom of the subject? The speech is of an *absolute* necessity. What is meant by this term *absolute*? That, it will be agreed probably, which is self-causative, and so, free from interference or contingency; the opposite of relative. It has not perhaps been sufficiently reflected upon, that there are quite current in the world two absolutes, the precise opposites of each other. The absolute of the theologian is a will—the divine will, with him; but after what has now been said we may enlarge the idea to wills or minds at large, and to the monads which represent them, and call it the entical absolute. The absolute of the secular philosopher or logician is, on the other hand, *the imposed fatal necessity, the abstract and necessary law* which he finds at the basis of things, and which we may call the logical absolute. (These are the arbitrism and logicism, or the unism and duism of this sphere of things.) Entity and relation are thus contrasted with each other; and each contestant in this controversy posits the idea of the absolute in one or the other of these two senses, to the exclusion of the opposite.

Now, in so far as either of these ideas is concerned, we may have the hardihood to cut the knot by simply *denying the existence of any absolute*. There is no absolute in any such sense; nor otherwise than as partial conception and statement of a more complex reality. The absolute and the relative (taken now as contrasted with the absolute) are themselves, not things, but *aspects* or merely *phases* of universal things. They never exist, as our mode of speaking and thinking of them implies, apart from each other. In reality, they never *exist* at all; but only *inhere* as

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factors of existence. It is, I think, the commonest and the worst error of reasoning to elevate aspects, unconsciously, into spheres of being, and then to treat them as such

Pure abstractions never exist, except in our thought. Whatever is real is complex; and is first compounded of absolute aspects, and then of a relative factor, aspect, or phase. Of the two absolutes hitherto brought into view, the entical absolute symbolizes freedom or spontaneity, and the logical absolute symbolizes necessity or the irresistible conditions of being. Hence we are presented, in these two opposite poles of absoluteness, a free-will side on the one hand, and a fixed-fate side on the other hand; hence a free-will side, and of a fixed-fate side, of being. If we abstract and think the free entical aspect by itself we have an entical absolute; if we abstract and think the fixed-fate side—become pure logicians which *we* may be, but which *nature* is not,—then we have the logical absolute,—neither of which *is*, in the nature of things, but only seems in the nature of *us* (while kept apart, but which are united and reconciled in the pure reason which lies between us and the object).

It must not be understood that I am denying the utility or rightfulness of pure abstraction. It is all-important and all-governing, as logic and science, that is to say, within its legitimate sphere; but it must not mistake itself for the *whole* of ontology, of which it is an *aspect* merely. We are now prepared for a statement of the third and only *really* true conception of the absolute. In this aspect, the absolute is *the inherency of the double-faced unity of entity-and-relation*. It is a hinge-wise-ness of these two; a trinism, a complexity, which it is hard for simple-mindedness to seize upon; hence the difficulty of understanding Hegel, for this is the Hegelian absolute. "Every notion," as Hegel shows, "has in itself its own opposite or negation [its own antithet, that which is set over against it]; is one-sided, and pushes on into a second [something], which second, the opposite of the first, is as *per se*, equally one-sided with the first. In this way it is seen that both are only *moments* [factors or constituents] of a third notion which, the higher unity of its two predecessors, contains in itself both, but in a higher form that combines them into unity."—*Schwegler's History of Philosophy, Sterling's Translation*, p. 317.

This higher unity of the two opposite factors of the compound notion *is the true absolute or the rational absolute*. The one factor without the other is nothing, and only becomes something by its inherency of unity with the other. Hence there must be two in order to the existence of the one; and these two unite into a higher kind of one, which then has a three-fold aspection, the simple one-ness (unism) of either factor; the duality of both (dualism), of them both as two; and finally the hinge-wise unity of those two former aspects (one-ism and two-ism) in the trine (trinism). All of these collapse in the tri-unity. This is the meaning of Schiller's mystical *dictum*: "One is none, and two is three, and three is one."

Otherwise,—let either primitive and simple one thus be taken as subject and so as a within. The remaining one is then an object and a without relatively to it, hence called by Hegel its negation; and the higher unity in which they are conjoined is their between, and so *betweenity or relation is the true absolute;* the primal net-work of condition out of which all the aspects of being issue, and to which they reconverge infinitely. (In this supreme instance the complexity and difficulty of the conception is augmented by the fact that the *relation* here spoken of is that which intervenes between *relation-at-large*, and entity, or the things which are related.)

The betweenity, or the relation in question, this third aspect of the absolute, now brought forward, is, therefore, that which holds in its grasp entity and relation now taken conjointly; or it is the finer unity *between them*, in which *they are combined*, and which, I may say, is the *punctum vitæ* of existence. *It is here that fixed-fate and free-will co-exist in their oppositeness, and exist only by virtue of their oppositeness.* They two are thus also a double-faced unity, and in this they only concur, in their existence, with the universal type of being. The freedom is symbolized by the inner geometrical points of all the monads, which spontaneously *out-ray* their being; and the fixed-fate is symbolized by the net-work of relational geometrical lines between the points; the *punctum vitæ* in each conjunction occurring *where the line touches and becomes one with the point.*

But, how, the question recurs, is it possible that there can be anything more than a seeming freedom of the will. All mental determination, it is said, is effected or caused by the preponderance of motive, and hence we must resolve as we do. This is supposed to dispose of the whole matter. How easy it was for our forefathers to prove that every thing must settle towards the bottom, unless it were upheld by a foundation, and so that the earth *must* rest on a solid foundation underneath it; and yet *we* know that the earth swings clear in pure space balanced by its own and the circumambient forces.

The argument in question assumes that every act of the will is the effect of a cause, which, so to speak, pushes or compels it to be as it is. So be it; but it is alike true that every such act or determination is itself a cause of other and resulting actions. Now as between *this* cause and *its* effect, the mental determination appears and functionates as an act of freedom or spontaneity; as something purely original or self-caused. It is only when we go back of it, to the prior link in the chain of causation, that then it presents itself to us as something itself caused, constrained, or necessitated. The compound fact, therefore, is that every such act of the will *presents itself to our conception alternately, and as a double-faced unity of free-cause and necessary effect.* The force of the argument in question, never perhaps more strongly presented than by Mr. John Fiske, consists in abstracting and considering by itself one side only of each such act, that side which shows as mechanical, to the exclusion of that side which shows as spontaneous. While the abstraction is maintained the logic is perfect; but in the total, rational presentation of the subject, the dead-lock is at every instant resolved, and each aspect restored to its equal factorship in the concatenation of events. The aggregate number of the successive presentations of freedom and of fate through the whole series, amounts to a precise equation; or, in their varied dance, to a balanced vibration.

There is another more subtle fallacy in the argument for an exclusive fixed fate. The causative motive being put as backlying cause of the will's determination, everything is of course derivative from the fixed fate, so long as we maintain exclusively that point of view; but when we change the point of view and put the will-determination as cause of the subsequent action, then everything is derived from the free act of the will; and so nothing is proved for either unless it is assumed that one or the other was *first in the whole chain of succession;* and, on account of that priority, *truly originative.* The theologian surreptitiously makes this assumption in behalf of the will-side, and so posits the volition of God as first cause; the logician unconsciously, but also surreptitiously, makes the same assumption on the fate-side, and so posits inherent law as first cause, the absolute and exclusive ruler of the whole series. Logic, no less than faith, makes fools of us, unless it is that supreme *analogic* which recognizes the double-faced unity which is the core of things. The supposed strength of the logic of fate lies in an unauthorized assumption that a historical beginning-point is somewhere attained to by going back far enough through the series of eventuation; whereas no other beginning-point is attainable than in the absolute pure reason, and therein, in the double-faced unity of entity and relation both in thought and being, which must therefore be assumed as the origin of all.

The Calvinistic unition of predestination with moral accountability grew out of an approximation to the true perception; but, failing of the complete solution, presents an abhorrent contradiction, as a religious mystery. The truth is this: that, looked at from one point of view, we see an unvarying certainty from an imposed necessity; looked at from another point of view, we see freedom and accountability; and *the existence viewed is that which presents to us these two aspects, according to our point of view, and the mental faculty we employ at the time in considering it.* Put for the whole truth, either aspect is false; put for an aspect merely, addressed to an observer at that point of view, it is true. The complex *real* truth is the combined existence which throws off these opposite presentations; and the chief mystery is that *we are able to abstract and consider apart from each other* aspects of the truth which, in their root or inmost fibre, or in their real nature, are so united as to be essentially one. We are then left to reunite our opposite abstractions as we best may, by *discovering* this intimate and unresolvable complexity as *the universal nature of things.*

The pure fate-logic taken alone is that *summum jus summa injuria*, which Mr. Wasson has so well expounded in the first number of the *Radical Review* (p. 54); and it is because this is only an element or factor of *real* truth, that the approval of imperfection is compatible with divine justice (p. 57).

There remains still another argument much relied on in behalf of a strictly mechanical, fixed, and invariable scheme of things in the universe, excluding all spontaneity and freedom of the will. What other security, it is virtually asked, that things will not get hopelessly out of order? If there is freedom of the will, or of wills, how provide against the constant liability to disturbance in the on-going of universal affairs? The objection is specious, but unsound. Wills which are free may be as certain to act in a given way, as wills that are constrained. Freedom does not mean an impossible and inconceivable emancipation from one's own nature and constitution, but freedom, on the other hand, to conform to it, uninterfered with. Suppose the case of an absolute monarch: the courtiers, who should carefully enough have studied his character, would come to as definite an understanding, upon many a point, of how he would act, as if he were bound by all the constitutions and laws in the universe. Freedom no more than fate implies capriciousness. Fixed law itself, broken up into a thousand refractions of application, may seem to be capricious. The only intelligible meaning of the question of freedom and fate is as to whether conduct is self-determined or determined *aliunde*. If self-determined, then if it were possible to be *absolutely* acquainted with the self-hood or self-hoods involved, the conduct might be as certainly foretold as if the law were imposed from without. Freedom is, at bottom, then, only another kind of fixed law; a fixed law or line of conduct derived from the intrinsic nature of the given entity or entities, instead of being derived from conditions. The results of freedom are as susceptible of calculation, if we could be possessed of all the data, as the results of fate. It is only that extrinsic are more easily observed than intrinsic occurrences. Freedom has its fixed sequences of phenomena, as really as constraint; and it is not to be said, that because fixed, they are therefore not free, since it is the freedom itself which fixes the sequent order of eventuation. If it be said that this intrinsic eventuation is, then, itself determined by backlying causes, that is true, from one point of view; but it is alike true that it is essentially causative, from the opposite point of view; and we are thus carried back to the solution of the relation between efficient and final causes, as expounded in the last preceding article.

MALLALIEU AND MAYOR.

MR. EDITOR:—

On Sunday, July 1st, the Rev. W. F. Mallalieu discoursed upon the late Presidential banquet in Boston, and, as the *Herald* said, "handled Mayor Prince without gloves." The nitro-glycerine of the reverend gentleman's rhetorical explosion is to be found in the secret that he is a—not exactly an "infernal machine," but a "prohibitionist."

Without expressing an opinion as to the merits or demerits of prohibition as an ism, I would like to suggest a thought or two for Mr. Mallalieu's consideration:—

1. If there is no intoxicating liquor manufactured, there can be none used. This is as plain as any of Mr. Cook's axiomatic propositions, but is not put forth as evidence of any extraordinary precocity on the part of the writer.

2. If prohibition is right, it must insist that there shall be no intoxicating liquors manufactured, because only in that way can it become impossible for people to use them. And the reverend gentleman says that their use is "sending more than sixty thousand of our citizens into the grave of the drunkard." Now if he is sincere in his advocacy of prohibition, he will insist upon stopping the manufacture and use of wine and other alcoholic liquors everywhere and at all times. Anything less would be illogical and inconsistent.

3. But if the gentleman prohibits the manufacture and use of wine, and thereby saves from the drunkard's grave "sixty thousand of our citizens," what is he going to do about the six hundred thousand souls that will be in danger of hell-fire, if they are *prohibited from taking wine at the communion table?*

The character of the place where it is used, and the nature of the occasion when it is used, will not extract from intoxicating liquor the poison that destroys "sixty thousand of our citizens" annually. If it is wrong for Mayor Prince to use wine at a banquet given by the city of Boston in honor of President Hayes because it is intoxicating, it is wrong for Mr. Mallalieu to use it at his church banquet in honor of the Lord Jesus Christ. The difference in the persons will not change the nature of the liquor, although one of them is said to have performed such a miracle,—and at a banquet, too! Therefore is it not a good deal like presumption in the reverend gentleman to make such a splutter about the Mayor's use of wine, when he is guilty of the same misdemeanor himself every time he encourages men and women to drink wine at the communion table?

He exclaims: "We have had enough of Belshazzars and Pilates. O for a generation of Daniels who dare to be true to God and righteousness!" And I think the ingredients of *this* cup might be commended to his own conscience, as well as his lips.

CHARLES ELLIS.

A CORRECTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In the article on Universology, in your issue of June 14, I endeavored to cast one of the leading ideas in poetical form. By an unfortunate oversight in punctuation or proof-reading (probably my own fault), the last verse of the little poem, difficult enough, perhaps, at the best, is made quite unintelligible. Will you have the kindness to republish this trifle, with the error corrected?

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

Might and Right.

When a king proclaims a law
Men think only to obey!
When the law proclaims a king,
All men accept his sway.

Which is the first, then, king or law?
The sway of law, or personal awe?
The Constitution of the State,
Or will of sovereign potentate?

This is the problem of State-lore;
'Tis, too, the theologic core;
Is God to reign, alone of might!
Or reigns he under law and right?

Whence, then, God's rank and sovereign lot?
Would wrong be right if God were not?
Is God then first; or law *before*,
And God executor; no more?

The State-craft of *our* happy land
Proclaims *the law supreme;*
Our Asiatic creed *command*
Exalts!—adverse philosopheme!

THE YOUNG Thakoor of Bhownugger is in trouble. What is he to do with his four wives? The Thakoor is one of the chief Rajahs of Kattiawar, in Western India. Three years ago he married four wives simultaneously. At the time of marriage the respective ages of the brides were twelve, fifteen, sixteen, and twenty-two years. The Prince, whose broad territory slopes down to the blue waters of the Gulf of Cambay, is said to be meditating a change of religion. He is now twenty years old; he was only seventeen when "married and done for" four times over, in one day, three years ago. Now he wishes to become a Christian, but the missionaries tell him Christians must only have one spouse. He is sorely perplexed, and so are the missionaries, who tell him that, as a Christian, he can retain only one of the four wives at present lawfully his, and that the proper wife to be retained is the one who has a prior claim upon his Highness. This is all very well, but scarcely meets the case. "Which one of my wives has a prior claim on me?" asks the bewildered Thakoor; "I married them on the same day." The dilemma seems to be insurmountable.

A FATHER bent on instructing his three-year-old son said: "If you had three apples and should give me one, how many would you have left?" "I wouldn't do it, pa," was the prompt reply.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation

GLIMPSES.

TWENTY-THREE CITIZENS of Fort Lee, N.Y., were arrested on June 28 for violating the Sunday law. Four men were each fined $8.00 and costs for carrying passengers to and from the ferry on the previous Sunday. "The warrants were sued out by Mrs. Parish, a woman of considerable notoriety, who declares that no one shall violate the Lord's day in Fort Lee, and that all shall be as orderly as a town in New England."

THE "POLITICAL PROGRAMME" of the London Eleusis Club proposes to secure the following seven measures: "1. Universal adult suffrage. 2. Such a re-distribution of seats as shall secure an equal share of electoral power to every voter. 3. Abolition of hereditary privileges. 4. Shorter duration of Parliaments. 5. Payment of members of Parliament from the Imperial taxation, and of election expenses from local taxation. 6. Complete separation of Church and State. 7. Compulsory, secular, and free education."

THE FOLLOWING REPORT was made and accepted at a recent meeting of Baptist ministers in this city:—

Your committee, to which you referred certain questions about the moral and religious instruction of the convicts in the State Prison at Charlestown, report the following resolutions for your consideration:—

First, No person visiting the institutions of the State should be permitted to interfere, either openly or covertly, with the duties of the officers appointed by law.

Second, So long as public funds are appropriated for the moral and religious instruction of the convicts, they should not be divided among various denominations, but should be used for the employment of good men, who shall devote their whole time to the work, and who in the prosecution of their duties shall avoid, as far as possible, the expression of denominational sentiment. But

Third, It would accord more nearly with our convictions, and we think with the principles of our government, should the State appropriate no funds for the support of chaplains in our penal institutions, but request the various denominations to arrange for the instruction of the inmates.

NOT A FEW liberal people are slow to believe that, when the Evangelical or daily press declares itself in favor of "unsectarian schools," it can mean anything short of secular schools. Nevertheless, "unsectarianism" means nine times in ten "undenominational Evangelicalism"; and whoever imagines it means more than that is the victim of his own credulity. For instance, referring to Mr. Gladstone, the Philadelphia *Christian Statesman* says (the italics are ours):

"The influence which he is capable of wielding on any great question of the day is incalculable, and as wide as civilization itself. We profoundly regret, therefore, to see that at the recent dinner given in his honor by the Mayor of Birmingham, he is reported by the telegraph to have 'notably praised the efforts which Birmingham has made to solve the educational difficulty by the adoption of a purely secular system.' We trust the cable has blundered here, as so many other authorities have done of late, *confounding opposition to sectarian schools with opposition to all religious instruction in public schools.* We cannot believe that so sagacious and philosophic a mind has intelligently embraced the hopelessly untenable theory of secular education."

THE RAILROAD STRIKES must be deeply regretted by every one. Pity for the strikers and their families, however strong and sincere, cannot become sympathy with riot and lawlessness, with deeds of blood, wanton destruction of property, and reckless interference with the rights of the public. The oppressed ruin their own just cause when they seek redress by such means. The right to strike—*i. e.*, to quit work simultaneously by agreement—is unquestionable; but the wrong of preventing others by force from taking the vacant places is just as unquestionable. Mobs must be put down at all costs; no other alternative exists. There is and can be no excuse for resorting to anarchy and violence; such acts right no wrong, but inflict it in an awfully aggravated form. If the selfish greed of corporations is the real cause of these outbreaks, the misery it produces ought to excite universal compassion for the sufferers and indignation against those who thus grind the faces of the poor; but how are the merits of the case to be understood by the vast public? Neither corporations nor individual employers can pay money as wages which they do not receive themselves; and the long stagnation of business has decreased profits everywhere so largely that no unprejudiced mind can jump to a conclusion in this case in the absence of accurate information. But riot and tumult only make matters worse; they must be suppressed at all hazards.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition of the National Liberal League have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Mr. John W. Babbitt, Ypsilanti, Mich., 93; from Mr. Franklin Goodyear, Cortland, N. Y., through Mr. Levi Hopkins, 38; from Mr. S. T. Headley, Laingsburg (State not known), 29. Total thus far acknowledged—7,090. Mr. Babbitt writes that "most of these petitioners are members of the various churches of this city of Ypsilanti"—a circumstance which shows that a portion, at least, of the Orthodox population are prepared to carry out the principle of secular government. But the friends of this principle ought not to be satisfied with the seven thousand signatures thus far obtained. The time for presenting the petition will be whenever the subject of amending the Constitution so as to prohibit sectarian appropriations comes up in Congress. It will then be too late to collect names to a petition in favor of a secular amendment: this work must be done beforehand, or not at all. Any one can see that the amendment will be a *Protestant Evangelical*, not a *secular* one, unless in some way the secular principle is asserted by the people. But the politicians will not assert it for us; we must assert it for ourselves, or the country will before long see its now secular Constitution poisoned with an Orthodox creed, either expressed or implied—and it matters little which. Hence our deep desire to collect a large number of signatures to this petition. If you cannot organize a Liberal League in your town, are you not willing to do for religious liberty the small service of collecting signatures? Let us have at least a hundred thousand! Send to the National Liberal League your postage stamps for blank petitions.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Objects and the Method of Education in Amherst College.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

During my undergraduate course in Amherst College, from 1827 to 1831, one prominent feature in its administration was elaborate preparation for and incitement of "a revival" during the autumn and winter of each college year. Other colleges in New England were well understood to favor the Orthodox faith; but Amherst manifestly took the lead in stimulating propagandism in that direction. The points of distinction insisted on in its favor by its managers and friends were far less its facilities for mental discipline and scientific attainment than its arrangements for the promotion of "piety" of the Jonathan Edwards type. There were claimed to be, on the average, so many pious students entering in each class, so many becoming pious in each during the four years' course, and so many in each ultimately choosing the Orthodox ministry as their occupation for life. The trustees and the faculty were unanimous in approving and actively forwarding this state of things, and without doubt many parents selected Amherst College for their boys in view of this peculiarity, conceiving their permanent welfare, here and hereafter, to be thus best assured.

In the preaching, prayers, and public and private exhortations preceding and attending these revivals, the chief points insisted on were the total depravity of unregenerate men, the offer of free salvation to those who would accept it as purchased by atoning blood, and the certain damnation of those whose earthly career should close without so accepting it. In preparation for the excitement, and during its progress, there were frequent "prayer-meetings," and among the hymns there sung, those containing the following lines seemed special favorites:—

> "Oh, there will be mourning,
> Mourning, mourning, mourning,
> Oh, there will be mourning
> At the judgment-seat of Christ.
>
> "Parents and children there must part,
> Must part, must part, must part,
> Parents and children there must part,
> Must part to meet no more."
>
> "In that lone land of deep despair,
> No Sabbath's heavenly light shall rise;
> No God regard your bitter prayer,
> No Savior call you to the skies."

In the considerable interval which has passed between the time above spoken of and the present, the progress of intelligence has wrought considerable changes at Amherst. One of them certainly is a great enlargement of the instrumentalities for secular education, in which Amherst College now takes a high rank. Another, probably, is a modification of the phraseology in the revival hymns and exhortations. Be this latter as it may, I find in the inauguration address of President Seelye, lately delivered, such an emphatic reaffirmation of the theological ideas upon which the college was founded, and so distinct an announcement that Orthodox propagandism is still the chief purpose of its directors, that I think it well to quote some passages from the full report in the *Advertiser* of June 28, and to call attention to some features of the policy there disclosed:

"Amherst College was founded by Christian people and for a Christian purpose. It was an association of Christian ministers, who, at Shelburne, May 10, 1815, started measures for the foundation of the college; and it was the Christian men and women of Franklin and Hampshire counties by whom these measures were carried to their consummation. The inspiring sources of the whole movement were devotion to Christ and zeal for his kingdom. When the first college building was dedicated, and its first president and professor were inaugurated September 18, 1821, 'the promotion of the religion of Christ' was declared to be the special object of the undertaking. . . .

"It was the original purpose, from which the friends and guardians of the college have never swerved, that there should be here furnished the means for the highest attainable culture in science and literature and philosophy. The college was not to fall below the best in its intellectual provisions. But the constant and chief aim of its founders was to establish here an educational institution in which Christian faith might dominate, and whose power might subserve the knowledge of Christian truth. . . .

"And not only the dawn, but the clear day of which we boast, has proceeded step by step from the clearer shining on the human soul of some truths which the Bible first revealed. It is a simple but most significant truth that every stage of our modern progress has been preceded and inspired by a closer study of the Scriptures and a deeper reverence for them as the word of God. . . .

"A Christian college, therefore, looking not at transient but at permanent ends, sowing seed for a perennial harvest of the farthest science and the fairest culture, will be solicitous, first of all, to continue Christian. . . .

"But this is to be taken in no narrow sense. Christian faith does not fetter, it emancipates the mind. Just in proportion to its depth and power is its possessor liberated from prejudice and superstition and all narrowness of thought. Christian faith is not only not hostile to freethought, but it finds its normal exercise and expression in this very freedom. It is itself in such exact accord with all the original endowments and deepest instincts of the soul—whose foundations were not laid in falsehoods,—that it is only settled more firmly in its seat by free inquiry. It is only when the thought becomes fettered and is no longer free that it fails to return—over whatever field it may have ranged,—to the faith which has inspired it. . . .

"In like manner Christian faith, if that be the object sought, may be reached by divers methods of inquiry, and we shall wisely welcome any tendency of thought, starting from whatever source and moving in whatever direction, which *has this faith for its presupposition* and is zealously bent upon discovering and declaring its sufficient grounds. Only that tendency of thought which divorces itself from God, and the supernatural, and the Christian atonement, shall we wisely discard from our processes of education. . . .

"May this faith be so firmly fixed and so intelligently held that it shall be free and fearless in its exercise, emancipated from all intolerance and bigotry, showing itself in largest charity and sympathy, and giving speed and cheer to whatever seeks the knowledge of Christ, in whatever avenue the search be made; and yet, because it is a living and not a dead faith in Jesus Christ and his atonement, *tolerating nothing* which makes its aim to set aside his claims!"

In the last two of these extracts I have italicized two specially significant phrases.

It is a matter of course that President Seelye should make a *general* eulogy of freedom of thought as desirable in a school of education, and a general pledge of the practical recognition of it in the one over which he presides. But, coming to details, he does not hesitate to declare that rigid restrictions are to limit that freedom in certain directions. The founders of the college having made the promotion of the religion of Christ their special object, their chief aim having been that their Christian faith might *dominate*, their successors are to be solicitous, first of all, to continue Christian. This Christian faith is declared to include recognition and acceptance of the following doctrines: namely, that the Bible is the word of God; that Jesus, whose birth, life, death, and burial are described in the New Testament, is identical with the Messiah or Christ predicted in the Old Testament; and that acceptance of an atonement made by his death is indispensable to salvation. These doctrines, with others, are to be *presupposed* as sound and true by the freethought of the Amherst student; that great body of modern literature which gives the verdict of scholarship against the doctrines thus presupposed is to be *discarded* from the apparatus of Amherst study; and if exceptional freethought in any student, recognizing the soundness of this verdict, shall offer, in one of the theses required in the college course, a statement of the reasons for accepting it, such statement will not be *tolerated!*

Such presupposition of absolute truth in a certain body of theological doctrine, such systematic exclusion from a course of study of all opposing statements and reasons, and such intolerance of the expression of diverse opinion among those who are in the process of formation of opinion, must strongly tend to bedarken and mislead the majority of those who are subjected to it. The mental and moral characteristics produced by a long course of such training are so well described by Mr. Lecky, that I quote the passage from his *History of European Morals*, Vol. II., pp. 375–377.

It has always been the peculiarity of a certain kind of theological teaching, that it inverts all the normal principles of judgment, and absolutely destroys intellectual diffidence. On other subjects we find, if not a respect for honest conviction, at least some sense of the amount of knowledge that is requisite to entitle men to express an opinion on grave controversies. A complete ignorance of the subject-matter of a dispute restrains the confidence of dogmatism; and an ignorant person who is aware that by much reading and thinking in spheres of which he has himself no knowledge, his educated neighbor has modified or rejected opinions which that ignorant person had been taught, will, at least, if he is a man of sense or modesty, abstain from compassionating the benighted condition of his more instructed friend. But on theological questions this has never been so. Unfaltering belief being taught as the first of duties, and all doubt being usually stigmatized as criminal or damnable, a state of mind is formed to which we find no parallel in other fields. Many men and most women, though completely ignorant of the very rudiments of biblical criticism, historical research, or scientific discoveries, though they have never read a single page, or understood a single proposition of the writings of those whom they condemn, and have absolutely no rational knowledge either of the arguments by which their faith is defended, or of those by which it has been impugned, will nevertheless adjudicate with the utmost confidence upon every polemical question, denounce, hate, pity, or pray for the conversion of all who dissent from what they have been taught, assume, as a matter beyond the faintest possibility of doubt, that the opinions they have received without inquiry must be true, and that the opinions which others have arrived at by inquiry must be false, and make it a main object of their lives to assail what they call heresy in every way in their power, except by examining the grounds on which it rests. It is probable that the great majority of voices that swell the clamor against every book which is regarded as heretical, are the voices of those who would deem it criminal even to open that book, or to enter into any real, searching, and impartial investigation of the subject to which it relates. Innumerable pulpits support this tone of thought, and represent with a fervid rhetoric well fitted to excite the nerves and imaginations of women, the deplorable condition of all who deviate from a certain type of opinions or of emotions; a blind propagandism or a secret wretchedness penetrates into countless households, poison-

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ing the peace of families, chilling the mutual confidence of husband and wife, adding immeasurably to the difficulties which every searcher into truth has to encounter, and diffusing far and wide intellectual timidity, disingenuousness, and hypocrisy.

The results above described, of assuming a presupposed theology to be unquestionably true, appear most glaringly when the persons in question are ignorant in other departments also. Such persons will often talk freely, not knowing either that they expose their own ignorance, or that their cause itself is discredited by the efforts of stupidity to defend it. But these results appear, and work in the same disastrous manner, in the theological department, in men and women whose minds have received a good general training, and whose attainments have been large in fields where free research is permitted them. This state of things usually occurs when the theological bias has been firmly established in early youth, before the mind had learned to act for itself, or to appreciate evidence in any department. In such cases, it is comparatively easy for clerical directors to persuade them that reason is inadmissible in theological matters, and that faith is the appropriate and the sufficient substitute for it. A lady of high culture and refinement, and fluent in the expression of opinion in matters of politics, literature, science, and general education, explained thus her systematic refusal to discuss diversities of religious opinion: "Many persons have been surprised that one so radical in politics as I, should be so conservative in theology; but I hold the conservative side, and I prefer not to discuss it." Very likely she realized (what was plain to me) that reticence here seemed, as it would seem in other departments, like a confession of weakness; but at any rate, she was quite decided to allow no comparison, in her presence, of ideas and the reasons for them, conflicting with her ideas and her reasons for them.

It was prudence of the same sort that dictated the answer, when, in a general convention of Young Men's Christian Associations, the question was asked, How to meet the reasons given by opponents? "*Talk kindly, but avoid argument.*"

The reader will observe that President Seelye has used the artifice common to people of his persuasion, of assuming that disbelief in God is the natural and probable accompaniment of disbelief in "the Christian Atonement"; regardless of this immense difference in the basis of the two beliefs, the former seeming an intuition of the human mind, judging from the almost universal acceptance of it by peoples the most diverse in character, cultivation, and attainments, the other confessedly dependent upon documentary evidence, which scrutiny proves to testify more strongly against the atonement theory than for it.

It seems now to be settled that in Amherst College, while "free thought" and "free inquiry" are allowed, the peculiarities which Orthodoxy finds in Christian faith are to be "presupposed" and to "dominate," and, to this end, certain lines of argument are not to be "tolerated," and certain tendencies of thought are to be "discarded"!

It may seem to some persons that President Seelye would have done better to "avoid argument," since it involved such point-blank self-contradiction as appears in the above extracts from his address. But a triumphant majority cares little for such considerations. The predominance of the theology which the President and his party *presuppose*, will last through his life-time and through the next century. The people who assume belief in "the Christian Atonement" to be as well founded as belief in God, are yet sufficiently numerous to supply Amherst with a long succession of students; and a majority of those students will probably, through the policy of repression and presupposition above indicated, still find the Christian ministry a satisfactory field for their occupancy.

SUNDAY OR SABBATH?

The question was once more raised at a meeting, presided over by Dean Stanley, on Saturday last, whether any valid reasons can be alleged for excluding the public from places like the National Gallery on Sundays. What difference is there in principle between allowing admission to Hampton Court or Kew Gardens, and allowing it to the Gardens in Regent's Park? The sole test of what Sunday recreation should be legal or the contrary ought surely to be, not the pecuniary profit of a company or an individual, nor the actual quantum of labor involved in it, but the profit, mental or otherwise, of the community at large. The adoption of any other test is beset by difficulties which it is as well to make prominent. Only three originators of our actual Sunday can possibly be suggested; namely, Moses, Constantine, or the Church. But equally with the seventh day Moses sanctified the seventh year; equally with the day of the sun Constantine sanctified the kalends of January; equally with the Lord's Day the Church sanctified a crowd of saints' days, which the Reformation rejected. If we resort to the fourth commandment as the real authority for Sunday, we shall find the Sabbatarian theory not quite so simple as at first sight appears. For, not to insist on the fact that the commandment in question forbids only labor, not pastimes or pleasures, ought we not to take the old Israelites as the best exponents of their own institution, letting our servants and cattle rest, as they did; and punishing Sabbath-breaking with stoning, as they did? Are we justified in neglecting to observe the seventh year, the seventh month, and the new moons, which were as distinctly ordained by Moses and as rigidly observed by the Jews as the Sabbath? But even among the Jews there were different opinions as to the observance of the Sabbath. Because Moses had said with respect to it, "Abide ye every man in his own place," the Dositheans taught that in whatever posture a man found himself on the morning of the Sabbath, so he was bound to remain till the evening. The Rabbins invented thirty-nine negative precepts relative to the Sabbath, the spirit of which may be judged from two of them. Shoes without nails, they said, might be worn, but shoes with nails were a burden. People might not walk on the grass; for walking on it bruised it, and such bruising amounted to a kind of threshing. It was a Sabbath degenerated into such trivialities as these that the early Church ultimately succeeded in superseding by the Christian Sunday.

As regards Sunday in the early Christian Church, the first fact which demands attention is, that the obligatory observance of the Sabbath was never transferred to Sunday, but that both were for several centuries kept together. Public worship was precisely the same on both days; and whilst each of them commemorated distinct events, the chief point of resemblance between them was, that originally they were both of them days of rest from labor, without any idea of abstinence from recreation. For the first three centuries of its existence, all games and business were permitted on Sunday, which was a day of purely optional observance, and the reverse of a day of gloom or self-denial. It was only by slow degrees that, as the Jewish Sabbath fell into disuse, some of its associations clung round the Christian Sunday. Constantine made a law, which extended to "the venerable Day of the Sun," that suspension of business which had hitherto been, and still continued to be, customary on such purely civil festivals as the emperor's birthday, the kalends of January, and the thirty days respectively of harvest and vintage. The intent of the law was purely civil, and not religious; and in the same way, in a most remarkable edict of Theodosius, Sunday and other Christian festivals shared the solicitude of the law with the traditional festivals of heathen Rome. That Sunday at the end of the fourth century had still no Christian preëminence is marked by the fact that the same law set apart from the transaction of civil business the two months of harvest and vintage, the kalends of January, the days of the founding of Rome and Constantinople, the seven holy days before and after Easter, the days of the sun, and the days of the birth and accession of the emperors. Secular amusements also, such as animal-baiting, horse-racing, and plays, were then for the first time made unlawful on Sundays, and the subsequent extension of laws in the same direction have only confirmed the principle then asserted. But whether such laws were made in England or abroad, they enjoined precisely the same respect for the saints' days as they did for Sunday; so that if we ascribe the binding authority of the latter to the institution of the Church, we are equally bound to observe the numerous saints' days, which have exactly the same authority and grew up in exactly the same way.

The great authors of the Reformation clearly saw this difficulty, and, boldly breaking with the Judaical or ecclesiastical past, they made Sunday a mere creation of law, and an institution of our statute-book. Recognizing the expediency of a weekly day of rest, they saw that its sanctity depended no more on the fourth commandment than the criminality of murder depended on the sixth. They saw that its ultimate sanction lay, not in the authority of transitory religious phases, but on the permanent requirements, both physical and moral, of human nature. Thus they established the principle, which in spite of Puritanism has never been wholly lost sight of, that the legislative protection of Sunday should be rational and discretionary, guided solely by the utilities of the present, and not by the superstitions of the past. That such was the spirit of the Reformation admits of easy proof. Luther, rather than have the observance of Sunday "set up on a Jewish foundation," ordered his followers "to work on it, ride on it, dance on it; to do anything which should remove the encroachment on Christian liberty." In the Augsburg Confession the Protestants declared that it was a great error to suppose that the Lord's Day had been instituted in place of the Sabbath as a day to be necessarily observed, for that Scripture had abrogated the Sabbath, and taught that Mosaic ceremonies were no longer necessary. Cranmer spoke of Sunday and other days as "mere appointments of the magistrate"; and in accordance with this maxim was the law of Edward VI., which made it lawful for every husbandman, laborer, fisherman, or other person, on Sundays as on other holy days, "at harvest, or at any other time, when necessity should so require, to labor, ride, fish, or work any kind of work at their free will or pleasure." But most conclusive of all is Tyndale's exposition, which is striking enough to be cited in full: "As for the Sabbath, we be lords over the Sabbath, and may yet change it into Monday or into any other day, as we see need, or may make every tenth day holy day only as we see cause why. We may make two every week, if it were expedient, and one not enough to teach the people. Neither was there any cause to change it from the Saturday, but to put a difference between ourselves and the Jews; neither need we any holy day at all, if the people might be taught without it." Lastly, even Calvin is said to have been found playing at bowls by Knox, when the latter visited him one Sunday at Geneva.

Then came the Puritanical reaction in the seventeenth century, when on Sundays Englishmen would not so much as light their fires, cook their food, pay visits, or walk out of doors; when the Long Parliament had the *Book of Sports*, republished by Charles I., burned by the common hangman; when in Scotland attendance at church was enforced by soldiers; when the Session at Aberdeen could see in the custom of Sunday salmon-fishing the clear cause of an earthquake; when in the Puritan colonies beyond the Atlantic the profanation of Sunday could be classed with witchcraft and murder among capital offences. In those days the clergy preached that to play at bowls on Sundays was as great a sin as homicide, and that to give a feast or wedding-dinner on that day was as criminal as for a father to cut his child's throat. The unsubstantiality of the premises from which such conclusions were drawn has been pointed out; but they still suffice to keep the hard-worked classes of our towns from any higher recreation on Sunday than that afforded by gin, and to influence well-meaning people to oppose any innovations which seem to infringe on the Sabbath.—*London World, May* 16.

CELEBRITIES AT HOME.

PROFESSOR TYNDALL IN ALBEMARLE-STREET.

As becomes a cragsman of approved reputation, Professor Tyndall dwells in the elevated range of apartments which crowns the heights of the Royal Institution. Inured to fatigue by a long course of Alpine training, he makes several times a day, without apparent difficulty, the long and difficult ascent to the eyry whence he contemplates the "infinite azure of the past" and the volcanic upheaval of the present with sublime equanimity. That is to say, until he takes up his pen, when the equanimity is apt to vanish, and trenchant sentence follows trenchant sentence, until the pulpits of Belfast and other places ring with furious denunciations of the successor of Davy and Faraday. "My distinguished and ever-helpful friend," as Mr. Carlyle styles him, if trenchant on paper, is far otherwise in his ordinary converse. An active, wiry, keen-eyed man, full of vigor and decision, he is endowed with a singularly sweet and musical voice, and a manner almost caressing in its suavity. It was this contrast between matter and manner which lent additional poignancy to the Belfast address. That petroleic oration, highly charged with inflammable and explosive matter, was delivered with an unctuous deliberation which drove the opponents of the speaker wild with rage, and provoked a conflict now happily at an end. It must not be understood from this that the scientific world is ever at a loss for a controversy, or that Professor Tyndall has not the true scientific relish for debate; for he is at this moment engaged in a series of experiments, the result of which, so far, has been to invalidate those of Dr. Bastian and the other supporters of the theory of spontaneous generation. Professor Tyndall is still continuing his experiments. In a room, heated to an uncomfortable temperature, are endless rows of hermetically sealed tubes filled with infusions, none of which have at present displayed the strange forms of animal life generally found in them when exposed for a few days to the open air. Very great importance attaches to these tubes of infusion of hay, codfish, sole, and other organic substances; and the eyes of scientific Europe are strained anxiously towards the sultry chamber at the Royal Institution. Next to this apartment is the laboratory in which are prepared with infinite care and patience the beautiful physical experiments with which the Professor enlivens his lectures. But very few of those who witness the charming effects produced in the theatre of the Royal Institution have any idea of the time and thought expended in the invention and arrangement of the necessary apparatus, and in the rehearsals necessary to insure that certainty of result for which the Professor of Natural Philosophy is justly celebrated. For all new and original work the philosopher must perforce make his own tools, and work with them and at them till they act perfectly. There is a forest of tubes and an artillery of apparatus in this scientific workshop, from which the philosopher-artifex again leads the way to the lofty writing-room, formerly occupied by his illustrious predecessors. With a loving and reverent hand he has marked every article used by Faraday. A tiny brass plate tells that this ample arm-chair once held the philosopher who first magnetized a ray of light and discovered magneto-electricity. Faraday, however, was no friend of arm-chairs—at least for working in,—much preferring an upright desk and a singularly uncomfortable high stool, also treasured by Professor Tyndall. In a corner—behind a bust of Thomas Carlyle, presented by him to his "ever-helpful" friend—hangs the famous barometer used during his Alpine tour by the handsome Cornish philosopher, whose eyes, as the ladies remarked, "were made for something better than poring over crucibles." In this little room Davy and Faraday recorded the experiments made in the laboratory below, and in it Professor Tyndall is very much "at home" indeed during the scientific season. When that exciting period is over, he invariably starts for Switzerland, having found there for the last nineteen or twenty summers health, relaxation, and a strong influx of fresh ideas. By next season he will have built himself a "mountain home" among his beloved peaks and glaciers. The spot he has selected is in the centre of a region of unrivalled beauty and interest. From the Bel Alp, hard by the upper valley of the Rhine, and not far from the spot where the Simplon road bends southwards, he will enjoy on the one side a magnificent view of the Matterhorn, the Weisshorn, and Dom, rearing their proud crests above an army of icy peaks; on the other side is the great Aletsch glacier, bounded and fed by the giants of the Bernese Oberland, the snowy axe-edge of the Jungfrau, the savage pinnacle of the Finsteraar, and the great central dome of the Aletschhorn. It was to the summit of the latter magnificent peak, springing from enormous glaciers, that Professor Tyndall last summer conducted his bride, to the great delight of that lady, whose skill as a cragswoman is a source of infinite pride to her husband.

His love of mountain scenery, his slightly northern accent, and his indubitable *perfervidum ingenium*

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have led many to suppose that the famous *savant* and mountaineer is a Scot; but justice to Ireland compels us to point out that he is a native of the sister isle, —the descendant of a Gloucestershire family who crossed over to County Wexford about two centuries ago, when there was a kind of emigration of cloth-manufacturers from the vales of Gloucester to the eastern coast of Ireland. It is not difficult to believe that Professor Tyndall is the descendant of a long line of Orangemen. His father was a strong partisan, whose greatest pleasure was the study of controversial theology, and whose strongest conviction was the necessity of warring against the Church of Rome. Read by this light, the character of the son—his aggressive attitute to dogma of all kinds; his vigorous determination to push scientific investigation to its utmost limits, irrespective of the requirements of creeds—may be easily explained. It may or may not be worth while for the school-master of the future to decide how far athletic exercises tend to increase the fighting tendencies of mankind; but it nevertheless is a significant fact that the early education of John Tyndall was mainly athletic. He was already a big boy and a good swimmer, runner, climber, and no dull student of the noble art of self-defence, before Mr. John Conwill, a skilful teacher in one of the Irish national schools, took his mathematical education in hand, and marked out his first problems on the snow as master and pupil returned from school together. In the earlier stages of mathematics his power of representing an image upon the tablets of the mind helped him very considerably; but his circumstances compelled him to earn the opportunity of self-culture before he could undergo any sufficient scientific training. At first a member of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, then an assistant in an engineer's office during the mania for railway extension, next a student at the old muster-place of the Teutonic knights, young Tyndall worked hard, read Carlyle, and made many friends, among whom were Professor Hirst and General Wynne. Over and over again he determined to push his fortune in America; but fortune proved too strong for sound calculation, and the Transatlantic visit was reserved for the day when success was achieved. Fate and the desire for self-improvement led the young scientist to Queenwood College in Hampshire—the Harmony Hall built by Robert Owen and his disciples,—where he made the acquaintance of Professor Frankland, in whose laboratory he spent a large portion of his time. At that period the illustrious Bunsen attracted to Marburg a number of students of chemical and physical science, and among them were two natives of the British Islands, Frankland and Tyndall. Here, in a technical sense, they parted company, for Frankland devoted himself to chemistry, and Tyndall to physics, under the auspices of Dr. Knoblauch. Subsequently master and pupil became firm allies and pursued joint inquiries. Not till the year of the first International Exhibition did young Tyndall meet Faraday, and the same year was signalized by the commencement of his long friendship with Professor Huxley. The two young scientists were already looked upon as "rising men"; but were "without definite outlook, needing proper work, and only anxious to have it to perform. The chairs of Natural History and of Physics being advertised as vacant in the University of Toronto, we applied for them,—he for one, I for the other; but, possibly guided by a prophetic instinct, the University authorities declined having anything to do with either of us. If I remember rightly, we were equally unlucky elsewhere."

Thus the second attempt of Professor Tyndall to cast his lot in the New World failed; but ample compensation came shortly afterwards when he was appointed to the chair of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution. This post he has since filled in a fashion equally satisfactory to genuine scientific folk, and to the large portion of English society which affects scientific tastes. Following the precedent set by Faraday, Professor Tyndall has succeeded not only in original investigation and in teaching science soundly and accurately, but in making it attractive. In his lectures it is no longer "harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose," but puts on a seductive air, and woos the spectator with magical power. When he lectures at the Royal Institution the theatre is crowded,—not, as might be supposed, by blue-stockings, severe as to look and angular as to outline, by ancient men with long back hair, and younger aspirants with bulbous foreheads, but with the men and women of the great world,—the people who help to make society and history. In 1872 the New World, which would have nothing to say to young Tyndall twenty years before, succeeded in persuading the full-blown professor to visit it. At last John Tyndall got across the Atlantic, not as a toiler for renown, but as one of the foremost scientific men in Europe. His four months of lecturing excited extraordinary interest, by no means diminished when he handed over the net profits of his tour to trustees, to be applied to the perpetual education in the universities of Europe of two young Americans. Since then he has been engaged, on his own account and on that of the government, in many interesting investigations. As scientific adviser of Trinity House he undertook a series of experiments on the atmospherical conditions of the transmission of sound, which resulted in proving that fog is a better conductor than the clear air of a summer's day. This is only one of the many instances in which he has found scientific truth opposed to popular belief. At the present moment his interest is concentrated on the tubes in the hot room in Albemarle Street, and his efforts are devoted to the settlement of a very vexed question. Since the famous experiments of Pasteur, scientific opinion has been divided on the subject of spontaneous generation, and a serious and well-considered attempt to solve the problem is now in progress. Despite the experiments of Dr. Bastian, Professor Tyndall still abides by his own, the result of which is, "at present," as he philosophically puts it, "that life has never been proved to have been produced independently of antecedent life."

Germs in the air and minute beings in infusions have their charms, no doubt; but they are not permitted to absorb the entire attention of Professor Tyndall. The motion and structure of glaciers have formed the subjects of long investigations, recorded in books written at various times and for various audiences. In positive science the author of *Heat, a Mode of Motion*, has ever shown himself a philosopher of a conservative turn of mind, taking nothing for granted but that which is absolutely proved. It is only when he reflects on the long duel between science and dogma that he steps into the borderland which connects the true domain of science with the region of hypothesis. Then the spirit of William Tyndall, the martyr to his zeal in translating the Bible, comes out, and the philosopher of Albemarle Street relieves his spirit by utterances which, if promulgated in the time of his hero, Giordano Bruno, would have resulted in his involuntary cremation *coram populo*. But we do not burn philosophers now, and Professor Tyndall and his friend Professor Huxley may, from the altitudes of Albemarle Street and South Kensington, preach such doctrine as seems good unto them without fear of the secular arm.—*London World, May* 16, 1877.

AN IRISH PHILOSOPHER.

"Aisy, Misther, aisy; it's jokin' you are, sure, spakin' of Providence to an Irishman; it's like tellin' a hungry man about his gran-faither's fine dinners! Didn't you never hear how Providence wouldn't stay in the counthry along wid the Orangemen?—it's as thrue as that wanst there was kings in Ireland of our own blood and bones, that Father Murphy spakes about. Them was the days, when we had kings and a Providence to look afther us; when our best crop wasn't childer, and there never come mouths but there was praties to fill them! It's jokin' you are, Misther! What! Is it afther tellin' me you'd be, that Providence doesn't live over the say wid the fine gintlemen, and niver looks in here at all, at all! Thruth, thin, if we was to wait for Providence, we would be like Rory waitin' at Dubling for the thrain from Limerick to Cork! Didn't you niver hear what happened to Phelim O'Conor, whose daughter was the purty girl you was winkin' at? (Sure, thin, an' it's not blushin' you are, to find we have eyes?) Faith an' I'll tell you the story. You see, Phelim was comin' home by the King's Moss one night, as light-headed as a lamp-post, an' as merry and lively as a lark, whirstlin' tunes whiles, and repatin' patheranavies if a lonesome thought came across him; but few of them did. All at wanst it sthruck him to vesit his old friend M'Carthy, whose house was a quarther of a mile off the road,—and by the same token he forgot his friend had gone to Austhralia. So, you see, he laves the road, and sthrikes across the counthry for the house; an' when he gets there he knocks, callin' out, 'It's me, Phelim O'Connor, so don't be disturbed, my darlin',' and divil a one was there to answer him. So, Misther, he knocks and knocks for some time, sittin' down for the convaynance of it on the door-step, where the whusky sent him asleep, and sure when he waked up it was the blissed morning! an' that was the way he got the rheumatis he died of,—rest his ould bones! Isn't it the blissid thruth I'm tellin' the gintleman, Rory, as if it came from Father Murphy himself? No, no, Misther; if we don't come up wid Providence on the straight road, we best not turn off to it to look afther him. What is the matther with the counthry at this minute, but the rheumatis that she gotten sittin' down by her bogs and waitin' on Providence; more belike she will die of it—the poor ould creture! What! is it afther conthradictin' me you'd be?—an' a purty opinion you must have of Providence, if you think he's been looking afther Ireland this eight hundred years, an' made such a mess of it! Bad luck to you, Misther, it's ashamed you ought to be for spakin' in that way, though I says it as knows little about Providence. Faith, an' there's a hundree years on to Misther's purgathory for that!—eh, Rory?

"Belave in purgathory? Yes, an' bedad you'd betther be afther doin' the same; but I niver mate a raysonable gintleman, did you, Rory?—they was all made deficiant in rayson, and got the land to make up for it! Faith, here's Misther jokin' again! How can I tell you about purgathory that have niver been there?—thruth, an' you'll know about it time enough am thinkin'. But maybe you will be goin' to the other place right on, like a thrue Prothestant; it wouldn't be purlite, Rory, would it, to keep the gintleman waitin'? Which is the other place? Why will you be askin' me about it, that have so many friends of your own there? Sure, thin, you're spakin' for the sake of it. Well, if you must know, it's the place for—Prothestants an' propriethors, an' if you're the one or the other, Jasus—blessed be his name—and Father Murphy protect you! Belave in Father Murphy? That's like your way of spakin' about Providence. Ugh! I wonder where half of the praties an' the whole of the rint goes? Belave in Father Murphy! Plaise don't be blasphamous, if none of your kind niver was raysonable. Oh, Rory, macushla, here's Misther not seein' we're jokin' him! But listen; you'll hear the whole blissed thruth about me and Father Murphy, and thin you'll know if I belave in him.

"I was wanst at D——, that I wint to, to buy ribbans for my purty Kate Devlin, that's now the wife of my busom, but my sweet-art that thin was. The weather was fine and frosty, and the wind keen, makin' the pint of my nose as red as my neckercheef; brusk weather, with blue and white the only cullers on the ground and sky, and I rayched the town, by runnin' and sliddin', half an hour before I expected; and faith, when I did, it's ready I was for a dhram o' pottheen to drive the cowld from my nose and fingers; so sure I turned in to the 'Irishman Rampint' to have one. It's not in the middle of the glass I stopped that mornin, nor at the botthum naythor, for I dhrunk right on to the end of the second; and thin I was comfortible. To complate my recovery I stamped wid my feet and sthruck my hands across, undher my oxtars, an' over my shouldhers, an' all the time I was winkin' at purty Mary that sarved the pottheen; when what should I hear from the room inside but the voice of Father Murphy spakin' of Rory Riggan—that's me, Misther,—and laughing at me as if I was the best joke in the world. 'Whisht,' says I, 'Mary darlin', whisht, and let me hear what his rayverence has to say of me this mornin'.' So I goes aisy, and claps my ear to the kayhole, listenin' and holdin' up my finger to Mary to be quate. 'Finish your glass,' says Father Murphy to his friend. 'Finish your glass, Pether, and it's myself will pay for another; sure it's only a year I'll have to put on to Rory's purgathory, an' the poor boy will soon buy it off agin,' says he. 'Thruth,' says Pether, 'an' its right you are, Brother Murphy, an' it's purgathory we could niver do wid out,' says he; 'it's betther nor tides (tithes) an' an establishmint,' says he; 'but is it thrue that Rory is goin' to be married?' 'Faith, thin,' says Father Murphy, 'an' it's too thrue; but it's myself that's sorry for it,' says he, 'for when the childer come, and it's the big pot they put on the fire, divil a half of what I get out of him will I get,' says he. "Here's to purgathory!' says Pether, dhrinking his glass dry; 'and may it's fires niver quinch,' says he, 'and the people always belave in it.' 'Whee-ee-wu!' says I, whirstlin', 'the top of the mornin' to you, Father Murphy, an' be d——d if Rory Riggan is the fool you take him for,' says I. An' wid that I buttons my coat up, claps my hat on my head, and walks off wid my stick; an', by japers, that was the last I heard of Father Murphy's sermons!

"Didn't I not tell you that I pay my tides? what more would you be askin' about? Sure, thin, an' I wish I hadn't to do it. Why, do yourself belave in the voulantar seestem? I never knewn what it was. You see when I pay my tides I can't help it, and when I used to pay Father Murphy it was 'can't help it,' all the same; an' the parson had an Act of Parlimint, and the priest had purgathory. What other seestem is there of gettin' our money, that you call the voulantar seestem? Lavin' it intirely to myself! Sure, thin, I'd lave the money intirely in my pockit. Thrust me, Misther, for a knowlidge of the humane crature; depend upon it he's raysonable at botthum, an' only gives when he expects to have valee recaved! But, Misther, tell me what the Prothestants say for thimselves anint their establishmint, for of coorse they're raysonable cratures? What! that they *must* extermainite Popery; thruth, thin, they may take credit for the work, an' that's jist what they Papists want to do to them. By japers, the Prothestants and Papists are like rival docthors, each wantin' to pison the other, in ordher to get the whole practice; but, bedad, it's too bad of the Prothestant docthor to make the Papist pay for the pison!

"I'm an industhrious man, Misther, an' pays my rint an' tides, an' do every other thing that's honest or accordin' to law; an' there's some as would wish me under the ground for it; an' it's not but there's some rayson in them too. The Prothestants an' propriethors, isn't what they ought to be, more nor the Papists and priests. Did I ever shoot a propriethor? Why, thin, an' no I niver did; but it's many a one of their breed that I've knewn put out of the way with satisfaction to my heart. I niver hears of a propriethor's beein' shot but I says 'Glory be to God—Amin!' for you see, Misther, it's a eight hundred years' fight we've been carryin' on, and worsted in it always; for, thrue to spake, Providence *is* on the side of the English. What can I think of Providence for keepin' on that side? Thruth, thin, I don't think of him at all; he always sides with the strongest am thinkin', and if *we* was to be the strongest he would be with us, and thin, as Father Murphy says, who could be aginst us? In the mane time we must do our best for ourselves widout him, an' divil a thing is there for it but to shoot propriethors. Shockin'! What's shockin'? Isn't it shockin' to be forcin' the money from the poor boys to feed and clothe in luxury hell-fire heretics? Did you niver hear the like of that, which is no more justice bekaise it is law, than Mulligan is just, bekaise he's a lawyier. Shockin'! by japers, this is what's shockin'. There was Paddy Conor lived down by there, a decent, industhrious man, wid a faamily of seven, and his wife Judy what bored them, and at the time I'm spakin' of she was goin' about wid the eighth—blessed be the Father of all! It was the time of the pratie deseese, and we all was very bad off; but Paddy had more childer than praties, poor boy, and it was by the kindness of his neeboors that life was kept in him and his. Well, sure enough, his rint fell due, and he couldn't pay it, as I say, and they was resolved to make him, or else dhrive him out of the counthry. Now, I say they was wrong. How can a man can what he cannot can? could you, or me, or another one do what we couldn't do? Thruth, thin, and we could not. But the propriethor conldn't see that, or if he did he wouldn't belave it, which comes to the same. Well, one cowld, frosty night, when the winds was whirslin' like divils over the counthry, comes the agents of the propriethor and dhrives Paddy and his out of their house, and took the roof of it and threw down the sides and put fire to the furniture—all in the name of the blissid Acts of Parlimint; an', hell conshume them, they said they'd do the same to them that took the poor things in. Well, it was that night that an ould friend of Paddy's—I'll not name names—saw Paddy, heartbroken in the cowld, repatin' patheranavies on his knees by

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his poor Judy—rest her sowl,—who was dyin' before him, by the bare hedge, of the child she was barin' him; while the rest of the childer was shiverin' about her, their skin red wid the wind, and not juice enough in their bodies to enable them to shed tears; an' he saw her die, as I say, an' a day or two afther, sure, Paddy and his were scattered like leeves from a tree that the wind forced off and thin drave away; and it was as if no one cared for them; but—*Paddy's friend shoot the propriethor!* Och! bother your raysonin' about it, it's niver in Nature to stand it, whativer be the Acts of Parlimint; and depind upon it, Misther, under an Irishman's cowld-bloodidness there's always a warm heart!"—*London Leader.*

CHURCH INTERFERENCE WITH SCHOOLS.

In New York and other cities where the adherents of the Catholic Church are numerous, and where they exert an influence in political affairs, the leaders have rarely failed to show a disposition to control the civil government, to direct the public revenues to the support of Church institutions and break down the public school system. These leaders have learned from experience that all direct assaults upon the school system will end in their defeat; so they restrain their followers and seek to undermine the system and indirectly control it. In New York city they secured the passage of an act by the last Democratic Legislature, in which it was proposed to ride over the school authorities and put into the schools as teachers, without the usual sanction of the representative of the Board of Education, as many nuns as they could find in their convents. The bill has been repealed.

Many years since, New York State established a non-sectarian institution for the education and correction of juvenile delinquents. This did not suit the Catholic leaders, and so they have taken steps which have resulted in the establishment of a school or house of refuge, and have secured the passage of an act which makes it incumbent on the justice committing such juvenile offenders to send them to such sectarian institutions as the parent or guardian of the offender may direct. Of course the State is obliged to pay for the support of such offenders, and at the present time New York is paying annually a quarter of a million dollars to a Catholic institution called the Westchester Protectory.

Recently a trouble has occurred in the public schools of New Rochelle, New York. It has been the custom to read selections of the Bible, in no sense sectarian, and to repeat the Lord's Prayer; but from this exercise the children of Catholics were excused, and allowed to come into the school-room at a later hour. Recently, however, the pastor of a Romish church informally objected to the reading of the Bible in the school, and claimed it as a right that the children of Catholics should be excused from attending such exercises. The result has been that all of the children of Catholics were excused on request of their parents, numbering about one hundred of three hundred and fifty pupils. It soon came about that the opening exercises were so disturbed as to render it necessary for the discipline of the school to modify the rule excusing Catholic children, so as to require them to assemble in a class-room at the opening hour and there remain while the opening exercises took place in the general assembly room of the school. This was a fresh cause of offence to the parents of Catholic children, and a large number of them have signed a petition, indited in discourteous terms, to the Board of Education asking for redress. They also demand that King James' version of the Bible be excluded from the public schools, that the Catholic version be substituted therefor, and a Catholic teacher be employed to read the same to the pupils.

These are but indications of the hostility of Church leaders to our school system. Had they the power to do it, the non-sectarian public school system, so highly prized by Americans, would soon become an institution of the past.—*Boston Journal.*

ULTRAMONTANISM AND WAR.

The contest in France has more and more developed itself as a struggle of the clerical party to gain possession of power, and to drag the French people into the efforts of the papal party in Europe to restore the temporal power of the Pope. The Ultramontane press throughout Europe hail the act of Marshal MacMahon as a victory of the religious party and a return to the *politique clericale.* The leading members of the extreme Roman Catholic faction in France openly express their exultation. The *Journal des Débats,* which has represented so long and so ably the cause of moderate constitutional government and of reasonable religion, confesses that the clerical party now governs France. The German press—official and non-official—have received the deposition of the Ministry, and will receive the dissolution of the Assembly, as the triumph of Ultramontanism. The Berlin *National Zeitung* quotes Dr. Manning in a recent address to the Catholics, in words to the effect that "the victory of the conservative party in France and the solution of the Eastern question will mean the independence of the Holy See." How, asks the German organ, is the independence of the Holy See or the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope to be obtained but by a war with Italy? And how is a war with Italy to be carried on but by France? And how is Russia to be defeated in the Eastern question but by a holy alliance against her of the Catholic powers?

Even the Pope has avowed his sympathy with "the party of order" in France, and has openly prophesied to the Polish pilgrims the defeat of the Muscovites and the possibility of the restoration of the Polish nationality and kingdom. The whole German press regard the recent events in France as full of danger and threat to the peace of Europe.

The present condition of affairs in France and throughout Europe is undoubtedly perilous in the extreme, and one from which great disorders and even war might possibly spring. The Republicans and the moderate Constitutionalists of France should have the profound sympathy of lovers of liberty in every country. With great self-control and much care, they had built up an orderly and constitutional form of government, under which a sound constitutional habit of self-government would have gradually developed itself. They only needed time and experience to have founded whatever best suited the temperament of the French,—a monarchy with a parliament or a republic. Everything seemed to favor a calm and peaceful growth of free institutions. Suddenly the clerical party took advantage of the prejudices of an honest but obstinate old man, and plunged the country into what may produce anarchy or revolution. All the Legitimist and Bonapartist factions are now united against the Republicans. Free speech and free press are at once fettered. The servants of the administration are employed to force or deceive the people. The whole question of the government of the nation is to be thrown back on the country, and no man can say what the end will be. It certainly looks as if the excellent progress begun was to end in disorder and tyranny. The triumph of the party of repression and of clerical bigotry seems for the time being complete. Yet, with all these appearances of the coming victory of Ultramontanism, we hold to the opinion so often expressed in these columns, that the day has passed for any great triumph of the Roman Catholic *Curia,* whether in Europe or America.

The world has passed by the Roman Church as a great controlling power. Her history is too well known to all reasonable men. No large party could be formed now throughout Europe to make any great sacrifice for her. No war could possibly be entered upon in her behalf. The day of crusades or holy wars is passed. Italy, her home, rejects her, and France has not bigotry or even religion enough to receive her. The moral danger of Europe now is from indifference and scepticism, not from the triumph of bigotry and superstition. It is true that in the present state of affairs in Europe any alliances and combinations are possible. War brings strange bed-fellows together. Necessity might even put Catholic France on the side of Mohammedan Turkey against Italy and Germany. But there is little danger of this. The French peasantry care little for the Pope, compared to peace. And even if the Marshal becomes Dictator, he is the last to desire a war with modern ideas and the strongest forces of Europe. Even under a new *coup d'état* France will be peaceful, and the temporal power of the Pope will remain a relic of the Middle Ages.—*N. Y. Times.*

THE REV. DR. RITCHIE, of Edinburgh, though a very clever man, has met with his match. When examining a student as to the classes he had attended, he said, "And you attended the class for mathematics?"

"Yes."

"How many sides has a circle?"

"Two," said the student.

"What are they?"

What a laugh in the class the student's answer produced when he said, "An inside and an outside!"

But this was nothing compared with what followed. The doctor having said to this student, "And you attended the moral philosophy class also?"

"Yes."

"Well, you would hear lectures on various subjects. Did you ever hear one on 'cause and effect?"

"Yes."

"Does an effect ever go before a cause?"

"Yes."

"Give me an instance."

"A man wheeling a barrow."

The doctor then sat down, and proposed no more questions.

A MOTHER tried hard to teach her child the impersonality and omnipresence of God. How well she succeeded was shown by an incident which occurred just after. The little girl had the promise of an orange, half of it at the time and the other half when she had taken her daily nap. She twisted herself about and closed her eyes, but the prospective orange circumvented sleep. At last she cried, "Mother."

"Yes, my dear."

"Is God in you?"

"Yes, dear."

"And in me?"

"Certainly; my child!"

"And is He in the orange, too?"

"Of course He is!"

"Well, the God in me wants some orange!"

PRESIDENT ELIOT of Harvard says that, contrary to the usual course of Nature, he is growing younger instead of older as years advance. About twenty years ago, when he was a tutor and proctor, he was disturbed one night by a noise in the yard, and, going out to see what was the matter, he heard a voice exclaim, "Here comes old Eliot." But last winter, walking into town one evening, he met two undergraduates, and heard one say to the other when he had passed by, "I wonder where Charlie is going at this time of night."

THE superiority of man to Nature is continually illustrated in literature and in life. Nature needs an immense quanity of quills to make a goose with; but man can make a goose of himself in five minutes with one quill.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

WITHIN THE FOLD.

The study-door was open wide,
And on the table by his side
The preacher's open Bible lay;

And on that book a work of skill,
His sermon—text, "The sun stood still"—
From out the book of Joshua.

Glad that his weekly task was done,
He sat and thought that he had spun
A mighty web of truth that day.

A shadow falling on the floor
Made him look up, and at the door
Stood Sarah Blink in dress of gray.

"Come in," the preacher kindly said;
And in she came with nipping tread,
Quite glad the summons to obey.

"I hoped that I should find you here,"
Said she; "but now I almost fear
To tell you what I have to say."

"You need not speak, for I can guess
The state of mind you would confess;
My sermon here will light your way."

And then he said, "Both far and near
Bold doubt asserts in accents clear
That Scripture's claims it will survey.

"And in our own beloved church
This self-same doubt is making search;
So here against it I inveigh."

His sermon he began to read;
It told how Israel's chosen seed
From cruel Egypt fled away,

And how the Lord made dry the bed
Of the Red Sea, and through it led
Those Hebrews to a brighter day.

How through the trials of that race,
Wonders adapted to each case
Were wrought, which none could e'er gainsay.

And that for God, who wrought them all,
It was a matter very small
To stop the sun at broad noon-day.

And they who doubt that act divine
Square all things by their little line
Of reason, and are far astray.

Such was the sermon; and Miss Blink
Then said, "Dear friend, you mustn't think
That I the faith seek to betray!

"All that you've said is strictly true,
But yet there is no need that you
Such arguments at all display.

"For read your text, 'The sun stood still.'
Can any but a stubborn will
Deny the fact those words convey?

"My trouble is not baneful doubt,
'Tis not what's in; but what's left out;
'Tis what the Scriptures fail to say.

"Problems like these I strive to solve;
Was John the Baptist e'er in love?
Did Ruth or Esther dress in gray?

"The mother of St. Peter's wife,
What fever threatened her poor life?
The scarlet, typhoid, brain, or hay?

"Hundreds of questions like these three,
Pressing for answer, made me flee
To you, dear friend, in sore dismay."

"I'm pained to know your state of mind,"
The preacher said; "but you shall find,
In the next sermon I essay,

"Your needed comfort; for I long
To give to them whose faith is strong
All the assistance that I may.

"And soon I'll form a class, whose task
Shall be to thoroughly unmask
Each dim and hidden gospel ray.

"For you have shown how truly vain
Is the attempt to make more plain
My text, to those who look away

"From Scripture and the Church, and turn
To Science, at whose feet they learn
The true salvation to delay.

"So henceforth I shall strive to teach,
Souls that beyond the doubter's reach
Confess the Scripture's holy sway."

"'Tis well; and now, dear friend, adieu,"
Said Sarah; "may the Lord review
Your labors, and your faith repay."

The study-door was open wide,
And on the table by his side
The preacher's open Bible lay.

W. H. H.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 21.

W. F. Johnson, $3.20; G. Putzel, 10 cents; Dr. Aug. Huhne, $3.20; George Allen, $4; Mrs. E. Martin, $1.55; Dr. H. Nye, $7.30; T. Wehle, $3.20; H. I. Carpenter, 7 cents; A. W. Harbaugh, $10; Mrs. H. S. Ware, $3.20; D. E. Ware, $23.20; A. Williams & Co., $6.72; Miss S. E. Dunn, $1; Miss Von Arnim, 75 cents; Samuel Drew, $3.20; Henry Obermeyer, $3.20; W. T. Newton, $3.20; E. Howland, $5; W. C. McDonald, 80 cents; C. D. Child, $3.20; W. G. Mills, 25 cents; John Alexander, $5 60; S. M. Carroll, 10 cents; C. W. Boulware, $1; E. R. Potter, $3; E. A. Hodsdon $2.

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The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 26, 1877.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, *Editorial Contributors.*

A BANGOR paper says: "The London Circus went from here to Farmington, arriving there on Sunday, and church-goers were much disturbed. One clergyman requested any of the members of his church who intended to go to the show next day, to call on him and get a dismissal first." The circus company ought to be fined for disturbing worshippers in their worship, and the clergyman ought to be crowned with a cap-and-bells for his bigotry and petulance.

"'DOCTOR' ——," says a correspondent, "in a city not fifty miles from Boston, advertises himself as a 'Christian Scientist,' and adds, after the announcement of his office hours—'No Medicine, Mediumship, or Mesmerism.'" If the last is true, he is no Christian; for Christianity offers medicine for diseased souls in "divine grace," a mediator or medium in "Jesus Christ," and mesmerism in "instantaneous conversion." This dubious Doctor ought to learn his own trade better, if he would not pass for a quack.

THE JUDICIAL OATH is rapidly coming to be a patent absurdity. Says the *Tribune:* "Judge Brown of Baltimore has decided that John Chinaman can testify in the courts. He held that the State Constitution in requiring that a witness should believe in the existence of a God, and admit his moral accountability for his acts, did not exclude witnesses who believed in a Supreme Being that worked in and through Nature, though they might not have faith in the God of the Christians. He added that there was no reason to suppose that the Chinese believed that there was no God, and that they were not accountable for their acts either in this world or the next. He therefore concluded to allow a couple of Chinese laundrymen to testify against a man who had assaulted them. This seems to be a roundabout way of establishing John's competency as a witness. The Chinese god only hears what is said in his presence, and an oath administered outside of a joss-house will not bind the consciences of these peculiar pagans. Chinese testimony is admitted in the consular courts of China, in California, in New York, and many other States, but no importance is attached to the oath."

IF THE LIBERALS of the United States had vigorously defended their principles last year with reference to the Sunday question at Philadelphia, and not suffered their cause to be lost by default, such paragraphs as this from the *Christian Statesman* would not be written: "The Board of Managers of the Permanent International Exhibition in Philadelphia recently decided by a *unanimous* vote to keep the Exhibition closed on the Sabbath. It is no secret to any who have watched the course of the Managers that there was a serious division of opinion on this question, and that the unanimity of the decision, as well as the fact of such a favorable decision at all, is wholly owing to the firmness of a number of Christian men. All honor to them for the renewed victory they have won for the cause of Christianity and good morals. It ought also to be remembered in this connection that, had the decision of the Centennial Commission last year been adverse to the Sabbath, it would have been almost inevitable that the Permanent Exhibition would have followed obediently the evil precedent. Thus one victory paves the way for another. Let the friends of the right thank God and take courage." Yes—and these successive victories of the crafty enemies of State Secularization will at last end in State Christianization, unless the adherents of secular freedom wake up and organize.

IN HIS FOURTH OF JULY oration at Oakland, Cal., Col. Robert G. Ingersoll said: "The school-house is now coming to be the finest house in every village and town in the land. Therefore I thank every Puritan that encouraged education. There are a good many people dissatisfied with the public schools. I think the worst thing that could happen to them would be the introduction into them of the teaching of religion. I do not think it is right to tax people to employ somebody to guess for them. Guessing ought to be free. I don't believe in taxing a Catholic to have a Protestant do his guessing. I don't believe in taxing a Protestant to have a Catholic do his guessing; and I don't believe in taxing the man who believes in neither religion, nor in none, to have any one do his guessing for him. The moment that any religion is taught in the public schools that moment will be the end of education in America. Let them have all the churches they want, all the books and the tracts they want, all the printing they want, and let those who believe in it pay for it and nobody else." Col. Ingersoll speaks as if this "worst thing" had *not* "happened." Is it possible that he can be ignorant of the fact that religion is taught in almost every public school in the country? Only in a few places, such as Cincinnati and Chicago, is it wholly discontinued. Here in Massachusetts it is positively required by law.

"I AM NOT a fatalist about progress," writes Rear-Admiral Maxse, in his recent little treatise on Woman Suffrage; "indeed, I regard the belief in insensible, inevitable progress—a progress to be attained without human striving—to be as pernicious as any old theological belief that sent men striving on the wrong track. It absolves the majority of men from responsibility. There is surely no law to make us wise. I cannot believe it possible that progress will come to a people that does not make constant effort to be worthy of it. Progress of course means improvement. Individual improvement is, to a great extent, the result of individual effort, but it is affected by external circumstances and institutions. National progress means the improvement of these circumstances and institutions for the general benefit (as for instance by an Education Act or reform of the Land Tenure system), and must be the result of national effort. I look around and do not observe much sign of this. The men who endeavor to initiate national or political effort—politics being only a means to national effort—are too often ridiculed as theorists or decried as disturbers." Nothing so wise as this has fallen under our notice for many a long day. From lack of these perceptions, or sometimes from dread of the labor and cost of acting upon them, the liberal cause crawls at a snail's pace, or even slips backward. Men wait to be unendurably oppressed and stung to resistance, rather than be at the pains of preventing oppression.

THE *Pall Mall Budget* of June 30 lashes the Ritualists with a most unstinted liberality, as follows: "The letter which the *Times* prints from a correspondent signing himself G. M. C. contains a defence of *The Priest in Absolution* which ought not to be permitted to pass without a prompt and decided rejoinder. We may say of it at once that, if the writer's fundamental assumption could be admitted, his defence of the work in question would be very effective; but, unfortunately for him, the assumption is so far from being admitted by the great mass of Englishmen that they reject it with something like indignation whenever it is definitely put before them. G. M. C.'s argument is briefly this: that priests require the same sort of instruction as to the mode of treating the 'diseases of the soul' as doctors require for dealing with 'diseases of the body'; that *The Priest in Absolution* is 'one of the most valuable books we priests possess upon the study of the diseases of the soul'; that it is written 'expressly for the edification and instruction of priests, and not for the idle inquisitive gaze of a careless, worldly-minded laity'; and therefore that worldly-minded laymen have no right to be any more shocked by its contents than by those of a work on pathology. All this would be very plausible if we were prepared to concede the claim which tacitly underlies it, which claim is in effect this: that 'we priests'—that is to say, G. M. C. and his party in the Church—'possess, in virtue of our priestly office, a power over diseases of the soul similar in its effects to, but altogether higher and more certain in its mode of operation than, the power possessed by the physician over the diseases of the body.' And that is exactly the pretension which all but a weak-minded minority of G. M. C.'s countrymen regard as at once ridiculous and intolerable. For them the Rev. John Smith, after he has become a 'priest,' remains John (or may be even 'Jack' or 'Johnny') Smith as much as before,—a sensible and modest, or an empty-headed and prurient youth, as the case may be; and the notion that he is converted by his orders into 'Father Smith,' with a vested right to put indecent questions to married and unmarried women and little boys and girls, is one which is not to be borne with for a moment."

"FEELING A TRUTH-DISCOVERER."

Rev. Mr. Putnam, under the above caption, contributes a letter to this issue of THE INDEX which seems to require notice. He objects to the position that "emotion is always a subjective phenomenon which conveys no objective information whatever," and thinks that, if this position is implied by the scientific method, he must be more clearly opposed to the latter than ever as the "sole authority in religion."

1. The first objection he urges is contained in an extract from the *Inquirer*, where it is laid down that the intellect cannot show slavery to be wrong, and that sentiment alone condemns it; that "so far as the head is concerned, slavery can hold its own," but that "it finds its Waterloo in the heart of man."

In all this there is great confusion. The power of human sympathy is enormous, but it did not alone or chiefly overthrow slavery. If the intellect had not perceived that slavery, as such, is the denial and destruction of *right human relations*, which can only be understood by the understanding faculty, *i. e.*, the intellect itself,—if the idea of *equal natural rights* had not, in the process of socio-moral growth, gradually acquired all the force of a supreme moral principle or law, which it could not have done except as the result of thought,—the conscience of mankind would have remained unstirred by all the evils of slavery, and the "heart of man" would never have been enlisted on behalf of its victims. The abolition of slavery has been caused by the general march of civilization, the growing conviction that one man's right to his liberty is as good as another's (a conviction which is the result of comparison, and therefore of a strictly intellectual process), and the increasing perception of the social, political, and economical evils from which slavery in modern times is inseparable. If "heart" alone is enough to discover the wickedness of slavery, why did not Jesus discover it? He certainly had "heart" enough; his religion is mostly made up of "sentiment" and "feeling"; yet he could live all his days in the actual presence of this measureless iniquity without leaving a word of protest against it. If it needs nothing but "heart" to rouse men against the slavery-system, then Jesus, who has always been considered the tenderest and most sympathetic of human beings, must lie under the reproach of utter heartlessness. But if, in order to discover the wickedness of slavery, the world must needs pass through long centuries of experience, education, and slowly maturing faculties,—if the evils of slavery become visible only in the light of an intelligence which civilization alone gradually creates,—then Jesus' insensibility to the wrongs and miseries of the slave is no reproach to him, but merely an inevitable consequence of the social barbarism in the midst of which he lived.

While, therefore, we unhesitatingly admit the necessity of a deep and strong sentiment against slavery, in order to arouse men to the point of abolishing it, we still hold that the true cause of this feeling, and therefore the true origin of the great reform to which it led, lay in the intellectual perception of the moral, social, and political character and effects of the slavery-system.

2. The next point we are asked to consider is a quotation from Hume, who disparages "that philosophy which ascribes the discernment of all moral distinctions to reason alone without the concurrence of sentiment." Mr. Putnam has found an able and distinguished coadjutor. But great names, merely as such, count for little with independent minds. "Discernment" is the perception of differences or characteristics; and to claim perception of any sort as a function of "sentiment" is an extraordinary slip for a writer usually so acute as Hume. "Moral distinctions" cannot excite any "sentiment" whatever, until they have first been "discerned," or perceived, by the intellectual faculties or "reason." On the face of it, the statement of Hume betrays a carelessness and inexactitude of thought quite surprising in one of his great ability.

But take Hume's own illustration. "Examine the crime of Ingratitude, for instance," he says, "which has place wherever we observe good-will expressed and known, together with good offices performed, on one side, and a return of ill-will or indifference with ill offices or neglect, on the other. Anatomize all these circumstances, and examine by your reason alone in what consists the demerit or blame; you will never come to any issue or conclusion."

Let us see. In the first place, ingratitude as such is simply the absence of gratitude; properly speaking, it is not a "crime," which is an *act* and not a *feeling*, but rather a lack of those sentiments which

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ought to be reciprocally excited by kind sentiments and acts on the part of another. It is justly condemned by the moral judgment of mankind, because it manifests total insensibility to that *law of reciprocity* which is well expressed in the adage, "One good turn *deserves* another." Ingratitude is immoral because it is failure to pay a just debt—disregard of the obligation imposed by the voluntary acceptance of kindnesses; and mankind condemn it precisely as they condemn any other omission to discharge a manifest duty. This being so, the essence of ingratitude lies in the false, unnatural, and undeserved RELATION between the benefactor and the beneficiary; everybody condemns the latter because he does not reciprocate, in feeling and act, the goodness he has experienced at the hands of the former. Now this relation of non-reciprocity, like every other relation, must be perceived, before it can excite any moral sentiment whatever. But the perception of relations is the distinctive function of the intellect or understanding. Hence it follows that the "demerit or blame" of ingratitude consists in the substitution by the ingrate of a wrong relation for the right one which he ought to hold towards his benefactor. Hume's loose statement shows that he has not applied to this case his usual critical acumen and power of analysis; he was evidently very sleepy when he wrote the passage Mr. Putnam quotes, and must be excused on the well-known principle that "even Homer sometimes nods." In every conceivable instance, it will be found that accurate analysis must trace all moral perceptions to the intellect, not to the heart; and that emotion, feeling, or sentiment is simply a subjective consequence attendant on these perceptions,—a subjective reaction to the outer or objective fact, but not a perception of it.

We have preferred to answer Hume's own statement, rather than Mr. Putnam's paraphrase of it, because the latter introduces more than Hume himself warrants. Of course we hold that a man, in order to be a moral being at all, must possess the power of moral perception; we admit that this power deals with *relations of a special kind*, but hold that the perception of all relations, no matter what their kind, is essentially an intellectual act, and never in any instance the act of mere sentiment. "The Moral Sentiment must declare that he is to blame," says Mr. Putnam. Not so. The moral sentiment cannot "declare" anything; it can only feel. That which "declares" (*i. e.*, frames a definite proposition) is necessarily the faculty which conjoins subject and predicate; and no faculty but the intellect has power to do this, its own distinctive act. The proposition, "Ingratitude is wrong," is like every other; it simply enunciates or formulates a perceived relation; it is the affirmation of an objective truth; but it is the work of the intellect alone, not of the heart, which (to repeat a truism *ad nauseam*) can feel, but never think. It is the intellect, not the heart, which thinks; and why there should be so much repugnance to admitting a self-evident truth, it is difficult to understand. Until it can be shown that mere feeling constructs propositions with subject and predicate which formulate relations among existing facts, our position will remain impregnable: namely, that moral perception is the only avenue of objective information as to moral relations, that moral relations can be perceived and affirmed by the intellect alone, and that moral sentiment is simply the subjective reaction consequent upon moral perception. In other words, ethics are the science of moral relations, subject to the stable scientific method, and not dependent upon the endless and unaccountable freaks of shifting human emotions.

THE MYSTIC PIETY OF THE ORIENT.

One among the benign results which are sure to come from the free, thorough, and impartial study of religion in the large, will be the recognition, such as has never been made before, of elements of value, in some instances very rare and imperishable value, in faiths other and foreign to our own. Bacon said of Aristotle that, "after the manner of the Ottomans, he thought he could not safely reign unless he made away with all his brethren." So has it been with Christianity. In its insistance for itself of sole and exclusive claim, it has closed the eyes of its followers to whatever of merit and true beauty there might be in other religions, and so has done a grievous, a deep, and irreparable injustice to those religions. And this injury has reacted powerfully upon itself.

As religion is seen, now almost for the first time distinctly and clearly in history, to be in its elements a thing native to the human soul, not planted there by any communication from without, natural and normal, not exceptional or miraculous, a great change comes to the mind that reads. We have focal adjustment in the glass never before attained; things come into clear outline and pronounced character where before all was dimness and confusion. New light-points spring up in what had been only darkness, and we wonder at the spectacles of beauty never hitherto seen or even suspected. A great study is opened, one that must be prosecuted with interest and enlarging profit doubtless for ages to come.

I think there may be no fact in the Eastern world of more significance for the student of history than the appearance of the Sufi mystics. They are quite numerous still in the East, but little known as yet to us in the West. Sufism seems to have come, as much else has that is best in religious history, from a *cross*, cross of Mohammedanism in its best elements, by the poetic imagination and mystic piety of India. We find it first about one hundred years after the death of Mohammed, and it seems to have flourished greatly in the subsequent centuries, particularly the thirteenth, fourteenth, etc. Dschelaleddin Rumi (died 1262) is their great poet; but Rubia, eighth century, Ferededdin Attar, thirteenth century, and Dschami, fifteenth century, are names of high eminence in their calendar.

We find in these saints a clear recognition of the transcendence and utter incommunicability in speech of the spiritual, as also deep sense of its immanence, we may say its overshadowing sole presence and power. There are no loftier, more luscious strains anywhere than they employ in celebrating the loves and the satisfaction of the soul, its deep bathing and perfect exhilaration and ecstasy in the One, the object of its inmost uttermost longing and aspiration. All the vocabulary of affection, of passion, is exhausted in the language of these rapturous bards. They read, too, the symbolism, see eternity in time, the radiance of the everlasting in the forms and procession of the seen. Thus there is in all the ecstasy and boundless leap of their thought a sobriety, sanity, and poise, that we miss quite frequently in the utterances of the Indian mystics.

"These words," says Asisi, "although apprehended by the ear, are nevertheless addressed to the inner sense; for since the spiritual world is infinite, how can it be that its realities can be stated in speech? A certain similitude or hint, however small, is given in speech; but beware that you ask not more of this, since those things can never in any adequate or complete way be conveyed in language."

"This universe," says Dschelaleddin, "is a drop from the ocean of his beauty, unable from its fulness to be contained in that bosom."

"The beauty of woman," says Sururi, one of the commentators, "is a ray, not of the object we are drawn to love, but of God. The mystic looks upon the face of the supreme beauty in the manifestation of every individual nature, and loves, since he sees in this beauty the revelation of the glories of the divine name."

As religion is the attestation in the human soul of this supreme presence and the inner communing of the spirit with that same, all the special forms of faith become comparatively indifferent; they are partial, at best proximate and temporary, or, as Buddha expressed it, "mere raft to carry over the treasure." They are essays, and stand comparatively taken on the same plane. "As water from the glasses," says Dschelaleddin, "is all poured into one vessel, so all the praises are mingled together. Since he that is celebrated is wholly one, all religions form but one religion." One of his English critics lately has ascribed a like expression (we do not now remember to have seen it in his writings) to Mr. Emerson, that all religions are "the same wine poured into different glasses." "All men," says Hafiz, "seek their beloved, and all the world is love's dwelling; why talk of a mosque or a church?"

I have only room left here to give a brief extract showing their thought of prayer, its nature and the answer for it. Might not such a conception be safely and perhaps usefully imported into our Christianity of to-day? This which we give is by Dschelaleddin, taken from Tholuck's *Anthology of Oriental Mysticism*. I use Mr. Alger's translation from the German, as it is far better than I could furnish:—

"Allah!" was all night long the cry of one oppressed with care,
Till softened was his heart, and sweet became his lips with prayer;
Then near the subtle tempter stole, and spake: "Fond babbler, cease,
For not one 'Here am I' has God e'er sent to give thee peace."
With sorrow sank the suppliant's soul, and all his senses fled.
But lo! at midnight, the good angel Chiser, came and said:
"What ails thee now, my child, and why art thou afraid to pray?
And why thy former love dost thou repent? Declare and say."
"Ah!" cries he, "never once spake God to me, 'Here am I,' son;
Cast off, methinks I am, and warned far from his gracious throne."
To whom the angel answered: "Hear the word from God I bear:
'Go tell,' he said, 'yon mourner, sunk in sorrow and despair,
Each 'Lord appear' thy lips pronounce, contains my 'Here am I';
A special messenger I send beneath thine every sigh;
Thy love is but a girdle of the love I bear to thee,
And sleeping in thy 'Come, O Lord!' thus lies 'Here, son,' from me.'"

C. D. B. M.

NON-SECTARIAN SCHOOLS.

It may be safely assumed that a large majority of the American people would say that they are in favor of non-sectarian public schools. And yet it must be doubted whether a majority of these same people, if more closely questioned as to what they mean by non-sectarian schools, would not answer in a way that would indicate that they have no idea what absolute non-sectarianism means, but have in mind a kind of school not indeed supported by any one sect or in the interest of any one sect, but in which, nevertheless, their own religious tenets are to some extent distinctly maintained and inculcated. The Boston *Journal*, in some recent remarks on the action of the Roman Catholics towards the public schools in New Rochelle, New York, very accurately represents the attitude of this large class of citizens.

The circumstances of this case were (according to the *Journal's* statement), that the schools were opened, as most of our public schools are, with reading of selections from the Bible and repetition of the "Lord's Prayer." From this exercise Catholic children, however, had been excused if their parents requested it, and were allowed to enter the school at a later hour. As most of the parents did request it, the schools became disturbed by so large a number of children coming in after the opening, and the new rule was adopted that the Catholic children should assemble at the usual hour in a separate room and wait there during the religious exercises in the general room. Whereupon the Catholic parents petitioned the Board of Education that their own version of the Bible should be substituted for the King James translation (probably for use of their own children only), and a Catholic teacher be employed to read it. This would seem to be putting things on the ground of equality and fairness, provided religious exercises were to be permitted in the schools at all.

But the *Journal* evidently does not see the case in this light. With great *naïveté* it says that the religious exercises authorized in the schools—the reading of the Bible and the "Lord's Prayer"—were "in no sense sectarian," and that the Catholic opposition is only a part of a bold and determined plan to break up and destroy "the non-sectarian public school system, so highly prized by Americans." And this is the exact position of a very large portion of the people of the United States. They see nothing sectarian in reciting the "Lord's Prayer" and in reading the Bible as a special religious exercise in the schools!

The people who take this position are Protestants—mostly Evangelical Protestants. And as between different sects of Evangelical Protestants, there may be nothing specially sectarian in such an exercise. But as between the great body of the Protestant sects and the Roman Catholics, such an exercise has always been regarded by Catholics as a distinctive mark of Protestant worship, and hence is sectarian from the point of view—that of the free State—which takes in both divisions of Christendom.

And from the same comprehensive point of view the exercise is also sectarian, of course, for other reasons. Why is the Bible read in this formal way in school except as a book of special religious authority? Why is the "Lord's Prayer" repeated except on the ground of the belief that Jesus was a teacher of religion specially commissioned by divine authority? To all those, then—and they make no inconsiderable portion of the American people,—who do not and cannot accept the Bible or Jesus as occupying any exceptional position of authority in religious history, this exercise, with which our public schools are generally opened, is sectarian and stamps the schools as sectarian. It is an exercise that helps strongly to uphold certain religious opinions—opinions concern-

ing Jesus and the Bible—which may be dear to the majority of American citizens, but which are in direct opposition to beliefs of a large minority quite as sincerely held and as warmly cherished.

Why should a Jewish child be expected to join, even by passive silence, in a religious exercise from the New Testament, which, according to his faith, is not an authoritative religious book? Or why should a child who is taught by his parents at home the rationalistic view of religious history, by which Jesus and the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures are put, as natural productions, into the same company with other eminent religious books and teachers, be expected at school to pay even indirect homage to Jesus and the Bible by a religious exercise founded upon the prevailing belief of Christendom concerning them? It is clear that a large body of the American people need to be educated to a more correct definition of sectarianism—to a definition that will respect others' rights of belief as well as their own,—and that our schools will not become "non-sectarian" until all religious exercises as such are removed from them.

W. J. P.

Communications.

FEELING A TRUTH-DISCOVERER.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

In your letter to Mr. Chadwick, you say that "emotion is always a subjective phenomenon, which conveys no objective information." This statement is so utterly opposed to my own ideas that I feel as if I must say a word and ask if you really mean it. If this is a part of your "scientific method," then I am still more clearly opposed to it than ever as a sole authority in religion; for, if there is no "objective information" in the feeling, then it seems to me that both God and virtue are subjective beliefs altogether. Please consider candidly these few thoughts I offer.

In the first place, I would call your attention to an extract from an article in the *Inquirer*:—

"Take the question of slavery. Has any purely intellectual process ever demonstrated that it is wrong? The sentiment against it has not been founded upon reason, but the reason upon the sentiment. Calhoun has not been answered by mere logic; he has not been argued down, but crushed by the generosities of advanced humanity. If one has a heart of stone, we can't prove to him that slavery is wrong. He must have feeling, emotion, in order to give reason something to work upon, and this feeling is the ultimate tribunal that gives the decisive condemnation. So far as the head is concerned, slavery can hold its own. It finds its Waterloo in the heart of man."

Let me now give you an extract from Hume to the same effect:—

"It is easy for a false hypothesis to maintain some appearance of truth while it keeps wholly in generals, makes use of undefined terms, and employs comparisons instead of instances. This is particularly remarkable in that philosophy which ascribes the discernment of all moral distinctions to reason alone without the concurrence of sentiment. It is impossible that in any particular instance this hypothesis can so much as be rendered intelligible. Examine the crime of ingratitude, for instance, which has place wherever we observe good-will expressed and known, together with good offices performed, on one side, and a return of ill-will or indifference with ill offices or neglect, on the other. *Anatomize all these circumstances and examine by your reason alone in what consists the demerit or blame; you will never come to any issue or conclusion.*" Hume's position is this: that the intellect can only judge of *matter of fact* and *relation*; that in regard to the crime of ingratitude all it can do is show that certain facts and relations constitute ingratitude; but that these facts and relations are worthy of *blame*, that is, that they constitute a *wrong*, is the declaration not of *reason*, but of *sentiment*. He affirms that "morality is determined by sentiment," taking (as I understand it) the position of Mr. Chadwick, and in opposition to your own. It does seem to me that this position is incontrovertible. If a man affirms that a certain line of conduct is right, you prove by the intellect that his conduct comes under the term ingratitude. If he has the feeling of a man, he will submit. But if he has not the feeling of a man, but plumply admits that his conduct is ingratitude, and that ingratitude is not wrong, how can you convince him of error? Reason is exhausted in showing that he is ungrateful, but if he says, "I've a right to be ungrateful," reason has nothing more to say. The Moral Sentiment must declare that he is to blame.

Is not this proposition, "Ingratitude is wrong," an *objective* truth? Is it a mere "subjective phenomenon?" But our *total source* of information in regard to this proposition is, according to Hume, the *moral sentiment*. Does not the moral sentiment, therefore, give "objective information?" If this was simply my own individual conviction, I might yield, thinking that I was mistaken; but when I am fortified in this position by so keen and clear a thinker as Hume, one of the great champions of the rights of the intellect, as untrammelled by custom or prejudice as yourself, then I think I must be right, for it is not faith, but experience, that demonstrates what I affirm. I do not say that feeling is infallible, any more than the senses are infallible; but as the senses do give us truth, though we must sift their testimony, so I say the sentiments give us truth, though we must also sift their testimony. It is the office of the intellect to sift the testimony of both, but the intellect goes too far when it rejects the senses altogether as giving any objective information; so I say it goes too far when it rejects the sentiments as giving no objective information whatsoever. Human feeling is a truth-discoverer. It does come in contact with the outward universe, and conveys to the mind of man impressions of a reality outside of that mind. I am willing to submit my sentiments to the intellect for a full and thorough analysis; but I am not willing that the intellect should throw them aside as mere "subjective phenomena." In the light of feeling there is a Revelation of God, of Humanity, of Virtue, transcending what the Intellect can give of its own motion. Without this light I could not traverse the paths of existence with any hope or courage. It is what comes into my heart, and flashes from it in joy and power, that fills the universe with its noblest and sweetest meanings.

But remember what I offer is not the outcome of my own passionate longing, but the perception of a hard-headed, unpoetic thinker like Hume. Perhaps I am a "Sentimentalist;" but how will you answer Hume? Truly yours, S. P. PUTNAM.

NORTHFIELD, Mass.

THE CYNIC.

Cave canem. I am he. An honest hostile note is good to clear the air. If I have imbibed a spirit of hostility to the way of the world, it is perhaps my misfortune more than my fault. I have had grief enough to kill an acre of Canada thistles. If it had happened to have a softening instead of a hardening effect, I suppose things would have been better with me,—or at least different.

It is said to be policy to fall in with the popular current; but there must be an opposition party, and I constitute that party. I prefer to be on the unpopular side, the defeated, the wrong side. What is the right side? In purely mathematical questions, there is, I suppose, little difference of opinion; but everywhere else right means that which is backed by the largest count of noses, the strongest battalions, the biggest pile of dollars. But, you say, numerical superiority does not justify wrong; you claim the superior accuracy of the private judgment; right is right although under the ban of the whole world and upheld by only a single voice. Very well; I agree with you. I am willing to admit that perhaps I am right and the world is wrong.

Among all the creeds, parties, churches, and cliques with which the world is filled, I find no resting-place. My faculty of dissent is inexhaustible. To be one of a lot,—smooth submissive rogues confederated for mutual admiration, and to gain power over outsiders, and to give to their performances the justification of numbers? Not I; it is my fate to be a lone man. How reconcile magnanimity with success, courage with conformity? The more voices say "Ay," the more must I say "No," to keep the balance. It is a sphere on which we dwell; why all huddle to one side of it? I am devoted (without choice on my part) to the cause of the weak, the unsuccessful, the imperfect,—and the evil? What is evil? Poor despised wrong side of things, I will take up for you every time.

What is conservatism? Iron tension of a claw at the throat of the prey. Radicalism? Rebellion crowding for room to live; not merely for the necessities of physical existence—the contented thrall is surest of them,—but the freedom of movement and expression which the best men most value.

What is law? The sagging weight of mediocrity, the pitiless imbecile average social drift that hangs its Christs and Cartouches on the same gibbet. Government is the combination of the successful, the low flung devotees of gross material self-aggrandizement; law is the expression of their will. This stubborn inert Philistine viscosity holds the pudding together, and exhibits a strong tendency to collect around the plums. Law is the rules of the game of life, made by and for the winners.

It is they who can give rules to the game and enforce them,—would you expect the losers to control the game? Law is based on power; any pretence of deriving it from anything else is insulting hypocrisy. Law is always an interested opinion, never a candid speculative opinion. It is the conspiracy of the winners,—an artificial advantage with which they, insatiable, seek to enhance their natural advantage.

What is Christianity? A degeneration? A narrowing from free universal speculative thought to something smaller and more practical? Christianity is the prudent dweller in a snug little house; Paganism, the Nature-inspired wanderer under the wide firmament. Paganism, behind its husks, was the love of Nature, the involuntary worship of visible beautiful existence; Christianity is the real idolatry,—it worships the system it has constructed, the salvation-scheme of which it claims sole proprietorship; while the healthy heathen feels in himself no need of salvation,—he is saved from the start. Christianity (not Christ's kind but the available popular kind) worships logic rather than cosmic truth; always worships something artificial and man-shaped. Paganism always has been the *cultus* of genius; Christianity, or any systematic, logical, moral religion, the choice of the small, the prudent, the timid sycophants of fortune. Christ was not a Christian, and although saturated by inheritance and education with the ethical bias, was yet too universal a soul to allow it to eclipse all other truth to him; his struggles were toward the sunlight, away from the lamplight. Were he to live again to-day he would be thought a horrible irreligionist by Orthodox Christians, precisely as he was by Orthodox Jewry.

What is God?—this something invoked in justification of all sorts of deeds, this wall against which sanctimony backs itself? Cause personified; philosophical necessity of unphilosophical minds; grand labor-saving hypothesis; a taking hold of things by the wrong end, the end farthest from us; how clumsy and how natural! What is God? Mordant to the kaleidoscopic imagination of the people; desperate effort of confused dismayed ignorance to anchor itself. For practical purposes God is the Cerberus that guards the *bourgeois* Elysium. What is the Devil? The wrong side of God; the negative pole of theism; the hostile element in Nature. The Devil is equally worshipped with the God; God is pompously propitiated in the cathedral; Devil is feared and respected in the heart. To God they give faith, but to the Devil, works. Devil-worship has also its public shrines; they who bow lowest to him on 'Change shall not miss their reward—and punishment. How reassuring, how certifying to us of the universal unity, to know that the Church is built with stolen money pirated from labor in the labyrinthine chicane of business. It is mercantile success,—the legal larcenious appropriation of more than equitable pay for the work of effecting exchanges, that has built the churches in every land. The trader gets possession of his over-wage by the grace of the Devil; but, feeling some secret misgivings, he repairs to the Church, and there by the grace of God he obtains a perfect title to his spoils.

The enlightened mind conceives in Nature neither favor nor opposition to man, but necessity; an impartial order, to be understood and made use of. A free man worships no God, fears no Devil. An honest man's code is the same in temple or market-place,—the consequence of which is that there is little show for him in either place.

What is holiness? Childish attempt to grasp the sweet and avoid the bitter? Inordinate desire for happiness? Aspirants after the beauty of holiness make of their personal righteousness (with which they hope to secure eternal felicity) a grim idol to which every other consideration is sacrificed. The devout is the supremely selfish who hesitates not to make everything—the miseries of humanity, the misfortunes, errors, and sufferings of himself and his friends (especially his friends)—useful material in building up a preconceived style of character (or at least reputation) such as will give him an indisputable claim to an eternity of exclusive enjoyment. He waives the immediate necessities of healthful life in the interests of an imaginary future.

What is virtue? Brilliant profession, or obscure practice? Is it at all compatible with what the world calls success? The average social canons, estimating everything in that indiscriminate quantitative way we know so well, are simply revolting. The loftiest and the lowest natures seem about alike liable to fall under the social condemnation. Society has no mercy for extremism; will destroy it if possible; but if it cannot, will fall down and worship it.

Many have dreamed of a new age when moral quality should no longer be estimated all of repute, or of the overt act, but of the interior spirit,—when man might spurn the barriers which were necessary to fence the beast. But the golden age comes slowly; nowhere yet have we seen a whole man in happy harmony with a whole socialism.

Thus far snarleth the cynic—yea, farther, even *ad nauseam*. Who is he? No one in particular; a little of everybody,—of all those who have felt the gauzy pinions of their youthful enthusiasms collapse helplessly in the heavy atmosphere of real life.

G. E. T.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

THE JESUITS vs. SECRETARY THOMPSON.

The Jesuits are about as much in keeping with modern society as the priests of the ancient Egyptian goddess, Isis, or the "Phrygian Mother," Cybele, would be. Three or four generations ago they were suppressed as a social nuisance. Since their revival by Pius VII., in 1815, they have been making hay while the sun of reaction shines. They evidently think themselves a terrible set of fellows,—mysterious, subtle, and sly, like J. Bagstock.* And yet the history of their order, even in its palmy days, shows that in the long-run they have always brought themselves to grief by a lack of that very worldly wisdom which they are commonly reputed to possess in such large measure. Founded by a romantic Spanish lunatic and knight, Ignatius Loyola, who in the tedious hours of convalescence from a wound, had ecstatic visions and Platonic intercourse with the Virgin Mary, who has ever since been the patron goddess of the Jesuits and their sole object of worship, they arose contemporaneously with Luther and the great Reformation in the Teutonic world. In fact the Latin fanatic Loyola, set himself regularly to work to bring the Reformation to naught. Hume says in his *History of England*, in describing the machinations and plots of the Jesuits against Queen Elizabeth, whom they hated as venomously as they hate Bismarck now, that the order, which was then new, was specially devoted to teaching the young, not because it was friendly to the diffusion of knowledge, but, the dissemination of knowledge among the people being no longer preventable in the progress of society, the Jesuits took upon themselves the office of perverting it and drugging it so that it might not destroy superstition. So says Hume. The prominent American who just now enjoys the honor of Jesuit hostility above any other is Secretary Thompson of the Navy Department, who has written a book which undertakes to demonstrate that a Catholic priest cannot be a good citizen of the republic, and that the Catholic Church is in all respects un-American and anti-American, a menace and a peril to democratic institutions. We have just glanced through the book in question, and

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should judge from a mere cursory look at its contents that, while Secretary Thompson is full of information about his subject, he lacks the skill of a ready writer. His style is somewhat watery and diffuse, but he has gathered all the facts, so that the average reader will, after a perusal of his book, find himself in possession of a large fund of knowledge, in regard to Romanism. The Jesuits have advertised the book by their attacks on the author, so that it must find, sooner or later, an immense sale. For aught we know, it may come to bear the same relation to some near-at-hand encounter between Romanism and Americanism, which Helper's famous *Irrepressible Conflict* bore to the struggle between freedom and slavery. In their replies to Secretary Thompson, the gentlemen who write S. J. after their names affirm that they love American institutions, popular freedom, and freedom of all kinds, with a most ardent affection; and that the ultimate triumph of Romanism and Jesuitism in the United States, which they say is only a question of time, will show how fond of popular liberty they and their Church are. But how does it happen that the Jesuits and the Roman Church are such deadly foes of liberty in all European countries, and so friendly to it in the United States? Will Father Wenniger rise and explain? In France just now, whose administration is under Jesuit control, editors are fined and imprisoned for discussing public men and measures, so that there is no freedom of the press there. A parliamentary majority is overridden and dispersed by a president who was the mere creature originally of the Corps Législatif; and MacMahon is substantially an absolute dictator doing his pleasure without regard to the will of a majority of the French electors. This is the kind of treatment which popular sovereignty receives at the hands of Jesuits in France. Why should it be dearer to them in the United States? An explanation is in order just here.

The Jesuits are a very sanguine lot of gentlemen. For long years they gave out that they were sure ultimately of capturing the great Empire of Russia. But unfortunately for them Russia has ceased to tolerate them and their Church. Doubtless it would be a fine thing for them to get control of a great, growing, modern community like Russia or this country; but the prospect of their doing so is not good. They are everywhere great intermeddlers in politics. One of their political maxims is that "through anarchy comes hierarchy," or the rule of priests. Some of their organs have announced that Secretary Thompson is to be removed from the Cabinet because he has offended their order. We opine not.

The Republican party is so far an American party that it has always found the Jesuits its foes; and its leaders are not likely to consult their wishes. The Jesuits may make Secretary Thompson President of the United States, if they keep up their attacks on him.

AMERICUS.

THE VEXED QUESTION.

DEAR INDEX:—

In the course of your late plucky and persistent warfare on the grounds of science and mystery, I have gathered, in my obscure corner among the eager spectators, steadily heightened estimates of its significance and value. Regretful impressions, of necessity, followed any sallies that were tinged with personal bitterness; but the cheering dominance of noble feeling among the wranglers easily throws that shadow into the background. I have often, in the past, arisen from the perusal of discussions on these topics, apparently so evasive and intangible, with an involuntary ejaculation of the elegant phrase, "Tweedledum and tweedledee!" Whether or not the obscurity lay in my own obtuseness, it seems now as if the contestants were picking up more available tools, with probability of making shorter work in deciding if the shield be gold or silver, or both. At all events, I am constrained to say,—blessed be agitation!

Through all the *pros* and *cons* of your sturdy editor and his assailants, I can never escape the conviction that they invest him in their judgment with attributes that are foreign to his nature and position, The clang of his armor is interpreted as the resonance of a warrior all brazen to the core, in whom there can be no thought of mercy or loving kindness.

His inexorable logic is supposed to man the forges for a cast-iron universe, belted with tried steel. But to his adherents the scintillations of that mental armor seem entirely compatible with the pulsations of a genuine human heart. To them his untiring struggles have for their aim the establishment in the convictions of mankind of the conditions essential for abiding love and peace.

For one, I fail to see how the pursuit of absolute truth can oppose any obstacle to what is held by common acceptance to be an upright and sympathetic life among men. If it should be shown by successful investigation that the grand motive power in this complicated environment of our consciousness is more diffusive than we had learned to believe; that the continuance of that consciousness yields to inevitable change; and that certain courses of conduct traditionally held to be just will not stand the test of scientific scrutiny, how can it cause a hair's breadth of swerving in *loyalty to best results by evident provings?* To me it seems wholly possible, nay, certain, that the limitless depths of mystery are threaded by equally endless lines of rigorous law, strictly akin to those of physical science, narrow and feeble though it be in comparison with the realms unexplored. I regard it as wholly probable that the effort will not be fruitless, if we cast our line and plummet among spiritual treasures by a very similar method to that which yields results so substantial and satisfying in the world of matter. I am not in the least apprehensive, if the recoil from arrest and eager grasp for extended life and new attainment in the individual prove to be heralds of an idefinite future, that truth will fail for the hungry soul; I should be quite willing to take the risk of getting sated in this restless universe. And as to a grand source of emotional life, that theme which brings up the great heart-throbs and dearest hopes of all humanity, it seems to me the surest thing of all, that whoever lives an honest, earnest life in soul and body will find himself securely buoyed upon an unfailing support of kindred souls. What boots it to him in what form the refreshing current reaches him so long as it brings sustenance and inspiring force for his noblest faculties? If these notions seem wild and rampant to one whose belief is yet chained to traditional moorings, is the popular idea of deity any less so? Is there not rather a calmer and more rational dignity—although the searching may not find out God in any full or final sense—in continuing the search for him in accordance with the best maps we possess of the visible territory? It hardly seems wild to suspect that the vaster and finer domain, albeit as yet so elusive, may develop close analogies to the solid facts that have become the fixed property of experience. The elimination of factors that have served their ends in primary stages surely need not impair the vitality of a process that beckons toward infinity.

J. P. TITCOMB.

BEHIND THE AGE.

PROVIDENCE, June 24, 1877.

F. E. ABBOT, ESQ.:

Dear Sir,—I have been asked to send the enclosed to you. It was clipped from a paper entitled *Every Evening and Commercial*, Wilmington, Delaware, Monday, June 4, 1877.

It seems to me scarcely worth while to take any more notice of such a piece of stupidity than to remark it as fact, existing after nearly two thousand years of "the highest Christian civilization," that men possess mind and morals still so much in the dark. The idea is the old one of infant damnation. It comes from Delaware, where the whipping-post stands; and let us hope that all who sympathize with the ideas of the reverend gentleman are with him in that State, and that there they will remain.

Yours respectfully, D. F. THORPE.

Temperance Work.

REV. I. M. HALDEMAN PREACHES TO THE REFORM CLUB AND CONDEMNS THE MOVEMENT—TEMPERANCE MEN DEFEND THEIR ACTIONS.

Rev. I. M. Haldeman, of the Delaware Avenue Baptist Church, having complied with a request to preach a sermon to the Moral Suasion Reform Club, about one hundred and fifty of the members repaired to the church last evening. The reverend gentleman, in his sermon, condemned the whole temperance movement, on the ground that it was taking the work out of the hands of God. Reformation without redemption was a sin, and to sign the temperance pledge was a sin. It is God's business and not man's to raise men out of the gutter.

Mr. H. proceeded to show that man is by nature a sinner; that there is not one element in him capable of producing reformation; that he is by nature a child of wrath; that the wrath of God abideth on him; that he is subject to the judgment of Almighty God, and only through acceptance of Jesus Christ can this judgment be averted. He also argued that this movement led men to believe that there was something in themselves that could be improved and led Godward, and had a tendency to make humanitarianism Christianity. He also asserted that the commission of a sin did not make a man a sinner; but, because he was by nature a sinner, he committed sins, and in short took a decided stand against the entire movement as being only reformation without regeneration. He closed with an earnest appeal to all to accept Christ as their only hope.

The congregation was a very large one, occupying every available place in the church, and it is estimated that fifteen hundred persons were present. The Reform Club occupied the middle aisle of pews, which had been reserved for them. The discourse created a profound sensation and gave rise to a great deal of comment.

After the sermon, about two hundred of the temperance men adjourned to the tent, at Thirteenth and Market Streets, where a number of speeches were made; and, though nothing was said in condemnation of Mr. Haldeman, the work of temperance reform, as at present carried on, was defended.

Mr. Wells said that Mr. Haldeman was answerable to God alone for his convictions; but they had been taught a valuable lesson by his discourse, and that was to think and act for themselves. They could go to the Bible and find what Christ said and did, and from him learn their duty to God and man. They firmly believed that what they were doing was approved by God, as all through the Testament were the positive commands of God and his promises. The other speeches were to the same effect, Messrs. Dutcher, Lee, Winslow, Riggs, Leibrandt, and Rev. A. D. Davis being the speakers. Another meeting will be held at the tent to-night.

WHAT IS LIBERALISM?

Many young persons who have felt the impulse of the age to investigate religious and moral subjects, but whose convictions are not yet mature and fixed, are no doubt eager to know what Liberalism means. Enthusiasm cannot live on vague and speculative ideas. Neither can a cause inspire moral zeal in its supporters, unless it be founded on more than negative belief.

At the risk of being thought a dull pupil in the Liberal school, I wish to ask of those who understand the movement better, What does Liberalism mean? What *affirmative* principles constitute its basis? There are so many persons of different and contradictory views calling themselves Liberals—Materialists and Spiritualists, Atheists and Theists, Evolutionists and Creationists, and an indefinite number of other schools of freethinkers, all claiming the name of Liberals. Now before I enlist in a cause, I want to know what principles it is seeking to propagate and establish. If I am to preach Spiritualism, I want to know it; and if I am to preach Materialism, I want to know it. If all speculative questions like these are to be ignored, or made no test of fellowship, then I want to know what *moral* principles are to be the basis of our organization. Are we to reaffirm the moral principles of the Orthodox system, or are we to institute a new moral law? We cannot ignore these questions for the sake of accommodating different opinions. We cannot say that it is of no consequence whether the sum of two and two is four or five in the system of moral science. We must have well-defined and harmonious principles here; and before Liberalism can ever secure the earnest support of a moral reform, it must have a consistent, tangible, and affirmative basis.

I do not want to find fault with Liberalism, for with all of vagueness and contradictions it is very dear to me; but I have grown weary of its negations and indefiniteness. I think timid conservatism safer than blind, fanatical iconoclasm; and, however illiberal it may sound, I could as consistently join the "God in the Constitution" party as I could coöperate with all persons calling themselves Liberals. I would rather risk the ecclesiastic tyranny of Orthodoxy than the moral heresies of many who are loud in their professions of liberalism. I prefer a more limited fellowship with more harmony of principles; and if the present state of diversity of opinions on religious and moral questions will not permit Liberalism to affirm its belief on these momentous subjects, I shall be forced to still go alone in this world of thought and felling.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo., July 6, 1877.

[Probably Mr. Neville has never read the first Index Tract, "Truths for the Times." It contains "Fifty Affirmations" and "Modern Principles," and was designed to be a succinct statement of "what liberalism is." When our friend has read this Tract (which we have mailed to his address), we shall be pleased to know whether it answers his question, and, if not, why not.—ED.]

WIGGLESWORTH'S "DAY OF DOOM."

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

The article in the issue of THE INDEX of July 5, entitled "Joseph Cook and Jonathan Edwards," taken from the Newburyport *Herald*, furnishes me with just the thing which I have been looking for. I have an Orthodox friend who asserts that no recognized author can be pointed out who expresses a belief in the damnation of infants; and that all allusions, in the Bible and elsewhere, to fire as a means of punishment in hell are purely symbolical. I wish that we could have occasional quotations of a similar character from Evangelical authors published in THE INDEX, for it is evident that the Orthodox are sloughing off their old skin, and mean to deny that they were ever inside of it. It may be well to keep bits of it to show them from time to time. Meanwhile will you allow me to offer you something edifying?

The Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, an American verse-writer of much reputation, was born in 1631, and graduated at Harvard College soon after entering upon his twentieth year. His principal work, *The Day of Doom, or a Poetical Description of the Great and Last Judgment, with a Short Discourse about Eternity*, passed through six editions in this country, and was reprinted in London. A few verses will show its style.

After the "sheep" have received their reward, the several classes of "goats" are arraigned before the judgment-seat, and, in turn, begin to excuse themselves. When the infants object to damnation on the ground that

> . . . . Adam is set free
> And saved from his trespass,
> Whose sinful fall hath spilt them all,
> And brought them to this pass,—

the Puritan theologist does not sustain his doctrine very well, nor quite to his own satisfaction even; and the judge, admitting the palliating circumstances, decides that, although

> . . . . in bliss
> They may not hope to dwell,
> Still unto them he will allow
> The easiest room in hell.

At length the general sentence is pronounced, and the condemned begin to

> Wring their hands, their caitiff-hands,
> And gnash their teeth for terror;
> They cry, they roar for anguish sore,
> And gnaw their tongues for horror.
> But get away without delay;
> CHRIST pities not your cry;
> Depart to hell; there ye may yell,
> And roar eternally.

Wigglesworth died in 1705. What has been above written about him and the lines quoted are from Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America:* Historical Introduction, p. xix.

BOSTON, July 12, 1877.

AT A YOUNG LADIES' seminary recently, during an examination in history, one of the not most promising pupils was interrogated: "Mary, did Martin Luther die a natural death?" "No," was the reply; "he was excommunicated by a bull."

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PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation

GLIMPSES.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition of the National Liberal League have been received as follows since last week: from Mr. George Schumm, San Francisco, Cal., 99; from Mr. William H. Eastman, San Francisco, 37; from Mr. Seth N. Allen, Maple Rapids, Mich., 30. Total thus far received—7,256.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE was organized last April at Stockton, California, with the following officers: President, G. C. Hyatt; Vice-President, Charles Haas; Secretary, F. C. Lawrence; Treasurer, W. F. Freeman. It has a list of thirty-one members, and proposes to sustain a series of lectures next winter in Stockton. Its Constitution has been very neatly printed in the form of a small pamphlet.

IN REPLY to an application for half-fare for those attending the proposed Grove Meeting at Wolcott, N. Y., it is announced by the R. W. and O. R. R. that they will comply with the request; and return free, on certificate from the Secretary of the meeting, all who pay full fare to Wolcott. Persons from the West can take this road at Niagara Falls, from the East at Rome, from the North at Ogdensburg, and from the South at Syracuse.

SAYS THE LONDON *World* of July 4: "On the walls of the bedrooms in the Granville Hotel are to be found large placards illuminated with Scriptural texts. Surely such things, though imparting somewhat of a cheerful aspect to the blank whitewash of hospitals and jails, are out of place at the Granville. This is a further manifestation of the fussy Christianity which induces hotel-keepers to occupy part of the meagre space on your toilet-table with a brown Testament, and railway companies to hang their mangy waiting-rooms with fluttering strips of Bible quotations of the most fulminating and denunciatory character."

THE FOURTH COUNCIL of the Union of American Hebrew congregations was opened at St. George's Hall, Philadelphia, on the tenth of July. Hon. B. F. Peixotto, late consul to Roumania, was elected President, and Mr. L. Levy, of Cincinnati, Secretary. The report of the Board of Delegates showed that the Jews have fourteen public institutions under their control, some of them not being limited to sectarian uses. They have fifteen newspapers and magazines devoted to the cause of Judaism, and four Jewish orders or secret societies, the objects of which are the advancement of Judaism, mutual assistance, and charity.

IT IS CLEAR that John Bull is not to be Romanized without some active exertion of his crural muscles. *Punch* makes various vicious observations on a book which has been of late very effectually advertised: "'The Priest in Absolution,' by a much needed application of soap-and-water to his dirt, will become 'The Priest in Ablution'; ducked in the most convenient horse-pond, 'The Priest in Solution'; and, in relation to the Church he does his worst to bring into hatred and contempt, 'The Priest in Dissolution—of the Establishment.'"—"The 'Priest in Absolution' will be followed, we hope, by the 'Horsewhip in Application.'"—"Suggested Vestments for the Brethren of the Holy Cross: tar and feathers."

THE SHEIK-UL-ISLAM, the chief Ecclesiastic of the Mohammedans, proclaimed the "Holy War" against Russia in this Fetwa, or proclamation, in the form of a regular interrogation, followed by the ceremonial reply of the Sheik-ul-Islam: "*Question*,—If, after the Commander of the Faithful—whose Khalifate may God prolong to the day of the judgment—has concluded a solemn treaty with the ruler of an unbelieving country, the Sovereign of such country makes unendurable and unacceptable demands which lessen the glory of Islam and degrade the Mohammedan nation, and, in order to impose these demands upon Mussulmans, insultingly makes preparations for war, transgresses the boundaries of Mohammedan States and devastates the same, and thus breaks the solemn treaty; in such a case, as soon as it is plain that the Mussulmans possess the necessary strength and resources for the contest, and that the contest on behalf of the Faith is meritorious, is it the duty of the Protector of the Faith, the Sultan of the Mussulmans—to whom may the Almighty God grant victory,—to send the conquering troops of Islam against that country, and, in confidence in God the Supreme Ruler, to undertake the War of Faith for the glory of Islam against the said country and people? It is an answer that is sought. *Answer*,—Yes, God knows that is so. Thus writes the poor Hassan Cheirullah, unto whom may God be merciful!"

A POWERFUL attempt is evidently making in this country to array the universities and colleges on the side of Christianity, in its great struggle with science. The *Christian Intelligencer* believes that, in spite of the determined efforts of unbelievers to array science against the Bible, and especially against all Evangelical and spiritual religion, the prevailing tone of education in our higher institutions is distinctly religious. Dr. Krauth, vice-provost of the University of Pennsylvania, in his late address to the literary societies of Rutgers College, denounced the anti-Christian materialism of the day as having organized into form the sin against the Holy Ghost. Dr. Bartlett, the new president of Dartmouth, in his inaugural, speaking of "Mental Docility and Reverence," warned his hearers not to "mistake the despotism of hypothesis for the reign of law." And he added: "True thinkers on the great I Am must respect other thinkers and God. Huxley cannot play fast-and-loose with human volition, nor juggle the trustiness of memory with a stage of consciousness, to save his system. It will be time to believe a million of things in a lump when one of them is fully proved in detail,—for instance, the theory of natural selection. I must believe that any mind is fundamentally unhinged that speaks lightly of that mighty influence that has moulded human events and has upheaved the world." The *Intelligencer* says, that from almost every other college in the land similar sentiments, uttered by leading men, indicate the powerful reaction of competent Christian scholarship against the ungodly science of the age, with its hasty imagination and its tyrannical spirit.

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Spinoza: 1677 and 1877.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT AT THE HAGUE, FEBRUARY 21, 1877.

BY ERNEST RENAN.

On this day two hundred years, in the afternoon, and at about this same hour, there lay dying, at the age of forty-three, on the quiet quay of the Pavilioengragt, a few paces hence, a poor man, whose life had been so profoundly silent that his last sigh was scarcely heard. He had occupied a retired room in the house of a worthy pair, who, without understanding him, felt for him an instinctive veneration. On the morning of his last day he had gone down as usual to join his hosts; there had been religious services that morning; the gentle philosopher conversed with the good folk about what the minister had said, much approved it, and advised them to conform themselves thereto. The host and hostess (let us name them; their honest sincerity entitles them to a place in this beautiful Idyl of the Hague related by Colerus), the Van der Spycks, husband and wife, went back to their devotions. On their return home, their peaceful lodger was dead. The funeral, on the 25th of February, was conducted like that of a Christian believer, in the new church on the Spuy. All the inhabitants of the district greatly regretted the disappearance of the sage who had lived among them as one of themselves. His hosts preserved his memory like a religion, and none who had approached him ever spoke of him without calling him, according to custom, "the blessed Spinoza."

About the same time, however, any one able to track the current of opinion setting in among the professedly enlightened circles of the Pharisaism of that day, would have seen, in singular contrast, the much loved philosopher of the simple and single-hearted become the bugbear of the narrow orthodoxy which pretended to a monopoly of the truth. A wretch, a pestilence, an imp of hell, the most wicked atheist that ever lived, a man steeped in crime,—this was what the solitary of the Paviliоengragt grew to be in the opinion of right-thinking theologians and philosophers!

Portraits were spread abroad exhibiting him as "bearing on his face the signs of reprobation." A distinguished philosopher, bold as he, but less consistent and less completely sincere, called him "a wretch." But Justice was to have her day. The human mind, attaining, in Germany especially, toward the end of the eighteenth century, to a more enlightened theology and a wider philosophy, recognized in Spinoza the precursor of a new gospel. Jacobi took the public into his confidence as to a conversation he had held with Lessing. He had gone to Lessing in hopes of enlisting his aid against Spinoza. What was his astonishment on finding in Lessing an avowed Spinozist! "Ἓν καὶ πᾶν," said Lessing to him,—this is the whole of philosophy. Him whom a whole century had declared an atheist, Novalis pronounced a "God-intoxicated man." His forgotten works were published, and eagerly sought after. Schleiermacher, Goethe, Hegel, Schelling, all with one voice proclaim Spinoza the father of modern thought. Perhaps there may have been some exaggeration in this first outburst of tardy reparation; but time, which sets everything in its place, has substantially ratified Lessing's judgment; and in the present day there is no enlightened mind that does not acknowledge Spinoza as the man who possessed the highest God-consciousness of his day. It is this conviction that has made you decree that his pure and lowly tomb should have its anniversary. It is the common assertion of a free faith in the Infinite that on this day gathers together, in the spot that witnessed so much virtue, the most select assembly that a man of genius could group round him after his death. A sovereign, as distinguished by intellectual as by moral gifts, is among us in spirit. A prince who can justly appreciate merit of every kind, by distinguishing this solemnity with his presence, desires to testify that, of the glories of Holland, not one is alien to him, and that no lofty thinking escapes his enlightened judgment and his philosophic admiration.

I.

The illustrious BARUCH DE SPINOZA was born at Amsterdam at the time when your republic was attaining its highest degree of glory and power. He belonged to that great race which, by the influence it has exerted and the services it has rendered, occupies so exceptional a place in the history of civilization. Miraculous in its own way, the development of the Jewish people ranks side by side with that other miracle,—the development of the Greek mind; for if Greece, from the first, realized the ideal of poetry, of science, of philosophy, of art, of profane life, if I may so speak, the Jewish people has made the religion of humanity. Its prophets inaugurated in the world the idea of righteousness, the revindication of the rights of the weak,—a revindication so much the more violent that, all idea of future recompense being unknown to them, they dreamed of the realization of the ideal upon this earth, and at no distant period. It was a Jew, Isaiah, who, seven hundred and fifty years before Jesus Christ, dared affirm that sacrifices are of little importance, and that one thing only is needful: purity of heart and hands. Then, when earthly events seemed irremediably to contradict such bright Utopias, Israel can change front in a way unparalleled.

Transporting into the domain of pure idealism that kingdom of God with which earth proves incompatible, one moiety of its children founds Christianity, the other carries on, through the tortures of the middle ages, that imperturbable protest: "Hear, O Israel! the Lord thy God is one; holy is his name." This potent tradition of idealism and hope against all hope—this religion, able to obtain from its adherents the most heroic sacrifices, though it be not of its essence to promise them any certainty beyond this life,—this was the healthy and bracing medium in which Spinoza developed himself. His education was at first entirely Hebraic; the great literature of Israel was his earliest, and, in point of fact, his perpetual instructress,—was the meditation of all his life.

As generally happens, Hebrew literature, in assuming the character of a sacred book, had become the subject of a conventional exegesis, much less intent upon explaining the old texts according to the meaning in their authors' minds than on finding in them aliment for the moral and religious wants of the day. The penetrating mind of the young Spinoza soon discerned all the defects of the exegesis of the synagogue; the Bible, as taught him, was disfigured by the accumulated perversions of more than two thousand years. He determined to pierce beyond these. He was, indeed, essentially at one with the true fathers of Judaism, and especially with that great Maimonides, who found a way of introducing into Judaism the most daring speculations of philosophy. He foresaw with wondrous sagacity the great results of the critical exegesis destined, one hundred and twenty-five years later, to afford the true meaning of the noblest productions of Hebrew genius. Was this to destroy the Bible? Has that admirable literature lost by being understood in its real aspect rather than relegated outside of the common laws of humanity? Certainly not. The truths revealed by science invariably surpass the dreams that science dispels. The world of Laplace exceeds in beauty, I imagine, that of a Cosmas Indicopleustes, who pictured the universe to himself as a casket, on the lid of which the stars glide along in grooves at a few leagues from us. In the same way, the Bible is more beautiful when we have learned to see therein—ranged in order on a canvas of a thousand years,—each aspiration, each sigh, each prayer of the most exalted religious consciousness that ever existed, than when we force ourselves to view it as a book unlike any other, composed, preserved, interpreted in direct opposition to all the ordinary rules of the human intellect.

But the persecutions of the middle ages had produced on Judaism the usual effect of all persecution: they had rendered minds narrow and timid. A few years previously, at Amsterdam, the unfortunate Uriel Acosta had cruelly expiated certain doubts that fanaticism finds as culpable as avowed incredulity. The boldness of the young Spinoza was still worse received; he was anathematized, and had to submit to an excommunication that he had not courted. A very old history this! Religious communions, beneficent cradles of so much earnestness and so much virtue, do not allow of any refusal to be shut up exclusively within their embrace; they claim to imprison forever the life that had its beginnings within them; they brand as apostasy the lawful emancipation of the mind that seeks to take its flight alone. It is as though the egg should reproach, as ungrateful, the bird that had escaped therefrom. The egg was necessary in its time; when it became a bondage, it had to be broken. A great marvel, truly, that Erasmus of Rotterdam should feel himself cramped in his cell; that Luther should not prefer his monkish vows to that far holier vow which man, by the very fact of his being, contracts with truth! Had Erasmus persisted in his monastic routine, or Luther gone on distributing indulgences, they would have been apostates indeed! Spinoza was the greatest of modern Jews, and Judaism exiled him. Nothing more simple; it must have been so, it must be so ever. Finite symbols, prisons of the infinite spirit, will eternally protest against the effort of idealism to enlarge them. The spirit, on its side, struggles eternally for more air and more light. Eighteen hundred and fifty years ago the synagogue denounced as a seducer the one who was to raise the maxims of the synagogue to unequalled glory. And the Christian Church, how often has she not driven from her breast those who should have been her chiefest honor! In cases like these, our duty is fulfilled if we retain a pious memory of the education our childhood received. Let the old churches be free to brand with criminality those who quit them; they shall not succeed in obtaining from us any but grateful feelings, since, after all, the harm they are able to do us is as nothing compared to the good they have done.

II.

Here, then, we have the excommunicated of the synagogue of Amsterdam forced to create for himself a spiritual abode outside of the home which rejected him. He had great sympathy with Christianity, but he dreaded all chains; he did not embrace it. Descartes had just renewed philosophy by his firm and sober rationalism. Descartes was his master. Spinoza took up the problems where they had been left by that great mind, but saw that, through fear of the Sorbonne, his theology had always remained somewhat arid. Oldenburg asking him one day what fault he could find with the philosophy of Descartes and of Bacon, Spinoza replied that their chief fault lay in not sufficiently occupying themselves with the First Cause. Perhaps his reminiscences of Jewish theology, that ancient wisdom of the Hebrews before which he often bows, suggested to him higher views and more sublime aspirations in this matter. Not only the ideas held by the vulgar, but those even of thinkers on Divinity, appeared to him inadequate. He saw plainly that there is no assigning a limited part to the Infinite; that Divinity is all, or is nothing; that if the Divine be a reality, it must pervade all. For twenty years he meditated on these problems without for a moment averting his thoughts. Our distaste nowadays for system and abstract formula no longer permits us to accept absolutely the propositions within which he had thought to confine the secrets of the Infinite. For Spinoza, as for Descartes, the universe was only extension and thought; chem-

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istry and physiology were lacking to that great school, which was too exclusively geometrical and mechanical. A stranger to the idea of life, and those notions as to the constitution of bodies that chemistry was destined to reveal—too much attached still to the scholastic expressions of substance and attribute,—Spinoza did not attain to that living and fertile Infinite shown us by the science of Nature and of history as presiding in space unbounded, over a development more and more intense; but, making allowance for a certain dryness in expression, what grandeur there is in that inflexible geometrical deduction leading up to the supreme proposition, "It is of the nature of the substance to develop itself necessarily by an infinity of infinite attributes infinitely modified!" God is thus absolute thought, universal consciousness. The ideal exists, nay, it is the true existence; all else is mere appearance and frivolity. Bodies and souls are mere modes of which God is the substance: it is only the modes that fall within duration; the substance is all in eternity. Thus, God does not prove himself; his existence results from his sole idea; everything supposes and contains him. God is the condition of all existence, all thought. If God did not exist, thought would be able to conceive more than Nature could furnish,—which is a contradiction.

Spinoza did not clearly discern universal progress; the world, as he conceives it, seems as it were crystallized in a matter which is incorruptible extension, in a soul that is immutable thought; the sentiment of God deprives him of the sentiment of man; forever face to face with the Infinite, he did not sufficiently perceive what of the Divine conceals itself in relative manifestations; but he, better than any other, saw the eternal identity which constitutes the basis of all transitory evolutions. Whatever is limited seems to him frivolous, and unworthy to occupy a philosopher. Bold in flight, he soared straight to the lofty, snow-covered summits, without casting a glance on the rich display of life springing up on the mountain's side. At an altitude where every breast but his own pants hard, he lives, he enjoys, he flourishes there, as men in general do in mild and temperate regions. What he for his part needs is the glacier-air, keen and penetrating. He does not ask to be followed; he is like Moses, to whom secrets unknown to the crowd reveal themselves on the heights. But be sure of this: he was the seer of his age; he was in his own day the one who saw deepest into God.

III.

It might have been supposed that, all alone on those snowy peaks, he would turn out in human affairs wrong-headed, utopian, or scornfully sceptical. Nothing of the kind. He was incessantly occupied with the application of his principles to human society. The pessimism of Hobbes and the dreams of Thomas More were equally repugnant to him. One-half, at least, of the *Theologico-Political Treatise*, which appeared in 1670, might be reprinted to-day without losing any of its appropriateness. Listen to its admirable title: *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur, libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate et reipublicæ pace posse concedi, sed eamdem nisi cum pace reipublicæ ipsaque pietate tolli non posse.* For centuries past it had been supposed that society rested on metaphysical dogmas. Spinoza discerns profoundly that these dogmas, assumed to be necessary to humanity, yet cannot escape discussion; that revelation itself, if there be one, traversing, in order to reach us, the faculties of the human mind, is no less than all else amenable to criticism. I wish I could quote in its entirety that admirable Chapter XX., in which our great publicist establishes with masterly skill that dogma—new then, and still contested in our own day,—which styles itself liberty of conscience.

"The final end of the State," he says, "consists not in dominating over men, restraining them by fears, subjecting them to the will of others; but, on the contrary, in permitting each one to live in all possible security; that is to say, in preserving intact the natural right of each to live without injury to himself or others. No, I say; the State has not for its end the transformation of men from reasonable beings into animals or *automata;* it has for end so to act that its citizens should in security develop soul and body, and make free use of their reason. Hence the true end of the State is liberty. Whosoever means to respect the rights of a sovereign should never act in opposition to his decrees; but each has the right to think what he will, and to say what he thinks, provided he content himself with speaking and teaching in the name of pure reason, and do not attempt on his private authority to introduce innovations into the State. For example: a citizen who demonstrates that a certain law is repugnant to sound reason, and holds that for that cause it ought to be abrogated—if he submit his opinions to the judgment of the sovereign, to whom alone it belongs to establish and to abolish laws, and if, meanwhile, he acts in no wise contrary to law,—that man certainly deserves well of the State as the best of citizens. . . .

"Even if we admit the possibility of so stifling men's liberty and laying such a yoke upon them that they dare not even whisper without the approbation of the sovereign, never, most surely, can they be prevented from thinking as they will. What, then, must ensue? That men will think one way and speak another; that, consequently, good faith—a virtue most necessary to the State—will become corrupted; that adulation—a detestable thing—and perfidy will be had in repute, entailing the decadence of all good and healthy morality. What can be more disastrous to a State than to exile honest citizens as evil-doers because they do not share the opinions of the crowd and are ignorant of the art of feigning? What more fatal than to treat as enemies and doom to death men whose only crime is that of thinking independently? The scaffold, which should be the terror of the wicked, is thus turned into the glorious theatre where virtue and toleration shine out in all their lustre, and publicly cover the sovereign majesty with opprobrium. Beyond question there is only one thing to be learned from such a spectacle: to imitate those noble martyrs; or, if one fears death, to become the cowardly flatterers of power. Nothing, then, is so full of peril as to refer and submit to divine rights matters of pure speculation, and to impose laws on opinions which are, or may be, subjects of discussion among men. If the authority of the State limited itself to the repression of actions while allowing impunity to words, controversies would less often turn into seditions."

More sagacious than many so-called practical men, our speculator sees perfectly well that the only durable governments are the reasonable, and that the only reasonable governments are the constitutional. Far from absorbing the individual in the State, he gives him solid guarantees against the State's omnipotence. He is no revolutionary, but a moderate; he transforms, explains, but does not destroy. His God is not indeed one who takes pleasure in ceremonies, sacrifices, odor of incense, yet Spinoza has no design whatever to overthrow religion; he entertains a profound veneration for Christianity,—a tender and a sincere respect. The supernatural, however, has no meaning in his doctrine. According to his principles, anything out of Nature would be out of being, and therefore inconceivable. Prophets, revealers, have been men like others.

"It is not thinking, but dreaming," he says, "to hold that prophets have had a human body and not a human soul, and that consequently their knowledge and their sensations have been of a different nature from ours. . . . The prophetic faculty has not been the dowry of one people only,—the Jewish people. The quality of Son of God has not been the privilége of one man only. . . . To state my views openly, I tell you that it is not absolutely necessary to know Christ after the flesh; but it is otherwise when we speak of that Son of God; that is to say, that eternal wisdom of God, which has manifested itself in all things, and more fully in the human soul, and above all in Jesus Christ. Without this wisdom no one can attain the state of beatitude, since it alone teaches us what is true and what is false, what is right and what is wrong. . . . As to what certain churches have added, . . . I have expressly warned you that I do not know what they mean; and, to speak frankly, I may confess that they seem to me to be using the same sort of language as if they spoke of a circle assuming the nature of a square."

Was not this exactly what Schleiermacher said? And as to Spinoza, the fellow-founder with Richard Simon of biblical exegesis, was not he the precursor of those liberal theologians who have in our own day shown that Christianity can retain all its glory without supernaturalism? His letters to Oldenburg on the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and of the manner in which St. Paul understood it, are masterpieces which a hundred years later would have served as the manifesto of a whole school of critical theology.

In the eyes of Spinoza, it signifies little whether mysteries be understood this way or that, provided they be understood in a pious sense. Religion has one aim only, piety; and we are to appeal to it, not for metaphysics, but for practical guidance. At bottom there is but one single thing in Scripture, as in all revelation: "Love your neighbor." The fruit of religion is blessedness, each one participating in it according to his capacity and his efforts. The souls that are governed by reason—the philosophic souls that have, even in this world, their life in God—are safe from death; what death takes from them is of no value; but weak or passionate souls perish almost entirely, and death, instead of being for them a simple accident, involves the foundation of their being. . . . The ignorant man who lets himself be swayed by blind passions is agitated in a thousand different directions by external causes, and never enjoys true peace of soul; for him, ceasing to suffer means ceasing to be. The soul of the wise man, on the other hand, can scarcely be troubled. Possessing, by a kind of eternal necessity, the consciousness of itself and of God and of things, he never ceases to be, and ever preserves the soul's true peace.

Spinoza could not endure his system to be considered irreligious or subversive. The timid Oldenburg did not conceal from him that some of his opinions seemed to certain readers to tend to the overthrow of piety. "Whatever accords with reason," replied Spinoza, "is, in my belief, most favorable to the practice of virtue." The pretended superiority of coarsely positive conceptions as to religion and a future life found him intractable. "Is it, I ask, to cast off religion," he was wont to say, "to acknowledge God as the supreme good, and thence to conclude that he must be loved with a free soul? To maintain that all our felicity and most perfect freedom consists in that love—that the reward of virtue is virtue, and that a blind and impotent soul finds its punishment in its blindness,—is this a denial of all religion?" At the root of all such attacks he traced meanness of soul. According to him, any one who felt irritated by a disinterested religion involuntarily confessed reason and virtue to have no charm in his eyes, and that his pleasure would lie in living to indulge his passions if he were not restrained by fear. "Thus, then," he would add, "such a one only abstains from evil and obeys the divine commandment regretfully as a slave, and in return for his slavery expects from God rewards which have infinitely more value in his eyes than the divine law. The more aversion and estrangement from good he may have felt, the more he hopes to be recompensed, and imagines that they who are not restrained by the same fear as himself, do what he would do in their case,—that is to say, live lawlessly." Spinoza held with reason that this manner of seeking heaven was contrary to reason, and that there is an absurdity in pretending to gain God's favor by owning to him that, did not one dread him, one would not love.

IV.

He was, however, well aware of the danger of interfering with beliefs in which few admit these subtile distinctions. *Caute* was his motto, and his friends having made him aware of the explosion that the *Ethica* would infallibly produce, he kept it unpublished till his death. He had no literary vanity, nor did he seek celebrity,—possibly, indeed, because he was sure to obtain it without seeking. He was perfectly happy,—he has told us so; let us take him at his word. He has done still better: he has bequeathed us his secret. Let all men listen to the recipe of the "Prince of Atheists" for the discovery of happiness: it is the love of God. To love God is to live in God. Life in God is the best and most perfect because it is the reasonablest, happiest, fullest,—in a word, because it gives us more *being* than any other life, and satisfies most completely the fundamental desire that constitutes our essence.

Spinoza's whole practical life was regulated according to these maxims. That life was a masterpiece of good sense and judgment. It was led with the profound skill of the wise man who desires one thing only, and invariably ends by obtaining it. Never did policy so well combine means and end. Had he been less reticent, he would perhaps have met the same fate as the unfortunate Acosta. Loving truth for its own sake, he was indifferent to the abuse that his constancy in speaking it entailed, and answered never a word to the attacks made on him. For his part, he attacked no one. "It is foreign to my habits," he said, "to look out for the errors into which authors have fallen." Had he desired to be an official personage, his life would no doubt have been traversed by persecution, or at least by disgrace. He was nothing, and desired to be nothing. *Ama nesciri* was his desire, as well as that of the author of the *De Imitatione*. He sacrificed everything to peace of mind, and in so doing there was no selfishness, for his mind was of importance to the world. He frequently refused wealth on its way to him, and desired only what was absolutely necessary. The King of France offered him a pension; he declined. The Elector Palatine offered him a chair at Heidelberg. "Your freedom shall be complete," he was told, "for the prince is convinced that you will not abuse it to disturb the established religion." "I do not very well understand," he replied, "within what limits it would be necessary to confine that philosophical freedom granted me on condition of not disturbing the established religion; and then, again, the instruction I bestowed on youth would hinder my own advance in philosophy. I have only succeeded in procuring for myself a tranquil life by the renunciation of all kinds of public teaching." He felt that his duty was to think. He thought, in fact, for humanity, whose ideas he forestalled by more than two centuries.

The same instinctive sagacity was carried by him into all the relations of life; he felt that public opinion never permits a man to be daring in two directions at once. Being a freethinker, he looked upon himself as bound to live like a saint. But I am wrong in saying this. Was not this pure and gentle life rather the direct expression of his peaceful and lovable consciousness? At that period the atheist was pictured as a villain armed with daggers. Spinoza was throughout his whole lifetime humble, meek, pious. His enemies were ingenuous enough to object to this; they would have liked him to live conformably to the conventional type, and, after the career of a demon incarnate, to die in despair. Spinoza smiled at this singular pretension, and refused to oblige his enemies by changing his way of life. He had warm friends; he showed himself courageous at need; he protested against popular indignation wherever he thought it unjust. Many disappointments failed to shake his fidelity to the republican party; the liberality of his opinions was never at the mercy of events. What, perhaps, does him more honor still, he possessed the esteem and sincere affection of the simple beings among whom he lived. Nothing is equal in value to the esteem of the lowly; their judgment is almost always that of God. To the worthy Van der Spycks he was evidently the very ideal of a perfect lodger. "No one ever gave less trouble," was their testimony given some years after his death to Colerus. "While in the house he inconvenienced nobody; he spent the best part of his time quietly in his own room. If he chanced to tire himself by too protracted meditation, he would come down-stairs and speak to the family about any subject of common talk, even about trifles." In fact, there could never have been a more affable inmate. He would often hold conversations with his hostess, especially at the time of her confinements, as well as with the rest of the household when any sorrow or sickness befell them. He would tell the children to go to divine service; and, when they returned from the sermon, ask them how much they remembered of it. He almost always strongly seconded what the preacher had said. One of the persons he most esteemed was the pastor Cordes, an excellent man and a good expounder of the Scriptures; sometimes, indeed, he went to hear him, and he advised his host never to miss the preaching of so able a man. One day his hostess asked him if he thought she could be saved in the religion she professed. "Your religion is a good one," he replied; "you should not seek any other, nor doubt that yours will procure salvation if, in attaching yourself to piety, you lead at the same time a peaceful and tranquil life."

His temperance and good management were ad-

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mirable. His daily wants were provided for by a handicraft in which he became very skilful—the polishing of lenses. The Van der Spycks made over to Colerus scraps of paper on which Spinoza had noted down his expenses; these averaged about fourpence halfpenny a day. He was very careful to settle his accounts every quarter, so as neither to spend more nor less than his income. He dressed simply if not poorly, but his aspect radiated serenity. It was evident that he had found out a doctrine which gave him perfect content.

He was never elated, and never depressed; the equability of his moods seems wonderful. Perhaps, indeed, he may have felt some sadness when the daughter of his professor, Van den Ende, preferred Kerkering to him; but I suspect that he soon consoled himself. "Reason is my enjoyment," he would say, "and the aim I have in this life is joy and serenity." He objected to any praise of sadness.

"It is superstition," he maintained, "that sets up sadness as good, and all that tends to joy as evil. God would show himself envious if he took pleasure in my impotence and in the ills I suffer. Rather in proportion to the greatness of our joy do we attain to a greater perfection and participate more fully in the divine nature. . . . Joy, therefore, can never be evil so long as it be regulated by the law of our true utility. A virtuous life is not a sad and sombre one, a life of privations and austerity. How should the Divinity take pleasure in the spectacle of my weakness, or impute to me as meritorous, tears, sobs, terrors,—signs all of an impotent soul? Yes," he added, emphatically, "it is the part of a wise man to use the things of this life, and enjoy them as much as possible; to recruit himself by a temperate and appetizing diet; to charm his senses with the perfume and the brilliant verdure of plants; to adorn his very attire; to enjoy music, games, spectacles, and every diversion that any one can bestow on himself without detriment to character. . . . We are incessantly spoken to of repentance, humility, death; but repentance is not a virtue, but the consequence of a weakness. Nor is humility one, since it springs in man from the idea of his inferiority. As to the thought of death, it is the daughter of fear, and it is in feeble souls that it sets up its home. . . . The things of all others," he would say, "about which a free man thinks least is death. Wisdom lies in the contemplation not of death, but of life."

V.

Since the days of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, no life had been witnessed so profoundly penetrated by the sentiment of the Divine. In the twelfth, thirteenth, sixteenth century, rationalistic philosophy had numbered very great men in its ranks, but it had had no saints. Occasionally a very repulsive and hard element had entered into the finest characters among Italian freethinkers. Religion had been utterly absent from those lives not less in revolt against human than divine laws, of which the last example was that of poor Vanini. Here, on the contrary, we have religion producing freethought as a part of piety. Religion in a system such as this is not a portion of life: it is life itself. That which is seen to matter here is not the being in possession of some metaphysical phrases more or less correct: it is the giving to one's life a sure pole, a supreme direction,—the ideal.

It is by so doing that your illustrious countryman has lifted up a banner which still avails to shelter beneath it all who think and feel nobly. Yes, religion is eternal; it answers to the first need of primitive as well as of civilized man; it will only perish with humanity itself,—or, rather, its disappearance would be the proof that degenerate humanity was about to reënter the mere animalism out of which it had emerged. And yet no dogma, no worship, no formula, can in these days of ours exhaust the religious sentiment. We must confront with each other these seemingly contradictory assertions. Woe to him who pretends that the era of religions is past! Woe to him who imagines it possible to restore to the old symbols the force they had when they leaned upon the imperturbable dogmatism of other days! With that dogmatism we, for our part, must needs dispense; we must dispense with those fixed creeds, sources of so many struggles and divisions, but sources no less of such fervent convictions; we must give up believing that it is our part to hold down others in a faith we no longer share. Spinoza was right in his horror of hypocrisy: hypocrisy is cowardly and dishonest, but, above all, hypocrisy is useless. Who is it, indeed, that is deceived here? The persistency of the higher classes in unqualifiedly patronizing, in sight of the uncultivated classes, the religious reforms of other days, will have but one effect: that of impairing their own authority at those times of crisis when it is important that the people should still believe in the reason and the virtue of a few.

Honor, then, to Spinoza, who has dared to say: "Reason before all." Reason can never be contrary to the well-understood interests of humanity. But we would remind those who are carried away by unreflecting impatience, that Spinoza never conceived of religious revolution as being aught else than a transformation of formulas. According to him, what was fundamental went on subsisting under other terms. If he, on one hand, energetically repudiated the theocratic power of the clergy, as distinguished from civil society, or the tendency of the State to occupy itself with metaphysics, on the other hand, he never denied either the State or religion: he wished the State tolerant and religion free. We wish for nothing more. One cannot impose on others beliefs one does not possess. That the believers of other days made themselves persecutors, proved them tyrannical, but at least consistent; as for us, if we were to act as they did, we should be simply absurd. Our religion is a sentiment capable of clothing itself in numerous forms. These forms are free from being equally good; but not one of them has strength or authority to expel all others. Freedom,—this is the last word of Spinoza's religious policy. Let it be the last word of ours! It is the most honest course; it may, perhaps, also be the most efficacious and certain for the progress of civilization.

Humanity, indeed, advances on the way of progress by prodigiously unequal steps. The rude and violent Esau is out of patience with the slow pace of Jacob's flock. Let us give time to all. We may not, indeed, permit simplicity and ignorance to hinder the free movements of the intellect, but let us not either interfere with the slow evolution of less active intelligences. The liberty of absurdity in these is the condition of the liberty of reason in those. Services rendered to the human mind by violence are not services after all. That such as lay no stress on truth should exercise constraint in order to obtain outward submission, what can be more natural? But we, who believe that truth is something real, and deserving of supreme respect, how can we dream of obtaining by force an adherence which is valueless except as the fruit of free conviction? We no longer admit sacramental formulas operating by their own virtue independently of the mind of him to whom they are applied. In our eyes, a belief has no worth if it be not gained by the reflection of the individual,—if he have not understood and assimilated it. A mental conviction brought about by superior order is as absolute nonsense as love obtained by force or sympathy by command. Let us promise to ourselves not only to defend our own liberty against all who seek to attack it, but, if need be, to defend the liberty of those who have not always respected ours, and who, it is probable, if they were the masters, would not respect it.

It is Holland that had the glory, more than two hundred years ago, to demonstrate the possibility of these theories by realizing them.

"Must we prove," said Spinoza, "that this freedom of thought gives rise to no serious inconvenience, and that it is competent to keep men, openly diverse in their opinions, reciprocally respectful of each other's rights? Examples abound, nor need we go far to seek them. Let us instance the town of Amsterdam, whose considerable growth—an object of admiration to other nations—is simply the fruit of this freedom. In the midst of this flourishing republic, this eminent city, men of all nations and all sects live together in most perfect concord; . . . and there is no sect, however odious, whose adepts, provided they do not offend against the rights of any, may not meet with public aid and protection before the magistrates."

Descartes was of the same opinion when he came to ask from this country the calm essential to his thinking. Later—thanks to that noble privilege of a free land so gloriously maintained by your fathers against all opponents!—your Holland became the asylum where the human intellect, sheltered from the tyrannies that overspread Europe, found air to breathe, a public to comprehend it, organs to multiply its voice, then gagged elsewhere.

Deep, assuredly, are the wounds of our age, and cruel are its perplexities. It can never be with impunity that so many problems present themselves all at once before the elements for solving them are in our possession. It is not we who have shattered that paradise of crystal, with its silver and azure gleams by which so many eyes have been ravished and consoled. But there it is in fragments; what is shattered is shattered, and never will an earnest spirit undertake the puerile task of bringing back ignorance destroyed or restoring illusions dispelled. The populations of great towns have almost everywhere lost faith in the supernatural; were we to sacrifice our convictions and our sincerity in an attempt to give it them back, we should not succeed. But the supernatural, as formerly understood, is not the ideal.

The cause of the supernatural is compromised, the cause of the ideal is untouched; it ever will be. The ideal remains the soul of the world, the permanent God, the primordial, efficient, and final cause of this universe. This is the basis of eternal religion. We, no more than Spinoza, need, in order to adore God, miracles or self-interested prayers. So long as there be in the human heart one fibre to vibrate at the sound of what is true, just, and honest; so long as the instinctively pure prefer purity to life; so long as there be found friends of truth ready to sacrifice their repose to science; friends of goodness to devote themselves to useful and holy works of mercy; woman-hearts to love whatever is worthy, beautiful, and pure; artists to render it by sound, and color, and inspired accents,—so long will God live in us. It could only be when egoism, meanness of soul, narrowness of mind, indifference to knowledge, contempt for human rights, oblivion of what is great and noble, invaded the world,—it could only be then that God would cease to be in humanity. But far from us thoughts like these!

Our aspirations, our sufferings, our very faults and rashness, are the proof that the ideal lives in us. Yes, human life is still something divine! Our apparent negations are often merely the scruples of timid minds that fear to overpass the limits of their knowledge. They are a worthier homage to the Divinity than the hypocrital adoration of a spirit of routine. God is still in us; believe it. God is in us! *Est Deus in vobis.*

Let us all unite in bending before the great and illustrious thinker who, two hundred years ago, proved better than any other, both by the examples of his life and by the power, still fresh and young, of his works, how much there is of spiritual joy and holy unction in thoughts like these. Let us, with Schleiermacher, pay the homage of the best we can do to the ashes of the holy and misunderstood Spinoza:—

"The sublime spirit of the world penetrated him; the infinite was his beginning and his end; the universal his only and eternal love. Living in holy innocence and profound humility, he contemplated himself in the eternal world, and saw that he, too, was for that world a mirror worthy of love. He was full of religion and full of the holy spirit; and therefore he appears to us solitary and unequalled, master in his art, but lifted above the profane, without disciples, and without right of citizenship anywhere."

That right of citizenship you are now about to confer on him. Your monument will be the link between his genius and the earth. His spirit will brood like a guardian angel over the spot where his rapid journey among men came to its end. Woe to him who, in passing by, should dare to level an insult at that gentle and pensive figure! He would be punished as all vulgar hearts are punished,—by his very vulgarity and his impotence to comprehend the divine. Spinoza, meanwhile, from his granite pedestal shall teach to all the way of happiness he himself had found; and for ages to come the cultivated man who passes along the Pavilioengragt will inwardly say, "It is hence, perhaps, that God has been seen most near!"—*Contemporary Review.*

BOSTON AND THE STRIKE.

AN OPEN-AIR WORKINGMEN'S MEETING.—ADJOURNED SESSION AT HAMPSHIRE HALL.—SPEECHES BY W. H. G. SMART AND J. M. L. BABCOCK.

In response to an advertisement in one of the daily papers, evidently penned by some one deeply in sympathy with the railroad employés now on a strike in different sections of the country, and displayed with inflammable head lines in large type, an out-door mass meeting was held in the small fenced inclosure of the city's domain in front of the Providence Railway depot last evening. The call purported to be an invitation of the Boston Section of the Workingmen's Party "to consider the outrage and wrong which have already driven the railroad employés in five States to the last desperate expedient to obtain justice, culminating in the wanton destruction of human life and imperilling the peace of the whole country."

Though there was no general idea that there was any element in Boston desirous of creating any trouble, or that this occasion would be seized upon for any disgraceful demonstration, it was deemed judicious to take some precautionary measures against the possibility that some persons of unduly excitable temperament might by some overzealous enthusiasm disturb the harmony which has usually prevailed at the meetings which have been held under similar auspices on the spot upon recent Saturday evenings to discuss different phases of the labor question. In this the city and State authorities cordially coöperated.

The meeting was called by several well known labor agitators, some of whose names appear among the speakers, and whose ideas are familiar to those who have attended the labor gatherings in the city for the past few years. It gave no evidence of having been called to create a disturbance, but simply that it seemed to them a favorable opportunity to advance their favorite theories in the presence of an audience somewhat larger than usual. In fact Hampshire and Cotton and John A. Andrew and Codman Halls have frequently echoed much more incendiary utterances from the lips of those who participate in Labor League or Social Reform Conventions. Many persons supposed that there would at least be a large crowd of people present, prompted by curiosity if no other motive, but at the hour named for opening the meeting the inclosure was occupied by a score or two of street Arabs, gamboling and frolicking in a good-natured manner, and on the rail was seated quite a number of people who were curious to see what sort of a demonstration it would prove to be. Pretty soon the speakers entered the inclosure provided with a small box for a rostrum, a small but dense circle was formed around them, and the speaking went on. The crowd slowly increased in numbers until there might have been at one time fifteen hundred people in the vicinity; but then the departures were more frequent than the arrivals, and while the good-natured demonstrations of the auditors made it somewhat annoying for the speakers, the audience was largely depleted in numbers before it was decided to adjourn the meeting to Hampshire Hall.

There was an attempt at one time to organize a side issue upon the prolific question of finance, but the speaker, whoever he was, was unable to make himself heard above the outcries, and subsided. After the departure of the speakers for Hampshire Hall a crowd remained for some time, cheering and making other noisy demonstrations which were generally, however, of a good-natured character. Finally the box which had been used as a rostrum was broken up and the pieces distributed to the crowd as souvenirs of the occasion, and the boys started for Hampshire Hall. Mr. Thomas J. Gargan did a very commendable thing in requesting the liquor saloons in the vicinity to close, a request which was generally complied with.

THE MEETING

was called to order at about a quarter to eight o'clock by a gentleman who mounted himself on an empty dry-goods box and announced that "this meeting is called by the Boston section of the Workingmen's party. The first business is to nominate a Chairman. You will please make a nomination."

MR. W. H. G. SMART

was nominated, and on taking the chair sharply intimated that the first requisite was order. The speeches which would be made were intended for their benefit, and the speakers had a right to expect a patient hearing. They were not stump speakers, and that fact must be taken into consideration. They were assembled to discuss subjects which were exciting public

attention, and upon which the welfare of the whole country depends. The Workingmen's party feel a deep interest in these troubles that are breaking out in the West and in other parts of the country. We are not here to excite the people to anything like animosity against any class or interest. We are here simply to state the facts of the case, and to point out the remedy for the evils of the past. (Applause.)

Friends, I will now introduce to you the first speaker on this occasion, and when I tell you it is a gentleman who, like myself, has never been accustomed to speaking in the open air, I have said enough to give him your careful and attentive hearing. (A voice, "Where is the militia?" followed by derisive laughter.) He is a man who is among the teachers of the community—(a voice, "Is he a Democrat?") the editor of one of our newspapers, who has devoted himself freely to the cause of the people, Mr. J. M. L. Babcock. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF J. M. L. BABCOCK.

It is a very old custom (cries of "Order," and "What is his salary?") in times of great trouble and public danger to meet for consultation, and I suppose it is in this spirit that we have come here to-night; and certainly I come here in entire sympathy with my fellowmen. I have no feeling or purpose that does not sympathize with what is best for my fellowmen, and I came here in that spirit and purpose. I don't know as I would have come here to-night to speak on this topic while the result is still so uncertain, and while there is still so much excitement about it, except that I am considerably stirred up myself to find that all public expression in this city, so far as I have known, has been altogether on one side of this question.

A voice—"Which side?"

Mr. Babcock—"On the side of capital."

The voice (emphatically)—"No, sir," followed by cries of "Which side are you on?" "Don't mind; go ahead."

Mr. Babcock (good naturedly)—Now boys, I see how it is with you. You think I am something like the barber's razor; but I ain't. The barber says to the gentleman, "Does the razor take hold pretty well?" "Yes," says he, "the razor takes hold first-rate, but it don't let go worth a cent." (Laughter.) I ain't of that sort. Just be patient and I will come to the subject, if you will give me time.

Mr. Babcock then made an appeal for order, and hoped all present would keep calm, and if any wished to refute his arguments they should have the opportunity when he got through. (Cries of "He is an old man," and "Put that fellow out," meaning a partially intoxicated and boisterous man in the vicinity of the dry-goods box.) Mr. Babcock continued: I came here because the public expression of opinion upon this question which is now agitating the country has been altogether on one side of the question. (Hear, hear.) In a time like this, if a man undertakes to apply the moral and to teach the lesson that grows out of these troubles he should aspire at least to some spirit of fairness and impartiality. I suppose it is understood that in all heated conflicts there must be, at least, some blame on both sides. We must be perfect human beings to have it otherwise; but it has been constantly assumed in everything that has been said by the press, so far as I have seen in this city on this question, that in these disturbances and troubles the trainmen and the strikers were altogether and only to blame. I don't see it, and I wish to offset my opinion against that. I wish to present a brief view of the reasons why we are not to visit our condemnation altogether on one side in this affair. I wish to show why we are not to hold the workingmen of these railroads responsible for these troubles.

We came here to talk about riots and mobs. It is no new subject to an American audience. ("No!" "No!") We have been accustomed to mobs. All through our history we have had riots. We have had riots of every kind. We have had riots for almost every possible cause, and we have had riots of every character. (A voice—"That is what formed the country.") The riots that we are now to talk about have been marked by more self-possession and by more calmness of judgment on the part of the rioters than any of the riots that have marked our history; but a riot in itself is not a thing of infamy. Why, our official existence began in a riot! (Applause.) The very first flash of American Independence came from a riot in Boston (applause); and if you had read the London journals of that day you might have seen perhaps this platitude: "The people of Boston have a perfect right to decline to purchase tea if they choose; but they have no right to throw it overboard if they don't want to buy it." Every Boston paper quotes the same platitudes with wearisome repetition to-day, that a man has a right to decline to work for the wages that are offered him if he chooses; but he has no right to say that another man shall not work where he will not work for the wages offered. That is about all the moral doctrine that is laid down as the basis of judgment on this question. But what does that amount to? If Vanderbilt says to the trainmen on his road, "You are part and parcel of us," it seems to me that they do have some right to say who shall work on that road. (Applause.) Taking these men on their own ground, taking them by the doctrine they themselves proclaim, how, I ask, can they escape from the conclusion that it is the right of the trainmen to say who shall take their places when they strike.

We do not wish to say anything to add to the public excitement; but the press of Boston, whether in the interest of capital or not I will not say, whether through a mistake of judgment I will not say, have yet failed to lay down the foundation principle in this whole matter. (Applause.) The foundation principle is that "the laborer is worthy of his hire" (applause,) and if a man does an honest day's work he is entitled to honest pay for that work. (Renewed applause.) The very railroad whose action precipitated all this agitation has been paying eight or ten *per cent.* dividends per annum, and that, too, on watered stock. Such a corporation has no right to cut down the wages of the laborers, and reduce them to mere starvation for the sake of increasing its own gains and profits. It was the right of these men to be heard by these railroad officials. And what was left to them but to resort to a species of riot or war? They strike and blockade the roads as the only resort left them. What do nations do? Declare war; and the world has been again and again deluged with blood on account of the haste with which men have rushed in to shed blood. We thought arbitration was the means of avoiding war; and is it not a good way between employers and employed to settle their differences by arbitration? I am opposed to all violence and in favor of peace, and I charge the railroad officials and their abettors as being responsible for the results of the past few days. (Applause.) If these officials could not agree with these men, they should arbitrate; but they would not hold even a conference! The trainmen have acted like nations,—simply blockaded the ports of the railroads. There was no violence until the men were stung to it. Everything was orderly until then. It was not until the military were called out and fired on the mob that these men were driven to madness and violence. I admit the military had some excuse at Baltimore; it is more than human nature can stand,—a shower of brickbats. At Pittsburgh and Reading there was no occasion for the firing by the soldiers; but then the working men did not lose their sense of right and wrong, and respected private property. (Applause.) This is the mark of the best sort of American mob, which remains true to its purpose. The militia is to be held responsible for the fatal acts.

At this point Mr. Smart said it was impossible for the speakers to be heard on account of the noise, and he hoped some member of the Boston Section of the Workingmen's Party would move an adjournment to Hampshire Hall, which was complied with.

AT HAMPSHIRE HALL.

A portion of the crowd from Park Square went to Hampshire Hall on Washington Street, near Eliot, and the first rush up the dark stairs filled the ill-lighted, badly-ventilated place of meeting. A meeting was organized in the midst of derisive yells and hoots, and then, when the speaking began, the crowd commenced to withdraw, so that during the last hour of the speaking only a score or two of persons were present. The speakers were the same old lot and the sentiments, incoherently expressed in most cases, were of the same old kind. The meeting broke up at 9.45, after having adopted the following resolutions:—

"WHEREAS, The workingmen's party of the United States is a political organization having for its purpose such a powerful reform of our industrial system as will take the control of our national industries, means of transport and communication, and all other national resources of wealth, out of the hands of monopolists and put them under the ballots of the people; and

"WHEREAS, The evils that have been constantly accumulating from the operation of the false principles in our social system, through which individual interests have been allowed to supersede public interests, and which have now culminated in actual war between the great mass of the people and the small minority of capitalists, who monopolize all the accumulated results of the past industry of the people, and who are fast obtaining the monopoly of our Commonwealth; and who, by virtue of which monopoly of the means of labor, have obtained the monopoly of all other public interests, including the executive and legislative functions of government, and have thus endangered the cherished and sacred institutions of the Republic; therefore—

"*Resolved*, That the Boston section of the workingmen's party, while it does not believe that the correction of the evils and abuses thus recited can be obtained by such methods as are now in operation in the great conflict raging throughout the country, and while it deprecates and deplores all violation of existing laws, either on the side of capital or on that of labor, and while it holds both parties, who are rivals in the present conflict, responsible for its results; nevertheless, it cannot withhold its deep and heartfelt sympathy from the oppressed laborers who have been driven to desperation by their wrongs.

"*Resolved*, That while we earnestly desire the restoration of peace and order and the supremacy of the law, we utterly repudiate the idea that the responsibility for the terrible events of the past few days rests wholly, or even largely, on the men who were the first to act in opposition to the law. We hold the employers of these men—the great soulless incorporated companies—the most guilty parties. But, back of these, we recognize the responsibility of the nation that permits such false relations to exist between its citizens, that are productive of so alarming results, and that threaten its very existence with anarchy and destruction.

"*Resolved*, That this Section commends to the civil authority the restoration of peace and order, with the least possible use of military power, and with the utmost forbearance, and invites all our fellow-citizens to a sincere investigation of the present relations of labor to capital, and to candid consideration of the claims of the former.

"*Resolved*, That, in our judgment, the daily press of this city is guilty of attempting to mislead public opinion in favor of the interest of capital as against labor, and hence is not worthy of the support of workingmen, and is to be held responsible for having aided considerably in prolonging and intensifying the present troubles."—*Boston Journal, July 25.*

WOMEN ARE FORGING right ahead in England as in this country. The senate of the university of London lately heard a petition of two hundred men doctors against the granting of medical degrees to women, the protest being grounded avowedly on their fear of competition. The senate concluded to go on with its degree-granting, however. The chief prize in applied mathematics and mechanics in the university was won this year by Miss Ellen M. Watson, over a hundred or so young men; she has also won the Meyer de Rothschild scholarship of $250 per year. When Prof. Clifford called out her name for the honor, he said here was the finest mathematical mind he had ever met with in a pupil of either sex, and that a few more students like her would raise the young university above the older institutions. And yet Miss Watson is young and pretty. She was not the only woman to win distinction in the college; for Prof. Huxley's daughter Marion took the first prize in art, Miss Constance D'Arcy the first in art anatomy, and Miss Orme, sister of Prof. Masson's wife, gained the Joseph Hume scholarship in jurisprudence. We observe that the Paris faculty of medicine have given a doctor's diploma to Zenaide Oukonoff, a young Russian woman, at the same time complimenting her highly on her scientific attainments.—*Springfield Republican.*

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN talks at the rate of two hundred and fifty words a minute and occasionally pauses for breath. These pauses seem to annoy him, and it is his habit to fill them by putting the question before the house and calling for the yeas and nays. His auditors always like to make a noise, and an affirmative response follows as a matter of course, and then the lecturer, having regained his breath, proceeds with his remarks. An audience at Rochester on June 6, was betrayed by these tactics into a very unfortunate expression of opinion. He had been complaining that Christianity consigned to perdition such persons as Shakspeare, Byron, Franklin, and Washington, who were not within the pale of church membership. "If I ever know a hereafter," he exclaimed, "I want to be where I can feel the wondrous influence of these great men, and I want to be able to grasp their extended hands, even if I have to go to hell to do it. And, by the way," he added, gasping for breath, and apprehending the approach of a pause, "all those in favor of going to hell with me say 'Aye.'" From all quarters of the house came mechanically the thundering response "Aye!" Then they straightened themselves in their chairs, and reflected calmly on the pleasure-trip to which they had prematurely committed themselves.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

Poetry.

ON A NAUGHTY LITTLE BOY, SLEEPING.

Just now I missed from hall and stair
A joyful treble that had grown
As dear to me as that grave tone
That tells the world my older care.

And little footsteps on the floor
Were stayed. I laid aside my pen,
Forgot my theme, and listened,—then
Stole softly to the library door.

No sight! no sound! a moment's freak
Of fancy thrilled my pulses through;
"If—no"—and yet, that fancy drew
A father's blood from heart and cheek.

And then—I found him! There he lay,
Surprised by sleep, caught in the act,
The rosy Vandal who had sacked
His little town and thought it play:

The shattered vase; the broken jar;
A match still smouldering on the floor;
The inkstand's purple pool of gore;
The chessmen scattered near and far.

Strewn leaves of albums lightly pressed
This wicked "Baby of the Woods";
In fact, of half the household goods
This son and heir was seized—possessed.

Yet all in vain, for sleep had caught
The hand that reached, the feet that strayed;
And fallen in that ambuscade
The victor was himself o'erwrought.

What though torn leaves and tattered book
Still testified his deep disgrace!
I stooped and kissed the inky face,
With its demure and calm outlook.

Then back I stole, and half-beguiled
My guilt, in trust that when my sleep
Should come, there might be One who'd keep
An equal mercy for His child.

—*Bret Harte, in Harper's Magazine for July.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 28.

Fritz Schuetz, 25 cents; H. McHugh, $3.68; J. S. Howes, 10 cents; Mary E. Sawyer, $3; E. Wilcox, $1; R. L. Houghton, $1.20; F. Hyde, $3; J. A. Heintzelman, $3.20; A. Stewart, $3.20; M. A. Pfaum, $3.20; R. S. Barker, $3.20; Dr. J. F. Noyes, $3.20; W. L. Taylor, $3.20; E. H. Aldrich, $3.20; R. Burnham, $1.60; J. W. James, 80 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit

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The Index.

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NOTICE.

During the month of August, my friend, Mr. SIDNEY H. MORSE, will assume entire editorial charge of THE INDEX, and relieve me of all literary responsibility on its account. All letters and communications should be addressed, as usual, to "THE INDEX, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The report of the recent annual meeting of the Free Religious Association has been published in the usual pamphlet form, and can be obtained at the office 231 Washington Street, or at A. Williams & Co.'s, corner of Washington and School Streets, Boston. It contains the Essay by Rev. W. R. Alger on "Steps Towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and the Essay by Mr. C. D. B. Mills, on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; also Addresses by Messrs O. B. Frothingham, William Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson,—with tenth annual reports of the executive committee, treasurer, etc. Price, single copy, forty cents; four, or more, twenty-five cents each.

Persons sending for it by mail will address, "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. W. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

THE BOSTON *Sunday Herald* of July 29 pleasingly mentions a friend of ours: "Mr. J. L. Stoddard, of this city, has just very successfully concluded in Bangor the course of lectures on European and Oriental cities which he delivered last winter in the parlors of the 'Bellevue,' at Andover, Auburndale, and other places."

THIS SENTENCE by Mr. Frothingham in a recent issue of the New York *Inquirer* deserves the attention of all who write about religious questions: "Perfect intellectual equity seems to be unattainable. A sentimental vapor called *charity*, which envelopes all distinctions in mist and then makes believe they are not there, is put forward as a substitute for the manly veracity that stands on intelligence and reason, and gives honorable entertainment to all opinions, awarding praise or blame according to their claims."

MR. WILLIAM D. LE SUEUR, of Ottawa, joins this week the number of our editorial contributors. He is a native of Canada, a graduate of Toronto University, and the author of some outspoken articles on theological questions in the Canadian press, particularly in the *Canadian Monthly*. Our readers will doubtless remember several thoughtful communications from him to these columns during the past few years; and his present article on "True and False Liberalism" shows that he is one to whom that word stands, not for mere negation or disbelief, but for something far higher and better than the Orthodoxy which it is gradually supplanting.

AS ANNOUNCED in the above "Notice," Mr. Sidney H. Morse, formerly editor of the Boston *Radical*, will edit this journal during the month of August, excepting only the present issue. Mental exhaustion, consequent on three years of uninterrupted editorial labor, warned us, though not sick, to ask for a month's vacation this summer, which the Directors of the Index Association very kindly and cheerfully granted. It is a perilous experiment to abdicate, even for a few weeks, in favor of so dangerously excellent a substitute; and we are prepared on returning to find our readers clamorous for an indefinite prolongation of our leave of absence! But it is pleasant to know that, come what may, the stout little ship will be guided meanwhile by a tried and faithful pilot; and we shall gladly resign her helm for good to any one who will only keep her headed straighter on her course.

THE RIGHT OF RIOT.

We have all heard of the "right of revolution"; that is something not unfamiliar to readers of American history. But it is perhaps a new thing to hear of the *right of riot*. At a recent meeting in this city, however, which may be found reported on a preceding page of the present issue, this important discovery was announced by one of the speakers. This speaker had a good word to say for riots in the abstract: "A riot in itself is not a thing of infamy." He had also many good words to say for the late riots in particular, since he holds the remarkable opinion that "it is the right of the trainmen to say who shall take their places when they strike."

1. Is it true that "a riot in itself is not a thing of infamy"?

A revolution is the forcible overthrow of one government for the purpose of establishing another government in its stead. But a riot is an attempt to overthrow all government without the purpose of establishing another in its stead,—which is an attempt to establish anarchy. Revolutions may or may not be permanently successful; riots can never be, for the end of all continued anarchy is military despotism. If in any civilized country the government, either from imbecility or from bad intent, fails to afford efficient protection to the fundamental rights of the citizens, revolution is inevitable and justifiable; society must protect these rights, and does but discharge a sacred duty in supplanting such a government by a better one. But nothing can ever justify a riot. It is everywhere and always a "thing of infamy." A good citizen is justifiable in refusing to obey a law which he cannot obey without violating his own conscience; but he must limit himself to the passive resistance of non-obedience—must break the law and endure the penalty as best he can. He may indeed find it his duty to engage in a revolution, but never in a riot; for a riot is the destruction of all moral order in society, while every justifiable revolution is an attempt to establish this moral order on a surer foundation. Riot is everywhere and always the extinction of the human in a wild outburst of the bestial. There never was a mob yet that did not rush with frightful rapidity to "unchain the tiger" of savage and unbridled passions. Fire and blood are its natural goal; and if it is true that "by their fruits ye shall know them," then "a riot is always a thing of infamy"—Mr. Babcock to the contrary notwithstanding.

The instance he quotes is not to the point. If the famous destruction of tea in Boston Harbor in December, 1773, had been an isolated act, it would have been a riot, and as such utterly indefensible. But it was not an isolated act. On the contrary, it was simply one in a long series of acts which together constituted one of the most completely justifiable revolutions that the world has ever seen. It was in no sense a riot; it neither aimed at anarchy nor produced it; it was a deed of stern resistance to the British government, prompted by passionate devotion to the loftiest principles of civil liberty and true moral order; and, though it was certainly a deed of violence, it was only such violence as culminated at Yorktown in the capture of Lord Cornwallis and at Philadelphia in the final adoption of the United States Constitution. It is only as a part of this great drama of revolution, only as one of the earliest throes which brought the birth of a new and mighty nation, that the destruction of the tea is entitled to honorable remembrance. Had it been a riot, it would have deserved, as all riots deserve, the unmitigated detestation of mankind.

Was there any analogy between this historic deed of heroism and the late railroad strike? Not the faintest. This was simply a quarrel about wages between corporations and their employés—both being merely private parties so far as the government is concerned. The strikers undertook by force, ending in conflagration, rapine, murder, and speedily suppressed rebellion, to compel their employers to pay higher wages. The means they used was outrage upon the rights of the entire body of their own unemployed fellow-laborers, outrage upon the rights of the entire public, outrage upon the rights of society and the freely chosen "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The strike was a riot, and nothing else, in its essential idea and purpose, and not a revolution. It was a riot because for a brief period it overthrew by violence the fundamental principles of all organized society—equity, freedom of contract, personal liberty, security of property and life. It was an insurrection against all government, all order, all law but mob-law; it was the invocation of universal anarchy, and met deservedly the fate of all such mad appeals—suppression by the military power of the imperilled and outraged government. It was a riot, and therefore, in the estimation of every citizen not swept away by the delirium of reckless and unscrupulous partisanship, "a thing of infamy," and nothing else.

2. Is it true that "it is the right of the trainmen to say who shall take their places when they strike"?

True? A moral proposition more untrue was never uttered. As well tell the disappointed bidders for a government contract that they have the right to decide who shall have it; as well tell the domestic dismissed from your employ that she has the right to decide whom you shall hire in her stead; as well tell the grocers not patronized by Mr. Babcock, that they have the right to decide where he shall buy his flour. Freedom of contract is the very essence of modern civilization, the very citadel of civilized institutions. If the discharged trainmen of a railroad company have the right to dictate whom the company shall hire in their place, the company have just as good a right to dictate what other company their discharged trainmen themselves shall serve. The matter is just as long as it is broad. Freedom of contract means that both parties shall have the right of making or not making a contract as they please,—that, when they have made it, they shall execute it faithfully,—and that, when the contract is ended, each party shall be free to go about his business unmolested. Anything more than this is tyranny on one side or the other. The trouble with the strikers in this case is that they have tried to tyrannize over the companies, over their own unemployed fellows, and over the community at large. The defeat of this strike was foreordained, because the strikers attempted to tyrannize over so many parties that they could not but be overwhelmed by the indignant resistance of their would-be victims. And the very kindest thing that could be done to those who had appealed to riot as their friend was to put them down in the shortest, and therefore the most merciful way.

What has been said by the New York *Tribune*, as follows, is strictly true:—

> The issue between the rioters and the companies never was really a question of wages; the point involved was nothing less than personal liberty. The railways offered to pay a certain price for a certain kind of labor. Ten thousand hungry men came forward to accept the wages; thereupon the strikers seized guns, torches, and brickbats, exclaiming, "No, you shall not work for a dollar and a half, or for any other sum, because we wish to be paid two dollars!" What compromise is possible with an outrage like that?

And again:—

> It may be granted, without helping their case in the least, that they did not participate in or instigate the robbery and burning which disgraced that city [Pittsburgh]. Accounts differ widely; probably the truth is that some of the strikers did, while others did not, countenance or aid the destruction of railway property. But the responsibility lies farther back. Every striker made war upon all civilized society when he countenanced the stopping of trains. He robbed the railway company, which had a right to employ cheaper labor if it could. He robbed other laborers, who had a right to sell their services at the price offered if they pleased. He violated the laws of the State, undertook an armed revolution [riot], and necessarily emboldened all the dangerous and desperate classes to join in the war against rights of property. He who fires a shot into a crowd without authority is a murderer, though he may have had no malice toward the person killed. He who instigates a riot or revolutionary outbreak is not less responsible for the excesses and crimes which will follow.

We were once (and only once, so far as we know) accused of callousness to the wrongs and sufferings of labor. It was false at the time, as he well knew who said it (though we never noticed it); and it would be just as false to-day, if the stale slander should be revived. That the selfish lust of dividends leads often to cruel graspingness on the part of corporations is, alas, a fact which no honest man denies. In prosperous times we doubt not that the profits earned are distributed unequally and unjustly; and no lover of justice and humanity will for an instant apologize for the greed which drives a hard bargain with the poor because of their piteous necessities. The "accursed hunger of gold" blinds many an eye and steels many a heart; and every just person must long for some system of coöperation which, by identifying the interests of employer and employed, shall make them friends, and not enemies. Especially in these days of bitter want and woe, when honest industry reaps so meagre a reward, and when so many who would fain be industrious can find no work at all for the feeding of themselves and their dear ones, he must have the heart of an alligator who does not ache inwardly at the sight of so much human pain. But, unless he be an idiot, the beholder will not charge the pain to avarice alone; he

will not forget the fact that, under the stimulus of a multiplied machinery which enables one workman (as among the paper-makers) to produce as much as eighteen used to do, the whole civilized world suffers from the effects of over-production, and that neither justice, philanthropy, nor strikes can possibly avert a general fall of wages in a glut of the labor market. Mr. McCormick, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, has stated a view of the whole matter which has too much truth to be overlooked:—

[The causes of the present trouble are], first, the want of confidence caused by enormous losses in all kinds of investments made during a period of great inflation; second, the falling off of the demand for manufactured products, especially of iron. This is not caused in any respect by the want of currency, but by over-production, not only in this country but in all the markets of the world. The present distress is general among commercial nations, with this strong advantage in favor of the United States,—that here our farming interests are in the highest degree prosperous, our crops are good, and our markets are excellent, mainly because of the war in Europe. In comparison with other nations, our financial condition is far better than any other, and now, just at the time when our prospects are most hopeful, comes this strike of laborers *against labor*. This effort of men now employed against men unemployed, this refusal to allow laborers to make their own contracts, forces distress and ruin merely that certain men now in employment should be kept in employment and paid higher wages. In the natural course of things, when crops commenced to move, wages would have advanced, and soon the money set in motion by the crops would quicken all industries and give employment to many idle people. The money now lying idle is ready for active use the moment it can be safely employed. A long period of dejection was about to be followed with activity and industry. Surely nothing has happened in the history of mankind so plainly injudicious as the present movement to prevent laboring men from working. Even if they were asked to work for insufficient wages, they had no right to prevent other people from working. The first effect of their movement is to make it still more difficult to get food and labor, and to bring distress upon the very class of people to which they claim to belong.

Instead of being heartless or indifferent towards the wrongs and woes of labor, we do not believe that there is one, among all the ignorant or cunning mischief-makers that have incited or excused the late excesses, whose sympathies for honest and peaceable laborers are profounder or tenderer than our own. We commiserate, far more deeply than we can express, their sufferings in this trying hour, and deplore our powerlessness to remove their causes. But there can be no way out of them that involves rioting or reckless disregard of equal rights; and for nothing do we pity the well-intentioned strikers more than for the fact that evil advisers have led them at once into the crime of riot and into its certain consequence—greater misery. May they have better and wiser friends hereafter! Such a circular as the following, which was distributed about New York city the other day, shows that not all workingmen will submit to be fooled by the crazy counsels of misguided or interested leaders; and we print it here because it will have greater weight as the word of a workingman who has not been misled by them:—

"Don't Unchain the Tiger!"

TO THE RAILROAD AND WORKINGMEN:

Comrades,—Stand still where you are, and think before you go further in the troubles around us. An hour's work may cost millions of money and hundreds of lives! All the lives lost will not be on one side only, and the money will come back on the people to be paid for out of the taxes on us all. Powder burns more than one hand when it is used. Don't burn your hands with it!

These strikes are doing great damage to business, and will cost a great deal of money. Neither capital nor labor can afford to stand such heavy losses, and it is better to work on, knowing that a peaceable and honorable course will gain in the end, than by doing wrong to get an advantage that cannot last.

Keep on the side of law, and keep the law on your side! If we want to right our wrongs, we must keep in the path of right.

There is a great deal of talk about capital being the enemy of labor. This is not true. Capital and labor must work together. The capitalist and the laborer are partners in business, and it requires good faith on both sides to make business profitable. Neither can prosper alone.

Beware of men who talk violence, riots, and bloodshed! They are your worst enemies. All the expenses and losses and damages will be paid by the city or State, and only add so much the more to your taxes. Every workingman who talks about riots is preparing to lay more taxes on his own shoulders. The times are hard now. Will you make them harder? The best way is to go to work, keep the wheels moving in all branches of business, and avoid everything that makes an unfriendly feeling with those who have all the risks of the business, both for themselves and you.

Turn away from bad advisers, and above all "don't unchain the tiger"! A WORKINGMAN.

NEW YORK, July 24, 1877.

TRUE AND FALSE LIBERALISM.

"He who desires the office of a bishop," said the great apostle, "desires a good thing." Similarly we may say that he who desires the name of "liberal" desires a good thing. But just as a man might wish to be a bishop without being fit for the office, so many a man decorates himself with the name of "liberal," for whom "illiberal," "bigot," "egotist," "fault-finder" would be far more fitting designations.

What is it, let us ask, to be "a liberal" in any worthy sense of the word? We should say, in the first place, that a man cannot be a liberal who is not in hearty sympathy with his fellowmen,—not merely with the chosen few upon whom, perchance, he bestows his friendship, but with the great human family, the vast organism of which we all are parts. If a man is not in sympathy with his fellowmen; if he regards their opinions and habits and pursuits simply with a more or less contemptuous tolerance; if he sees in them simply the upholders of error, overlooking the fact that it is they, with all their imperfections, who give force and volume to every healthy moral sentiment, and that in them lie infinite possibilities of good; if he emphasizes all the points of difference between himself and the masses around him, and habitually overlooks all that he has in common with them,—what form, I ask, can that man's liberalism take? Is it liberalism or liberality merely to hold a great number of negative propositions? "The liberal man," the Scriptures say, "deviseth liberal things." What liberal things can this man devise? Supposing—a supposition that does not always hold good—that he is willing to make some sacrifices for the propagation of the opinions to which he himself adheres, we require to know in what spirit he does it before we can decide whether his course of action is liberal or not. It is liberal, if, and in so far as, he has had the general interests of society in view; it is illiberal if his main motive has been a spirit of opposition to other men's opinions, or a desire to bring into relief his own superiority to current errors. The spirit of party or of clique is an illiberal spirit. A man must associate himself with others if he wants to give his views effect; but *a minority which does not aim consciously and sincerely at the good of the majority is an illiberal faction*, let it call itself by what name it will.

The great object with certain men who call themselves liberals is to bring Orthodox opinions into contempt; to cause every cherished symbol of the past to be trodden under foot; and one cannot therefore help asking what they would do, if the Christian religion were suddenly to lose credit with the world at large and sink definitively to the position to which they are so anxious to consign it. Their work would be done; their dream would be fulfilled; but would they be happy? I trow not. They would want another system to despise, just as Alexander wanted another world to conquer; for to these persons the habit of carping and contemptuous criticism has become a second nature, and they would have a most desolate, and, as the French say, *desœuvré* feeling, if the familiar objects of their contempt were suddenly withdrawn.

In the second place, I would say that the true liberal must be one who has risen from a lower to a higher view of things, from a lower to a higher standard of duty, and who, in so far as he has cast aside the opinions in which he was educated, has done so in simple allegiance to truth. Every man who claims the name of liberal should be prepared to answer the summons of St. James: "Show me thy faith (or thy liberalism) by thy works." He should be prepared to show not merely that he has abandoned, but that he has risen above, the Orthodoxy of society at large. He has burst his bonds asunder; what, then, is he doing with his liberty? What *better things* is he doing than those who are still bound? His mind and soul were cramped by old traditions. In what direction then are they tending now that the traditions have lost their power? Are they exulting in a free, noble, and beneficent activity, or have the chains of self grown heavier as the chains of doctrine have grown lighter? If a man has absolutely nothing to show in the way of quickened impulses to good, a steadier allegiance to truth, not merely doctrinal, but moral and practical,—a more habitual preference of good to evil in all the transactions of life,—then I say that man's liberalism is vain. What is it to me if a man holds all the disbeliefs of all the ages, if he is not one whit better than my Orthodox neighbor? Am I going to make much of him on account of what he does *not* believe? Not if I know it.

Many men plume themselves on their fidelity to truth, simply because they have been bold enough to avow their rejection of the current Orthodoxy. In these days, however, the penalties attaching to "infidelity" are not very serious, and to some minds are fully counterbalanced by the advantages of the situation. Before, therefore, we can regard any man as a shining light, we must know whether he makes as much of truth in all matters as he professes to make of it in relation to theology. Does he follow out *all* arguments to their legitimate conclusions, or is there a point at which he begins to be evasive or simply perverse? Above all does he make practical application of the truths that he recognizes? Is he a *consistent* man? If he is, then he is one whom we all should honor; he is a worthy standard-bearer of the "liberal" cause: but if not, then shall his "liberalism" alone be a title to honor? Hardly, I should say.

Once more, the true liberal according to my conception, should be a man of ideals. Discontent with any existing system implies conception of, and a desire for, something better. The liberal is dissatisfied with Christianity as represented by the churches of the day; he finds fault with the motives it brings to bear upon men; he condemns the restrictions it places upon reason and conscience. Evidently, then, he is "seeking a better country," though perhaps he might not add "even an heavenly." He has his dream of the future of society. He has his own lofty conception of what human life ought to be, may be, and will be. And of course he is laboring for the realization of his hopes. His gaze is onward; but what his hands find to do for the good cause he is doing with his might. Are there any claiming the "liberal" name of whom none of this is true,—who have no desires, no hopes, no aspirations beyond the common, who feel no interest in a general elevation of morality, and no call to a higher life themselves? Perhaps there are.

Lastly the "liberal" should be a man of faith—do not start, sceptical friends!—and he should, like the just, live by faith. That is to say, he should live and walk in the strength of great principles; he should believe in law, and should continually seek to adapt himself to the permanent truths of existence. The questions with him are, What kind of a world is this into which I have been born, and what is the course of action to which I am bound as an intelligent and moral being? A child of the earth, he will not rail at that which gave him being; he will not lightly speak evil of the laws and processes that have moulded him to his present state. He will take evil with good and be thankful. The charter of his liberties is the permanence of Nature's laws, and, armed with a reason capable of investigating those laws, he feels assured of a progressive improvement in the conditions of his life upon the earth. And should the whisperings of conscience, or the suggestions of philosophy, or the reasonings of science shape within his mind a belief that there is a Power of whom all that we see in heaven or on earth is but a feeble manifestation; a Power that intimately communes with the pure in heart, but to whom all mankind stand related as children to a parent, still happier is he. Upon him shall rest a peace that passeth understanding, and his hopes shall but brighten as his strength decays. W. D. LE S.

HOMR IN THE SCRIPTURES.

The ancient Scriptures, whether we regard them as poems or histories handed down from age to age by memory till Cadmus invented his alphabet, are of little more use to us in solving the mysteries of the universe, or teaching us the morality of life, than a traveller's guide-book in teaching him the geography of a continent, or rather less. This is not saying that one or the other can be dispensed with. It is only saying that if we are to travel over Europe we had better not spend all our time in car and hotel in reading Murray. And if we would learn life, and live it to good purpose, we must use our own eyes upon nature, human and other, mostly, and not those of Job, Homer, Solomon or Paul.

What strikes us in the poems and histories composed before the invention of letters, is the general absence of anything deserving to be called home, on account of the almost universal slavery of woman. Even the father of the faithful treated the mother of the faithful rather as a chattel than a wife, he having another chattel who was also a woman. See the twentieth chapter of Genesis. The repetition of the legend with regard to his son, at the court of the same king of Gerar, in the twenty-sixth chapter, gives emphasis to the fact of the degraded status of woman in those ages of chronic war. In the touching story of Ruth the Moabitess, we are told that

Boaz "purchased" her to be his wife. Of the estimation of woman, and of her place in society in the days of David and Solomon, it is unnecessary to speak.

When woman herself speaks in the Hebrew Scriptures, she seems to accept the place assigned her by arbitrary man. Deborah, in her almost Homeric song, praises Jael for the treacherous murder of a fugitive enemy, and sings with unction of Sisera's mother, destined to a cruel disappointment:—

"The mother of Sisera looked out at the window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming? Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?

"Her wise ladies answered her, yea she returned answer to herself:

"Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey; to *every man a damsel or two;* to Sisera a prey of divers colors, a prey of divers colors of needlework, of divers colors of needlework on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil?

"So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord!"

Under such bloody piety as this, woman, as well as her needlework, must of course be a prey.

In the Bible of the Greeks we read of similar doings about the same period, in the neighborhood of Troy. It is all about the chattelhood of woman—grim old Achilles in his tent nursing his wrath because Apollo demanded he should restore a captive damsel to a father who happened to be his priest. In regard to woman, the only difference between the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures seems to be, that the Greeks had a higher idea of the value of woman as a chattel, and therefore fought more valiantly for the possession of her. One of the latest of the Hebrew Scriptures, composed long after the invention of letters, the book of Esther, shows that a Hebrew could make a use of woman which we can hardly believe possible for a Greek. It is not easy to believe the book anything but a pure fiction; yet, assuming it to be so, its reception into the Scripture canon shows that the Jews at its date did little honor to the nature of woman. There is not a word of commendation for the noble self-respect of Queen Vashti in refusing to be made a spectacle before a set of drunken men, and Esther is meanly offered to the tyrant who had deposed this noble queen by her own uncle, Mordecai. This is not represented as a sacrifice of Esther, but an honor, a piece of marvellous good fortune to her. Had Mordecai resorted to it as an admitted evil for the sake of saving his people from the malice of the wicked Haman, we might have a little respect left for him. But when he takes advantage of Esther's power over the tyrant, not only to hang Haman and his sons, but to massacre seventy-five thousand innocent Medes and Persians, one almost wishes to see him hanged on the same gallows. It is difficult to see how this Scripture, to use Matthew Arnold's phrase, "makes for righteousness." Its entire omission of the name of God is certainly very appropriate. If there is any gospel in it, it is the gospel of prostitution and revenge.

Yet though the ancient Scriptures are replete with evidence that woman was almost universally regarded and treated as a slave, it must not be understood that they do not furnish evidence that she ought not to be so regarded or treated. There are two unsurpassed, if not unsurpassable, pictures of the glory, joy, and sacredness of home,—one in the thirty-first chapter of Proverbs and the other in the latter part of the sixth book of the *Iliad*. They both shed infinite honor on woman. In the latter we look into a home, such as in that age there could have been but few, through the parting of a warrior and his wife and babe. The wife is no slave. The husband and father is no tyrant. They address each other as divine. Each is an object of worship to the other. The epithet which Homer puts in the mouth of each seems to have staggered the translators. They do not approach it in intensity.

The Hebrew picture is without the grim setting of war. It was a strangely rare one in that day, if not the pure imagination of the woman who painted it. But now it is the commonplace utilitarian English or American home. How many thousands of such in our day have realized all the pathos of the parting of Hector and his divine Andromache! And yet this picture of what a woman, and none but a woman, can create in this world was probably drawn by the woman Bathsheba, one of the victims of that terrible tyranny which the male sex had so long maintained, if we may credit the commentators who think Lemuel was her pet name for Solomon. Plainly, in that lesson she did more for the morality and happiness of future ages than her son did in his gay and splendid life.

"She openeth her mouth with wisdom," says King Lemuel's mother, "and in her tongue is the law of kindness."

What a pity that Paul did not have this Scripture in mind before he wrote, "I suffer not a woman to teach," etc. It might have prevented him from writing some of the most pernicious nonsense about woman which has ever been put forth in any language on earth,—nonsense which has been contradicted by facts and experience, and forever will be *in sæcula sæculorum*. Paul made a terrible mistake, even in an ecclesiastical point of view. Paul, the celibate, and the men who have undertaken to run Christianity as a purely masculine priesthood, have made an awful botch of it. If Christianity was to be the religion of humanity, by all that is reasonable in human nature, woman should have been admitted to at least an equal share in the teaching and preaching. The men who would now save it as such, have lost their wits, or never had any, if they do not go back on Paul, and call women to their aid as equal and for this purpose more than equal to themselves.

Why, Paul had not been dead three hundred and fifty years before a Greek woman turned up at Alexandria, then the very centre of the Christian world, preaching in opposition to Christianity in the interest of a reformed and Platonized paganism, who was more than a match for any male preacher the Church could produce. The bishop of that see, Saint Cyril, is charged by the very historians of the Church with having been so smitten with rage and envy that he encouraged a mob of monks to drag her into a church and murder her. The indisputable testimony of history is that her character was as pure as that of any of the martyrs on the other side. One of her friends and correspondents was a Christian Bishop whose letters are extant, treating her with the utmost deference and respect. Had the noble and broad-souled Synesius stood in Paul's place, Hypatia might perhaps have been a Christian preacher. Her faint-hearted modern apologist, Charles Kingsley, said of her, "Hypatia is one of those whose names are glorified rather by wrongs than by merits; and had she not died, few would now know, and fewer care, whether she ever lived." Considering the unquestionable facts of the case, this was a pretty hard thing for a Christian to say. The dead woman, cut off so young, might retort on some of the worthies of the reverend gentleman's cloth with terrible effect. If scientific acquirement, reverence for truth, and masterful eloquence, are to pass for anything, Hypatia merits memory quite as much as old Origen, with his "*necessitas mentiendi*" (necessity of lying), which became the practical creed of the Christian hierarchy. If there is a sense in which we are saved by the blood of Jesus, in the same sense we are saved by the blood of Hypatia, John Brown, and every one who is murdered by the wicked while working to establish what he honestly believes to be right.

In the course of the next four hundred years, that celibate hierarchy evidently became conscious that Hypatia was exerting an influence on the human mind against them by the very fact of such a death, after such a life. So they manufactured a saintess on her pattern, Saint Æcaterina or Saint Catharine of Alexandria, who was said to have suffered about one hundred years before Hypatia, and put her into the calendar in the reign of the Emperor Basil, for the 24th or 25th of November. In contemporary history there is not a particle of evidence of the existence of any such woman. Yet the *synaxarium* of the calendar sets forth the acts of her saintship thus:—

"Æcaterina, an Alexandrian martyr, the daughter of a certain rich and noble officer, of excellent beauty and genius, when she had made herself familiar with Greek literature, applied herself also to the philosophical sciences, and cultivated the languages of all nations. But when an idolatrous feast-day was observed by the Greeks, and she saw a multitude of animals slaughtered, she went in sadness to the Emperor Maximin and expostulated with him, saying, Wherefore, having forsaken the living God, do you worship idols? Maximin therefore, having detained her, tortured her very cruelly. Then having called from all quarters fifty orators, he said to them, discuss with Æcaterina and convince her; for unless you do convince her, I will burn all of you (*vos omnes flammis tradam*). But they seeing themselves beaten, were baptized and then were burned (*igni conflagrarunt*). Æcaterina also was beheaded."

In the original menology, or calendar, is a picture of the fifty orators in the flames, and St. Catharine crowned and beheaded. But Joseph Simon Assemanus, in his universal calendar, published at Rome in 1755, quotes several Catholic writers who are much puzzled to find any verification for this story; among them Papebrochius, who winds up frankly by saying, "This is certain, that there is no saint whose fame and cultus was more unknown in the first centuries after the persecutions, or more celebrated in later ages, not only in the Eastern but in the Western Church."

And then Assemanus himself expresses the hope that before finishing his great work, by a careful study of the miracles performed by the invocation of this saint, he may be able to bring forward facts of such a nature, and so well attested as "to shut the mouths of yelping (*obgannientium*) heretics." But he does not seem to have realized his hope. Perhaps when the new edition of the *Acta Sanctorum*, in some hundreds of volumes, gets down to the 25th of November, we shall see the proofs.

But whether we do or not, we have, as above given, the testimony of the holy, infallible Catholic Church that a woman of great learning converted fifty pagan orators, under the most difficult circumstances. Pretty good proof of Paul's mistake, if Hypatia was not.

E. W.

Communications.

THE INTEREST DOCTRINE.

See INDEX, June 28 and July 12: "A lends to B $500. B repays it in two hours without interest. A then lends it to C, who, at the end of a year, repays it with $30 additional, as interest. The question is—has C been swindled out of his $30?—ED."

Answer: Not necessarily. Several circumstances, all extraneous to the nature of the loan *per se*, may make this interest of $30, or even more, legitimate.

1. We live at a time when the value of money is constantly depreciating, as it has been for the last forty years. He who lent $500 twenty years ago and to-day receives only $500 as full payment, having all the while received no interest, does not in reality receive the full value of what he has lent, but about its half; as $500 to-day can only purchase what $250 could have purchased twenty years ago. If it can be shown that the rate of depreciation is at present six *per cent.* per year, $30 interest on $500 for a year is justifiable.

2. If C is the heir of A, and the age of A is such that the chance is three to fifty that, A being dead when the year elapses, C shall not have to repay him at all, then $30, being the three-fiftieths of $500, was the exact amount of the indemnity which C ought justly to pay to A for incurring that chance.

3. If the solvency of C is so doubtful, and at the same time so probable, that a competent banker would charge just six *per cent.* a year for adding his guarantee to C's paper, then A, in lending $500 to C for a year, may either require C to have his note indorsed by a responsible party who will charge C $30; or, which comes to the same, A may take upon himself the risk of C proving insolvent, and charge him $30 for it.

4. As any one of these three hypotheses would suffice to account for the legitimate payment of $30 interest, so might the combination of the three, each reduced to one-third of its intensity, satisfactorily account for the same interest. This would be the case if, the rate of depreciation of money being one-fiftieth instead of three-fiftieths a year, and the chances of death of A within the year being one to fifty instead of three to fifty; the probabilities of C proving solvent were to the probabilities of his proving insolvent as forty-nine to one instead of to three. The combination of the three suppositions in other proportions might also account for a yearly interest of $30, or of any other amount, on $500.

". . . We believe that this sum is only a fair compensation for the *year's use* of the money.—ED."

In any of the three above suppositions, to which others might be added *ad infinitum*, "this sum" (that is, $30 interest) is "a fair compensation;" not, however, for the *use* of the money, in the transfer of which use the nature of the loan consists, but for incurring some inconvenience the nature of which is totally extraneous and accidental to the loan. When a loan is divested of all accidentals, so that interest can be charged on it on no other title than for the use of the money (that is, for the loan itself), that interest, however small, becomes *usury*, and is an extortion.

". . . If the Bishop believes otherwise, we submit that his belief should be capable of explicit proof, and that avoidance of the issue is *not* proof.—ED."

The editor is one of the finest and fairest debaters in existence, but here his rule is at fault. *Affirmantis est probare.* He affirms that in a loan something is due, beside the return of the capital, for its use during the time of the loan. Affirming this, he has to prove it, which he utterly fails to do. I deny it; I affirm nothing, and consequently have nothing to prove. But without formally pretending to *prove*, I have informally shown that the proof he ought to give cannot be given, because there is no place where it can exist.

JULIUS FERRETTE.

[The Bishop says that he "affirms nothing, and consequently has nothing to prove." Begging his pardon, we venture to quote the following "affirmation" from the above article, containing all that is relevant in it: "When a loan is divested of all accidentals, so that interest can be charged on it on no other title than for the *use* of the money (that is, for the loan itself), that interest, however small, becomes *usury*, and is an extortion." This is the "affirmation" which the Bishop is bound to prove, if he can;

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it is useless to try to escape that obligation. Premising that of course we meant that the only "use" of money is to use it—that is, to buy with it,—we call attention to the article below, as very apt in this connection.—ED.]

A WORD FOR BISHOP FERRETTE.

Money in itself is but dead inert matter—is of no sort of use as money except to buy with—to buy any and all kinds of useful things. The borrower (say of $2000) receives his money, counts it, and passes it right over out of his hands in pay for a flouring mill, which operation takes him just two and one-half minutes by the clock; and here his *use* of the borrowed money ends. Though he have twenty years to replace it, he gets no further use of his loan; for it has passed along entirely out of his possession and control forever. Now if the borrower pay an annual interest of $200 for twenty years, the simple interest alone will amount to $4000, just double the amount of the sum loaned. And all this is paid for the *use* of $2000 just two and one-half minutes? Is not this a dreadful wrong? Is not the poor borrower ruined? What! $4000 for the *use* of $2000 just two and one-half minutes! The poor borrower is ruined! ruined by the tyrant money-lender and extortioner! Yes; if you don't believe it, just ask him. Trust him to reveal his woes.

"Well, this was the best I could do," he communes, "after using the money; just in one single operation for two or three minutes I found I could *use it no longer*, for I had to hand it over as an essential part of the purchase. But during that two or three minutes, I managed to get me a good title for the flouring-mill; and though the use of the money ceased, the use of the flouring-mill into which I had converted the money *did not cease*. I have used it twenty years, and have it in use still, and it is good for life. And so by the use of my mill (I am a miller by occupation and run the mill myself), I paid all current expenses and saved $500 net annual gain. I could not pay off the loan till the twenty years were up; so I established a kind of sinking fund. I invested my savings in national bonds, railroad stocks, etc., just about after the fashion of my mill investment; and now at the maturity of my note I have my mill, and have cleared on it $10,000. So I now have to pay the amount of the note and interest $6000, and it leaves me still $4000, and I am the owner of the mill. Verily! this is not so ruinous after all!

Now to dissipate the whole mystery (if there be any) in this question, as to the moral justice or right to *take interest on money* loaned, it needs only to be stated plainly, to be understood and approved. Interest (so called) is paid not for the *use of money*, strictly speaking, but for the *use of what money will buy*—which is simply everything *useful*,—everything that is for sale. "Here endeth the first lesson!"

Again: A laboring man has saved from his earnings $1000, and is about to purchase a small house, cash down payment, which house will save him $100 rent every year. But Bishop Ferrette meets him and wants to borrow the money; that is he wants the *use* of the money. (It is rather singular too, that borrowers should want to use a thing that is of *no use*; if the borrower can use it, cannot the owner as well?) But no! the Bishop wants to borrow and use the man's money, and the laborer is very desirous to oblige his Bishop; so he, in the simplicity of his heart, says: "I'll buy the house on a year's credit; it will only cost me a year's rent more than a cash down payment, and you will then have the use of the money. In the meantime, Bishop Ferrette, you will of course see that my rent is paid." "O!" says the Bishop, "not at all; that will be the same as paying interest for the use of money,—which, you know, is very wrong. Don't you know that to pay anything for the mere use of money is usury? Usury is a very great sin, and very severely condemned, sir!" "Here endeth the second lesson."

Yours truly, E. W. ALLRIGHT.

CINCINNATI, O.

A VOTE OF THANKS TO GOD.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I find this beautiful specimen of ignorance and superstition going the rounds of the secular press of the country:—

"ON BOARD THE COSTA RICA, May 21, 1877.

"We, the passengers on board the splendid steamer *City of San Francisco*, wrecked off the coast of Mexico, render thanks to Almighty God for our preservation from death. We desire to express our appreciation of the conduct of Captain J. J. Waddell and his officers during the fearful ordeal through which we have passed. Captain Waddell, last to leave the ship, has proven himself, in our judgment, calm and self-possessed in the hour of danger, brave and prompt in action for our protection, and unselfish in providing for our necessities. We shall bear in our hearts a warm affection for the captain and his officers; and the memory of our danger and rescue will ever be momentos of their faithfulness and devotion to duty. Signed by Moses H. Sargent, Charles Kingsland, Sutton Christian, Gabriel Edmund, B. Peck, J. Anton Boynke, Fred. G. Shelbin, Dr. R. L. Rhein, and many others."

Now, if God saved these passengers from a watery grave, why return thanks to Captain Waddell? If, on the other hand, Captain Waddell, by his coolness and bravery, rescued them from the awful peril, which seemed almost inevitable, why slip in a vote of thanks to God first?

If, as the Church would have us believe, there is a God who continually deals out doses of his pleasure and wrath as the circumstances seem to require, will some of the good, pious souls that are always ready to tell us all about God's power and his love for his followers and his hate for heretics and disbelievers, please pass on the following? Perhaps the thankful passengers of the *City of San Francisco* could make the matter clear to the minds of sceptics:—

"The village of Mount Carmel, Wabash County, Ill., was visited by a destructive and fatal hurricane about half-past three o'clock on the afternoon of the 4th. A number of large buildings were blown down, including the Court-house, the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, and several business houses. Some twenty persons met with instant death by the falling walls, and many more were seriously injured. Fire caught in the *débris* of the ruined buildings and added to the horror of the scene."

What had the preachers in charge of the congregations who worshipped in the above named churches done, or what had their flocks done, to call down such a fearful thunderbolt of God's wrath? There was certainly something terrible in its nature to have caused the fearful destruction of this village and two of God's own sanctuaries.

If, instead of churches, some hall or building belonging to liberals had succumbed to the fury of the storm, the terrible judgments of God and his manifest displeasure toward infidels would have formed the basis for hundreds of sermons on the following Sunday.

When will people learn that the different phenomena in Nature are not evidences of the pleasure or wrath of a God that never had an existence save in the befogged minds of credulous people and corrupt priests? J. R. BAKER.

CLARINDA, Iowa, June 18, 1877.

"JESUIT SCHOOLS."

AN EXTRACT FROM HUME'S "HISTORY OF ENGLAND."

Apropos of an article on the above subject published in the *Advertiser* of July 10, the following extract from Hume's *History of England* perhaps gives as satisfactory an account of the Jesuits as can be found elsewhere. The extract is from his history of the reign of Elizabeth, the lion-hearted queen. The Jesuits were in her time beginning to make themselves prominent. Hume, as everybody knows, regarded Christianity and all its sects with philosophic indifference. Speaking of Douay and other Catholic seminaries specially established on the continent by Philip II., the king of Spain, and others, to educate Romish priests to keep alive their communion in England, Hume says:—

"These seminaries were all of them under the direction of the Jesuits, a new order of regular priests erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who sufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the Church, assailed on every side, and that the inquisitive spirit of the age required a society more active and more learned to oppose its dangerous progress.

These men as they stood foremost in the contest against the Protestants, drew on them the extreme animosity of that whole sect; and, by assuming a superiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were even exposed to the envy of their brethren; so that it is no wonder, if the blame to which their principles and conduct might be exposed, has, in many instances been exaggerated. *This reproach however, they must bear from posterity, that, by the very nature of their institution, they were engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual remedy against superstition, into a nourishment of that infirmity;* and as their erudition was chiefly of the ecclesiastical and scholastic kind (though a few members have cultivated polite literature) they were only the more enabled to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, and to erect a regular system of casuistry, by which prevarication, perjury, and every crime, when it served their ghastly purposes, might be justified and defended. The Jesuits, as devoted servants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and by maintaining his authority of deposing kings set no bounds to his spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. They hated Elizabeth as intensely as they hate Bismarck now. Hume says, "Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purposes against" the great English Queen.

AMERICUS.

THE LESSON OF THE COMMENCEMENTS.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I have been a reader of THE INDEX for two years, and so feel at liberty to send a few lines which I feel constrained to write as I read the reports of the Commencements of the various colleges, and the favorable comments of many of the daily papers upon the addresses which show the mighty efforts made to Christianize America, and the great need of organized work by Liberals *now*. Considering the great demand for space in THE INDEX, I shall not be surprised if mine reaches your waste basket.

Can any Liberal read many of the Commencement addresses without being impressed with the fact that, unless he works, he must lose in the great struggle which is about taking place between Christianity and Rationalism?

Read Prof. Chadbourne's baccalaureate sermon at Williams College, Prof. Seelye's at Amherst, and witness the intolerance, and determination that Christianity must be upheld. They show the mighty effort that Evangelicalism is making to place God in the Constitution, enforce Sabbath laws, Christianize our free schools, and thus put our country back two hundred years. Liberals, we must awake! It is no sectarian cry which bids you work, but love of country and posterity, and we shall not have done our duty, or be worthy the blessings of a free country, if we do not commence before it is too late. Then circulate Liberal literature; vote for no party or man who does not believe your principle; and *organize* in order to meet your enemy on even ground. If you fail,—but you will succeed, for Truth and Right shall ever succeed!

Yours truly, B. F. S.

DEDHAM, Mass., July 3, 1877.

LIBERTY vs. LICENTIOUSNESS.

A most irrational sentiment has been manifesting itself of late among us. It pronounces the licentious secular view of the State. Here is the formula:—

"No fast or thanksgiving days by public authority.

"No sumptuary laws for the proper observance of the Sabbath.

"No chaplains in public institutions.

"Abolition of the judicial oath.

"Expulsion of the Bible from the public schools."

All these, and more, too, of the same kind, constitute the creed of the "Liberal League" in the United States. It is claimed by these men that such practices are in self-evident violation of the great national principle of the absolute separation of Church and State, and ought, therefore, to be totally discontinued.

Very few, indeed, are they who advocate this in its full extreme development. It has a few erratic apostles, however, who tramp about the country and air their supercilous self-conceit and blasphemy before the foot-lights to all who care to squander a quarter for the opportunity of gazing on the sad exhibition of folly.

If we were to adopt the creed of Liberalism, it would transmute us into an atheistic nation. Some of its elements are embraced by public men who do not see whither it legitimately leads. In its rebound from the Papal extreme, the unreflecting and the illogical are in danger of being lured to this other extreme, which would be even more deadly in its influence on the land. And we are not sure but that it involves the greatest and most pressing of the political questions which meet us at the opening of our second century.

All this prating about "free action," "free religion," and this impatience of restraint by wholesome legislation, lack reason. Liberty is not freedom from restraint. That is lawlessness. Liberty that is under restraint is the only true freedom. It is only when liberty flows down the channel of law, that it is able to exert that ennobling and beautifying energy, and effect those glorious results which we behold around us in our Christian civilization. Lawless liberty is license. The State is but an individual with its many members, all subject to that rational will expressed in law, all energized by that rational life which is of God, and all together dependent each upon the other for harmonious development and vigor. The character of a nation is but the character of its individuals. The will of the government is but the manifestation of the individual will. Despotism cannot exist without popular abjectness. Tyranny is always the index of a willing slavery; a free government the exponent of a free people.

Now to illustrate the inconsistency of these so-called "Liberals," we will mention the following: A radical correspondent of the Boston *Investigator* suggested a law which he called "An Act to Protect the People from Religious Imposition," and by which he provides that it shall be a penal offence to conduct public worship, on the ground that those who do so are obtaining money on false pretence. This, mind you, is what is called "free religion"! What, then, is religious despotism? It is well to remember that the first persecutors were the Sadducees, the infidels of the first century. There is no intolerance like irreligious intolerance. Suppose, the Christians being in the majority, we were to pass a law making the delivery of an infidel lecture for money, or the publication of an infidel paper a penal offence, because we consider that infidelity is a false pretence; what would the *Investigator*, or the "Liberal League" say to that?

But the most pernicious doctrine set forth in the creed of such extreme free thinkers, is the views of the family relation. Here they make sad havoc. Let it be remembered that the family is the root of society. Whoever poisons it, loosens its bounds, despises its sanctity, or overthrows any idea which causes it to be what it essentially is, sins against that which, if it perish, drags everything with it in a universal ruin. "Free love and easy divorce" are sins against society. The only thing the fall of man did not destroy, the devils, bodiless and incarnate, are endeavoring to overthrow. They show their sagacity in striking at the very heart of the social order. But the American people will show their sagacity by frowning upon these reckless attempts to sow the seed of licentiousness and anarchy.

Suppose we had a government of these so-called liberal-minded men, we would be a lawless nation, the worst set of slaves in existence. "Where the spirit of the Lord is, *there* is liberty," says Paul; but let the creed that denies that there is a God, denies the immortality of the soul, and consequently any responsibility to a power higher than man, rejects the Bible, blots out heaven, and scorns the idea of a hell, prevail among us, and we shall see our land degraded, and the boasted "freedom" become but lawless license.—*Minneapolis Citizen, May* 10.

A COCKNEY tourist met a Scottish lassie going barefoot toward Glasgow. "Lassie," said he, "I should like to know if all the people in these parts go barefoot?" "Part on 'em do, and part on 'em mind their own business," was the rather settling reply.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation

GLIMPSES.

S. H. M.

ERASMUS doubted Luther's discretion, and when he saw the Pope's bull blazing, he exclaimed, "Now I see no end of it, but the turning upside down of the whole world."

CHIEF-JUSTICE RICHARDSON, of old English puritan times, summoned before the archbishop and sharply reprimanded, said, as he came out: "I have almost been choked by a pair of lawn sleeves." Fortunate man! Many the souls "lawn sleeves" have extinguished utterly. Moral: Pin not your faith to a bishop's sleeve.

THE Boston *Herald* quotes Rev. W. H. Cudworth as saying "that religion is continually arriving to reconcile the capitalist and laborer"; and remarks: "This may be true of religion, but it is not true of the Christian churches which fail entirely to live up to the principles of the Founder of their religion, which are applicable to this matter, or to exercise the beneficial influence they should."

"I HAVE NO MORE right to differ with a man for holding a different opinion from me, than I have to differ with a man because he wears a wig; but if he takes his wig off and begins to shake the powder about my eyes, I shall consider it my duty to get rid of him as soon as possible."—*Charles Wesley.* One-half sympathizes with such a frame of mind, yet there is much danger in it. Powder from another's wig may not always be blinding.

OF THE RIVAL STATESMEN who under Charles the First for a time governed England, Mr. Rawson Gardner remarks: "If Eliot wished to found authority on public opinion, Wentworth contemned public opinion altogether. Authority must be founded on intellect, not on opinion, and of all living intellects he believed his own to be first." Of quite other mood the poet when urged for advice:—

> "Day after day by you I'm pressed
> To give you counsel. I can give it:
> But, that I may not lose my rest,
> Promise to hear, and not to live it."

LUTHER was astonished to find he was a "Hussite without knowing it; and that St. Paul and Augustine were Hussites." So have we heard of unsuspicious people awaking to the consciousness that they were Parkerites, or something as little calming to their fears. But, alarming as the situation at first appeared, when they found no lightnings out of heaven smiting them, they rather enjoyed it, and pitched their tents in the free fields beyond their sacred Jordan, with smiling faces.

WHEN CHILLINGWORTH lay sick at Chichester, he "was visited by Francis Cheynell, a rigid, zealous Presbyterian, exactly Orthodox, very unwilling that any should be suffered to go to heaven but in the right way. Cheynell gave the dying man no rest. He remembered the words of the Apostle, 'Rebuke them sharply that they may be sound in the faith!' 'I desired him,' he says, 'to tell me whether he conceived that a man living or dying a Turk, Baptist, or Socinian, could be saved. All the answer I could gain from him was, that he did not absolve them and he would not condemn.' Cheynell could not endure such lukewarmness as this. 'Sir,' he said, 'you have lavished so much charity upon Turks, Socinians, and Baptists, that I am afraid you have very little to spare for a truly reformed Protestant!'"

MRS. BARRETT'S letter setting forth Mr. Moody's opinion of Mrs. Livermore as a "Christian woman," closed with the following sentence: "We aim to be a Christian organization; we utterly refuse to become sectarian, and welcome to our membership all Christian women who will join us in our efforts to abolish intemperance." We applaud the desire of this "temperance union" not to be "sectarian," and earnestly wish it would, as Mrs. Barrett says it does, "utterly refuse" so to be or become. But so long as it welcomes only "*Christian* women" to its organization, it is open to the suspicion, at least, that its members, like Mr. Moody, are yet in sectarian bonds. "Woman's Christian Temperance Union" is not so broad a name as it would be with the word "Christian" omitted. There are many noble women who would not like to call themselves "Christian" women; they are not only not Orthodox; they are not even "Unitarians or Universalists." Now a union that does not include all such people, but which by its name excludes them, is not so "broad" as it might be; nor is it in the true and good sense unsectarian. We wish our "Christian" friends would *consider* this point, and mend their ways.

EVEN THE *Christian* (there it is again!) *Union* fails to see the point in its reprimand of Mr. Moody. "Sympathy and aggregation, not separation and repulsion, is the genius of Christianity," it says. But a few sentences before, it illustrates just what far-reaching "sympathy" is to be expected of the "genius of Christianity," interpreted after its own anti-Gideon fashion: "The true principle of coöperation is, . . . we are to work with any and every one—Jew or Gentile, Orthodox or heretic, Greek, Romanist, or Protestant,—so long as they will work with us in promoting Christ's cause and by the use of Christ's methods." What more or else did Mr. Moody ask? He wished to "promote Christ's cause," and by the use of "Christ's methods," as he understood them; and he had no objection to Jews, Greeks, and heretics, would they but come under his banner, and make with him an "Evangelical Temperance Union." Now Jews and heretics dislike to be yoked with "The Christian Union's" "Christian methods" quite as much as with Mr. Moody's. And they don't see just why the one is more liberal towards them than the other. They would like to work for the "temperance cause." Why must they in order to do this in union with others, be called on to say it is "Christ's cause"? What has Christ to do with it? Why not, Christians, keep Christ to yourselves? Why ask Jews and everbody else, whenever it seems necessary to make a common effort in dealing with temperance, to take Christ for captain? Perhaps we shall yet come to have "Evangelical fire-engines." Mr. Beecher would apparently be satisfied with "Christian fire-engines." Liberals would prefer "fire-engines."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

The New Epoch in Belief.

BY D. A. WASSON.

In June, a pine forest might seem to the eye of a careless observer to have been smitten with some disease. The needles turn to a sickly yellow; some fall, having quite perished; some linger, pale and wan, upon the boughs; and all wears the aspect of age and decay. But the sad appearance is deceptive; that which seems death is only a renewal and fresh pulse of life. A closer look will show one that beneath this yellow shroud the young needles are putting forth, green and vivid.

The world is such a forest. Seasons arrive when the old verdure is verdant no longer; when traditional faiths, traditional schemes of social order, grow yellow and sere. Some fall and cover all the earth with autumnal hues; some cling to the places where once they were green and beautiful, but now in greenness and beauty no more. The sight is sad to many, and many there are who mourn over it, like Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted. But a close and hopeful look will show that the heart of man is still young and fresh, and is putting forth a vivid foliage to gladden a new time.

We live in such a period of transition. A double movement is going on,—death and birth struggling together, and each conquering on its proper field. The old traditions perish, perish inevitably. It was believed for many and many a century, that certain families were divinely commissioned to rule over nations. That belief is dead. Even where the forms of it remain, the life does not remain. It was believed for many a century that there is a particular institution, to which, as an institution, the grace of heaven is given first of all; and that men can obtain it thence only at second-hand. But Church-rule over the human soul ceases; all over the world it ceases. In some lands it remains as a mere piece of routine, from which the nation cannot free itself; but even there it is only a dead foliage on the tree of life, which a fresh growth is sure, sooner or later, to push off. It was believed that the whole mind of God, as made known to man, had been put in print and consigned to the bookbinder,—that the will and thought of God could be known only by extortion from texts, as the juice is obtained from an orange. But that belief also is dead; it survives only as a Sunday formula; in congresses, parliaments, courts, markets, men act from heart and reason, or else from brutal selfishness,—from somewhat good or bad in themselves.

The old leaves are yellow on the boughs of human life, even though they have not fallen to strew the earth. Their autumn has come, their winter is near.

Now there are those who find hope for the world only in the restoration of these dying traditions. They go about, as it were, with a paint-pot to give back their youthful green to those yellowing leaves. It avails not. To paint them of their first color does not give them back their first life. They are dead, dead.

But though art cannot restore, Nature can and will replace. She has an art above that of paint-pot and brush. The roots of humanity strike deep and forever into divine soil; forms of belief die, but the genetic principle of belief survives, works, triumphs in man's heart; the principle of belief is deathless; it has a perpetual youth, and quickly replaces the brown acres of autumn with the green blades of spring. In place of old and outworn despotisms comes an orderly republicanism, more orderly than despotism ever was. In place of a dominating Church comes free religious association, warm, earnest, full of promise. In place of text-worship comes a faith in God as forever inspiring the heart of man, and making of that a living Bible.

It is our lot to live in this time of transition, when the world is at once dying and coming anew to life. Our civilization is in process of moulting, losing the grace and consolation of the faith that blessed it of old, but losing only to replace them with a grace fairer and a solace surer.

Connected with this time there are certainly some discomforts. Not every one who is willing to go forward can as yet find his way. For many a one the golden bowl of the ancient faith is broken, the new not yet fashioned; he thirsts for the waters of life, and his thirst remains unsatisfied. There are those who fear that the modern world has got "switched off" upon some diverging track, and is daily plunging away farther and farther into the void-realms where no fountain sparkles and no sweet herbage grows. To some, everything is in question. There are good men in America who sigh for the restoration of monarchy. "The best government I know," said to me a highly-cultivated and worthy gentleman of New York, "is the Austrian despotism." There are liberals in religion who return and pledge their fealty to Catholicism. Grown dyspeptic with the strong meat of radical belief, they hasten to those withered breasts, and would fain nurse as adult babies there. In one aspect it is a troublous time.

But is it not also a most hopeful time? Who sees not that out of the heart of the people arises a new faith? Who discerns not the dawn of a new sense of brotherhood? Who does not hear borne upon the four winds of heaven the melodious breathing of a fresh divine aspiration for noble life? The very pain of the time is due in part to an accession of spiritual force. It is only the living who hunger and thirst. Why is it that so many are no longer content to be selfishly "saved" hereafter? Because there is a new stir of life in their souls; they feel, vaguely but powerfully, the divine meaning of man's existence. Earnest doubt signifies, not an indifference to truth, but a fresh attraction toward it, and a more sacred sense of the obligations it imposes.

Behold this heavenly abhorrence of injustice which has arisen in America. Is that a piece of "scepticism"? It is rather an inspiration. God is with him who so cleaves unto his brother.

This double movement is literally world-wide,—not found in America alone, nor in England, in Europe alone, but under the whole heaven. China, gray with immemorial age, rocks with revolutions and ferments with new ideas. "All civilizations," said a learned and highly intelligent mandarin in San Francisco, "have their seasons of growth, to be followed by seasons of subsidence and decay. China, whose civilization culminated before that of Europe was dreamed of, is now in her lowest estate, yet is already showing premonitions of a new career." The English power in India represents a spiritual hiatus. There, too, the old ideas have fallen under suspicion; the old institutions no longer represent the spiritual forces which begot them, and are therefore a burden instead of being a support. But India is astir with new thoughts. Denial is there rejecting the old; faith is there preparing the new. The time surely comes when this people, so rich in speculative intellect and epic imagination, will arise in power and beauty, because in belief, once more. Turkey, with its narrower and duller mind, is in the same state, half palsied, half new-born. Russia wars for absolutism, and emancipates her serfs. Italy, the home of the Pope, leads in Europe the movement toward reconstruction on the basis of natural affinity; and her excommunicated king sends a badge of honor to the leader of the new religious philosophy in France. Louis Napoleon, with all his armies at his back, holds his throne only by trimming between the old tendencies and the new. England, the home and fortress of prudent conventionalism, has not a thinker of eminence who does not represent predominantly, though mostly in a cramped and partial way, the modern ideas; and a powerful reaction against obsolete ecclesiasticisms springs up among the very dignitaries of her national Church. Finally, in America, he is the popular preacher, as the instance of Henry Ward Beecher abundantly shows, who can put forth the utmost amount of fresh belief, with the least possible exciting of traditional timidities; while the moral and political ideas of Channing, Emerson, and Parker have been the inspiration of the nation in the struggles and sufferings through which it has passed and is passing. Everywhere is the same spectacle,—dying traditions and a growing faith. Everywhere the world struggles and chafes under the bondage of an institutionalism that can now only bind and never inspire; everywhere it feels within it the impulse and sacred heat of a fresh believing liberty. Enslaving institutionalism on the one hand, heart and intellect on the other,—that is the alternative between which the nations are trying to choose.

This movement has in America ripened more than elsewhere. In many parts of the world it is still in a very immature stage, being little better than a mere uneasiness, a dissatisfaction, a wish that there were somewhat more worthy to believe and to do. But here, with not a few, the period of transition is past; the desert, with its weary wanderings, doubtings, distresses, lies behind; the happy land of sure faith and action stretches fair and near before, or is already in possession. Let me try to indicate briefly the characteristics of this new epoch.

1. The primary departure from the old schemes is found in this discovery, that faith is native to man; born in him, not injected into him; spontaneous rather than artificial; an energy which his spirit puts forth, not a constraint which it passively suffers. This one perception reverses, or will reverse, the entire attitude of the world toward the problems of religion and belief. So long as religion was looked upon as a kind of supernatural chloroform, not esthetic, but anæsthetic, and designed to lock up and imprison the powers proper to man's being, so long the conception of freedom and free development in religion was logically absurd. Considered as a sheer imposition upon man from without, having the right of the policeman over the person he arrests, or the right of the court over the criminal; empowered to handcuff him first, and afterward to bind him over to keep the peace.—it made his plea of freedom simply ridiculous. It was, and must be, a mere piece of arrest; a putting of man under bonds; and the attempt of the Voltaires to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*, and restore to the soul its liberties, was regarded, and could only be regarded, as a suit at the devil's court, an attempt to overthrow the kingdom of heaven and legalize treason.

Consistently, therefore, with its fundamental notion, the old theology came to man with a fixed scheme of faith, and said, "You must believe this, and just this, neither more nor less than this, under penalty." It could not appeal to his reason and his heart; for that were to acknowledge his freedom and disown its own claim. It could not submit itself to his judgment, for that were as if the policeman should say to the thief, "Walk with me to the lock-up, my good sir, if your judgment approves my invitation." It could not acknowledge a spiritual growth in humanity; it could not see in Brahmism, Parsism, Mohammedanism, Christianity one self-same native principle working out, under the common laws of man's intelligence, into various forms, more or less perfect; for that cannot be a growth from within, which is by definition an imposition from without; and that cannot develop itself under the common laws of human intelligence and natural influence, which is defined as a subjugation of natural influence and intelligence. It said, "You *must* believe thus and so," because it must say so, or say nothing. It was arbitrary in action because it came as arbiter, and was that or nothing at all; at least nothing good. Arbiter or usurper, autocrat or pretender, policeman

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or impostor,—it must confess itself one of the two, and must confess itself the worse of the two if it did not assert itself as the better.

Religion as a piece of spontaneity; religion as a piece of arrest,—here we get the two fundamental and opposite forms under which this matter is conceived of. Each of them has its inevitable logic; each must come to a conclusion in accordance with its premise. One of the two must be assumed; either being assumed, consequences follow which no skill can avert and no reluctance long delay. Assume either, and you must read history accordingly; and to read forwards according to the one, is to read backwards according to the other. The world of humanity under arrest, the world of Nature a house of correction, with the Hebrew people first, and afterwards their spiritual descendants released under parole of honor, and then sworn in as special constables, a *posse comitatus* of the Holy Ghost,—that is one way of reading history. The world of humanity under the aspect of free citizenship, and the world of Nature its lawful homestead; each man called upon to develop in freedom his divine resource, and to improve in freedom his natural estate, converting it to spiritual use as he can,—that is another way of reading history. And accordingly as we read one way or the other, there follows a whole economy of belief, of culture, of social and individual life.

I do not here seek to argue, but only to state. As matter of fact, we, the radical believers, have made our election clearly between these two. As matter of fact, the world is making between the two its election; that is, is changing its choice from one to the other. The new epoch in belief is constituted by the fact that the world is relinquishing the notion of faith as an arrest of natural faculty, a constraint which the spirit of man suffers passively, and is going over to the opposite notion of faith as spontaneous, an energy which man's spirit puts forth, different in its forms, but identical in its essence.

Those who still think, or try to think, religion the policeman of the soul, see in this change something dreadful. Of course they do. To their eyes it can appear only as an attempt at a rescue made by the friends of the criminal. To their eyes the logic that legitimates it is but a Judge McCune issuing a *habeas corpus*, or *habeas spiritum*, to favor rebellion. Of course, I say. A man who looks out of the back window to see what is in front of the house, will not see it. Assuming that the soul is not a free citizen to be furthered, but a culprit to be arrested, they must, they can see in those economies which cherish its liberties, instead of sustaining its incrimination, only irreligion, only treason to heaven. Two opposite points of view cannot give the same results; and the question here is one of the points of view to be assumed.

If God approaches the intelligence of man only by strong impressions upon the senses, as the old preternaturalism avers, then he who turns his face toward the soul, turns his back on God. If God approaches the will only as an over-riding, despotic force, then he who assumes that the divine is to be found in the highest freedom of the will, is stiffening his neck against God. Now, we say that God approaches man, not by that which is lowest in him, the senses, but by that which is highest, the soul,—therefore that in turning the face soulward we turn it Godward. And again we say that the divine manifests itself in man by the spontaneity, not by the oppression of his spirit; by the freedom, not the enslavement of his will; by the utmost liberation and empowering of his being, not by constriction of its liberties and suspension of its powers.

Each of these points of view is, and must be comparatively irreligious to the other. The new epoch has chosen its master word,—spontaneity. It does not complain—it were puerile to complain—that the other sees it as irreligious, infidel. As well complain that a shorter man than yourself does not look over your head.

But there is this difference in their regard of each other. Assume spontaneity, and you can still see the old scheme of spiritual enslavement as one of the limited forms of religion. We do not accept Buddhism as a special form of spiritual development, and then raise a hue and cry against Calvinism as if it were merely evil. On the other hand, the adherent of the old notions can see in the new spirit only absolute irreligion. The greater comprehends the less, but the less does not comprehend the greater. The Jewish synagogue excommunicates Spinoza; but Spinoza does not excommunicate the synagogue. The foolish old woman who saw Sir Isaac Newton, when he was excogitating his doctrine of colors, at a window blowing soap-bubbles, was moved with indignation, and declared it a shame that a grown-up man should be wasting the day in such idle child's play; but Newton could not return her indignation; he could only smile. With a like tolerance the new faith listens when the old vents a pious anger against it. It is in the nature of things that the old should see the new as absolutely irreligious; while the new sees the other as only comparatively irreligious, and prepares to make its sepulture decent, or even to speak a kindly word over its grave.

As a necessary result of its fundamental principle, the new epoch prefers and favors spontaneous rather than imitative belief in the individual. Imitative belief has its place. There are multitudes of men who do their thinking rather by sympathy with some powerful mind than by an independent activity of intellect. There are multitudes of men who are moral rather by sympathy with custom, or even by a calculating submission to it, than by an original energy of conscience. Nevertheless, original thought and original morality are the high privilege and duty of man. The new epoch calls upon men to use this grand privilege, and to use it in the noblest direction. It says to every man, "Relate yourself to eternal verities by your native force, if you can. Indebted deeply to the past you are, as all of us are; but pay that debt, if you can, by making the future indebted to you. Make history richer for those who shall follow. Instead of idly living upon the grain which the past garnered, sow it, and raise harvest for other times to live upon while they also sow and reap. Yea, let the past, like a seed, die fruitfully in your souls, that it may come anew and more abundantly to life."

Hence it is assumed that the divine import of life is not merely conserved by the art of the printer and book-binder, but that it is, or should be, coming to light newly and vitally in every age. And moreover, it is a canon of the new time that each generation, each century, is required of heaven to put in use just that light which has come to it in particular. The divine import of life is revealed anew and ever anew in hearts that are really alive; man ever has his root in eternity, his resource in God; and the light given to each age is, with especial emphasis, the light to be used by that age. The mythus of the manna has a meaning for the present day. God of old revealed his truth to his Hebrews; God to-day reveals his truth to his Americans; and what he says especially to us, he especially means that we should attend to.

Would any one ask what God has revealed to his Americans? He has revealed the sacredness of freedom; the divine endowment of every man with rights which society is infidel if it do not respect and guard; the equality of man and woman; the claim of every male and female child to some education at the public charge; the prevalence and indestructibility of order in the universe; the divineness of nature; and, underlying all, he is making known that the normal activity of man's spirit involves his own activity; that a suffusion of the spirit of the universe goes into all effusion from the soul of humanity; that the pulses of progress are heart-beats of eternal life and law.

Now, there is not one of the least of these instructions which does not affect the whole aspect and significance of life. The least of them brings a new and pervading element into history, and is like a change in the hue and quality of the blood.

Consider, for example, the truth that has come to us through Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, through the chosen revealers and prophets of science. Set aside the outward uses of science, its enabling the earth to feed a larger population and to feed them better; think only what it has contributed to spiritual impression. Suppose this contribution taken away; suppose we were this instant to lose our knowledge that the earth is a ball, swinging in space, one of a troop of worlds more numerous than the sands on the seashore, but all arranged in systems moving in harmony, instinct with perfect law; and that we were left to think with men a few centuries ago, that the earth is a flat space of uncertain extent, without fellowship in the universe, that the stars are candles, and the sun a moderate sized ball of fire, going so near the earth, as even Lord Bacon thought, as to burn the snow off the higher mountain tops; sweep away from us, I say, this moving, magnificent spectacle of universal order; sweep away the very conception of natural law, which conception is a new birth in the world; make it impossible for our souls to be touched with that religious sense of unity, which now is ours when in the falling of a pebble and the sailing of a star we behold one and the same eternal force and law; landlock us once more within the limits of the horizon, and let us again see in the incidents of Nature, not order and everlasting perfection, but at best only celestial caprice,—and who will say that we should not lose truth and spiritual impression which reveal God to every eye, and feed and enlarge every soul? Who will deny that all this knowledge is part of that by which our spirits are this day expanded, our hearts this day touched and awed?

Science has its own evangel, such as it is. Not the highest surely; and it runs in the custom of my thought rather to limit than exaggerate its importance.

Again, the faith in freedom, which animates our best minds, I name a true piece of revelation. Is it true that God requires not obedience only, but freedom as the best part of obedience? Is freedom indeed a master-law of earth and heaven? Here and hereafter are we, by the disciplines of mortal existence and the powers of immortal life, to deliver, deliver, and ever deliver our souls; and by exalting them into a divine liberty shall we arrive at another and more heavenly order of obedience, which, so far from conflicting with freedom, is its very flower and perfection? The faith in freedom *as divine* means no less. And if it be not divine, away with it. If it run counter to the spiritual destiny of man, who will whisper a syllable in its behalf?

We, the radical believers, have accepted and consecrated the idea of freedom in no trivial spirit. Whither that leads we go; and our journeying is no piece of vagrancy. We walk in faith; and our faith is that God supports, animates, and is revealed by the freedom and spontaneous virtue of the spirit of humanity. We trust that human history is no petty stir on the outside of existence, but that the heart of heaven beats in the heart of man, and that, as Paul said, the eternal WORKS in man to will and to do.

The faith of the new epoch, accordingly, is following God into the future. For it, he is not two thousand years behind, to-morrow to be farther behind, and by each rising and setting sun yet more removed. It doubts not but that the ideas which now stir and glow in the bosom of humanity gather their warmth in the bosom of eternity; thence is their origin, thither their tendency.

Thus our present existence and daily work attain an infinite depth of meaning. The charm and fascination of the infinite leads us on; its immeasurable solace consoles our fatigues; and we may still rest upon it even in our doubts. With the age of this faith we first see that we are true to heaven in being true to our own souls; that in thinking our thought and doing our work, we are coöperating with supernal powers; that in using the light of our day, we are walking by the light of that day on which no sun ever sets, the day without night; that in sailing by the magnetic needle of the soul we obey no mere private attraction, but give heed to eternal poles and the axis of the universe. Oh, a faith to live by and die by, sweet, healthful, bracing, vivifying! How it simplifies, while it deepens life! No longer compelled to ransack deserted lands, exhume buried cities, criticise doubtful documents, sift uncertain histories, and do labor for which centuries of learned toil were inadequate, ere we shall know how to live this day and hour, we may even *live*, inwardly assured that the heart of God goes with the heart of man, that the meaning of all days abides in this day, and that in every age the door of truth and duty is a door into the eternal temple, the sanctuary of absolute good.

The faith of the new time is characterized by a more exalted and spiritual respect for man's being, a more religious sense of its significance and sanctity. It has been considered an act of piety to speak evil of man. Time was that no prayer was thought complete, or right in tone, unless it were well strewn with terms of contempt toward the being of man. The whole rhetoric of reprobation and reproach was lavished on his head. That he is "a worm," "a worm of the dust," was an information vouchsafed to heaven in orisons innumerable. Preachers and devotees vied with each other in inventing terms wherewith to revile him. Dr. South, that great fishwoman of the pulpit, said, that "the heart of a newborn babe is a nest of snakes hid in a dung-heap."

Now, I should no more be at pains to say that the new faith forbears to sully its worship with this pious billingsgate, than I should to assert that my best friend is not a shoplifter. Not to be guilty of these grossnesses is no virtue; it is only freedom from a vice. But it *is* a virtue of the time that there has arisen in it a positive, pervading, daring reverence for the being of man; one which is destined to reform the politics, and write anew the creeds of mankind. It is indeed among the most radical and productive sentiments of modern time. Already it has borne fruit, and more fruit it is yet to bear, in the rescue of oppressed races, in new hopes for buried continents, in the liberalization of institutions, in a higher value set upon human life. It compels even those who chiefly impugn its sway. Carlyle, so bitterly impressed with the foolishness of multitudes, cannot refuse to these very multitudes his commanding interest. Writing a history of the French Revolution, he gives historical literature a new key-note for all succeeding time, by fixing his main regards, not upon governments, but upon men; not upon dead institutions, but upon the living nation. Slavery has found in this sentiment its one unconquerable opponent. The sense of slavery as a profanation of man's being was that inspiration which has swelled in noble hearts and prophesied by persuasive tongues against it: this it was which added the eloquence of religion to the eloquence of Phillips; this which lent itself as a grand organ accompaniment to the strong believing simplicity of Garrison; and it was the reverberation of their words in the nation's heart, the answering echo of this sentiment there, which made even its rage tremulous and timorous before them. It was this, too, which frenzied the South, and compelled it to destroy its own evil hopes by the preëminent blunder of civil war; the rebels took arms in their hands, not less to slay an intrusive faith in their own hearts than to pierce the heart of Northern courage.

This fruitful sentiment pervades the time, I say; it is in the air; we breathe it with every respiration; it is a salt upon the food we eat, and a sweetness in the water we drink. Unacknowledged in the formal instructions of theological schools, held in suspicion on Sundays, blasphemed against by the phraseology of traditional worship, it nevertheless penetrates the theologian, finds access to pulpit and pew, peeps out through the borrowed phrase of prayer. It cannot be suppressed, it cannot be excluded; it will have place, and it will have its way. To a large extent it is indeed crude and impure,—a religion, but pagan, sometimes scarcely less pagan than that which it supersedes. Yet crude or clear, derived or confessed, it is a soul of sovereignity, a root of power, an atmosphere of influence in the modern world. The faith the world really lives by to-day is better expressed by Burns's "A man's a man for a' that," than by all the catechisms, ecclesiastic confessions, and copy-beliefs of Europe and America. It is in Dickens and Thackeray; it is in Channing and Chalmers; everywhere man, everywhere the native interests of man are set up against the mechanisms of class and creed. Comte confesses it against his own theory that man is but a fragment in Nature; churches confess it against their own dogma, that man is but a combination of snake and dung-heap; Russia utters it by the voice of her autocrat, and France forces the confession of it from the lips of Louis Napoleon.

And now, at length, this unacknowledged religion of the time is coming to be acknowledged, and to take its place in the forefront of conscious belief. This it is, more than all else, which makes the new epoch. We are learning *why* man's being has this sanctity. That vital intimacy, that living unison of divine and human, which has been indicated is the old truth which has newly come to recognition; and no creed will henceforth respond to the felt and moving credence of men, wherein this does not appear as the second grand confession which faith has to make. First, *God is*; secondly, *God is vitally implicated in man's being*. Hence the universality and

perpetuity of revelation; hence that awful undertone of meaning in all human history; hence the blasphemy that there is in baseness; hence the infinite, absolute worth of a human soul. It is by reason of this infinite depth of root that the tree of life can tower and spread forever; the illimitable stretch of immortality is above, because the illimitable resource of God's being is beneath. False to this life man may be, but so far he is not man; false to the eternal soul, he is by the same act, and to the same degree, false to his own. It is only when the fire of eternity gives a spark from its bosom, and then breathes to fan it across the field of time, that the flame is lighted which we name a human soul. True to itself, the soul is true to God. Burning purely, it reveals God; burying and quenching itself in the sloughs of nature, it denies God. Baseness is blasphemy; nobility is revelation; the Pharisee has crucified the Christ in his own heart, ere he crucified it in the person of Jesus. Yea, and to this day that tragedy is repeated whenever any man is false to his soul; while to this day the Christ rises from his sepulchre whenever a heart that was false to itself begins to be true, whenever through the cerements of sordid life the real life breaks forth, and flames again toward heaven, at once human and divine.—*The Radical, February*, 1866.

PAINE AT NEW ROCHELLE.

HIS VARIED LIFE ON THE OLD FARM NOW ADVERTISED FOR SALE IN PART.

The advertised sale of a portion of the old Paine farm at New Rochelle has awakened a fresh interest, apparently, in the place and its memorials, for the number of visitors to the Paine monument has been unusually large of late. The villagers who knew Paine are dead, but there are many now living who have heard their fathers speak of the old man of the house on the hill, and these recollections are doubtless authentic. The older biographies of Paine, whether written by his friends or enemies, have a manifest bias, and on many important questions of fact the writers are diametrically opposed. From the mass of conflicting statements and traditions it is a difficult task to sift out those which are true, and to present a trustworthy picture of the man as he was and as he appeared to his fellow-townsmen.

At the close of the Revolutionary war grants were made to Mr. Paine by the legislatures of Pennsylvania and New York on the score of his labors in behalf of independence. The assembly of New York voted to give him the confiscated estate of Mr. Frederick Devoe, a royalist. This estate was situated at New Rochelle, and is now known as the old Paine farm. It contained something more than three hundred acres of cleared land, a portion of which was in a high state of cultivation, and a stone house was built on the highest ground, which was thought to be a spacious and elegant structure, as mansion-houses were looked upon then. The green fields rose in a gradual slope from the road, and a long lane ran through the fields up to the house, from the upper windows of which the country could be seen for miles around. The village of New Rochelle contained then only a few scattered houses, and the Devoe estate was on the outskirts of the little town. Paine was a famous and popular man in those days, however, and the neighbors flocked in from all sides to welcome him when he came down from New York to his new farm. He took possession, according to the custom of the time, with a grand house-warming, or village *fête* to which everybody in the neighborhood came, as a matter of course. The rooms of the house were thrown open and the guests rambled through them, overflowing upon the broad, shady piazzas outside, and wandering down under the spreading trees which grew on the lawn. All were greeted with a few pleasant words of welcome by the host, who sat in a shady seat on the front stoop breaking loaf-sugar for the prospective punch. Surrounded by admiring neighbors, Paine was in his glory and overflowed with good-nature and sociability. He had a merry or witty word for every one, and fascinated even children by his winsome ways. One little girl was there, who had heard of the notable pamphlet, *Common Sense*, which Paine had written before the war, but had somehow confused the author in his work, so that to her Paine was only known as Mr. Common Sense. He called her to him, and she went up timidly, saying: "How do you do, Mr. Common Sense?" at which Paine laughed out pleasantly, caught up the child in his arms, and talked and played with her till she felt quite at home with the kind-hearted stranger.

All accounts represent Paine, indeed, as a most attractive person, when he chose to be entertaining, at this time. He was but little past the prime of life, and his mental powers were in their full vigor. In person he was rather above middle size, being five feet ten inches in height, broad-shouldered and athletic. Later in life he was inclined to stoop as he walked, but then he carried his head rather proudly erect. His hair was long and inclined to curl, growing thickly about his forehead and ears. It was his custom to wear it brushed back and gathered behind in a cue, with side-curls falling about his neck. On all state occasions he was particular about the arrangement of it, and had it carefully powdered. His face was well shaped, though rather broad, and his complexion was florid. His features were large, but not homely, and his face singularly expressive. Perhaps the most noticeable features of his countenance were his fine sparkling eyes, which in moments of animation were bright with feeling and humor. Before strangers his bearing was grave and dignified, and towards those whom he had reason to dislike repellant; but in the company of his friends his manners were engaging, easy, and even playful. He was a welcome visitor at the tables of the most distinguished citizens, and was the life of the whole company. As a society man he was scrupulously particular, though not a dandy, about his dress, and his full starched shirt-front and fine broadcloth coat are well remembered in tradition for the care with which he kept them clean. He was an inveterate user of snuff, and not particular about stains as he grew older; but during his first residence at New Rochelle he was remarkably neat in his use of tobacco. Horne Tooke remarked of him at a later time, in prospect of a dinner-party, that "he would venture to say that the best thing would be said by Mr. Paine." As a conversationalist, he was inclined to be dogmatic and to do most of the talking himself, but he was not illiberal in his reception of the views of others. He was somewhat vain of the effect which his writings had produced, and irascible when he was crossed or contradicted; but his good nature was abundant, and his ill-temper never lasting. His residence at New Rochelle, before he sailed for France, in April, 1787, may be taken as the happiest and least troubled portion of his life. He was then free from care in regard to his income, through the grants which had been made to him, and lived on his estate, honored by his neighbors and the country at large, as a deserving and enlightened patriot.

Of Paine's position and character at this time there can be little question. In 1808, when he next took up his residence on the New Rochelle farm, he was an old man of sixty-six, broken in health and shunned by the great body of church-going people. He had suffered a long and unjust confinement in a French prison, during the latter part of which his life hung by a thread. His works had been condemned and his person proscribed in the country of his birth; he had maintained an acrimonious contest in defence of his political and religious views with hostile partisans, and it was but natural that these things should have left their impress on him. His spirit was not broken, but the native sweetness of his disposition was considerably impaired. He mentions, also, to Hickman, a most friendly biographer, that during hours of disheartenment and when smarting under the sense of injustice, he had sometimes used liquor to excess, but he hopes to make a change for the better in this respect on his return to the country of his adoption. He found, however, that this habit was not to be laid aside as readily as he supposed. Although he was in a measure prepared for a cold reception, he does not seem to have realized the extent or the strength of the feeling against him, intensified as it was by misrepresentation, until he reached New York. The Federalists were bitterly opposed to him as a representative of radical republicanism, and even many of the Republicans—his natural allies—shrank from him on account of his avowed religious tenets. Paine could bear anything better than the neglect and desertion of his former friends and admirers. He was deeply touched by the hostility and prejudice with which he was met, and his faults of temper were undoubtedly aggravated. Both in his writings and conversation he became more dogmatic, assuming, and ill-natured in his judgment of opponents. As society neglected him, he shut himself up with his books and manuscripts. He returned to New Rochelle, but this time he received no ovation. His old house had been destroyed by fire in 1790, and a new house had been erected for the use of the farmer who cultivated the land for him. This was the house which stands at present, practically unaltered, some twenty rods from the road, near the top of the slope. It had no pretensions to elegance, but was a comfortable farm-house of medium size. The roof projected over in front and rear, forming a shelter to the stoops. The chamber which Paine occupied as a sleeping-room and study is at the north-east corner of the house, and the windows look towards the fields, away from the road. The room is oblong in form, with an iron fire-place in one side, by which two handsome fire-dogs, said to have been the property of Paine, are still standing. A door, which is now nailed up, then opened into a large wine-closet, constructed partly below ground, which is now used as a storing-place for milk and meats. The furniture of the room is said to have been simple,—a plain cot bed, a small writing-table and a few chairs satisfying the requirements of the occupant. In these modest quarters Paine lived, with occasional visits to New York, until June, 1806, when he left the farm-house to take up his residence finally in New York and the immediate vicinity. While living with the artist Jarvis, in the winter of 1806–7, he is said to have made occasional visits to the farm; but New Rochelle can only be considered as his home from June, 1803, till June, 1806. During these three years he had generally some work on politics, science, or literature on hand. He is said to have mixed a little, too, in party politics, and to have written in some papers and periodicals. About this time he published a number of fugitive pieces, which had been written long before for amusement in France or in England. One of these was the severe satirical poem on tithes in the style of "Chevy Chase," entitled "The Strange Story of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram." In 1804 he published an essay on the invasion of England and a treatise on gun-boats. His treatise on the yellow fever and modes of prevention was printed in 1805. When he came first to the farm in 1803, he boarded with Purdy, the farmer to whom he had rented his land. While in France he had resided at different times with a Mr. Bonneville, the editor of a French paper, from whom he had often occasion to borrow money, besides receiving other favors from him and his family. On the elevation of Bonaparte to supreme power, the press of M. Bonneville was stopped, and he suffered besides from pecuniary losses. Paine, at that time on the point of returning to the United States, offered an asylum there to M. Bonneville and his family. Bonneville accepted the offer, and his wife and three sons shortly afterwards crossed the ocean to America. He intended to follow them, but for some reason his departure was delayed till after Paine's death. Meanwhile Mme. Bonneville and her sons were provided for by Paine, with the exception of the elder son, Louis, who returned to France in 1805 to live with his father. When Paine went to New Rochelle the Bonneville children accompanied him, and Mme. Bonneville visited him several times at the farm, though she seems to have preferred New York as a place of residence. The neighbors remembered the Bonneville boys as bright, mischievous youngsters, running about the farm and village in summer barefooted and commonly bareheaded. During the winter they were sent to school in the village, but no particular care appears to have been taken of their education. The quiet farm-house on the hill was probably disturbed somewhat by the noisy children, but Paine does not seem to have objected to their presence, and took considerable notice of them in his way, though absorbed with other affairs. Paine seems always to have been fond of children, and not only the Bonneville boys but the children of the neighbors came to know him well, and would venture on many liberties and familiarities with him. He liked to sit by the country store, it is said, and watch the children playing in the road while fondling the head of some vagrant dog which had demanded a share of his attentions. To children and dogs, it is said, he rarely spoke harshly or reprovingly even. Once when a party of mischievous boys made a raid on his orchard they were surprised by Paine, who, however, only assisted them to gather the best fruit, talking and laughing with them pleasantly. A little boy who had kept at a distance from the others, who were older and bolder than himself, was called by Paine to come up, and the kindly old man saw that he got his share of apples with the rest.

He was not so familiar with the older villagers, however. They spoke of him as reserved and not inclined to make acquaintances, though when he did come out of his chamber-study he was affable enough, and would talk with the farmers and their wives on the current country topics with no lack of sociability. He was no longer particular about his dress, and the loose coat which he commonly wore was stained with snuff, as well as his crumpled shirt-bosom. Still, though he had grown careless about his dress and wore old clothes in his room and in his walks about the village, there seems to be little truth in the accounts which represent him as positively filthy in his person and dress. Probably he became more neglectful in this respect than his friends care to admit, for he lived aloof from society, often with no other company than the old black woman who took care of the house and prepared his meals. His books and papers were laid in piles about his chamber without any noticeable attempt at arrangement or order, and his table was always covered with writing materials and unfinished work. There is little room to doubt either that in these years he became too much addicted to the use of liquor. The habit had grown upon him until he found himself unable to break it off. Not that he drank to such an excess as his enemies allege, for this is sufficiently disproved by the clearness of mind and intellectual power which he retained to the day of his death, but in the privacy of his own apartments it was not unusual for him to exceed the bounds of a temperate use of wine and ardent spirits. In his old age, also, although capable of a liberal generosity in money matters, as his gratitude to the Bonneville family shows, he became parsimonious in little things. His accounts were scrutinized carefully, and any overcharge, the neighbors said, was sharply rejected. His personal expenses were light, for his tastes were simple, and he was not disposed to admit any extravagance, or what he chose to consider such, in his dependants. This closeness of dealing, although to his mind it seemed only a rightful objection to impositions, often provoked those with whom he had business relations. Not to speak of the angry and foolish letters which passed between him and Carver, an attempt was actually made by Christopher Derrick, who considered that Paine had withheld a portion of what was due him, to kill Paine as he sat writing in his chamber on Christmas eve, 1804. The shot fired by Derrick struck the wall of the room a few inches below the window, and the lower panes were shattered by the concussion. Paine hastily sprang up, ran to the door, and called out Derrick's name to warn him that he was detected, though the night was so dark that no one could be seen. Paine, who was always untroubled by the thought of personal danger, made light of the incident, though Derrick was afterwards prosecuted on suspicion, but acquitted on the ground of insufficient evidence.

During the last months of his life at New Rochelle, Paine's health was very poor, and he needed constant nursing and attention. The broad-shouldered, athletic man had become a weak invalid, moving slowly and with difficulty, assisted by a stout cane on which he leaned, when he was able to walk a few steps from his boarding-house in the village. He stooped over very much, it is said, as he walked, and it was plain that his bodily powers were fast becoming exhausted. His face still retained, however, much of its old expressiveness, and in the neighborhood to-day the impression is still strong among the old residents that he retained much of his former dignity and commanding air. He disliked very much any attempt on the part of visitors to obtrude upon him their religious principles, or to convince him of his erroneous religious stand-point. Towards the latter part of his life he refused flatly to receive such persons, and resented their intrusions as excessively impertinent. The old lady in the scarlet cloak who called upon him while he was living with Jarvis, a few months after leaving New Rochelle, fared better

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than others. He raised himself on one elbow as he lay in bed, and when she had delivered her message as one sent to him from God to tell him that if he did not repent of his sins and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, he would certainly be damned, he replied with something of his old humor, "Poh, poh; he would not send such a foolish, ugly, old woman as you about with his messages. Go way now; that will do. Shut the door." The old lady retired in mute astonishment, but Paine did not always see the humor of such visitations.

These traits of character and manner were apparent to those who knew him during his residence at New Rochelle, and it is his life there alone that it is intended to sketch. He died in Greenwich Village, June 8, 1809, and his body was taken to New Rochelle the next day, and there buried on his farm. A plain stone was erected to his memory, with the following inscription: "Thomas Paine, author of *Common Sense*. Died June 8, 1809, aged seventy-two years and five months."

Some years afterwards the bones of Paine were removed by William Cobbett to England, and the head-stone and rude wall about the grave were broken down by relic-hunters, so that the grave presented an appearance of neglect. In 1839, by the efforts of some friends of Paine, a monument was erected on the spot, and the grave was inclosed by a substantial wall and railing. At first the monument bore the same simple inscription as the head-stone, but different passages from Mr. Paine's works were cut in the stone in after years.—*New York Herald.*

A LABOR REBELLION.

We wonder if something new and worth while towards helping on the solution of that "question of questions"—the question underlying all questions of politics, health, morals, and trade,—the labor question, can't be got out of this gigantic brakeman's rebellion that has broken out in the passes of the Blue Ridge and now seems to be extending into the Ohio Valley. What is the use of repeating forever that stale truism that a laborer may stand out for whatever price he thinks fit to demand, but he must not prevent other men from working for whatever they choose to accept? It seems to us that we have heard this somewhere before. If we are not mistaken, we have heard it every time there has been a strike during the last quarter of a century, at least. No more edifying is the well-worn counsel to the strikers that they always lose in the end. All this is true enough; but are we never to have anything new on "the question of questions"? Why, there is a handsome prize in money offered by Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, a philanthropic lady of New York city, for an essay that will advance some fresh and useful ideas on this literally vital question: What shall be done with the starving men who can work and want to work, but cannot keep their families and scarcely their own bodies? Shall we thin them out by the starvation process, grinding them slowly down by a steady diminution of wages to the point where disease and death will come in play to take them off the overcrowded community and redress the balance? Would it not look better to transport them to some distant frontier where the natural attendant disorders would not result in the destruction of property and interruption of the business of those for whom there is business to do? Or would it not be more truly humane to recruit the regular army to a hundred thousand or two and keep a firing party in each leading centre of population to collect and shoot at once the superfluous laborers and their families? Shall we adopt Hamlet's prescription and forbid any more marriages, or turn Malthusian and legalize infanticide?

These are mere suggestions thrown out in sheer disgust at the poverty of the current talk on this great uprising of labor spreading along the main national highways, and forcing the national military arm to combat it. When John Brown, Osawatomie Brown, organized a resistance to the lawful authorities of the State, in the very next station on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad to where the present rising broke out, in behalf of a different class of hopeless and desperate laborers, many people took little heed. It was the crazy, suicidal work of a fanatic. It was easily stamped out in blood. On his trial Brown indignantly repelled the defence of insanity offered in his behalf and went to his scaffold with a radiant countenance and the step of a conqueror, for his eyes had seen the glory of the coming of the Lord, and he knew that the soul of his rebellion would go marching on. How contemptible appears now the brief triumph of physical force over the social crisis then about to break! How stupid the easy confidence which dealt in trite platitudes on the wrong of violence under any circumstances, in the very shadow of the swift-rolling cloud of civil war! At Martinsburg to-day, it is impossible to rally the local militia, as then, against the insurgents. The citizens, too, appear to fraternize with them. A repenting striker is dragged back from his engine by his wife and children crowding with him into the cab imploring him to stand out for their sakes. A mother follows her son, who would go back to his post, with mingled prayers and reproaches, in the sight and hearing of the crowd and the soldiers.

In rural railroad towns, and even in the larger railroad centres of Pennsylvania and Ohio, the railroad is the principal embodiment and representative of society and authority. Its officials are the magnates of county and State politics, and the leaders in all local affairs. The railroad is the life of the community, the source and means of its business and enterprise, the largest employer of its labor. A revolt against the railroad is therefore in a large measure rebellion against the powers that be. The State and national governments are distant and shadowy abstraction compared with the power that visibly distributes wages, business, and the means of living to the people. This rising, then, that calls for the army and reaches even the women of the region, is well styled a rebellion. There is no fear that it can have long enough life to become a revolution. We are in no danger of a communistic triumph in such regions. But it is well to recognize the grave seriousness of the outbreak in all that it implies. Here is a tract of country in the heart of the republic struggling against the powers that be, as for life itself. The rebels say that their families are threatened with starvation. Their wives and children join in this piteous and desperate cry. It is offering no assistance to tell people in such a state that they must not combine and resist the laws. It is as useless to tell people who believe they are in danger of starving that they will be beaten, as it was to overawe the earliest American rebels with the armies of Great Britain. They must live, they say; and if public opinion replies merely that it "does not see the necessity," they will do what they can to help themselves. It is time for the thinking men of the country to rouse to the truth that there is a stern struggle for existence going on in the new adjustment of the expectations of both industry and enterprise to the altered state of capital, and that risings such as this in West Virginia and Ohio require some broader ideas than have served in ordinary times.—*Boston Transcript, July* 20.

ADDRESS BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS

TO HIS FELLOW-CITIZENS ON THE SITUATION.

The crisis in the affairs of labor and capital which is now pending and imminent, is no accidental or unforeseen event. It is part of a necessary evolution of society to a higher and better stage of adjustment between those great interests involved. The transition *has to take place* between the lower and the higher form of civilization. Such a transition is like the birth of a new being. It cannot occur without the rending of old conditions, with some struggle and pain; but it makes all the difference in the world whether the nature of the case is understood, provided for, patiently waited upon, and lovingly served; or whether, on the contrary, it is met by ignorant alarm, violent resistance, and frantic effort to extirpate the cause of the disturbance. An ignorant surgeon who should mistake a perfectly natural case of pregnancy and incipient parturition for a malignant tumor, and who should resort to the knife, would kill both mother and child. The ordinary politician, military commander, or business man is that ignorant surgeon. The case is beyond their skill, and must have a different kind of treatment.

The simple fact is, that our form of civilization, based on an *unequal struggle of competition* between *the strong and powerful few* and *the weak and helpless many* (for so it has been), is, in the expressive language of the common people, "*played out.*" Something else and something better has to come; or something worse from the desperate struggle to get the better. *The simple fact is*, that the laboring man —and he is the immense majority—GETS NO JUSTICE on the present plan of conducting business; and that he *has discovered that fact* and means to *right things* at all hazards. He has the power in his hands the moment he is thoroughly aroused,—in this country of all the countries in the world; with our political creed which concedes it to him, with his numerical majority, and with his wide-spread intelligence and daring enterprise. The ballot is his, but he can't wait to use it, and he might be cheated in the use of it, as he has been. The soldier is recruited *from him! is him!* and will fraternize *with him!* and then, instantly the bottom of our old civilization is fallen out. This, then, is the shorter cut. From the instant this happens—it has already happened in the small way, and it will happen in the large way—the poverty of the current talk about "enforcing the law, first and foremost," becomes evident. It is then mere babble. The case has gone into the higher court, where the question is of "establishing justice" first and foremost, and of enforcing the laws afterwards; and upon that basis only.

All this means, it is true, revolution; not political revolution merely or mainly, but social and industrial revolution; revolution in the world's way of doing business; of exchanging values and of compensating labor. There are a few dozens of men, and some women, in the United States, and a handful over the whole world, who have made the science of society a study for many years past, and who have tried to tell their busy contemporaries that just this time and these events were coming; but generally their contemporaries were too busy to heed them. I have been one of those students and John the Baptists, which fact is a reason why I feel now authorized to speak. Everything depends, from now on, upon the readiness of the wealthy classes *to sense the situation* in season to make terms with the new order of things; to sense the fact, first, indeed, *that there is a* NEW ORDER OF THINGS *here now, or inevitably about to come.* The trouble with the strikers is that there are too many of them; that they are, in effect, the whole laboring population, the immense majority of the people, so that the theory of shooting them down is futile. A ready acceptance of the situation on the part of the rich and great will tide us in safety over the crisis. Nothing else is safe for the country, and especially for the rich and great themselves, as the class of the population really most in danger. They should entertain at once, and discuss freely with the strikers and among themselves, such extreme and gigantic measures as the forced transfer of all railroads, magnetic telegraphs, and great public works to the government, with the laborers paid fixed and equitable prices, as government employés; the organization of great government workshops; or organized government colonization, and other similar enterprises, and the honest effort that government shall become the social providence for the whole people. They and the people should organize at once volunteer bodies of consultation, from among the wisest and best, and call into their counsels those who may *know* something of social justice, and of social tendencies and laws. It matters not if the immediate disturbances subside. Be not deceived by the lull. The storm only gathers force by the delay; and if the rich and great are obstinate or stupid or *slow*, God help them, when the real crisis comes. The labor question is now on for final adjudication, and it is just as sure to get itself settled, *peaceably if it may, forcibly if it must*, as the slavery question was to reach its finality, as it did, in blood. I know elements enough, in the single city of New York, the very best elements too, for good uses, if they were rightly met by the rich and great, to renew, in a week's time, all the horrors of the first French Revolution. It is dangerous sitting in a powder magazine, smoking the best Havana cigars at your ease, and carelessly throwing the burning stumps around you.

I might readily have procured the names of a considerable list of other socialistic students to sign this warning along with me, but that would have consumed time; and the value of the document, if it has any, lies chiefly in the ideas, and much less in the name or names attached to them.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

"THERE WASS another story," continued Peter, with a twinkle in his eye, but the same grumbling tone in his voice, "ferry wicked; but man's the time I will hef a laugh at that story. That wass about two men in a boat, and the night it wass so black that they could not find their way into the harbor at all, and the wind it was blowing ferry hard. And the one he says to the other, 'Duncan, you must gif a prayer now or we will nefer get into the harbor at all.' And Duncan says, 'I canna do it; you maun do it yourself, Donald.' And Donald he will say, 'Tam you, Duncan, if you do not gif a prayer we will be drooned as sure as death, for I can see nothing but blackness.' And so it was that Duncan will stay in the stern of the boat, and he will kneel down, and he will say, 'O Lord, it iss fifteen years since I hef asked you for anything; but it will be another fifteen years before I will ask you for anything more, if you will tek the boat into the harbor.' And then, sure enough, at this moment there was a great sound of the boat going on the beach, and Donald, that was up at the bow, he will cry out, 'Stop, Duncan, do not pray any more; do not be beholden to anybody, bekass the boat's ashore already.'"—*William Black's "Madcap Violet."*

Poetry.

CHINESE POETRY.

The Willow Blossoms.

Brave yellow, passing into tender green,
The glory of the spring-tide's early day;
By eaves' side quivering, or in the sheen
Of lake reflected; every tender spray
Dancing upon the wind, by silken thread suspended,
Or sighing for the mellow eve and moonlight play;—
O sweet and fair, too young as yet to bear
Plucking for love's last gift, with farewell ended,
O wilding flowers, ye steal my heart away.
The Eastern King, should he your beauties know,
Will look with kindly eyes; nor rain, nor snow
Will send, nor anything
To mar the crescent spring,
And breezes that your lengthening tassels sway.

The Mountain Outlook.

Yonder falls a percipitous cascade three thousand feet.
Here the mountain touches the sky and divides the orbs.
Drifting snows fly amidst the thunder.
I am like a white bird amidst the clouds:
I insult the winds and invade the deep abyss.
As I turn and look down on each neighboring province,
The evening smoke ascends from the dwellings in blue specks.

A Friend Revisited.

Men pass their lives apart: like stars that move, but never meet.
This eve, how blest it is that the same lamp gives light to both of us!
Brief is youth's day. Our temples already tell of waning life.
Already half of those we know are spirits: I am moved in the depth of my soul!
Could I have thought that after twenty years I should again be in your home?

—*Johnson's "China."*

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 4.

Dr. Topping, 15 cents; B. P. Elliott, 30 cents; E. W. Pike, $3.20; C. Griswold, $3.20; Mrs. A. Y. Hagar, $3.20; Mrs. H. T. Clark, $3.20; J. M. P. Batchelder, $5; Mrs. Benj. Sharp, $4; J. W. Graffam, $1.00; Giles A. Adams, $3.20; D. W. C. Priest, $3.20; Alex. N. Davis, $3.20; M. L. Weems, $3; S. R. Mumford, $18.50; Dr. N. H. Webster, $6; F. E. Abbot, $1.93; E. H. Sargeant, $1; Mrs. E. E. Walker, $3.10; J. Hendrie, $3.45; Mrs. B. Booth, $3.20; E. W. Gunn, $3.20; J. Russ, Jr., $3.20; T. McWhorter, $3.20; Edward Allen, $6.40; J. L. Hungerford, $7; Cash, 25 cents; O. B. Vose, $5; Harold Frederic, $3.20; W. C. Kelley, $3 20; J. C. Keams, $1.50; H. H. Howard, $3; J. J. Vertrees, $5.60; V. B. Martin, $3.45.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 9, 1877.

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NOTICE.

During the month of August, my friend, Mr. SIDNEY H. MORSE, will assume entire editorial charge of THE INDEX, and relieve me of all literary responsibility on its account. All letters and communications should be addressed, as usual, to "THE INDEX, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

TO THE READERS OF THE INDEX:—

In assuming the editorial charge of THE INDEX for the remaining weeks of this month, I have only to say, by way of preface, that I am indeed glad that my poor services make it possible for our mutual friend to obtain the rest he so much needs, and so richly deserves. May he return to his post with vigor of body and mind restored to continue indefinitely his good and fruitful work!

Communications designed for my special attention may be addressed to 25 Bromfield Street.

SIDNEY H. MORSE.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The report of the recent annual meeting of the Free Religious Association has been published in the usual pamphlet form, and can be obtained at the office 231 Washington Street, or at A. Williams & Co.'s, corner of Washington and School Streets, Boston. It contains the Essay by Rev. W. R. Alger on "Steps Towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and the Essay by Mr. C. D. B. Mills, on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; also Addresses by Messrs O. B. Frothingham, William Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson,—with tenth annual reports of the executive committee, treasurer, etc. Price, single copy, forty cents; four, or more, twenty-five cents each.

Persons sending for it by mail will address, "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. W. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

FREE RELIGION turns to the absorbing themes humanity is everywhere and in manifold ways discussing, to see what is true and just, and help the world upward to harmony and peace.

THE ESSAY on "The New Epoch in Belief," reprinted elsewhere from one of the earliest issues of the *Radical*, has always seemed to us a discourse of the highest order,—such a one as we are forced to confess it is the fortune of liberal literature rarely to find itself enriched. The author has written many notable things—this among them,—and we hope there is much more to come!

THE LABOR QUESTION is assuming a prominence in this country which puts most other questions for the time out of men's thoughts. It is a great question, far more difficult of solution than that of chattel slavery. How to deliver "free men" from the bondage of enforced poverty, surely transcends all questions else, for it lies at the basis of all hoped-for prosperity.

IN THE discussion of the labor question there ought to be no room for crimination and recrimination. The present condition of affairs is our common inheritance,—bad if we are contented with it; good if we put it under our feet as the ground whereon we stand to create that which is better. We shall undoubtedly pass through great excitement, and the end of violence may not yet have arrived. But the true motto for those who can entertain it is: "With malice towards none, and charity for all."

THE premiums offered by Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson for the best essays on the labor question, will, undoubtedly, add to the already growing interest in that subject; but let no one make the blunder of supposing that the awards determined upon by the committee appointed by the American Social Science Association will necessarily indicate the permanent solution of labor difficulties. The wisdom of our political economists carries, like the wisdom of the rest of the world, many grains of fallibility.

WE NOTICE that there is a disposition on the part of the press generally to speak in greater favor since the riots of General Sherman's notion of a "standing army." To our mind this is not the direction to look at all. For the matter of force, the extemporized "vigilance committees" did the most efficient service in Pittsburgh and elsewhere. Instead of arming to the teeth, and drawing the lines to wait the next onset, we need the effacement of lines,—the spirit of reconciliation. If the South can be forgiven Andersonville, the strikers can be forgiven Pittsburgh. One thing is sure: only a truce, not peace, can be secured by bayonets. We need more labor-reformers instead of more generals.

AMERICAN prejudice, like English, that sides with Russia in her war on Turkey is founded for most part on the massacre of Christians in Bulgaria. If the Turks were alone in such outrages on humanity there would be some reason why she should be wiped out of Europe. But, unfortunately, the fact is otherwise, as nearly everybody knows. There is this difference, however, and in the eyes of Christendom it is a difference that assumes gigantic proportions: it was a slaughter of Christians by Infidels. Christians themselves may slaughter other Christians, and especially heathen, as the English did in India, blowing souls from bodies from the mouths of cannon. Had the Bulgarians not been Christians, it is fair to assume that not half the indignation we have seen throughout the Christian world would have been aroused, and Gladstone's sensationalism would have been confined to the menace of the Romish Church. Nobody believes in Russia as the evangel of justice. The fate of Poland and of Hungary are too conspicuous to permit of such a conviction. The war is without shadow of excuse other than Russia's ambition. We have no special love for the Turks, but it is clear enough that more than one-half of their offence is that they are not Christians. However, Roman Catholic Christians get along well enough in their country. Perhaps it is because there are no Russian emissaries among them stirring them up to provoke a Bashi-Bazauk assault.

AS ILLUSTRATING the "march of infidelity," we call attention to some statements by the New York *Independent*, as to the "transformation" going on in the Evangelical Church. It seems that one Dr. Blauvelt has been charged with "betraying the cause of Christ to his enemies," on account of certain new views of "Inspiration" to which he has given utterance. The *Independent* points out that Drs. Tholuck, Lange, and others hold like opinions. Lange thinks "there is a difference of inspiration observable in the Scriptures," and Tholuck declares, "Inspiration is not real and total, but only partial, and is to be determined (*i.e.*, limited) in reference to the truths necessary to salvation. . . . The Scriptures have a kernel and a shell. Upon the former there is the positive and direct impress of the Holy Spirit; but upon the latter it is indirect and relative." Rothe's position is stated in bolder terms:—

> The books of the Bible must be regarded as the general product of the minds of their human authors. These authors have had their moments of inspiration, to which they owe much of the religious experience they have embalmed in their writings. But inspiration was not the normal condition of their minds, nor were their books written during the moments of such inspiration.

Our readers, many of them, who have in their experience passed over much the same ground, will remember and concede that this does very well for a beginning. These learned doctors in due season, when they have thoroughly shed the "shell" of inspiration, will discover that they themselves have marched out to keep company with the great body of "unbelievers." Every book may be said to have a "kernel and a shell." It is the "kernel" the "infidels" are after.

WHEN THE WAR of the rebellion was getting under way, it was the fashion of the press in many parts of the country to cry out, "See! this is the work of the abolitionists." Indeed, from the beginning of the abolition movement the leading journals of the country held only the profoundest contempt for Garrison, Roggers, Phillips, and their associates. The rope about Garrison's neck was thought generally to be only the fitting symbol of his deserts. Times have changed, and in that respect the public has seen how great was its mistake. "History repeats itself," however, and to-day all who have been foremost in the agitation of the labor-question come in for their share of abuse. They are, as the abolitionists were, "theorists," "fanatics," "sentimental fools," and worse—"villains deliberately plotting the destruction of social order." It is not pretended that everybody who has spoken on the labor-question has spoken wisely, or that all are equally earnest or honest,—though as to that we do not judge; but their critics would better serve their country by a greater display of candid consideration of the "questions of questions," than by any amount of ungenerous personality. If error abounds, expose it. Free discussion is not only to be tolerated, it is the urgent necessity. If it be trivial and irrelevant, make it grave and to the point. There was never a better opportunity. We are happy to add that this advice is in some degree gratuitous. After they have had their fling at "labor-reformers," there is quite a disposition manifest among editors to turn to and try their own hand solving the problem. We wish them, one and all, complete success! As a specimen, we print an initiatory and excellent editorial from the Boston *Evening Transcript*, which has been followed up by much other excellent writing. We predict that a few years hence the *Transcript* will have become a labor reform journal of the staunchest type.

THE NEW YORK *Sun* has an editorial on "The March of Infidelity," in which special reference is made to the discussion of the subject by the Pan-Presbyterian Council in Edinburgh. It says: "The question of proper and efficient means of meeting the serried hosts of the enemies of historical Christianity was made a prominent one." Dr. McCosh, of Princeton, was one of the chief speakers, and presented a "practical plan," which the *Sun* thus summarizes:—

> Other speakers at Edinburgh, as for instance, Dr. Patton, of Chicago, contented themselves with abusing the new teachings, and warning the Orthodox against them; but the venerable Princeton President went at the enemy in a different and a wiser way. The materialists, as Dr. McCosh well understands, are not to be frightened by the beating of the Chinese gongs of the old theologians, nor are they to be dismayed by threats of punishing them with hell fire. His idea is that the ministers shall devote their time to planting the seeds of the gospel, to awakening men's consciences, to showing them the necessity of spiritual regeneration, and to the conquering of the old enemy of original sin. That is, they shall go on in the old ways, and not spend their time in random assaults upon an adversary, who usually can bring to the field of controversy better weapons of argument than they. The dealing with the infidel he would turn over to a special body of Christian knights, defenders of the faith, trained for the purpose. The modern knights of the cross would work side by side with the parsons, and would relieve the ministers of the labor of tackling the aggressive materialists. Drilled and disciplined for this particular work, they would have at their command arguments drawn from revelation, philosophy, history, and science, so that they could meet the foe on equal terms. . . . The great mass of theologians now are pretty sure to get confused, tripped, and demoralized in a controversy with the materialists; for while the materialists are naturally well-informed as to the old positions of Orthodoxy, and of course know the exact strength of their own, the theologians venture on ground with which they are not so familiar. It thus has happened that the materialists have treated the assaults of the theologians with a good deal of contempt, hardly deeming them foes worthy of their steel; while the theologians, though denying that they were vanquished and still confident of their cause, have expended themselves too often in unavailing abuse.

There is a vein of good sense in this which the "materialists" will doubtless appreciate and rejoice in. It will be well to remember, however, that the "enemies of historical Christianity," are not always and of necessity "materialists." But of that hereafter.

THE SECOND number of the *Radical Review*, to be issued August 15, will present the following table of contents: "Female Kinship and Maternal Filiation," by Elie Reclus; "Walt Whitman," by Joseph B. Marvin; "Nirvana," by Dyer D. Lum; "System of Economical Contradictions." Chapter I. Of the Economic Science, by P. J. Proudhon. Editor's Translation; "The Labor Dollar," by Stephen Pearl Andrews; "The All-Loving," by Sidney H. Morse; "The Orthodox Basis of Revivalism," by John Weiss; "Paul at Athens," by B. W. Ball; "The Law of Prices: A Demonstration of the Necessity for an Indefinite Increase of Money," by Lysander Spooner. Current Literature: Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography*; Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*; Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*; Amberley's *Analysis of Religious Belief*; Foerster's *Collection of Philosophical Discourses*; Brinton's *The Religious Sentiment*. "Chips From my Studio," by Sidney H. Morse.

THE PRACTICAL SIDE.

The President of the Free Religious Association closed his address this year by declaring the Association to be a "Spiritual Anti-Slavery Society." Its aim was to "emancipate the human mind, that the human mind might bring all its powers to bear on the problems that deepest concern society." He thus recognized the present drift of all liberal thought and expectation. Religious emancipation is far-reaching and thorough. Let us indicate something of its scope.

1. It liberates from the early conception of God as a creator whose omnipotence casts a shadow over the earth, prostrating men in fear. It raises mankind to their feet; they may reason, judge, and be free. There is no God not amenable to human reason. To hold a place in human reverence, he must be as rational and well-behaved as human thought conceives he should be. He cannot hide in "inscrutable ways." He must approve himself to his own offspring. Man is born with judgment, and he will judge. If the God have no other claim to respect than his power, the free human spirit exclaims, "Though he slay me, yet do I defy him"; but immediately affirms, "There can be no such God in the universe." It says "God *ought*," and thereby renders highest homage. Thus, "sacred" books whose burden is, "Thus saith the Lord," cease to have authority. God from the beginning has spoken no more audibly than he does this day. What we hear is the human voice declaring humanity's sense of what all things mean. Its voice is the sole articulate "divine voice" ever heard. The "word of God," therefore, is the "word of man," newly interpreting itself to every new generation. It is the mind of man striving through the ages to tell the perfect truth, to unfold the meaning of the universe. With this striving, man's nature improves, and as he improves his God improves. The worship of power disappears. Jove and Jehovah die. The "Almighty" must do right.

2. This first step in spiritual emancipation leads to others of increasing importance. In reconstructing the idea of God, liberal thought has naturally partaken in good degree of that "other-worldliness" which has so long been the mainstay of the popular religion. It has said, "The God you picture disposing of souls in a hereafter, is horrible; therefore impossible." The old faith said, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." The new has been singing, "No; it is a pleasing thing. God is love, and is pledged to the redemption of all souls." Both the new and the old gazing steadfastly to the life beyond. The question has been, What will God do in the next world? The discussion has been fruitful. Opinion is changing, approaching to a new unanimity. He will do what he *ought* to do. And he *ought* to be distressed, if he have in his fold but "ninety and nine," and go forth seeking the *one* that is lost, until he finds and restores it to a state of blessedness with the rest. So much for the "next world." God's government is vindicated there.

But now it begins to be seen that whatever would be "horrible" in the government of one world, must be "horrible" wherever it is practised. Instinctively we turn our eyes homeward to our present habitation. Mr. Conway called his book *My Earthward Pilgrimage*. God is here. What have we to say? It is the same God. There cannot be a God of this world and a God of the next. One God, and one divine intent. It may be a far easier task to deal by anticipation with the affairs of a world where we have not arrived; but we are forced to take up the problem, difficult as it may be, here and now, for this world, before we depart. We want a season of *this*-worldliness. We do not go to God by dying. Dying is without significance. God is here as there. And here the question confronts us, What of God? Will the God fashioned by the liberal as the one only just, good, and wise, for a future life, fit into this present life? There is no alternative; we must answer, "yes," or give up the liberal ghost. We must have the reign of a *righteous* God on earth as well as in heaven. Liberal thought must do for the *life that now is* what it has done for the *life to come*. It must give us a new God for present use,—an earthly God; one that will save and not destroy. It must set its face against "endless misery" this side the grave. Its God must not stand for that. It must deal with humanity to further and help it on, not to stamp it out and punish, when criminal and erring. Its God must show such a face or none. It must live in the spirit and not in the letter; then its God will be alive. It must not separate righteousness and power. Its God must win the homage of free souls. All this upon earth.

3. Again, it is not enough to see that God's government extends over this present life as actually as it ever will over any future life. It is not enough to recast our idea of God until he stands for absolute right as well as might. Where is God? What is God? are questions that cover far more practical ground. They suggest a third, How is God manifest in human affairs? As we have said the word of God is the word of man; so now we say the deeds of God are the deeds of men. Outside of human nature he can do nothing for human nature. His omnipotence is within man, not apart from and independent of him. He becomes man to make man, as he becomes a flower to make a flower. He can only help man as man. The attributes of God are our attributes. Jesus did well to say, "I and my father are one." It is a recognition that should become world-wide. "God cannot get along without strong men." "God helps those who help themselves." These and many like familiar and accepted sayings show how near the common-sense of the world has hit the mark. In plain words, our experience teaches this. Through it God says, "On you rests the burden of life. You are capable of reason, justice, truth, love, mercy, peace, the same as I am. I cannot exercise these gifts for you. You must do for yourselves and for each other. In my names speak; in my names act. My names are my attributes. Let these be your ever present help, your Supreme Ruler."

For all practical purposes, man is God; what he cannot do, God cannot do. The lesson is, we may not shirk our responsibilities. We have had a fashion of turning our fellows, whom we regarded as too bad for our treatment, over to God; sending them into the "next world." God can do no more there than here. It is by the use of our own God-gifts salvation everywhere is made possible to all. God's love? It will count for little outside human nature. His "tender mercies,"—of what succor are they to the needy until resident in the human breast? His forgiveness? It is man's business. He will establish justice? Never. 'Tis the work of man.

4. It is a little surprising, looking over the world to-day, to find that we are all, Liberal and Orthodox, dealing with each other for the most part, very much as we have been taught God is to deal with us in that "world to come." We bless the good and damn the wicked with just as free a hand as it is said he will do, when all souls have finally fallen into his hands. Orthodox hells are in full blast here on earth, and liberals support them apparently as eagerly as any other class. Our punishments are as endless as mortal life will permit. Our reliance, is the "majesty of the law"; our ability to give death-dealing blows. We entrench ourselves in our power, and consider the matter of right afterwards, if at all, at our leisure. In brief, we are all the old God's children. We need spiritual emancipation; growth into the new Godhead. All that is unfit for another life, is unfit for this!

INDIVIDUALISM vs. COMMUNISM.

Conscience and intellect, be they two things or only one, belong to the individual. Without them the person or individual hardly reaches the dignity of an automatic machine, but is a mere tool. The first need of human society, the sole foundation on which it can rest with any stability and success, is that the one shall not surrender the right of either moral or intellectual thought to the many or the few. Despotism demands it, and that is the very wickedness of despotism. And doing so, despotism becomes the more wicked and intolerable the more you multiply the despots. Communism, as illustrated in the recent destructive strikes, is simply despotism multiplied, because it does not respect the right of the individual laborer to decide for himself the question for what wages he will work. If the strike had been a mere cessation from work by those so disposed in view of the wages, it might have been a sane example of prudent coöperation, or more probably a grave financial mistake; but it would not have been destructive of property, order, or human liberty. But it started with an organization, like a church, in which the individual was made to surrender his rights of conscience and intellect to the mass; and this has resulted, as it always must, in allowing the mass to be controlled by individuals with the least conscience if not the dullest intellects. The evil is dreadful, but will cure itself, as the evil of ecclesiasticism is curing itself.

Perfect freedom of labor, or individualism, is not inconsistent with either coöperation in labor or the protection of property. The communists, or rather leaders of despotic unions, who have begun by making war on railroad and corporate property, and who denounce the accumulation of even private property, make the mistake of fighting against the only form of coöperative labor that can possibly be successful. Capital, they pretend, should belong to all; that is, to the State. The State should employ all, no matter how fast they multiply, at comfortable wages. There is now no personal or selfish motive to accumulate, for all surplus belongs to the State. As brains are to be no better paid than muscle, there is little motive left to seek office, and consequently office will be administered with so little brain-force as to make industry managed by the State but moderately productive. The question arises, therefore, how the State shall raise or keep wages above their present level. Shall it kill all tramps and lazy people? Shall it regulate the production of children so as to keep mouths in due proportion to food? Shall it cut off or cut down spirits and tobacco, commonly supposed to be rather unproductive capital, but from which the State now derives a revenue of about eighty or ninety millions of dollars a year? We apprehend there would be rebellion in some quarters if it should, though not perhaps among the best workers.

It seems certain, and the more so from the recent outbreak, that before such a solution of the labor-question can work out the greatest good of the greatest number, or indeed anything like as much good as they have now, we must wait for a millennium in which both conscience and intellect are far better and more generally developed than now. For any favorable solution, we must look in exactly the opposite direction.

Millionnaires are doubtless evils, especially if they have become so by watering stock or manipulating the stock-market to the disadvantage of small stockholders. But the mischief they do to the receivers of wages is immensely exaggerated. The small investors in railroad stocks and bonds, whose little surpluses they have swamped, have far more reason to complain. The huge railroad property of the country has arisen chiefly from the coöperation of people of small means putting together the little surpluses of their earnings. Partly by miscalculation and partly by the fraud and trickery of managers, many have wholly or partially lost their rights in this property, while the public at large, including the employés, enjoy an almost incalculable benefit. The fraudulent absorbers, though numerous, are still as a drop in the bucket to the *bona fide* and honest proprietors, whose income from their capital, so immensely useful now to the public, is cut down on the average far more than the wages of the workers on the worst paying lines.

Any government is generally a more wasteful, arbitrary, and unwise employer of laborer than any subordinate corporation; any corporation than the private citizen. All employers of labor fail more or less in cultivating the independence and self-respect of the laborer. So that, foolish and self-destructive as strikes almost always are, they usually demonstrate a greater folly on the part of the employers. It may be impossible for employers to deal otherwise than they do with strikes when they come; but with the Golden Rule and a little foresight they might entirely prevent them. Instead of admitting the laborer as a sort of necessary evil or natural enemy, the capitalist should, by special treaty, make him a natural friend or ally. He should stipulate not only wages, but a certain share of the capital concerned in the business to be his for better or worse, on the condition that he is to forfeit it by aiding or abetting any strike that does more than to retire from labor. The difference between the wear and tear of capital in which the laborers should be interested and that in which they are not, to say nothing of immunity from strikes and mobs, would abundantly justify such a bargain. Laborers now pay a pretty large part of eighty or ninety millions of dollars of government tax on spirits and tobacco, without any corresponding benefit to themselves, to say nothing of the natural price of what they consume. Employers would find it very profitable to encourage them to save this item of expense, by agreeing to double for them whatever they would invest in the savings-bank in a year, provided they should abstain from the use of these peculiar subjects of taxation. This would be asking a terrible self-denial, to be sure; but it is no more than many of the comparatively rich have had to go through before they could consume, or rather *consume*, a dozen Havanas a day. Abstinence from spirits and tobacco for a few years often decides

whether a man is to make a will or die in the poor-house. Now suppose all the railroads should increase the pay of their laborers twice as much as the strikers demand, which do we think would be most affected by it, the families of the laborers or the internal revenue of the United States?

What laboring men really need is not so much an increase of wages, which tends to reduce the profits of capital so as to kill the goose that lays all the gold they have, as a better custody for their possible savings, so that they may become capitalists themselves.

E. W.

LABOR NOTES.

S. H. M.

—The labor question is up.

—It is troubling the politicians.

—The strikers meant to bring it up. So far they have succeeded.

—The cry about the "Commune" is all nonsense. Nobody knows what the "Commune" is, to begin with.

—They say it means "division of property," robbery of the industrious and saving to divide with the lazy and profligate. If that is so, who and where are its advocates?

—They say it means government running railroads, telegraph-wires, etc., same as it now runs the post-office. There are champions of this latter notion. If they are "Communists," there are a few.

—The majority, however, of the day-laborers have no such idea. Probably they haven't any particular idea, only that *somehow* things ought to be so adjusted that they could have a more respectable time of it; and they are right.

—More right than our friend Elizur Wright, who says "what laboring men need is not so much an increase of wages as a better custody for their possible savings." He thinks they might save enough to become "capitalists" themselves. He fears if they have too high wages they will "kill the goose that lays all the gold they have." Well, "let the *old* goose die." The people want a new one.

—The talk that the riots were instigated by "theorists" and "visionaries," "labor reformers," etc., is without foundation. Neither the "strikers" nor the "rioters" ever probably spent two minutes in listening to a labor reform speech, or even cared to. Their whole performance grew spontaneously out of the situation. Put any other class of people there, no matter how educated or how moral, and the chances are they would have "struck," got maddened, and ran to "riot," too. People are not so very different when they are reduced to the pinch.

—At the same time I confess it would have been a most inspiring spectacle could the world have witnessed a whole population gradually sinking into poverty's depth, yet pursuing a Christian-like patience and fortitude and serenity, either working on or refusing to work, it matters not, sending out little appeals to the ever-generous and always-ready public for help against their oppressors,—sublime indeed, and to be recorded for all time as memorable! But then, that isn't the way people get on in this world generally, and we can't look for great deeds as a regular thing. We are obliged to wait, thankful if once in many ages our earth gets lit up with their splendor.

—The Mayor of New York was requested to keep the police away from the labor-meeting in Thompson Square, and assured that that was the surest way to preserve the peace. He did so, and the result was as predicted. Individually, policeman, like soldiers, may be very estimable gentlemen, but their presence in uniforms and clubs at public gatherings has a tendency to stir up bad blood, which might otherwise slumber on unprovoked to mischief. On such occasions policemen should be invisible, and put in an appearance only on occasion of some great emergency. Nine times in ten the emergency in their absence would not arise.

—Vanderbilt's bribe may have greater or less success; but it will not change the fact that it partakes of the nature of an insult. Men don't want pay for doing their duty as men. If the men in his employ were fully paid for their services, they had no occasion for making any disturbance, let men on other roads do what they pleased. They remained quiet either because they felt justice was done them, or because they considered it the best policy. If justice was done, that was the end of it, and they ought to be held to be as capable of honor as Mr. Vanderbilt. If justice was not done, and they kept quiet because they couldn't help themselves, Mr. Vanderbilt ought to be ashamed to patch out their just dues with the parade of a gift. Either way, his "one hundred thousand dollars" has a bad look.

—Since writing the above we have discovered the following note in the columns of the New York *Sun:*

Refusing Mr. Vanderbilt's Gift.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN:

Sir,—Many of my fellow-workmen will positively refuse to accept Mr. Vanderbilt's donation. We are not to be bought for $8 a man, nor for any amount. We want no charity. We want a just and proper remuneration for an honest day's work. It is true that bread and water will keep us alive; but what is life on such fare? Why should we subsist on it when the officers of the road live on the luxury of the land, and waste daily what would support many families? We, the brotherhood, intend to demand united, peaceful, fair-living pay, and look to the press and people for help.

ONE OF A FAMILY OF SIX LIVING ON $1.30 A DAY.

—There is much talk about "tramps." And it is true in these days that their name is something like "legion." But that is no justification of the abuse some people with well-filled bellies are disposed to heap upon them. The "tramps" are not volunteers; nine-tenths of them are drafted into the service of idleness, and are wandering about the country quite against their will. Let more prosperous times appear inviting them to hard labor and see how suddenly the tramp-brigade will thin out. Was it not so before these dull and dead times set in? As a specimen of the slander people out of employment receive, note the following: It was said "tramps" would not work if they had work to do. There came a little spirt of opportunity in the peach-orchards in New Jersey. Every train from New York went loaded with "the vandals." No wonder "tramps" get to nursing a little spirit of riotousness!

—The address issued to the people of the United States by Stephen Pearl Andrews is worthy of attention. Mr. Andrews is a keen observer of events, and is able, by his intimate acquaintance with the "logic of ideas," to predict as well as any one the course affairs will be likely to take in the future. He is doubtless right in presuming that the labor question will be carried into the arena of politics (that is where everything first goes in this country to get its eye-teeth cut), and demands will be made on government to take the great industries of the country that are of public character under its special guidance and control. A step in that direction has long been taken in governmental control of the postal-service of the country. This we say may be, as Mr. Andrews predicts, and apparently desires, the basis of future political agitation. Already the resolutions of Republican State Conventions in Ohio and elsewhere confirm this view. But, in our judgment, it is not a consumation devoutly to be desired. The farthest removed from political influence our interests are kept, the safer they are.

—That little circular, "Don't Unchain the Tiger," may have been written by a workingman, but we have our doubts. It is a mixed document at any rate. Its advice, like the advice mostly current, fails to comprehend the situation. The good part is well enough, but not very effective, being offset by the part that isn't good or sensible. To tell "railroad and workingmen" "there is a good deal of talk about capital being the enemy of labor. This is not true. Capital and labor must work together. The capitalist and the laborer are partners in business," etc., etc., in the light of their recent experience is simply silly. "Partners in business"! It looks like it. And then to say. "The best way is to go to work, keep the wheels moving in all branches of business, and *avoid everything that makes an unfriendly feeling with those who have all the risks of the business, both for themselves and you* (the italics are ours), is the height of folly and the grossest of insults. "Partners in business"! It would have been good advice to Sambo twenty years ago down in the cotton-fields. No; workingmen, "don't unchain the tiger," but don't "avoid" any manly statement of the right of the case, even though you do "make an unfriendly feeling" with those who employ you.

—The following is from the *Evening Transcript:* "The coal-mining settlements and iron-mill towns along the Lehigh River, that rolls between two railroads and a canal richer in invested capital planted along its rocky banks than any fabled river of golden sands, are in fierce revolt, all the savager and more ominous for having been matured with deliberation and nursed and kept alive and hot after the contagious excitement in the country has died down. Anybody who has ever passed through this wonderful region and noted the hard wretchedness and hopelessness of the hordes of laborers burrowing in the midst of the sublimest natural beauty and the most imposing evidences of human ingenuity, wealth, and power, must have felt that apprehension that once existed in the very atmosphere of certain quarters of Paris, that he was treading upon a social volcano. Even the women and the little boys often return the harmless gaze of the tourist with the aggressive hostility of wild beasts disturbed in their lairs. The severity and perils of their work; the meanness, dulness, and lowness of their life outside the mill or the mine; the vices that alone furnish momentary oblivion of their condition; the weary, oppressive consciousness that such a thing as rising out of that condition is almost without the range of possibility,—all contribute to create a lawless and ferocious class, easily stirred to bloody violence by the appeals of demagogic organizers. Every year or two comes a great strike, which like the weekly drunk, though it beggars the family worse than before, at least brings forgetfulness of misery in excitement for a while."

—In considering the times we rate everything of value that will help create a wiser and juster public sentiment. We wish this end could be reached solely by peaceful discussion; but things go as they please, and the way of economy is to wrest from them all the good possible. But whatever be the course they take, finally, when they are settled, they are settled in a right public sentiment. It will be the force of an idea that rules within, and not the power of government over any class of people from without. "The Unwritten Law" is the only law whose authority will not be gainsaid. In this connection we quote with satisfaction from the Springfield *Republican:*—

"The Boston *Herald* suggests that a public sentiment must be created which shall compel corporations to embody Mr. Vanderbilt's expression that 'our men are a part of us.' That is a good expression; but if 'our men are a part of us,' if it means anything, that is to say, it means that they should share in controlling, as well as in being controlled. So the plantation interest used to claim that the slaves were 'a part of us.' But any solution that will be ultimately and finally satisfactory to the wage-receiving class must give them form, organism, and representation as embodying an interest naturally antagonistic to capital, but by formal and express arrangement coöperative and harmonious. To assume that capital alone is wise enough and liberal enough to look out for its own interests and those of labor, too, is to assume that one set of intelligences was given for no purpose. But giving both labor and capital the formal control, each of its own, providing for the organization and expression of the interests of each, and providing for their harmonious and intelligent coöperation, seems to us to promise the best results."

Communications.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

No. XV.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

We are brought, at length, by the train of our explorations, to the grand basic philosophic discrimination between the Absolute and the Relative. Let us endeavor to ascertain, with something more than ordinary precision, what this discrimination really means. I have pointed out the fact, slinking usually behind the vagueness of generality, that we have three absolutes, or three kinds of the absolute; the first two differing, *toto cœlo*, from each other, and the third one reconciliative. There is first the theological absolute, the God-will, as first cause and rational *fundamentum* of all things (more largely the entical absolute). There is then the fixed inherency in the nature of things, the fate back of Jove, the self-existent necessity that things should be as they are, and not otherwise,—the logical absolute; and thirdly, there is the Schellingian and Hegelian, or what we may call the pure rational or cardinary absolute, which is the hinging *nexus* of difference in unity, and unity in difference, as between arbitrism and logicism; and so as between the first two elements (the prime elements), factors, or *momenta*, out of which the nature of things is constituted, in whatsoever aspect it may be viewed.

Having distinguished these three kinds of the genus absolute, we fall back again upon the generality, calling them all collectively The Absolute, and proceed to contrast it, collectively, with its own appropriate antithet, The Relative; combining them, subsequently, in a trine which may be called The Existential.

Absolute means, etymologically, *free from;* that is to say, free from contingency, surrounding impediments, or surroundings. Hence it is self-centring or *centring* generally, or *at-centreness*. Relative (re-latus) means, *per contra*, folded-back upon-the-side-of, or *at-sideness*. Pursuing, as part of our philosophic method, the habit of carrying back philosophic discriminations to their simple etymological and ideological fountain-heads,—as, for example, abstract and concrete to the simple, common words and ideas, *thin* and *thick;* so here we trace back the obscure and otherwise undefinable, but yet current and indispensable terms, absolute and relative, to the seemingly childish difference between *centre* and *side*. The absolute means, then, merely *the at-centreness aspect*, and the relative *the at-sideness aspect* of universal things. We perceive, therefore, how fundamental and necessary, and yet how vague and intangible, and oftentimes even reversible, such a discrimination is and must be.

We now know the earth to be a globular body floating in space. Let us take it as type or analogue of the universe or world; as popularly we *call* such a body *a world*. Viewed or considered with reference to its own centre, four thousand miles away from the surface, we have the counterpart of the *ding-an-sich* (the thing-in-itself) of German transcendental philosophy; which is also, in a general sense, the absolute. But this is not the way in which we, individually and actually, stand connected with the earth. Each of us, for himself, occupies a point at the surface; that is to say, upon the side of the planet, and four thousand miles away from the centre, of which we have no *real* knowledge; nothing, on the contrary, but a mental inference. It is in a manner exactly analogical with this, that we, individually and actually, come experientially in contact with the universe, which it is the object of philosophy to explain. The absolute is then the at-centreness of our philosophic world, known to us only as an inference; and the relative is the at-sideness of that same world, a point in and about which the individual knows actually or experientially for himself, and the various points of which are occupied by the collective humanity.

The compositeness of the at-centreness and the at-sideness, and what they imply as uniting and conjoining them, is then the existential. The absolute, the relative, and the existential are thus the grand tri-grade scale, the three-step ladder, of this class of philosophical discriminations. It is the usual habit and fault of philosophers, in such cases, to overlook and omit the third term or step, which is the end that crowns the work; and it is this omission and failure which prevents them from being Integralists. At-centreness is unismal; at-sideness (or at-surfaceness) is duismal (variant); and their compositeness is trinismal.

Existence, or the existential, is still, however, merely static or at rest. It fills space, but it has no connection, as yet, with time and motion. It is the Seyn as contrasted with the Werden of Hegel; omitting the finer discriminations of being and existence, properly or narrowly so-called. But before passing to the tempic and motic aspects of existence or being,

let us observe, that in confining ourselves to the analogies of the earth-ball merely, as representing the universe, we have excluded certain broader exhibitions of Nature which the material heavens present to our observation. The heavens contain the sun, moon, earth, planets, and stars. Conspicuous among these objects are the sun and the earth, and their copulative connection, as typical of other similar conjunctions abroad. Where, now, in this more complex presentation, are we to look for the at-centreness and the at-sideness of things generally? The matter grows intricate; and no wonder that philosophers, starting out in their respective systems with a good show of explicitness and clearness, soon get themselves involved in inextricable confusion. The world of thought is just as complex as the world of matter; and *it is the theorem of universology that one of these Complexities is exactly adjusted in every detail and particular to the other Complexity*. If this be so, then we have, in the analogies of the outer world, an exact and scientific guidance in philosophy; *a canon of criticism upon all our thinking*, and a one consistent body of all possible human knowledge. And if it be not so, philosophizing may as well be abandoned; its intricacy being too great to be threaded without the aid of an objective clew of this order.

We must introduce here still other subdivisions of the absolute, one of which has been already glanced at. There may be recognized two entical absolutes: one coincident with the earth-centre—geocentric; and the other coincident with the sun-centre—heliocentric. Numerous minor discriminations are here involved; as, for instance, whether we shall compare the sun and earth as they are known to us inferentially and astronomically, or as they really present themselves or *appear*. We may dismiss for the present the more scientific but more remote aspect of the subject, and confine our attention to the sun-domain—including the sun as it shows itself, together with the dome of air and light over our heads—and the earth-domain beneath our feet. If, then, we *at-centre* ourselves with the sun, air, and light above, we posit ourselves analogically, in philosophy, at the spiritual pole of entity, and stand upon the spirito-entical absolute (theologico-spiritual). We are, in other words, idealists and Spiritualists. Swedenborg makes God to be the spiritual sun, whence emanate all spiritual heat and light, the heat of *love* and the light of *intelligence*. Air and breath are also everywhere the analogues of spirit. The coincidence is perfect, and scientifically absolute. If, on the other hand, we *at-centre* ourselves with the earth-centre and the solid framework beneath our feet, we posit ourselves analogically, in philosophy, at the material pole of entity or reality, and stand upon the matero-entical absolute (materialistic, secular, so-called scientific). In other phrase, we are materialists.

Over against both of these combined, or the whole of the entical or real sphere of being, is the mathesis of the cosmos; the logical, mathematical, and mechanical outlay of the heavens and "the host of them,"—instance the three laws of Kepler. That theory of the cosmos which makes the at-centreness of things to reside in this plexus of necessary laws is, then, the analogue of the conception of the logical absolute, of the exactifying or logical method in philosophy, and of "the scientific method" much talked of in our day,—when the meaning of that phrase is carried high enough to do justice to its pretensions. (This is the reversal of the position previously glanced at, that entity is *the within*, and the network of relationships *the without*, of existence.)

The standing-point for observation of the perpendiculars and levels of exact science is nevertheless wheresoever the individual observer is; and this position we have seen is the at-sideness of his planet. *At-centreness and at-sideness are, therefore, thus curiously at length brought to coincide with each other, the absolute and the relative to unite in the observant point of life which is the individual human mind.* This same cognizing point is also the centre of contact between the spiritual hemisphere above and the material hemisphere beneath. It thus distinguishes, while it conjoins, and therefore *hinge-wise-ing-ly* exhibits the entical and the logical (or logical-mathematical-mechanical) absolutes; and also treats in the same manner the two hemispheres of the entical or real world. It is therefore itself illustrative of a new absolute; the third form of the absolute, the Schellingian-Hegelian absolute, the trinismal absolute; of which the entical is the unismal and the logical the duismal constituent or factor.

The difference between faith in freedom and faith in fixed law, as ruling the universe, is not a mere matter of metaphysical subtlety, nor of theological dogma, nor of both combined. It lies profoundly embedded in the structure of individual and of national character, and affects every matter of theory and practice; the divergence among men growing out of it clamoring for the discovery and recogniton of *a third absolute*, some sort of double-faced unity which can reconcile the diversity. Without it no stable social synthesis is possible; no decent degree of mutual respect, even, among men sundered by so fundamental and radical a difference in mental constitution. I have previously assumed that the freedom-side (arbitrary) is orientalism, and that the fixed fate side (law) is occidentalism, in philosophy and character; but I have seen no clearer contrast sketched as between these two, than will be found in a recent short article by S. S. Hebberd on "The Orientalism of Plato," in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, for April, 1877; and this writer makes fatality to be oriental, and freedom occidental; as by the common estimate. The solution of this reversal is that both orient and occident have both freedom and fate in their doctrines and characters, but exhibited in contrasted ways. The fatality of the oriental is *intuited* as revealed subjectively as part of his personality, and so of his transcendental freedom as one with Nature and God; and hence it goes back to and rests ultimately upon an absolute will, and so is transcendentally on the freedom side (arbitrary). The freedom of the Greek was, on the other hand, the modern scientific spirit in embryo; the freedom to discover for himself the fixed laws or fate *inherent* in Nature, transcending any will; and to conform to them. His freedom rested therefore, transcendentally upon law.

The following extracts from Mr. Hebberd's article will be found interesting in this connection: "There are always certain great thinkers who are not to be regarded so much as representatives of the civilization surrounding them, as protestants against it. They oppose the ruling tendency of their race or age; they invert its thought; they swim, as it were, against that special current which sweeps the national life resistlessly onward." "To exemplify all this we shall take the single case of Plato. We shall endeavor to show the real relation which the great philosopher held towards the surrounding civilization. We shall present him as a protestant against the ruling spirit of his race,—as one drawing his inspiration from a different source, and steadfastly opposing those special impulses which constitute the very essence of Grecian life. To do so, it is necessary, first of all, to understand what those special and ruling impulses really were."

"The root of pure Hellenism is its steadfast, unconquerable determination to glorify the human. Even its theology is based upon that idea. The chief Olympian divinities are not, as those of the orient are, mere personifications of the forces of Nature. They are not incarnations or emanations of abstract being, clothed for a moment in the illusory forms of earth; they are a race of immortal and invisible heroes endowed with every essential characteristic of human nature. They are even characterized,—so determined was the Greek to make his gods like himself; by human finiteness. They all have finite attributes; they are not omniscient, but know much; they are not almighty, although they have great power; they are not omnipresent, but can move from place to place with an almost inconceivable rapidity. Their moral finiteness is still more clearly marked: they are sensual, jealous, meddlesome, even untruthful and malignant. Every essential element, good or bad, in human nature, finds its prototype in the Greek Olympus."

"Human nature, then, is divine. Closely connected with this proud conception was an invincible faith in human freedom. The oriental, glorifying Nature and despising humanity, is necessarily a fatalist; to him man is but an insignificant atom in the all-pervading system, bound by the same conditions, and subject to the same necessity which is imposed upon all created life. The Greek, on the other hand reverencing himself more than the universe, did not believe that he was thus bound." "These, then, constitute the three essential tendencies of Hellenic life: a proud reverence for humanity, as opposed to the oriental worship of Nature [and Nature's God]; belief in moral freedom as opposed to oriental freedom and slavery; a materialistic clinging to the present as opposed to oriental spiritualism and engrossment with futurity. Together, these three tendencies constitute the current on which the national life of Greece floated to its inevitable end. It remains to show how clearly Plato stands as a protestant against this movement, as one striving not merely to reform, but to revolutionize and transform the genius of his race."

It is thus that the ideas of freedom and fate and the different kinds of the absolute go over from the metaphysical and theological to the ethical and sociological domains.

AN OPEN LETTER TO HERBERT SPENCER.

31 E. 10TH STREET, NEW YORK,
July 20, 1877.

HERBERT SPENCER, ESQ.:

My dear Instructor and Friend,—For I regard you as both these, though without the least personal acquaintance with you.

Having been a devoted student of your writings for a dozen years, I have become deeply interested in your great system of philosophy, so fitly called by you the "Synthetic Philosophy."

I confess that from no other author, of any country or of any age, have I been able to learn *so much*. And yet there are some questions upon which you leave me unsatisfied and disappointed; and two of these are labor and the family. I regard the labor question as the most vital and pregnant of all questions for our present needs and condition.

The genesis—to use your own well chosen word,—the genesis of this conviction is as follows: when spending part of the day in Sunday-school and the meeting-house, and part in sportive sociability along the roadside and in the fields with my fellow country lads, I was struck with the incongruity between the admission in the precepts or doctrines taught in these former places, and the practice and ridicule with which these teachings were met and practically denied, on the part of these companions. And it occurred to me that if said precepts and doctrines are true, they ought not to be thus practically ignored, much less ridiculed, but obeyed, respected, loved,—and this for our own self-interest, even (for I even then thus seemed to have *faith* in truth, in the right). I sought for the evidence, the *demonstration* of their truth. I failed in this search. I then sought—and here Socrates was my first love,—I then sought for a system or *science* of ethics. Neither did I find this, though such a science seemed to me to be possible in time, but that the problem was yet too difficult for us, the sciences not being yet sufficiently advanced or evolved. (I had not then read your "Social Statics.") Seeing and *feeling* the great need of *some* means of avoiding such incongruity and its consequences, and of ameliorating the general wretched condition of society, and still having faith in truth and some belief that it was possible to find it, even now, in *some* department of mental and social life, as it had been found and secured in the physical world of phenomena, and the labor question being then in practical and prominent agitation,—it occurred to me that perhaps it is in the industrial department of our relation where this special, timely, and saving truth is to be found. And of this (by special study) I became thoroughly convinced.

Now upon this great question of our industrial relations I regard your doctrines of competition and free-trade as a species of refined and developed cannibalism; as the principle of "dog eat dog" (which by the way even dogs won't do), changed from a primitive condition of "indefinite incoherent homogeneity to definite coherent heterogeneity of structure and function, through successive integrations and differentiations."

And thus far, and in your last word in your second essay on the "Family," in the July *Popular Science Monthly*, your attempt to solve that question, it seems to me, is a failure. I dare not attempt any criticism of a positive character upon your statements on this point. My objections are chiefly negative; but would ask whether the decline of the kind and degree of control of the husband over the wife, and the parents over the children do not suggest the individual, and not the family, as the unit of the state?

Now it is because I feel that we so much need your help upon these two great questions that I venture to write this open note to you, to ask you for a further and more explicit expression of your views.

There are two other points upon which I would like, at another time, to raise some queries; namely, that of currency, and that of the analogy which you say holds between the alimentary system of the individual organism and the industrial or labor system of the social organism, while you make the effort to obtain food, on the part of the former, analogous to the actions in war, on the part of the latter.

The currency question is a branch of the labor question which is prominently before our people at the present time. But no discussion of it, other than the most empirical and superficial, has been thus far appreciated, or permitted by the press. We have not yet got far enough, even in our classification of its facts, to discriminate or differentiate between the government finance and currency or money proper. We talk general finances while we profess to be talking on the currency problem.

With profound respect and admiration, I am yours truly,
W. M. BOUCHER.

THE FREETHINKERS' GROVE MEETING AT WALCOTT.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The three days' Grove Meeting, to be held near Walcott, N.Y., on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, the 17th, 18th, and 19th of the present month, I am confident, from information received from various quarters, will be one of the largest liberal meetings ever held in this country. The speakers who have promised to be present are Horace Seaver, editor of the *Investigator;* Dr. D. M. Bennett, editor of the *Truth Seeker;* C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, editorial contributor of THE INDEX; Giles B. Stebbins, of Detroit; Rev. J. H. Harter, of Auburn; Rev. A. M. Mann, of Rochester; Mrs. Matilda J. Gage, of Fayetteville, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. M. Landsberg, Rabbi of Rochester; A. B. Brown, of Worcester, Mass.; Mrs. R. M. Scott Briggs, of Syracuse; Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton, N. Y.; J. P. Mendum, of the *Investigator*, Boston; and H. L. Green, of Salamanca, N.Y. There is hopes of obtaining the attendance of Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, and a number of other distinguished speakers. Prof. P. O. Hudson, of Indianapolis, Ind., known as the liberal "Sankey" of the West, will entertain the audience with his splendid singing. The veteran freethinker, J. M. Cosad, the owner of the grove, and other friends are making arrangements to liberally entertain all who attend the meeting. Many railroads here agreed to carry persons at reduced rates, and the meeting has been advertised in all the principal papers in Western and Central New York. And for the accomodation of those who would like to attend, I will give the railroad fares as agreed upon from the larger towns in the vicinity of the meeting. The figures include the fare *both ways*. Rome to Walcott, $3.00; Syracuse to Walcott, $2.69; Ogdensburg to Walcott, $4.65; Cape Vincent to Walcott, $3.30; Suspension Bridge to Walcott, $3.00; Rochester to Walcott, $1.67; Auburn to Walcott, $1.38; Buffalo to Walcott, $3.50; Freeville to Walcott, $2.66; Oswego to Wallcott, $4.02; Oswego, .78; Charlotte, $1.32; Utica, $3.56; and from Albany and return to Walcott, $7.36. These amounts, as before stated, cover railroad fares both ways. The Southern Central Railroad and the Ontario Southern Railroad have agreed to sell tickets at excursion prices at every station, and the Elmira and Canandagua Railroad will sell reduced fare-tickets at any station where ten or more are going to attend the meeting; and as stated in THE INDEX last week, the R. W. & O. Railroad returns *free* all who attend the meeting over that road. Therefore, the accommodations are such that thousands should be present, and for once show that liberals are alive and in earnest.

H. L. GREEN.

A MAN who was about to be hanged in Alabama, sang, as he stood with the noose about his neck, "O, the bright angels are waiting for me." Whereupon the local editor fiendishly wrote, "And then the angels stirred up the fire and looked brighter than ever."

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

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1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as t is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation

GLIMPSES.

F. E. A.

"IT IS STATED," says the New York *Independent* of July 5, "that no taxes are paid on $137,000,000 of church property in this city."

GENERAL STEWART L. WOODFORD, of New York, in an address before the literary societies of the State University at Oxford, Mississippi, on June 27, said: "We are in greater danger even now in this free land from lack of toleration than we are apt to admit, unless we think deeply and then act fearlessly."

WHEN JUSTICE STRONG, of the United States Supreme Court, was burned in effigy by the excited Democrats at Monticello, N. Y., on the seventh of last March, they attached a placard to him containing the legend: "I want God in the Constitution," This was a jocose allusion to the fact that he was once President of the National Reform Association.

MR. G. W. SMALLEY, the London correspondent of the *Tribune*, says that "Mr. Gladstone's definition of a Radical, as a man who is in earnest, is proved to be an imperfect definition by the fact that it would describe a bigot equally well." This is true. Radicalism is earnestness for truth, justice, and freedom, just as bigotry is earnestness for superstition, privilege, and spiritual tyranny.

A HINDU BABU, in a school essay on Cromwell, made the following display of his historical erudition, as reported in the Allahabad *Pioneer*: "Oliver Cromwell was a very stern man. He destroyed Charles I. by repeated beheadals. After this he was never seen to smile, but was frequently heard pensively to murmur, 'If I had only served my God as I have served my king, he would not have deserted me in my old age.'"

JOSEPH MAZZINI, one of the purest men that ever took part in public life, wrote in a hitherto unpublished letter: "Life is an aim—an aim which can be approached, not reached. It is not mine, now, to give a definition of the aim; whatever it is, there is one, there must be one. Without it life has no sense. It is atheistical, and, moreover, an irony and a deception. Life is no sinecure, no *récherché du Bonheur* to be secured, as the promulgators of the theory had it, by guillotine, or, as their less energetic followers have it, by railway shares, selfishness, or contemplation. Life is, as Schiller said, 'a battle and a march'; a battle for good against evil, for justice against arbitrary privileges, for liberty against oppression, for associated love against individualism; a march onward to self, through collective perfecting to the progressive realization of an ideal which is only dawning to our mind and soul."

REV. JOSEPH COOK certainly uttered a good thing when he said: "Do you want this delicate little shoot you call religious science shut away from the healthy winds of criticism? Is it to be kept behind the walls of some colossal authority, and not allowed to battle its way to its full size in all the tempests that strike it out of the north, south, east, and west? How is religious science ever to become a stalwart oak, throwing out its boughs in every direction, vigorously and graciously, and in no fear of tempests, unless it contend with all the shocks of criticism that beat on philosophy, and law, and literature? Religious science must take her chance according to the law of the survival of the fittest." Verily, "these be brave words"; but the Orthodox science of His Lectureship is less likely to illustrate the law of the survival of the fittest than it is to illustrate that of the death of the unfitted.

ONE OF Moody's illustrations was rather discouraging to the believers in the perfectionist doctrine: "In the tenth chapter of John we are told that he calleth his own sheep by their names. A friend of mine was telling me of having been in an Eastern country where they keep up that custom. He saw one day a shepherd with his flock, and said, 'I do not understand how you know all the different sheep. I wish you would call a few by their names.' So the shepherd called one by name, and it came up, and then another and another and another. So the gentleman said, 'I don't understand that; how do you know the difference, for they all look alike?' Then the shepherd said, 'Don't you see that sheep has lost a little bit of wool, and that one is a little squint-eyed, and that one toes in a little, and that one has a black spot?' And the gentleman found that the shepherd knew every one of them by their defects. He did not have a perfect sheep. That is the way the good Shepherd knows us."

FATHER LANGCAKE, while preaching in the church of St. Francis Xavier in New York, last March, frightened one of his audience of women into a fit of hysterics. The result was soon a disturbance, and at last a cry of "Fire!" In the panic seven lives were lost. The priest himself told the story thus to a *Tribune* reporter: "I had begun last Sunday to give a 'retreat,' or series of spiritual exercises, to the women of the parish, and the exercises were to finish to-morrow evening. The subject I was discussing this evening was 'Hell,' and in my remarks I strove to impress my hearers with a fear of offending God by picturing to them the horrors of the damned. It was near the close of my sermon when a woman who, as I believe, was in the gallery, fell into hysterics and began to scream. There was a momentary silence at first, when somebody cried 'Fire!' A few persons repeated the cry, and then a general flight began. From the galleries, which were densely packed, the occupants rushed to the doors, all in a state of the most uncontrollable excitemement. The women in the body of the church were more calm; and though unable to see what to do, still did not act with as much excitement as the people in the galleries. I called out to them to be calm, that there was no fire; but my exhortations were but slightly heeded. It was then I descended from the pulpit. A moment after Father Merrick appeared on the altar, and again exhorted the people to be quiet, as there was no danger whatever, and he called to the choir to go on, as there would be benediction. The organist obeyed, and began to play the '*O Salutaris*,' and shortly after the '*Tantum Ergo*,' and the services went on, the people having become quiet in the meanwhile, and when the services were over they quietly left the church."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 5, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[For THE INDEX.]

The State:

ITS NATURE, ITS OBJECT, ITS DESTINY.

BY P. J. PROUDHON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY BENJAMIN R. TUCKER.

[From *La Voix du Peuple*, December 3, 1849.]

The Revolution of February raised two leading questions: one economic, the question of labor and property; the other political, the question of government or the State.

On the first of these questions the socialistic democracy is substantially in accord. They admit that it is not a question of the seizure and division of property, nor even of its repurchase; neither is it a question of dishonorably levying additional taxes on the wealthy and property-holding classes, which, while violating the principle of property recognized in the constitution, would serve only to overturn the general economy and aggravate the situation of the proletariat. The economical reform consists, on the one hand, in opening usurious credit to competition and thereby causing capital to lose its income,—in other words, in identifying, in every citizen to the same degree, the capacity of the laborer and that of the capitalist; on the other hand, in abolishing the whole system of existing taxes, which fall only on the laborer and the poor man, and replacing them all by a single tax on capital, as an insurance premium.

By these two great reforms social economy is reconstructed from top to bottom, commercial and industrial relations are inverted, and the profits, now assured to the capitalist, return to the laborer. Competition, now anarchical and subversive, becomes emulative and fruitful; markets no longer being wanting, the workingman and employer, intimately connected, have nothing more to fear from stagnation or suspension. A new order is established upon the old institutions abolished or regenerated.

On this point the revolutionary course is laid out; the meaning of the movement is known. Whatever modification may appear in practice, the reform will be effected according to these principles and on these bases; the Revolution has no other issue. The economic problem, then, may be considered solved.

It is far from being the same with the political problem,—that is, with the disposal to be made, in the future, of government and the State. On this point the question is not even stated; it has not been recognized by the public conscience and the intelligence of the masses. The economic Revolution being accomplished, as we have just seen, can government, the State, continue to exist? Ought it to continue to exist? This no one, either in democracy or out of it, has ever dared to call in question; and yet it is the problem which, if we would escape new catastrophes, must next be solved.

We affirm, then, and as yet we are alone in affirming, that with the economic Revolution, no longer in dispute, the State must entirely disappear; that this disappearance of the State is the necessary consequence of the organization of credit and the reform of taxation; that, as an effect of this double innovation, government becomes first useless and then impossible; that in this respect it is in the same category with feudal property, lending at interest, absolute and constitutional monarchy, judicial institutions, etc., all of which have served in the education of liberty, but which fall and vanish when liberty has arrived at its fulness. Others, on the contrary, in the front ranks of whom we distinguish Louis Blanc and Pierre Leroux, maintain that, after the economic revolution, it is necessary to continue the State, but in an organized form; furnishing, however, as yet, no principle or plan for its organization. For them the political question, instead of being annihilated by identification with the economic question, always subsists; they favor an extension of the prerogatives of the State, of power, of authority, of government. They change names only; for example, instead of *master-State* they say *servant-State*, as if a change of words sufficed to transform things! Above this system of government, about which nothing is known, hovers a system of religion whose dogma is equally unknown, whose ritual is unknown, whose object, on earth and in heaven, is unknown.

This then, is the question which at present divides the socialistic democracy, now in accord, or nearly so, on other matters: Must the State continue to exist after the question of labor and capital shall be practically solved? In other words, shall we always have, as we have had hitherto, a political constitution in addition to a social constitution?

We reply in the negative. We maintain that, capital and labor once identified, society exists by itself, and has no further need of government. We are, therefore, as we have more than once announced, *anarchists*. *Anarchy* is the condition of existence of adult society, as *hierarchy* is the condition of primitive society. There is a continual progress in human society from hierarchy to anarchy.

Louis Blanc and Pierre Leroux affirm the contrary. In addition to their capacity of *socialists*, they retain that of *politicians;* they are men of government and authority,—statesmen.

To settle the difference, we have, then, to consider the State, no longer from the point of view of the old society, which naturally and necessarily produced it, and which approaches its end, but from the point of view of the new society, which is, or must be, the result of the two fundamental and correlative reforms of credit and taxation.

Now, if we prove that, from this last point of view, the State, considered in its nature, rests on a thoroughly false hypothesis; that, in the second place, considered in its object, the State finds no excuse for its existence save in a second hypothesis, equally false; that, finally, considered in the reasons for its continuance, the State can appeal to but one hypothesis, as false as the two others,—these three points cleared up, the question will be settled; the State will be regarded as a superfluous, and consequently harmful and impossible, thing; government will be a contradiction.

Let us proceed at once with the analysis:—

I. Of the Nature of the State.

"What is the State?" asks Louis Blanc.

And he replies:—

"The State, under monarchical rule, is the power of one man; the tyranny of a single individual.

"The State, under oligarchical rule, is the power of a small number of men, the tyranny of a few.

"The State, under aristocratic rule, is the power of a class, the tyranny of many.

"The State, under anarchical rule, is the power of the first comer who happens to be the most intelligent and the strongest; it is the tyranny of chaos.

"The State, under democratic rule, is the power of all the people, served by their elect; it is the reign of liberty."

Of the twenty-five or thirty thousand readers of Louis Blanc, perhaps there are not ten to whom this definition of the State did not seem conclusive, and who do not repeat, after the master: The State is the power of one, of a few, of many, of all, or of the first comer, according as the word State is prefaced by one of these adjectives,—*monarchical, oligarchical, aristocratic, democratic*, or *anarchical*. The delegates of the Luxembourg—who think themselves robbed, as it seems, when any one allows himself to hold an opinion different from theirs on the meaning and tendencies of the Revolution of February,—in a letter which has been made public, have done me the honor to inform me that they regard Louis Blanc's answer as quite triumphant, and that I can say nothing in reply. It would seem that none of the citizen-delegates ever have studied Greek. Otherwise, they would have seen that their master and friend, Louis Blanc, instead of defining the State, has only translated into French the Greek words *monos*, one; *oligoï*, a few; *aristoï*, the great; *dèmos*, the people; and the privative *a*, which means no. It is by the use of these qualifying terms that Aristotle has distinguished the various forms of the State, which is designated by the word archê, authority, government, State. We ask pardon of our readers, but it is not our fault if the political science of the president of the Luxembourg does not go beyond etymology.

And mark the artifice! Louis Blanc, in his translation, only had to use the word tyranny four times, *tyranny of one, tyranny of many*, etc., and to avoid it once, *power of the people, served by their elect*, to immediately win applause. Every State save the democratic, according to Louis Blanc, is *tyranny*. Anarchy especially receives a peculiar treatment; *it is the power of the first comer who happens to be the most intelligent and the strongest;* it is the *tyranny of chaos*. What a monster must be this *first comer*, who, first comer that he is, nevertheless happens to be *the most intelligent and the strongest*, and who exercises his *tyranny in chaos!* After that who could prefer *anarchy* to this charming government of all the people, served so well, as we know, by their elect? How overwhelming it is, to be sure! at the first blow we find ourselves flat on the ground. 'O rhetorician! thank God for having created for your express benefit, in the nineteenth century, such stupidity as that of your so-called delegates of the working classes; otherwise you would have perished under a storm of hisses the first time you touched a pen.

What is the State? This question must be answered. The list of the various forms of the State, which Louis Blanc, after Aristotle, has prepared, has taught us nothing. As for Pierre Leroux, it is not worth while to interrogate him; he would tell us that the question is inconsiderate; that the State always has existed; that it always will exist,—the final reason of conservatives and old women.

The State is the EXTERNAL constitution of the social power.

By this external constitution of its power and sovereignty, the people does not govern itself; now one individual, now several, by a title either elective or hereditary, are charged with governing it, with managing its affairs, with negotiating and compromising in its name; in a word, with performing all the acts of a father of a family, a guardian, a manager, or a proxy, furnished with a general, absolute, and irrevocable power of attorney.

This external constitution of the collective power, to which the Greeks gave the name *archê*, sovereignty, authority, government, rests then on this hypothesis: that a people, that the collective being which we call society, cannot govern itself, think, act, express itself, unaided, like beings endowed with individual personality; that, to do these things, it must be represented by one or more individuals, who, by any title whatever, are regarded as custodians of the will of the people, and its agents. According to this hypothesis, it is impossible for the collective power, which belongs essentially to the mass, to express itself and act directly, without the mediation of organs expressly established and, so to speak, posted *ad hoc*. It seems, we say—and this is the explanation of the constitution of the State in all its varieties and forms,—that the collective being, society, existing only in the mind, cannot make itself felt save through monarchical incarnation, aristocratic usurpation, or democratic mandate; consequently, that all proper and personal manifestation is forbidden it.

Now, it is precisely this conception of the collective being, of its life, its action, its unity, its individuality, its personality,—for society is a person, understand! just as entire humanity is a person,—it is this conception of the collective human being that we deny to-

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day; and it is for that reason that we deny the State also, that we deny government, that we exclude from society, when economically revolutionized, every constitution of the popular power, either without or within the mass, by hereditary royalty, feudal institution, or democratic delegation.

We affirm, on the contrary, that the people, that society, that the mass, can and ought to govern itself by itself; to think, act, march, and halt, as one man; to manifest itself, in fine, in its physical, intellectual, and moral individuality, without the aid of all these spokesmen, who formerly were despots, who now are aristocrats, who from time to time have been pretended delegates, fawners on and servants of the crowd, and whom we call plainly and simply popular agitators, *demagogues*.

In short:—

We deny government and the State, because we affirm that which the founders of States have never believed in, the personality and autonomy of the masses.

We affirm further that every constitution of the State has no other object than to lead society to this condition of autonomy; that the different forms of the State, from absolute monarchy to representative *democracy*, are all only middle terms, illogical and unstable positions, serving one after another as transitions or steps to liberty, and forming the rounds of the political ladder upon which societies mount to self-consciousness and self-possession.

We affirm, finally, that this *anarchy*, which expresses, as we now see, the highest degree of liberty and order at which humanity can arrive, is the true formula of the Republic, the goal towards which the Revolution of February urges us; so that between the Republic and government, between universal suffrage and the State, there is a contradiction.

These systematic affirmations we establish in two ways: first, by the historical and negative method, demonstrating that no establishment of authority, no organization of the collective force from without, is henceforth possible for us. This demonstration we commenced in the "Confessions of a Revolutionist," in reciting the fall of all the governments which have succeeded one another in France for sixty years, discovering the cause of their abolition, and in the last place signalizing the exhaustion and death of authority in the corrupted reign of Louis Philippe, in the inert dictatorship of the provisional government, and in the insignificant presidency of General Cavaignac and Louis Bonaparte.

We prove our thesis, in the second place, by explaining how, through the economic reform, through industrial solidarity and the organization of universal suffrage, the people passes from spontaneity to reflection and consciousness; acts, no longer from impulse and enthusiasm, but with design; maintains itself without masters and servants, without delegates as without aristocrats, absolutely as would an individual. Thus, the conception of person, the idea of the *me*, becomes extended and generalized; as there is an individual person or *me*, so there is a collective person or *me*; in the one case as in the other will, action, soul, spirit, life, unknown in their principle, inconceivable in their essence, result from the animating and vital fact of organization. The psychology of nations and of humanity, like the psychology of man, becomes a possible science. It was this demonstration that we referred to in our publications on circulation and credit as well as in the fourteenth chapter of the manifesto of *La Voix du Peuple* relative to the constitution.

So, when Louis Blanc and Pierre Leroux assume the position of defenders of the State—that is, of an *external* constitution of the public power,—they only reproduce, in a varied form peculiar to themselves which they have not yet made known, that old fiction of representative government, whose integral formula, whose completest expression, is still the constitutional monarchy. Did we, then, accomplish the Revolution of February in order to attain to this retrogressive contradiction?

It seems to us—what do you say, readers?—that the question begins to exhibit itself in a somewhat clearer light; that the weak-minded, after what we have just said, will be able to form an idea of the State; that they will understand how republicans can inquire if it is indispensable, after an economic revolution which changes all social relations, to maintain, to please the vanity of pretended statesmen, and at a cost of two thousand millions per annum, this parasitic organ called government, and the honorable delegates of the Luxembourg, who, being seated in the arm-chairs of the peerage, therefore think themselves politicians, and claim so courageously an exclusive understanding of the Revolution, doubtless will fear no longer that we, in our capacity of the *most intelligent* and the *strongest*, after having abolished government, as useless and too costly, may establish the tyranny of chaos. We deny the State and the goverement; we affirm in the same breath the autonomy of the people and its majority. How can we be upholders of tyranny, aspirants for the ministry, competitors of Louis Blanc and Pierre Leroux?

In truth, we do not understand the logic of our adversaries. They accept a principle without troubling themselves about its consequences; they approve, for example, the equality of taxation which the tax on capital realizes; they adopt popular, mutual, and gratuitous credit, for all these terms are synonymous; they cheer at the dethronement of capital and the emancipation of labor; then, when it remains to draw the anti-governmental conclusions from these premises, they protest, they continue to talk of politics and government, without inquiring whether government is compatible with industrial liberty and equality; whether there is a possibility of a political science, when there is a necessity for an economic science! Property they attack without scruple, in spite of its venerable antiquity; but they bow before power like church-wardens before the holy sacrament. Government is to them the necessary and immutable *à priori*, the principle of principles, the eternal *archeus*.

Certainly, we would not offer our affirmations as proofs; we know, as well as any one, on what conditions a proposition is demonstrated. We only say that, before proceeding to a new constitution of the State, we must inquire whether, in view of the economic reforms which the Revolution imposes upon us, the State itself should not be abolished; whether this end of political institutions does not result from the meaning and bearing of the economic reform. We ask whether, in fact, after the explosion of February, after the establishment of universal suffrage, the declaration of the omnipotence of the masses, and the henceforth inevitable subordination of power to the popular will, any government whatever is still possible; whether a government would not be placed perpetually in the alternative either of submissively following the blind and contradictory injunctions of the multitude, or of intentionally deceiving it, as the provisional government has done, as demagogues in all ages have done. We ask, at least, which of the various attributes of the State should be retained and strengthened, which abolished. For, should we find, as may still be expected, that, of all the present attributes of the State, not one can survive the economic reform, it would be quite necessary to admit, on the strength of this negative demonstration, that, in the new condition of society, the State is nothing, can be nothing; in short, that the only way to organize democratic government is to abolish government.

Instead of this positive, practical, realistic analysis of the revolutionary movement, what course do our pretended apostles take? They go to consult Lycurgus, Plato, Orpheus, and all the mythological oracles; they interrogate the ancient legends; they appeal to remotest antiquity for the solution of problems exclusively modern, and then give us for answer the whimsical illuminations of their brain.

Once more: is this the science of society and of the Revolution which must, at first sight, solve all problems; a science essentially practical and immediately applicable; a science eminently traditional doubtless, but above all thoroughly progressive, in which progress takes place through the systematic negation of tradition itself?

II. Of the End or Object of the State.

We have just seen that the idea of the State, considered in its nature, rests entirely on an hypothesis which is at least doubtful,—that of the impersonality and the physical, intellectual, and moral inertia of the masses. We shall now prove that this same idea of the State, considered in its object, rests on another hypothesis, still more improbable than the first,—that of the permanence of antagonism in humanity, an hypothesis which is itself a consequence of the primitive dogma of the fall or of original sin.

We continue to quote *Le Nouveau Monde*:—

"What would happen," asks Louis Blanc, "if we should leave the most intelligent or the strongest to place obstacles in the way of the development of the faculties of one who is less strong or less intelligent? Liberty would be destroyed.

"How prevent this crime? By interposing between oppressor and oppressed the whole power of the people.

"If James oppresses Peter, shall the thirty-four millions of men of whom French society is composed run all at once to protect Peter, to maintain liberty? To pretend such a thing would be buffoonery.

"How then shall society intervene?

"*Through those whom it has chosen to* REPRESENT *it for this purpose.*

"But these REPRESENTATIVES of society, these servants of the people, who are they? The State.

"Then the State is only society itself, acting as society, to prevent—what?—oppression; to maintain—what?—liberty."

That is clear. The State is a REPRESENTATION of society, externally organized to protect the weak against the strong; in other words, to preserve peace between disputants and maintain order. Louis Blanc has not gone far, as we see, to find the object of the State. It can be traced from Grotius, Justinian, Cicero, etc., in all the authors who ever have written on public right. It is the Orphic tradition related by Horace:—

> *Sylvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum.*
> *Cædibus et victu fœdo deterruit Orpheus,*
> *Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones,*
> *Dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor arcis,*
> *Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda*
> *Ducere quo vellet. . . .*

"The divine Orpheus, the interpreter of the gods, called men from the depths of the forests, and filled them with a horror of murder and of human flesh. Consequently it was said of him that he tamed lions and tigers, as later it was said of Amphion, the founder of Thebes, that he moved the stones by the sound of his lyre, and led them whither he wished by the charm of his prayer.

Socialism, we know, does not require with certain people great efforts of the imagination. They imitate, flatly enough, the old mythologist; they copy Catholicism, while declaiming against it; they ape power, which they lust after; then they shout with all their strength: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; and the circle is complete. One passes for a revelator, a reformer, a democratic and social restorer; one is named as a candidate for the ministry of progress; nay, even for the dictatorship of the Republic!

So, by the confession of Louis Blanc, power is born of barbarism; its organization bears witness to a state of ferocity and violence among primitive men,—an effect of the utter absence of commerce and industry. To this savagism the State had to put an end by opposing to the force of each individual a superior force, capable, in the absence of any other argument, of restraining his will. The constitution of the State supposes, then, as we have just said, a profound social antagonism, *homo homini lupus*. Louis Blanc himself says this when, after having divided men into the strong and the weak, disputing with each other like wild beasts for their food, he interposes between them, as a mediator, the State.

Then the State would be useless; the State would lack an object as well as a motive; the State would have to take itself away if there should come a day when, from any cause whatever, society should contain neither strong nor weak,—that is, when the inequality of physical and intellectual powers could not be a cause of robbery and oppression, independently of the protection, more fictitious than real by the way, of the State.

Now, this is precisely the thesis that we maintain to-day.

The power that tempers morals, that gradually substitutes the rule of right for the rule of force, that establishes security, that creates step by step liberty and equality, is, in a much higher degree than religion and the State, labor; first, the labor of commerce and industry; next, science, which spiritualizes it; in the last analysis, art, its immortal flower. Religion by its promises and its threats, the State by its tribunals and its armies, gave to the sentiment of justice, which was too weak among primitive men, the only sanction intelligible to savage minds. For us, whom industry, science, literature, art, have corrupted, as Jean Jacques said, this sanction lies elsewhere; we find it in the division of property, in the machinery of industry, in the growth of luxury, in the overruling desire for well-being,—a desire which imposes upon all a necessity of labor. After the barbarism of the early ages, after the pride of caste and the feudal constitution of primitive society, a last element of slavery still remained,—capital. Capital having lost its sway, the laborer—that is, the merchant, the mechanic, the farmer, the *savant*, the artist—no longer needs protection; his protection is his talent, his knowledge, his industry. After the dethronement of capital, the continuance of the State, far from protecting liberty, can only compromise liberty.

He has a sorry idea of the human race—of its essence, its perfectibility, its destiny—who conceives it as an agglomeration of individuals necessarily exposed, by the inequality of physical and intellectual forces, to the constant danger of reciprocal spoliation or the tyranny of a few. Such an idea is a proof of the most retrogressive philosophy; it belongs to those days of barbarism when the absence of the true elements of social order left to the genius of the legislator no method of action save that of force; when the supremacy of a pacifying and avenging power appeared to all as the just consequence of a previous degradation and an original strain. To give our whole thought, we regard political and judicial institutions as the exoteric and concrete formula of the myth of the fall, the mystery of redemption, and the sacrament of penitence. It is curious to see pretended socialists, enemies or rivals of Church and State, copying all that they blaspheme,—the representative system in politics, the dogma of the fall in religion.

Since they talk so much of doctrine, we frankly declare that such is not ours.

In our view, the moral condition of society is modified and ameliorated at the same rate as its economic condition. The morality of a wild, ignorant, and idle people is one thing; that of an industrious and artistic people another: consequently, the social guarantees that prevail among the former are quite different from those that prevail among the latter. In a society transformed, almost unconsciously, by its economic development, there is no longer either *strong* or *weak;* there are only laborers whose faculties and means incessantly tend, through industrial solidarity and the guarantee of circulation, to become equalized. In vain, to assure the right and the duty of each, does the imagination go back to that idea of authority and government which attests the profound despair of souls long terrified by the police and the priesthood: the simplest examination of the attributes of the State suffices to demonstrate that, if inequality of fortunes, oppression, robbery, and misery are not our eternal inheritance, the first leprosy to be eradicated, after capitalistic exploitation, the first plague to be wiped out is the State.

See, in fact, budget in hand, what the State is.

The State is the army. Reformer, do you need an army to defend you? If so, your idea of public security is Cæsar's and Napoleon's. You are not a republican; you are a despot.

The State is the police; city police, rural police, police of the woods and forests. Reformer, do you need police? Then your idea of order is Fouché's, Gisquet's, Caussidière's, and M. Carlier's. You are not a democrat; you are a spy.

The State is the whole judicial system; justices of the peace, tribunals of first instance, courts of appeal, court of cassation, high court, tribunals of *prud-hommes*, commercial tribunals, council of prefects, State council, councils of war. Reformer, do you need all this judiciary? Then your idea of justice is M. Baroche's, M. Dupin's, and Perrin Dadin's. You are not a socialist; you are a red-tapist.

The State is the treasury, the budget. Reformer, you do not desire the abolition of taxation? Then your idea of public wealth is M. Thier's, who thinks that the largest budgets are the best. You are not an organizer of labor; you are an exciseman.

The State is the custom-house. Reformer, do you need, for the protection of national labor, differential duties and toll-houses? Then your idea of commerce and circulation is M. Fould's and M. Rothschild's. You are not an apostle of fraternity; you are a Jew.

The State is the public debt, the mint, the sinking-

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fund, the savings-banks, etc. Reformer, are these the foundation of your science? Then your idea of social economy is that of MM. Humann, Lacave-Laplagne, Garnier-Pagès, Passy, Duclerc, and the "Man with Forty Crowns." You are a Turcaret.

The State—but we must stop. There is nothing, absolutely nothing, in the State, from the top of the hierarchy to its foot, which is not an abuse to be reformed, a parasite to be exterminated, an instrument of tyranny to be destroyed. And you talk to us of maintaining the State, of extending the functions of the State, of increasing the power of the State! Go to, you are not a revolutionist; for the true revolutionist is essentially a simplifier and a liberal. You are a mystifier, a juggler; you are a mariplot.

III. Of an Ulterior Destiny of the State.

There arises in favor of the State a last hypothesis. The fact that the State, say the pseudo-democrats, hitherto has performed only a *rôle* of parasitism and tyranny is no reason for denying it a nobler and more humane destiny. The State is destined to become the principal organ of production, consumption, and circulation; the apostle of liberty and equality.

For liberty and equality are the State.

Credit is the State.

Commerce, agriculture, and manufactures are the State.

Canals, railroads, mines, insurance companies, as well as tobacco-shops and post-offices, are the State.

Public education is the State.

The State, in fine, dropping its negative attributes to clothe itself with positive ones, must change from the oppressor, parasite, and conservative it ever has been into an organizer, producer, and servant. That would be feudalism regenerated, the hierarchy of industrial associations, organized and graded according to a potent formula, the secret of which Pierre Leroux still hides from our sight.

Thus, the organizers of the State suppose—for in all this they only go from supposition to supposition—that the State can change its nature; turn itself around, so to speak; from Satan become an archangel; and, after having lived for centuries by blood and slaughter like a wild beast, feed upon plants with the deer, and give suck to the lambs. Such is the teaching of Louis Blanc and Pierre Leroux; such, as we said long ago, is the whole secret of socialism.

"We love the tutelary, generous, devoted government, taking as its motto those profound words of the Gospel, 'Whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be the servant of all'; and we hate the depraved, corrupting, oppressive government, making the people its prey. We admire it representing the generous and living portion of humanity; we abhor it when it represents the cadaverous portion. We revolt against the insolence, usurpation, and robbery involved in the idea of the MASTER-STATE; and we applaud that which is touching, fruitful, and noble in the idea of the SERVANT-STATE. Or better: there is a belief which we hold a thousand times dearer than life,—our belief in the approaching and final TRANSFORMATION of power. *That is the triumphant passage from the Old World to the New.* All the governments of Europe rest to-day on the idea of the MASTER-STATE; but they are dancing desperately the dance of the dead."—"*Le Nouveau Monde*," November 15, 1849.

Pierre Leroux is a thorough believer in these ideas. What he wishes, what he teaches, and what he calls for is a regeneration of the State—he has not told us yet whereby and by whom this regeneration should be effected,—just as he wishes and calls for a regeneration of Christianity without, as yet, having stated his dogma and given his *credo*.

We believe, in opposition to Pierre Leroux and Louis Blanc, that the theory of the tutelary, generous, devoted, productive, initiative, organizing, liberal, and progressive State is a utopia, a pure illusion of their intellectual vision. Pierre Leroux and Louis Blanc seem to us like a man who, standing above a mirror and seeing his image reversed, should pretend that this image must become a reality some day and replace (pardon us the expression) his *natural person*.

This it is which separates us from these two men, whose talents and services, whatever they may say, we have never dreamed of denying, but whose stubborn hallucination we deplore. We do not believe in the SERVANT-STATE: to us it is a flat contradiction.

Servant and *master*, when we are speaking of the State, are synonymous terms; just as *more* and *less*, when applied to equality, are identical terms. The proprietor, by interest on capital, demands *more* than equality; communism, by the formula, *to each according to his needs*, allows *less* than equality: always inequality; and that is why we are neither a communist nor a proprietor. Likewise, whoever says *master-State* says usurpation of the public power; whoever says *servant-State* says delegation of the public power; always an alienation of this power, always a power, always an external, arbitrary authority instead of the immanent, inalienable, untransferable authority of citizens; always *more* or *less* than liberty. It is for this reason that we are opposed to the State.

Further, to leave metaphysics and return to the field of experience, here is what we have to say to Louis Blanc and Pierre Leroux.

You pretend and affirm that the State, that the government, can, and ought to be, wholly changed in its principle, in its essence, in its action, in its relations with citizens, as well as in its results; that, thus the State, a bankrupt and a counterfeiter, should be the sole source of credit; that for so many centuries an enemy of knowledge, and at the present moment still hostile to primary instruction and the liberty of the press, it is its business to officially provide for the instruction of citizens; that, after having left commerce, industry, agriculture, and all the machinery of wealth to develop themselves without its aid, often even in spite of its resistance, it belongs to it to take the initiative in the whole field of labor as in the world of ideas; that, in fine, the eternal enemy of liberty, it yet ought, not to leave liberty to itself, but to create and direct liberty. It is this marvellous transformation of the State that constitutes, in your opinion, the present Revolution.

There lies upon you, then, the twofold obligation: first, of establishing the truth of your hypothesis by showing its traditional legitimacy, exhibiting its historical titles, and developing its philosophy; in the second place, of applying it in practice.

Now, it appears already that both theory and practice, in your hypothesis, formally contradict the idea itself, and the facts of the past, and the most authentic tendencies of humanity.

Your theory, we say, involves a contradiction in its terms, since it pretends to make liberty a creation of the State, while the State, on the contrary, is to be a creation of liberty. In fact, if the State imposes itself upon my will, the State is master; I am not free; the theory is undermined.

It contradicts the facts of the past, since it is certain, as you yourselves admit, that everything that has been produced within the sphere of human activity of a positive, good, and beautiful character, was the product of liberty exclusively, acting independently of the State, and almost always in opposition to the State; which leads directly to this proposition, which ruins your system, that liberty is sufficient unto itself and does not need the State.

Finally, your theory contradicts the manifest tendencies of civilization; since, instead of continually adding to individual liberty and dignity by making every human soul, according to Kant's precept, a pattern of entire humanity, one face of the collective soul, you subordinate the private person to the public person; you submit the individual to the group; you absorb the citizen in the State.

It is for you to remove all these contradictions by a principle superior to liberty and to the State. We, who simply deny the State; who, resolutely following the line of liberty, remain faithful to the revolutionary practice,—it is not for us to demonstrate to you the falsity of your hypothesis; we await your proofs. The *master-State* is lost; you are with us in admitting it. As for the *servant-State*, we do not know what it can be; we distrust it as supreme hypocrisy. The *servant-State* seems to us quite the same thing as a servant-mistress; we do not wish it; with our present light, we prefer to espouse Liberty in legitimate marriage. Explain, then, if you can, why, after having demolished the State through love of this adored liberty, we must now, in consequence of the same love, return to the State. Until you have solved this problem, we shall continue to protest against all government, all authority, all power; we shall maintain, through all and against all, the prerogative of liberty. We shall say to you: Liberty is, for us, a thing gained; now, you know the rule of law. *Melior est conditio possidentis.* Produce your titles to the reorganization of government; otherwise, no government!

To sum up:—

The State is the *external* constitution of the social power.

This constitution supposes, in principle, that society is a creature of the mind, destitute of spontaneity, providence, unity, needing for its action to be fictitiously represented by one or more elected or hereditary commissioners: an hypothesis the falsity of which the economic development of society and the organization of universal suffrage agree in demonstrating.

The constitution of the State supposes further, as to its object, that antagonism or a state of war is the essential and irrevocable condition of humanity, a condition which necessitates, between the *weak* and the *strong*, the intervention of a coercive power to put an end to their struggles by universal oppression. We maintain that, in this respect, the mission of the State is ended; that, by the division of labor, industrial solidarity, the desire for well-being, and the equal distribution of capital and taxation, liberty and justice obtain surer guarantees than any that ever were afforded them by religion and the State.

As for utilitarian transformation of the State, we consider it as a utopia contradicted at once by governmental tradition, and the revolutionary tendency, and the spirit of the henceforth admitted economic reforms. In any case, we say that to liberty alone it would belong to reorganize power, which is equivalent at present to the complete exclusion of power.

As a result, either no social revolution, or no more government; such is our solution of the political problem.

THEODORE PARKER AND HIS CRITIC.

A ship, says the critic, careens too far and does not recover itself, but goes over. Yes; and that ship sails the seas no more; there's an end of it. A tree, he continues, is cut into beyond the heart, and does not build up the wound with fresh wood, but falls and perishes. True; and that tree is down, is dead, and there's an end of it. There are the two fingers closed in plain death. *If*, now, a soul is ever so self-hurt that it cannot recover, but goes down into sheer depravity, analogy says of it, Mr. Cook's analogy says, that soul is fallen, is dead, and *there's an end of it.* And I am confident that the whole world of Nature will yield no analogy to the contrary. So that those stone fingers, and with them the visible universe entire, are closed against the monstrous imagination of an endless survival in moral death.

But the tree is mortal at best; and if the soul be designed for immortal life, there is an infinite difference between the two cases. Hence it were rash, were indeed somewhat youthful, to assume that all the limitations of the one are to be found in the other. A larger logic would say that, if for the mortal tree there is a measured *vis medicatrix*, or power of self-repair, there must for a spirit, in which are the seeds of immortality, be a similar power not thus limited, but having the scope of the destinies with which it is associated. The logic of Julius Müller may be formally perfect, only it is too small for the matter. One should not look to find the ocean swell in an ounce vial. To know at all the ways of Providence on the scale of immortality, reason should launch itself with generous courage, dare to lose sight of these mortal shores, and to sail by the unattainable stars. Induction in a closet, from observations made in a point of time, does not, perhaps, serve for the navigation of God in the spaces of eternity.

But the observation is itself uncertain. Who *knows* that the moral life can be quite extinguished? Who knows that any human being has sunk into a depravity helpless, hopeless, absolute? "Theodore Parker's guesses"; here is a guess that is not Theodore Parker's! And which of those that venture it dares say to a fellow-creature, "Useless for you to try; bad you are and bad you must be"? I am not so bold, and dare as little fling such words after men from this earth departed, as dash them in the face of any here. And, to encourage hope, do we not see examples almost of moral resurrection? Does not the Orthodox Church itself, at the death-bed of a wretch the most hardened, still say, "It is not too late"? And how small-minded, how *unbelieving* at bottom it is to assume that the mere physical fact, mere accident, it may be, of death determines all for the moral life,—that scarlet fever, a mad dog, a runaway horse, a falling brick or rusty nail may hedge up forever the gracious providence of heaven and fix a soul's fate for eternity! Such credulity is not spiritual faith, but the want of it. It indicates an eye to which providential purpose and law hinge upon small physical events,—the infinitely greater upon the infinitely less.

The Monday Lecturer, if I understand him aright, assumes, and as the basis of his entire argument, that at the moment of death every man is irrevocably determined in character; either he has so chosen the right and good, that through day and darkness, and all temptations and tests his choice would still endure, or with the determination of pure depravity has said, "Evil, be thou my good." But with what inattention to the facts is such a notion entertained! Here is a young man of twenty at work upon a high staging in which is a defective board. He steps upon that board; it breaks; the poor fellow is precipitated to the earth and killed. What, now, of him? He was not bad, and was not a saint. Like thousands of others, he would probably have done well under good influences, and under evil ones might have been quite led astray. Is any man so absurd a pagan as to say that a weak piece of pine lumber was commissioned to determine his soul's destiny forever? Or can paganism itself believe that God would take him, morally undetermined as he was, from the arms of death, thrust him down into nether places, and say, "You shall have no second opportunity; I will make an eternal sinner of you, whether you will or no; you *shall* be nothing else"? Horrible to think of! It is almost an offence against good taste so far to entertain the ghastly fancy as to give it words. These are imaginations which, could they become realities, would not only slay souls, but murder divine justice itself!—*D. A. Wasson, in Radical Review.*

OUR "RADICAL REVIEW."

BY REV. B. F. TEFFT, D.D.

Our radical thinkers of New England—that is, those professing a Christianity with the Christ left out—have started a periodical for the discussion and dissemination of their sceptical ideas. It is called by the name given at the head of this article; and it is to represent the opinions of those farthest advanced on the road that leads from the Word of God as held by the universal Church.

The principal writers thus far engaged are well known for their infidel publications. Such men as John Weiss, O. B. Frothingham, Cyrus A. Bartol are known throughout the country as leaders of irreligion; and their chosen associates—the two Morses, Francis Abbot, Samuel Johnson, C. W. Buck, E. C. Stedman, J. W. Chadwick, Samuel Longfellow, Elie Reclus, and others of the same ilk—are less known only because less gifted with that combination of brass and brain required to constitute a genuine sceptic.

The first number of this infidel magazine is now before the public. Like the men employed upon it, it professes to have chosen science instead of revelation as the ground of human faith; thus taking for granted that there is an irreconcilable hostility between them, while all the rest of the world sees them only in agreement. Science, indeed, as held by these brainy people, knows no such thing as revelation. It believes only what it beholds in Nature; and Nature is merely a vast physical organism, the elements of which have existed from eternity uncreated, and the present condition of which has been brought about by that *conatus* of material atoms, forever tending upward toward perfection, known as evolution.

In such a system, there is, of course, no room for a personal God; no room for a personal revelation like our Bible; no room for a personal religion that calls God our Father and his Son our Savior; no room for the Lord's Prayer, or his divine life, or his glorious death as at all connected with man's salvation from sin. Sin, in fact, in accordance with this theory of things, has no existence. Nature is a machine working to perfection in obedience to its own laws; and these men therefore say with Pope:—

"Whatever is, is right."

And if there is no sin there is no hell, no heaven, no

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repentance, no faith, no expiation, no Redeemer; and how in the world such people can call themselves *Christians* when in their system there is no place for *Christ*, is more than men of common sense can fathom. To our mind, they are such Christians as the Emperor Julian was after he renounced Christianity; only these later pagans have not the imperial apostate's honesty to tell the world plainly that their religion is simply the old-time pagan infidelity revived.

If any reader thinks this to be too severe a charge, let him read the poem of this number of the *Radical Review*, written by Mr. B. W. Ball, on the slovenly Jew Spinoza, the first line of which is open blasphemy. Addressing the Dutch-Hebrew philosopher, the poetaster exclaims:—

"O pure as Christ, as deeply-souled!"

Spinoza, indeed, according to this *Radical Review* religion, had as *pure* and *deep* a soul as the Son of God!

What is this but saying that Spinoza was in every way Christ's equal? If this shocks the reader let him remember that it is nothing new to these *Radical Reviewers*. They believe in just this sort of blasphemous nonsense; and their periodical is started for the express purpose of teaching it to us Americans,—that is, to make us infidels and pagans.

Their theory of evolution is instinct with this sceptical idea. The universe began as a mere cloud of matter, which, by subsequent condensation, separated into the infinite number of globes we now behold in Nature. These, at least our own, in process of time, produced a living germ, in which potentially existed all the forms of life now extant about us; and these forms, from the original germ to man, ranging through all the known and unknown grades of being, have been successively produced, in obedience to this principle of development, in the way of eternal progress. Having attained to the stage of man, some of the human beings thus raised would stand a better chance for all human traits than others; and so we have a line of illustrious personages running through all ages, and linking together all countries, within which we find such names as Buddha, Confucius, Orpheus, Socrates, Christ, Spinoza, and their compeers of every clime and period. Christ is only one of many of the same general character. He was no *purer*, no *deeper-souled*, no greater or better than the Jew Spinoza, or the Greek Socrates, or the Chinese Confucius. This is the doctrine of this new-born *Radical Review*; and this is what we are to be invited to believe, in its scandalously-blasphemous pages!

But the really Christian world has little to fear from such a publication, or from the men who have created it. There is too much common sense, to say nothing of true religion, among our American people, to give heed to the teachers of this perilous nonsense. The more they explain their theory, the more ridiculous it becomes to the general apprehension. As a theory, it is the absurdest thing among all absurdities; and its tendencies are so entirely monstrous as to sicken the taste of all well-organized intellectual natures. It has not even the advantage of novelty to give it momentary popularity. Let any man read Brucker's *History of Philosophy*, or Dr. Cudworth's *Intellectual System of the Universe*, or any other work giving a true account of the Greek and Roman schools of speculation in the earlier times, and he will find every element of this species of infidel materialism advocated exposed and stamped into annihilation by the intellectual giants of former ages; nor can we feel anything short of a personal contempt for a set of idiots, who, feathered out in the plumes of a long-since extinct speculation, are trying to make us regard them as the *avant-couriers* of an entirely new era of science and religion; and we cannot help but tell them, in plain English, that, instead of the admiration they covet, the great mass of our educated and intellectual countrymen, while religiously pitying their infatuation, most thoroughly despise the spirit and aim of their godless undertaking.—*Zion's Herald.*

"VICISSITUDES OF GENIUS."

It has been said that there is no great genius without some tincture of madness; but without assenting to so sweeping a charge, let us glance for a few moments at the past, and recall briefly the vicissitudes of some of those whose lives, by universal consent, "rising above the deluge of years," bear the impress of genius. We shall find, at least, that eccentricity is one of its attendant manifestations, and that it would seem necessary for genius, like herbs, to undergo the crushing process in order to give out their fragrance and virtue. We shall find, also, that the path of genius, like that of ambition, is beset by disappointment, and that those who are thus endowed are apt to be more admired than loved by the world at large.

The illustrations are so abundant, the pages of history so teeming with striking examples, the well-remembered figures so throng before the mind's eye, that the student is puzzled where to begin, what material to exclude and what to adduce. One is fain, therefore, to close the interesting tomes of the past, and trust to the ready panorama which memory itself may unroll to view. It will prove a sad as well as a vivid picture, if it be truthful, for it must exhibit many of the dark shadows which fill up the background of humanity.

Behold blind Homer, groping his way through the world, richly endowed in intellect, yet sorely afflicted, rehearsing his ballads to the vulgar crowd for subsistence. Milton, so poorly paid and ill-appreciated as to be glad to get even a starvation price for *Paradise Lost*,—he of whom it was said, "His soul was like a star and dwelt apart." See Columbus, the great Genoese pilot, begging bread for himself and his child, wandering from court to court to obtain the means of giving a New World to the Old, and afterwards languishing in chains and in prison. Spenser, the child of fancy, who endowed English verse with the soul of harmony, eking out a life of misery, and dying in abject poverty in an obscure lodging-house in London. Look at Sydenham, who gave us the best version of Plato, breathing his last in a miserable sponging-house; and Oliver Goldsmith, whose strains were to echo to all time, pulverizing drugs in an apothecary's mortar.

"Oh, gods! gods!" he exclaimed to his friend Bryanton, "here in a garret, writing for bread, and expecting to be dunned for a milk score!" Like so many other children of genius, he was careless, extravagant, irregular, always in debt and difficulty, all of which hurried him to the grave. In that exquisite story, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, we have this explanation of how he supported himself on his travels: "I had some knowledge of music," he says, "and now turned what was once my amusement into a present means of subsistence. Whenever I approached a peasant's house toward nightfall, I played one of my most merry tunes, and that procured me, not only a lodging, but subsistence for the next day."

Handel, the greatest musical genius that ever lived, lost his entire fortune, and passed the last of his life in the awful gloom of blindness. His immortal oratorios were most of them produced under the stress of keen adversity, loss of fortune, and failing health, sufficient to have discouraged any one not truly inspired. So it was with Mozart, who, after seeking in vain for employment in various countries, was glad to accept the position of organ-master at a minor chapel. We are not told what remuneration he received for his services, but it is only too well known that, during the composition of many of his masterpieces, himself and family suffered for bread!

Beethoven was afflicted with an incurable deafness, which almost drove him to suicide. It was, perhaps, the most trying misfortune possible to one with his special endowments. "I was nigh taking my life with my own hands," he wrote; "but art held me back. I could not leave the world until I had revealed what lay within me." We all remember Beethoven's dying words, "I shall hear in heaven!"

Remember John Bunyan in Bedford jail, writing that immortal work, *Pilgrim's Progress*, the solace and delight of millions, as much an inspired work as the Book of Moses. Little did the humble and uneducated tinker realize that he was producing a text-book for all future time.

The victim of one age often becomes the idol of the next. Dante, expatriated and exiled from wife and children, became a poverty-stricken wanderer, broken in heart and in fortune. The greatest poetical genius between the Augustan and Elizabethan ages, an accomplished musician, a painter of no mean repute, and a brilliant scholar, yet he enjoyed no contemporary fame. He poured out the deep devotion of his youthful heart at the feet of that Beatrice whose name he has rendered classic by the genius of his pen, though she did not live to bless him. His later marriage was ill-assorted and unhappy. The sublime and unique *Divina Commedia* was not even published until after his death. Now the pilgrim bends in reverence over that grave whither he was hurried by persecution. How absurd are the transitions of which human appreciation is capable!

Let us not forget Schiller in his early indigence and distress, wanting friends and wanting bread, but bravely mounting the ladder of fame. The humble cottage is still extant near Leipsic, where he wrote the *Song of Joy* in those trying days.

De Foe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, says of himself: "I have gone through a life of wonders, and am the subject of a vast variety of providences. I have been fed more by miracles than Elijah when the ravens were his purveyors. In the school of affliction I have learned more philosophy than at the academy, and more divinity than from the pulpit. In prison I have learned that liberty does not consist in open doors, and the egress and regress of locomotion. I have seen the rough side of the world as well as the smooth, and have, in less than half a year, tasted the difference between the closet of a king and the dungeon of Newgate."—*M. M. Ballou in the Cultivator.*

JOTTINGS.

WHY will you contradict me, sir?
To *speak*, is to begin to err.—*Goethe.*

ALL people find time to do what they have a mind to.—*Mary Wortley Montague.*

AGAINST right there is nothing more futile than victory.—*Proudhon.*

IN things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason.—*Cromwell.*

NO spot has a permanent interest for any till it become the scene of some deed worthy of mankind.—*Alcott's "Table Talk."*

IF I should worship the sun or moon like the Persians, or that pewter pot on the table, nobody has anything to do with it.—*One of Cromwell's soldiers.*

IN every affair retire a step, and you have an advantage.

Seeing men in haste, do not seek to overtake them.

Each grass blade has its drop of dew. The wild birds lay up no stores; but earth and heaven are wide. Strange, indeed, if you cannot rest in the duties of your sphere.

If you reject the iron you will never make the steel.

To starve is a small matter; to lose one's virtue is a great one.

If treated rudely, return it not, but examine yourself.

The modest gain; the self-satisfied lose.

Let the root be good, and the fruit shall not be evil.

Do you think that by bearing with insulting persons, I shall fall into dishonor?

They who say conscience may be good enough, but it does not supply one with food, are fit materials for the cord and the bamboo.

Set not others at variance.

Suppress slanders, and protect the innocent.

Maintain a love of harmony, that throughout your families the common speech shall be, "Let us help one another." Then shall the world be at peace.

Let young and old be as one body; their joys and sorrows as of one family. Let the instructed lead the way by example. Let the unity of the Empire extend to myriad countries, and spread harmony through the world.—"*Sacred Edict*," *Johnson's "China."*

Poetry.

FROM NIGHT TO LIGHT.

No more through blinding tears,
'Mid gloomy doubts and fears,
I mourn a vanished creed, o
Whose forms I thought to need.

The night has passed away,
And Freedom's nascent day
In robes of cloudless light
Ascends the eastern height!

The conflict and the pain
I count not loss, but gain;
None prize the boundless sea
Like captives when set free!

A simpler faith is mine,
Whose elements combine
To leave the vast Unknown,
And deal with Man alone.

From dreams of heaven's glory,
From myths of church-born story,
I turn to certain facts,
And base on these my acts.

I know not what may be
This star-lit, shoreless sea,
O'er whose abysmal deep
Our sun-born planets sweep;

But near me is my neighbor;
Before me lies my labor;
I too must find a place
To aid my struggling race.

I hear the stirring call
Inviting one and all
To break the galling strain
Of superstition's chain.

Enough for present deed
My brothers' urgent need:
I crave no holier fires
Than those which this inspires!

I see in all the ranges
Of matter and its changes,
No God who interferes
On these swift-rolling spheres.

The myriad forces, blending
In union never ending,
Which fill the soul with awe,
Display but changeless law.

I doubt not God existeth,
But question if he listeth
To hear our feeble cry,
Or note us as we die.

For naught in Nature heedeth
The saint, howe'er he pleadeth;
Th' unerring lightnings strike
The good and bad alike.

Not to a state of soul
Dost Nature yield control;
But rain and sunshine fall
Indifferent upon all.

No other code is needed,
If that be rightly heeded
Which in our frame prevails,
Nor in its judgment fails.

Its constant laws suffice
To sternly punish vice,
And amply to reward
The virtue we applaud.

O friends, whose love I cherish,
Let useless dogmas perish!
O'er-reach these narrow bands
And clasp my out-stretched hands!

Not mine the alienation;
My loyal heart's pulsation
Is yours through cloud and sun
Till life's last act be done!

F. L. STODDARD.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 11.

Jacob Stern, $1.50; Miss M. D. Devereux, $3.20; Thos. Marshall, $3.20; J. P. Lennest, $3; Thos. E. Moon, 50 cents; A. H. Morley, $1; Mrs. O. Gillett, $3.20; Chas. Coventry, $8.50; William Mackey, $1; D. S. Grandin, $1.40; Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, $3.20; Mrs. H. Grinnell, $3.20; N. W. Covell, $3.20; E. H. Price, $1; Mrs. C. R. Sherman, 80 cents; H. C. Hanson, $6.40; H. T. Appleby, $5.00; J. C. Fargo, $1; W. A. Clarke, 10 cents; C. E. Butler, 10 cents; Geo. Stickney, $3; F. T. Montell & Son, $3.50; Mrs. E. Crosby, $3.20; E. C. Walker, $1; J. Brockway, $1.20; C. H. Phillips, $3.20; G. F. Lapham, $3.20.

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The Index.

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NOTICE.

During the month of August, my friend, Mr. SIDNEY H. MORSE, will assume entire editorial charge of THE INDEX, and relieve me of all literary responsibility on its account. All letters and communications should be addressed, as usual, to "THE INDEX, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The report of the recent annual meeting of the Free Religious Association has been published in the usual pamphlet form, and can be obtained at the office 231 Washington Street, or at A. Williams & Co.'s, corner of Washington and School Streets, Boston. It contains the Essay by Rev. W. R. Alger on "Steps Towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and the Essay by Mr. C. D. B. Mills, on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; also Addresses by Messrs O. B. Frothingham, William Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson,—with tenth annual reports of the executive committee, treasurer, etc. Price, single copy, forty cents; four, or more, twenty-five cents each.

Persons sending for it by mail will address, "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. W. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

"GLIMPSES" by F. E. A., left over, were too good to be kept "standing."

MR. BABCOCK replies to Mr. Abbot. If the latter has anything further to say it will be on his return.

MR. POTTER vindicates Mr. Abbot from the charge that he desires to exclude certain people from the Free Religious Association. It had never occurred to us that Mr. Abbot had any such desire. His simple disclaimer, not now for the first time to be made, is quite sufficient on this score. It has seemed to us, however, that the *logic* of his position required him to say to Transcendentalists, for instance, that they, believing in what he calls "Authority," were self-excluded from being members of the Free Religious Association. We understand he will deny even that. On his return we may take the liberty to ask him a few questions which will serve for some more explicit statement.

OUR JEWISH friends seem to be as zealous to "stand up" for Moses, as the Christians for Jesus. Can they not pass by this hero-worship which is bent on tracing all good and all truth to their particular man? Grant that Moses was an important person in the world at the period in which he lived, and that he left as the legacy of his life much that the wisdom of the world approves; can we not have an idea of our own worthy respect, till we have consulted this ancient Hebrew law-giver? Is it not time for liberal Jews to get weaned from Moses? Some of them are.

IS THE criticism of the *Radical Review*, by the Rev. Dr. Tefft, "Christian" in spirit? Is that the way true Christians "hold the fort"? In the same issue of *Zion's Herald* in which the doctor appears, the editor exhorts as follows:—

> As a believer in our Lord Jesus Christ, you stand publicly pledged to keep the peace. The world has no faith in a quarrelsome Christian. . . . The belligerent propensity is the survival of one of the worst qualities of the old man; it is earthly, sensual, devilish, and as such is to be utterly put away, if you would exhibit to the view of man any traces of the Gospel. To contend for the faith does not mean that you are to be a man of contention and strife. To contend for the faith is a very different matter from contending with your brethren. The one is a peaceful warfare, a devotion to the truth, the pursuit of a high and noble end; the other is a difference with fellow disciples, the outcropping of a restless spirit, the friction and unrest of a depraved nature.

Presuming this was specially intended for the benefit of Dr. Tefft, we leave him to its healing effects. But our readers will all the same read the doctor's remarks with regret, and they will find themselves amused over the ignorance displayed in his statements, some of which are glaringly ridiculous.

SAVING-LIFE.

"I may be wrong in many things, I cannot be wrong in this,—the Catholic Church is the only true Church," is the speech Cardinal Manning puts into the mouth of one Morely, in *Loss and Gain*. In like spirit, one of Mr. Moody's converts gave his experience. "I don't know much," said this man out of the depths of assured bliss; "but what I do know, I know for certain." One would not quarrel with another's happiness. So long as Catholic or Protestant can cling joyfully to some conviction or experience, let them have peace. Only, if in the exuberance of their bliss and their charitable feeling for others, they trouble you to dissuade you from following your own predetermined course, then you may bear your own happy testimony concerning the *certainties* on which your life is stayed. And one may indulge in a little criticism, too. Indeed, to keep even with the aggressiveness of many zealous Christians whose mission is to "go into the world and preach the gospel," one has often to say a word both as regards the "gospel" preached and the manner of the preachers. The case of our Methodist brother requires little comment. He was quite competent to affirm truthfully his own experience. He was happy, and he knew that "for certain." If there is any approach to infallibility possible, it is when one describes the state of his own feelings. The man had reasoned somewhat. He had said to himself, "Whereas, I was lost and unhappy, now I am saved and happy." One may question his declaration that he had been "lost" and was now "saved," possibly; but that he had passed from unhappiness to happiness, is a fact lying so wholly within his ability to report, no further words are needed. Let him keep that happiness while he can. But when he insists upon it "in season and out of season," that *you* are unhappy, and need to go through precisely his own experience in order to get rid of said unhappiness, then you must tell him what you think about it, and, it may be, that *he* ought not to be foolish, even "for Christ's sake." Our Catholic brother presents a different point. With him, feeling, personal experience, do not count. He has, as in these days we are told, a rational conviction. He stands on reason. That is, he has convinced himself by a rational procedure that the Church he battles for is "the only true Church." And he says that the office of this true Church is to teach the infallible truth. This is the conclusion he has reached, and he "cannot be wrong." The criticism one must offer him, is, How is it, friend, you were able to reach this certitude while you were yet left to your own fallible reason? A establishes himself in a temple as the sole infallible oracle of divine truth. B, less presumptuous, confesses that he himself does not know truth from error. But, providentially, he is not left blindly to grope his way. Though he cannot rely on his own reason to detect truth from error, there is B, who can save him; he knows this someone else whose infallibility is his refuge. In this he "cannot be wrong"; and yet it is a conclusion arrived at by that same fallible reason of his he so fully distrusts. He may reply that his own reason is competent to do all he undertakes. It is one thing to say what infallible spiritual truths are, and another to determine who has been commissioned to teach them. This latter he can do; the former is beyond his ken. Without going into the course of reasoning by which he establishes the right and ability of his Church alone to see and announce spiritual truth, he may be reminded of the great danger he runs in renouncing his own privilege to "judge all things, and hold fast that which is good." As equal with his fellows, he must use his own eyes and judgment,—accepting their word when he is without reason to doubt it, but always reserving the *right* to question, if he is so prompted. Also, he should consider that it is one thing to take the authority of others in matters that do not directly concern our own personal character, and a quite different thing to live under their guidance where character is concerned. We must not be machines, running ourselves under advice of even superior minds. Whatever others may contribute must become our own by adoption into our blood. It must flow through our lives freely as though it were—as then it will be—our own. Not rules of guidance, but principles of life, serve us truly. One must be in earnest, and he can only so be when the Law is written in his own heart. Commanded from above—independent of his conscience, by virtue of insight and appreciation,—he is the unliving mockery and empty soul in whom we all refuse to take delight. "I strive," said one, "when I am uncertain of the right course to pursue, to think what Jesus would have done in like circumstances." This bit of diplomacy seemed to satisfy her mind. To decide at once and directly what the right and the wrong was, was more than she could do. Being fallible, she distrusted her reason. And yet, like our Catholic friend, she reasoned. She said, "If Jesus were here, of course he would do right. And if he did right, he would do so and so. Therefore, I will do so and so." By this roundabout way she made use of her own judgment without knowing it. The mischief was, the principles she adjudged to be right, because Jesus would have used them, never became a permanent part of her life, but were intermittently displayed as occasions furnished extra pressure. Besides, had the "right" Jesus would have sanctioned *not* been right, the evil would have been twofold.

To the protest of a Roman Catholic brother, a friend of ours once made reply:—

> "There is indeed one true Church. The soul is that Church. Seek it not in outwardness. Go not far over the earth to join the visible institutions of men. They are the habitations men have built in their wanderings. They have strayed from home, and lost their way in outer darkness. Pity the lost, and be glad if in their wandering they gain any solace. But do thou, O friend, return unto thine own soul, and be at peace. Nor shalt thou worship there alone. It is thy soul—it is my soul—the common soul of all men—the one universal Church wherein is no schism. Art thou a worshipper there—thou shalt need nor creed, nor badge, nor outward sign, nor ritual, nor priest, to make thee a welcome among its devotees over the wide earth. Whosoever shall ask thee, 'To what church dost thou belong?' is thereby confessed no true worshipper, but a wanderer and a stranger. For all right worshippers know of a surety one another, not by word but by spirit. Be not impatient for all truth. If thou hast the spirit of truth, it will suffice thee on the road. Thou shalt then in truth find peace, and no more distrust and fear God. Thou wilt know—if thou art a worshipper in the soul—that no outward danger can assail thee. With joy unspeakable thou mayst dwell in this sanctuary; thou and thy neighbor equal with thyself, for there shalt be no self-righteousness, neither any abasement there.
>
> "Beware only of the limitations of speech; and yet fear not this overmuch. Let thy speech be a song and not a fetter, and the invisible, unspeakable soul shall shine through all thy words."

AS TO THE STRIKE.

No amount of criticism of the course pursued by the strikers will set aside the one issue it all implies. There is, we do not say there ought to be, a deadly war going on between labor and capital. In vain the talk about their interests being identical. If they were so, would it not be manifest? Does the history of the last few weeks show any such identity and friendliness? What is the record of these exciting times but the explosion of long pent-up feuds?

Whose is the fault?

Let us grant at once that this collision is not something made up and wilful on the part of individuals on either side. Is it not rather the natural outcome of a system all parties agree in maintaining? The "strikers" demand "justice," and, as an increase in their pay would undoubtedly be in the direction of justice, they have our sympathy; but were they by some sudden reverse of fortune transformed into a rich railroad corporation, other people would have to "strike" against them. They, no more than the "capitalists" they denounce, have forsaken the motto, "Sell high, buy low,"—that is, take all you can get, and give as little. The conflict between capital and labor would not end by an exchange of opportunities.

The good result of the "strike" will be apparent, when all parties are stimulated by it to study in earnest the question of Equity.

THE WAY TO LOOK AT IT.

The late riots are said to constitute a great national disgrace. They were also a surprise at home and abroad. The outbreak of the Civil War had been partially anticipated. Slavery was confessed to be so inconsistent with American institutions that an "irrepressible conflict" was inevitable, which sooner or later would flame into open war. But the idea of an "irrepressible conflict" between labor and capital on American soil seemed too ridiculous for any but people crazed and beside themselves, to entertain. Here, under the benign shelter of the Republic, lion and lamb would lie down together. So much was expected of a republican *form* of government. Under a monarchy or a despotic government,

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labor might be expected to plot insurrection or drift into riot. That would be a natural sequence of such governments. But to find such things happening under democratic rule, is the new sensation we had not anticipated. It is, however, proved true, that a new form of government is not the panacea for all our ills. Industrial and social problems are not much helped by governments of any description. As a rule, it may be said that whatever is touched by politics is blighted. The real ground of hope for this country was that the non-interference of our government in much that concerns the people would be a valuable aid to their adjusting their individual interests, including labor and its just rewards. To the extent that non-interference has been observed, this benefit may have been reaped. But evidently the labor problem is not to be solved by any amount of political interference or forbearance. It is a question by itself, to be seen truly only when kept free from a political atmosphere. So seen, it is not in any of its turbulent features of American origin; but as much of an inheritance as was the so-called "peculiar institution" of the South. It may be a "national disgrace," and the riots growing out of it may also be disgraceful, but not in the sense that they are a real outcome of American ideas. America is disgraced, if at all, by tolerating an industrial system which spawns poverty, ignorance, deeds of blood. This toleration, however, is in a fair way to be outgrown. As we outgrow the idea that men could be enslaved as mere chattels, so we shall advance from the idea that men can remain as the mere appendages of other people's wealth.

"FEELING."

It will save a vast deal of useless speculation if it can be shown that the question of wages is wholly removed from all considerations of justice or injustice, right or wrong, fair or unfair dealing. We are told that "feeling," which arises from a perception of moral distinctions, has no place whatever in the labor market. Everything there is of necessity governed by a natural law which no amount of suffering and complaining can in the least modify or repeal. Philanthropy may come in to mitigate distress, but all theories of justice are barred out absolutely. The law exists in the nature of things, and is above all disturbance by human will. Labor being for sale in the market, the price is settled by the amount there is of it. The purchaser is to pay no more than he is obliged to. He is obliged to pay only so much as labor when down is obliged to sell itself for. On the other hand, he is forced to pay all labor when up is pleased to demand. When labor is plenty the purchaser has the advantage. When it is scarce labor has the advantage. This advantage either side—helpless under the "irreversible law"—does right to make the most of. Tears are unavailing. The "law" does not know what they mean.

Now if this be the true state of the case there is nothing more to be said. All the talk about the "selfish greed of corporations," of the misery it produces, flies wide of the mark. Great or small "dividends" do not concern us. "Grinding the face of the poor" is nothing; for it is not the fault of those seeking dividends if the faces of the poor are ground; it is a natural result of the workings of this supreme law which governs and controls rich and poor alike. Hence, it is said, "feeling" in this vast problem of labor and its rewards has no part to play but that of mischief.

It appears, however, that in spite of this oft-proclaimed and imperative "law," "feeling" will not subside. What is more astonishing is, nearly all who profess to stand by it loyally, as intelligent citizens ought to, betray in greater or less degree symptoms of the common weakness. In spite of superior intelligence they get betrayed very often into expressions of "feeling." They go so far that they even desire legislative interference,—a new law, arbitrary; the expression of man's will, embodying certain notions of justice. In short, since the *natural* law is without "feeling," they propose that it should in some form be supplemented with a made-law which shall contain some grains, if not ounces, of what "feeling" will pronounce to be "righteousness." Others look only to a change of public sentiment, and think capitalists and corporations should be held in check by being "frowned upon." But whatever form it may take, the proposition for the introduction of "feeling" in any shape is a confession that the "law of supply and demand" does not or *ought* not to regulate the whole character of our business life.

A BELATED CORRECTION.

Now that the official report, in pamphlet form, of the proceedings of the recent annual meeting of the Free Religious Association is before the public, I feel impelled to say one or two things by way of correcting certain misapprehensions under which one of the prominent speakers appeared to labor. These things might better have been said at the time, and I was strongly moved to say them; but the necessity of not interfering with specially invited speakers, and the distractions of my office as Secretary, then prevented. But it is never too late to correct a mistake in which lies a personal injustice.

I refer especially to a remark made by our good friend and brother from England, William Henry Channing,—whom it was so good to see and hear again, with all his old-time enthusiasm for humanity, that it seems a most ungracious thing to criticise anything he said. But I know, both from his general desire to be accurate and just, and from his special interest in and sympathy with the free religious movement, repeatedly expressed, that he will earnestly wish to be set right on the matter in question.

First, it seemed rather strange and unaccountable that our friend should have had the doubts which he had expressed in his speech, about the cordiality of his reception there speaking as a "Christian," a name which we all knew previously that he highly prized and was wont to use in no merely technical sense. But when, interrupting President Frothingham, who, in endeavoring to remove these misgivings, made the very correct assertion that the Association had "repeatedly, in the most honest and earnest manner, asked men of all views, of all persuasions, of all possible definitions of religion, to address us from this platform," Mr. Channing said, "I grant that of you; but it is not true of others,—it is not true of Francis Ellingwood Abbot," he fell into a great error of which his mind ought to have been disabused on the spot. Mr. Frothingham's rejoinder did not meet all the necessities of the case. Mr. Abbot, unfortunately, was several hundred miles away and could not speak for himself; and the "others," implicated by the same charge, were not mentioned by name, and of course made no reply. And so by silence the imputation appears to have been acquiesced in, that some persons in the directorship of the Association, of whom Mr. Abbot in particular was one, were not in favor of that large comprehensiveness in the selection of speakers which Mr. Frothingham had described, but would, on the contrary, invite and welcome addresses only from speakers of certain theological views,—excluding, especially, believers in Evangelical Christianity, or even those who, like Mr. Channing, adhere by earnest conviction to the Christian name.

Now, if this accusation be true of any persons, then, certainly, such persons are violators of both the spirit and letter of the Association's Constitution. But having been in a position, from the beginning of the Association to know pretty intimately the views of its officers on this point, I feel justified in saying that the charge appears to me to be wholly groundless. And I am sure that our friendly, sympathetic brother never could have made it, and especially could have had no doubt of his own warm welcome, if his residence these many years abroad had not removed him from direct knowledge of the facts. In truth, representatives of widely variant religious opinions have spoken on the platform of the Association both in its conventions and its lectures. There has not been the slightest hint of a suggestion, of which I am aware, that a man should not be invited as a speaker because he loves and adopts the name of "Christian." The only direct difference of opinion on the subject of invitations that has come to my knowledge, is with regard to repeating invitations to prominent persons of Orthodox views who have once declined, and who in some cases have treated the Association with disrespect. Mr. Abbot and some others have not thought that liberality required us to do this; and some members of the Executive Committee have not been so urgent as others for that expression of liberality which consists in extending invitations in certain theological quarters where there is little or no likelihood of their being accepted; but the difference of opinion on this point is simply a matter of degree. No one, to my knowledge, would take the ground that prominent representatives of Evangelical faith who had again and again declined invitations, should continue to be urged by yearly invitations to come, nor, on the other hand, that any person who had any desire to come, should be excluded from the Association's platform, or not received with courteous welcome there, merely because of difference of theological views. Surely, neither Mr. Abbot nor any others of the Free Religious committee have ever taken this latter ground.

Some of Mr. Abbot's critics believe that his conviction of the antagonism between Free Religion and Christianity, or his "anti-Christian" position, tends to make free religion narrow and to keep its platform exclusive. And this opinion, of course, if they have formed it to the best of their judgment, they have a right to hold and express. But it is *their* inference from his view, and not his own. His own interpretation of his position makes it broad and inclusive, and all his practical action as a member of the Free Religious committee will, I believe, be found in the direction of a large inclusiveness, on the basis of freethought, and not at all of a nature to sustain such a charge as was made by our American-English brother,—made, however with no intentional injustice, but probably in some such inferential way as that just suggested. The injustice was rather ours who knew and felt it to be unjust at the time, and yet omitted to make the needed correction. And for this reason I have tried here, thus tardily, to make such amends as I can for the neglected duty, doing it the more freely, however, in the temporary absence of Mr. Abbot from his editorial post.

W. J. P.

NOTES FROM ABROAD.

MELROSE, Scotland, July 15, 1877.

DEAR MR. EDITOR:—

Perhaps you will be interested in a few brief jottings of some of the hasty observations of a free religious traveller in Great Britain. In Ireland I heard but little of religious matters, except in visiting one of the large schools in Dublin. The Marlboro School is the largest school under government control in Ireland. It partakes of the characters of our normal, high, grammar, primary, and industrial schools. It is not what we call free, each pupil paying a small sum per week proportioned to its parents' means; but it is free in this sense: that is, it is open to all sects and classes on these terms. In this school they have five different kinds of religious service every morning—Catholic, Church of England, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Unitarian,—the children attending whichever the parents direct, or being excused from any if so decided on entering school. The teachers say that this system works well, and that the differing faiths cause no jealousy in school or quarrels on the play-ground. They cannot conceive of a wholly secular school. In the north of Ireland I went into a small government school and found the morning hour given up to a most parrot-like repetition of Scripture lessons. I believe Ireland is the only country, except New England and her daughters, where Unitarianism is a power; and I fancied I could see its legitimate fruits there in respect for culture and a high standard of morality. I hear Unitarianism spoken of with great respect in Ireland, even by those of differing views.

The bill before the House of Commons for closing the public houses for the sale of liquor on Sunday in Ireland, was causing much excitement when I was in London. I had the pleasure of hearing one debate upon it. Its advocates say that the best people of Ireland unanimously demand this law, and that it is a stronge anomaly to grant a license to sell liquor on Sunday, when the sale of the most harmless articles of merchandise is forbidden. The remonstrants reply that it is cruel to deprive the poor man of his social enjoyment on Sunday, which the rich man may have in his own house; and add the usual arguments against restrictive laws. But the interesting point is, that the remonstrants charge the friends of the bill with acting in the interests of Sabbatarianism; and some of its advocates in the House, to rebut this charge, declared themselves in favor of opening museums and other places of innocent amusement on Sunday; and every such declaration was greeted with much applause.

Mr. Peter A. Taylor has a bill before the House for opening museums and art galleries on Sunday, and it may encourage our Free Religious Association friends who felt disappointed at the small attendance at the Convention last fall, to know that he referred to that in his speech on the bill, and found valuable aid in the speeches of Mr. Gannett and others on that occasion. But although every allusion to the bill is received with favor in the House, it is voted down by members who know that their country constituencies are not yet ready for such a measure. But one cannot see these noble museums—the British Museum, the Crystal Palace, South Kensington, and

others—without feeling that they are in the right line of succession to the cathedral and the abbey in the great church of humanity, and that it is a cruel wrong to shut the people out from them on the one day when they could enjoy them freely. It points the injustice that many places, as the Zoölogical and Horticultural Gardens, are open to proprietors and their friends, and are thronged by a fashionable crowd who have nothing to hinder them from attendance all days in the week.

Arriving in London on Saturday, I went to Westminster Abbey on Sunday morning hoping to hear Dean Stanley, but was disappointed. He did not preach. But the next Sunday I heard him in a more humble church, St. Stephen's, I think, where he preached on behalf of a charity, the School Ship for Boys. I found Dean Stanley's name called forth bitter feelings in England. I was told that he was a very uninteresting preacher, that I should not hear him, etc., and found that my informant thought his action in advocating the opening of museums on Sunday gave great offence. Others spoke of him with cordial admiration. He is a quiet, refined, delicate looking man, with decided marks of age. His voice is somewhat feeble and not particularly fine, but not unpleasant to me. It was not a great sermon; indeed the English service is so long—an hour and a quarter before the sermon,—that the congregation are impatient of a discourse more than twenty minutes long, and it is hard to treat any subject fully in that time. But it was to me very delightful. His subject was "Baptism," and he illustrated his theme with the same thorough knowledge of history and the same vivid imagination which make his books so delightful. His straightforward candor was admirable. He did not twist history or Scripture to support certain views, but gave the facts as they were. He said that the immersion in the flowing waters was the apostolic form of the rite, and that it was essential to the original idea of baptism, which denoted the sudden, entire cleansing from old errors. He traced it to its origin in earlier Eastern religions, and compared it to the consecration of the Knights of the Bath. He also emphasized the original meaning of the act as producing personal cleanliness, which was a religious duty as well as the holiness of soul symbolized by it. He said the Church, for reasons of convenience, had departed from the apostolic custom, both as regards the actual immersion and the baptism of infants. The whole sermon, with the exception of a few customary phrases, was as free and liberal as one could desire.

The next Sunday I heard Mr. Conway at his Chapel, being desirous to see his work there. His discourse was a very brilliant one,—on the necessity of union among reformers to conquer old abuses. His service is very simple, and his congregation has the same strong, clear-headed, radical look which we see in independent churches at home. The chapel is usually crowded, and was quite full, though the day was very stormy. I was sorry not to have another Sunday to hear Mr. Voysey, whose service I heard very highly spoken of.

One virtue seems to be sufficiently cultivated in Great Britain, that of charity. It seemed to me to be the leading business of Dublin and even London. Hospitals, asylums, houses for poor Protestants, sailors' homes, and all manner of institutions greeted you at every turn. There were boxes for the poor not only in churches, but even in restaurants. In spite of all this the streets swarm with poverty, and one's heart aches at the constant eagerness of poor wretches to found a claim for a penny on some little service done you. The poor in London, not only the wretched poor, but the poorer middling class, wear the saddest expression I have ever seen on human faces. I know not why, but Irish poverty carries a certain jollity and ease of manner with it; but the London poor have hungry, sad-eyed, hopeless, careworn faces. They need some new gospel to bring them good tidings besides the litany, which is sung daily in all the churches of the kingdom.

To-day, passing a stormy Sunday in this little Scottish town, famed for its beautiful ruins of Dryburgh and Melrose, I went in to the service of the Free Church of Scotland,—the descendant of the old church of Puritan protest against the interference of the State with the congregation. The preacher was a stranger, who gave the commonplaces of the Calvinistic views without much original thought or unction; but what interested me was the congregational singing of the old version of the psalms, with its quaint forced metre, led by a precentor who did not seem to have been chosen for his melodious voice. The Free Church is said to be the most vital and active of any in Scotland, and it will lend powerful aid in the disestablishment of the Church of England,—a measure which seems to be the next step in progress, but which will be most hotly contested, as of course very great interests are involved in it. In seeing these beautiful old abbeys with their grounds, and the grand cathedrals, one cannot wonder at the regret with which they were given up; but it seems as if the world might sometime learn the great spiritual law which Jesus taught, that he who loveth his life will lose it, and that it is only by recognizing the new demand and conforming to it that the old can be saved. The old castle at York may stand, since it is an asylum for the blind; that at Durham shelters the courts of law, and the Cathedral grounds are converted into a public promenade on the banks of the river, which ensures the interest of the public in their preservation; but my radical heart acknowledges that Cromwell and John Knox did service sorely needed at the time, even while my æsthetic sense mourns over the destruction of so much beauty. Something we must yet have, giving us the harmony and beauty of the old, with the freedom and equality of the new. I have seen nothing which prophesied it so fully to my mind, as the Handel Festival in the People's Palace, at Sydenham. Let it be open on the legal holiday, consecrated by religious associations, and I believe it will become more than ever a power of good for humanity.

Yours, E. D. C.

LABOR NOTES.

S. H. M.

—The times are not "out of joint",—they are joining.

—The "question of questions" with all parties is rapidly coming to be, "What shall we do to be saved?"

—A lady writing in the *Christian Statesman* thinks the "strikes" are caused by "Sabbath-breaking."

—"The laborer is worthy of his hire." This applies to capitalists, as well as to everybody else.

—"The most successful speculator is he who can create the most want in the community, and extort the most from it."—*Josiah Warren.* He calls it "civilized cannibalism."

—Says the New York *Times*, "The strike will be worth all it cost, if it will put labor in a more reasonable relation with capital, and thus avert some of the dangers which have just showed their front so admirably."

—The opinions of the "President and his ministers" on the labor question, says the New York *Journal of Commerce*, "are not wanted or proper to be given." It advises against any legislative interferences which "would be specially injurious in its operation on the laboring classes, while, of course," (?) "it would be exceedingly harmful to capitalists."

—We are no convert to the creed of "Social Democracy." Such a harum-scarum time of it as we should all have with such a governmental perpetual interference shop, would, in our judgment, set us all crazy, and leave no chance for "equity," or aught else. Besides, *Liberty* isn't to be wiped out to keep us from starving.

—We believe in individual enterprise and in individual equity. We believe that no amount of political or social combination will help the people of this country out of their troubles. What we want is not "common property," but to learn when we have our own and not our neighbor's; or, rather, we need to know when we are *getting* our own and not our neighbor's; for it is in the *getting* (accumulation) of the property we call ours, that Satan creeps in to stir up the mischief.

—The same lady, quoted above, remarks, "We remember when the Ohio River was full of splendid side-wheel steamers, nearly all *running on Sabbath and carrying bars;* the river is now empty of floating palaces; property embarked in them was in nearly all cases lost," etc. "When the Lord came to claim his dues for the Sunday profits" he took *everything*, and left the "owners beggared." The Governor ought to have "called out the militia."

—It is also stated by the same Christian writer, that "if every Sabbath boat and train were wrecked on the trip, then men would begin to see what God means; but he delays, and men 'think that he is altogether such an one as themselves.'" In this, however, they are mistaken, for he is "grinding slowly, but exceeding small." With a touch of humanity, yet bound to save her Christianity, she adds: "It seems to a degree hard-hearted to look on at terrified cities, at flaming property, at dead and wounded men, and say, 'These are God's reprisals for Sabbath desecration.' But is it not true?"

—Still another quotation seems to be worth while: "With the individuals comprising such corporations, God has an after and spiritual reckoning; but with the corporations themselves, as they shall have no existence in an eternal world, he is bound to deal here in the realm of the physical." Exactly, "corporations *are* soulless." We have long thought as much. But here follows a bit of retributive doctrine which "workingmen" must not get hold of; not if at the same time they propose to heed Christ's admonition, "Be ye *perfect*, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." "When God has been protesting 'Ye have robbed me,' and when those who are guilty are always under the reach of his hand, the hour must come, *for* the *sake* of *his own honor*, when he takes forcibly (?) out of their grasp *all that has been robbed from him.*"

—Some two years ago the Boston *Herald* had an editorial on the "Industrious Poor," urging that, as there was a large class in the city, working long hours, frugal, temperate, and in every way deserving, that could not, if overtaken by a week's sickness or idleness, keep want from the door, something should be done in the way of charity by the rich, and suggested the formation of a Bureau of Charity. Now, a permanent class of "industrious *poor*," is one of those "conditions" civilization ought to abolish. Then we could all talk with better show of reason about the "disciplines" of life.

—It ought not to be necessary to point out that the two classes, rich and poor, are unlike in this: that the one, the rich, is guilty of all iniquity, and the other, the poor, we were going to say, of all virtue. But it seems that something of the sort needs a vast deal of iteration. As the fact stands to-day, it is a question of ins and outs. One class is as good as the other. Both mean to *get* in and to *stay* in. The rich man who was poor has got in. The poor man would like to get in if he could, and once in he would not concern himself any more than the other man with what became of all whose fortune it was to swell the ranks of those compelled to stay out.

—No one will ever know how near Boston came to a riot after the meeting in Hampshire Hall, when the crowd in large numbers gathered at the Boston and Albany Railroad. The papers stated that the police offered to "clean the crowd out"; but the railroad officials said, "No; let them alone, and there will be no disturbance." It was a wise conclusion. The appearance of the police with a demand for the crowd to "disperse," would, without doubt, have led to results it would have been any thing but pleasant to record. Left to itself, the crowd melted away into order and a peaceful night.

—Nothing is more ill-advised than the increase of the standing army as a precaution against riots. The attention of the country should be turned to some precaution against the *disposition* to riot. Remove the injustice there is in the land, or strive to, before you rush so eagerly to arms. The trouble is, no surer way to provoke and increase disturbance can be devised than this turning to a greater reliance on "troops." It will make you arrogant, and blind you to the encouragement of right principles. Once begin the increase of the army and you will be obliged to continue. Every new soldier will fan the flame of discontent. Leave this thing alone, if you wish "law and order" to prevail.

—"The equal distribution of wealth!" exclaims our neighbor at the table; "what nonsense." And then he goes on for ten minutes at full speed, showing how wealth once equally distributed would rush back into a few hands again, and everybody be as bad if not worse off than before. In vain that we say, "Equitable distribution." In vain that we say the "distribution" spoken of comes naturally in the receiving each man his own earnings. "All bosh," he continues; "equal or equitable, it's all the same, you've got to 'root hog or die'; take what you can get, live or starve." Verily, every man to his own opinion!

—And yet, our neighbor across the table is consistent. "We are all under the law," he says; he means the "law of supply and demand." We hesitate here,—for has he not already remarked, "A man writes himself down an ass who does not believe in that?" He says, "Whatever gets into the market, has a *market*-value. Can you keep labor out? Then it must go for what it will bring." The assurance of the man is amazing. You would think the universe stood at his back. Perhaps it does. There are others who put on quite as bold a front, and curl their lips in a fashion equally contemptuous and withering. If we venture to suggest that there may be in the bare possibility of things a chance for those who are disposed in spite of the temptations that beset them, in the exchange of their labor to exchange equivalents, he laughs till he grows red in the face.

—Mr. Beecher says, "No, not if a man smokes and drinks beer." There is so little reason in all this talk about the poor "drinking and smoking"—as if they were alone born into the world to be patterns of all the virtues,—that it is astonishing good-meaning, intelligent persons rehearse it. But grant that the poor, every "tramp" does smoke and drink beer when he can get it. What is the significance of it all? When Rip Van Winkle was told to "drink away and drown his sorrow," he replied that *his* sorrow was his wife, and she "wouldn't drown." But most men can "drown their sorrow," or find temporary lull of their troubles in smoke and beer. People who have no outlook, no substantial hope, but an "oppressive consciousness that such a thing as rising out of their condition is almost without the range of possibility," may be pardoned, nay, may be expected to seize such solace as is within their reach. We do not like the perfumes of tobacco, but we never yet could censure a poor man, who had no higher resource, for the free use of his pipe. Mr. Beecher, men "smoke" and "drink beer" *because* they get "a dollar a day."

—Mr. Beecher complains of "careless reporting." He did not say "bread and water was good enough for a workingman." His remarks were as follows: "Now, at this point, the operatives of the great railroads conspire and rebel because their wages have been cut down. As if they were the only ones in this country whose wages have shrunk! As though they were the only men who feel the pressure of the times in a reduction of their pay! They are not special sufferers. We are all under discipline. They

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suffer only what the great mass of the people are suffering. It is said that they cannot support their families on the wages that they receive. Very likely they cannot as they would like to support them. It is said that a dollar a day is not enough for a wife and five or six children. No, not if a man smokes and drinks beer. It is not enough, if he expects that they are going to have not only food and raiment, but amusements that are expensive. It is not enough, if they are to live as he would be glad to have them live. Is is not enough to enable them to live as perhaps they would have a right to live in prosperous times. But is not a dollar a day enough to buy bread with? Water costs nothing; and a man who cannot live on bread is not fit to live. What is the use of a civilization that simply makes men incompetent to live under the conditions which exist? Education and civilization are designed to make a man a universal instrument of improvement, and to make it possible for him to live and be happy under any conditions. The man who is cultured away from the power of self-denial is falsely cultured." The idea which Mr. Beecher is evidently striving to enforce in all this is undoubtedly a good one; namely, that a man should trim himself to his circumstances, if they are inevitable, and be happy. It is good philosophy, but, unhappily for the matter of Mr. Beecher's discourse, it is not to the point. Men *can* live on bread and water, but *ought* they to? Hard work day after day it would seem should entitle them to something better. He asks, "What is the use of a civilization that simply makes men incompetent to live under the conditions which exist?" One would suppose he would have asked, "What is the use of a civilization that does not improve upon the conditions which exist?"

—Mr. Beecher makes another point—the general shrinkage of property and wages in the country. The strikers are not "the only men who feel the pressure of the times." Perhaps not. But from appearances it would seem that they felt it most. But be that as it may, the real question is not as to good times, or bad, in the ordinary sense in which those terms are used. "Good times" are no better than "bad,"—nor as good,—if we consider what they will do to settle the labor problem as it should be settled. "Good times" that still leave a large proportion of laborers unable to provide against the evil days that may be coming; nay, worse, that do not permit of proper food, raiment, leisure, in the days that are passing, are *good* times only by comparison with starvation times. The latter, the *bad* times, have this saving grace in them: they stimulate inquiry as to the cause of it all. "It is the darkest before day," we are told. People are pretty much alike in their willingness to bear their legitimate burdens; and when the "shrinkage" Mr. Beecher speaks of comes, all classes would put on a cheerful face if the infliction fell at all equally. As things go in prosperous times, only a part are able to acquire capital, and on this class "shrinkage," though it may greatly affect, does not fall so heavily as to grind down to "bread and water." On the other hand, the large class who, by the very nature of the case, find it absolutely impossible to acquire property, even in prosperous times, know what "shrinkage" means in a sense capitalists little dream of.

Communications.

RIOTS AND REVOLUTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your attack on the newspaper report of a recent speech of mine, in your journal of this date, seems to demand some notice from me, on account of its misrepresentation, if not on other grounds.

In the ordinary but thoughtless judgment of the world, a movement of men in force has been called a riot, a rebellion, or a revolution, only according as it has failed or succeeded. But I supposed, until now, that you recognized a truer standard of judgment, and held that such a movement was to be condemned or applauded, whether it immediately succeeded or not, when the cause that impelled it was either base or noble. If human beings are the victims of the despotism that drives them mad, their proper efforts at resistance are deserving of aid and sympathy, even though they are not strong enough to right their wrongs. The wanton and unnecessary invasion of human rights, by whoever committed, deserves only reprobation, though supported by an irresistible display of force. These obvious distinctions, at the basis of all "moral order," you seem to overlook or defy in the attempt to separate a riot from a revolution.

As you define a revolution and a riot, you leave no place for the Boston Tea Riot of 1773, or the Pittsburgh Railroad Riot of 1877, in either definition.

A revolution, you say, is "the forcible overthrow of one government for the purpose of establishing another government in its stead." But that does not embrace either of these riots, because neither was produced by any such purpose. A riot, you say, "is an attempt to overthrow all government without the purpose of establishing another in its stead." Neither the Boston nor the Pittsburgh riot was an attempt of this kind; neither, therefore, was a revolution or a riot.

With a remarkable disregard of reason and logic, you proceed to invent a distinction between the Boston riot and the riots that have grown out of the late railway strikes. As an isolated act, the Boston riot "would have been utterly indefensible." On what ground, then, do you justify it? It was "one in a long series of acts which together constituted one of the most completely justifiable revolutions that the world has ever seen." Now, which was it? Was the riot justifiable because it was "*one* in a long series"? The same may yet be truly claimed for the Pittsburgh riot. Or was it because the acts were all justifiable by being taken "together"? Don't you see where this lands you? An act utterly indefensible becomes righteous and holy by dumping it with a long series of acts! Are you willing to be "morally responsible" for such a doctrine?

But even on this ground you cannot as yet condemn the Pittsburgh riot. The "series of acts" by which you justify the Boston riot, closed, in your statement, by the adoption of the Constitution. The "act" of 1773 was justified by the "act" of 1787. Then wait fourteen years at least, to determine whether the Pittsburgh riot is justifiable or not. But what, after all, becomes of your definitions? A revolution may be justifiable, but a riot, never, you say. A revolution is the forcible overthrow of the government to establish another. Yet it was not till three years after the Boston riot that a revolution as thus defined was even attempted. No thought or purpose of revolution guided the Boston mob. You might have omitted your definitions without weakening your argument.

I utterly reject your defence of the Boston riot. The noble pride which the city of my youth takes in this revolutionary remembrance is not the limp and flabby thing you make it. Do you suppose we have been glorifying for a hundred years an infamous thing which we could only consent to excuse in the light of the events of the subsequent fourteen years? If a British soldiery had effectually suppressed the rising of the Colonies, immediately after the destruction of the tea, that glorious act would have had as good a claim to the admiration and gratitude of mankind as it has today. It was itself inspired by the same sentiment that blazed at Bunker Hill, lighted the gloom of Valley Forge, and found voice in the final shout of deliverance at Yorktown,—that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." No, Mr. Editor, there is no room in history or reason for your impossible distinction between revolution and riot. A revolution often begins in a riot,—and if the cause be righteous, the first "strike" is as sacred to humanity as the accomplished fact. Some knowledge of American history will be useful in discussing this question; and Higginson's *Child's History* is a good book for beginners.

Now as to the analogy. You charge the strikers with "conflagration, rapine, murder"; and therein only echo the language of the daily press. For convenience and brevity of discussion, I took the Pittsburgh riot as representative of the others, with the formal exception of Baltimore; and the facts as reported did not and do not warrant your language. What was the Pittsburgh riot? An assemblage of trainmen who stopped the freight trains at that point; an act in which they had the sympathy of the entire city, including the local militia. That was all,—there was no destruction of property, no menace to life or limb. Whatever condemnation this act merits, the strikers incurred,—but nothing more. The Boston mob did more than this,—they actually destroyed property. In this view the comparison is not to the disadvantage of the strikers. What happened next? The Philadelphia militia arrived, and without warning poured a death-dealing volley into the midst of the assembled multitude. Then the crowd, thus mercilessly fired upon, became enraged, and fired the railroad property. But the most remarkable thing in the history of riots is this: that the mob, maddened as they were, did not "unchain the tiger" of indiscriminate fire and pillage, but protected or spared all but railroad property. When we have sufficiently recovered from our surprise and panic to look the facts coolly in the face, it will be found, unless the reports have seriously misled us, that all the terrible excesses at Pittsburgh are directly chargeable to the shots of the Philadelphia militia.

Admit that the act of the strikers was illegal; what else could they do? They complained that their hardships could be no longer endured; but their complaints were not heard. Has any one of the "law and order" press even suggested what proper course they might have taken to obtain relief? They said, "We will stop the freight trains, and perhaps we may get a hearing." And, spite of all the croakers, they have got it! The American people, a pale and trembling audience, sits at the feet of labor to-day! Perhaps we may learn that when large masses of men are driven to desperation, all over the country, we had better look into their grievances before we shoot them down.

I am sorry to see, Mr. Editor, that you so far forgot yourself as to do a thing which I have known you to condemn in unsparing and indignant terms when you have claimed it has been done to yourself. In the report you reprint, occurs this passage: "If [as] Vanderbilt says to the trainmen on his road, 'You are part and parcel of us,' it seems to me they do have some right to say who shall work on that road. Taking these men on their own ground, taking them by the doctrine they themselves proclaim, how, I ask, can they escape from the conclusion that it is the right of the trainmen to say who shall take their places when they strike." The last clause is a statement of the conclusion which follows from Vanderbilt's premises,—it is not an expression of my opinion at all. Did you intend to do me an injustice when you wrenched this clause from its connection, and, robbing it of that part of the sentence which fixed its meaning, made it appear to mean something else?

I might content myself with pointing out this unfairness on your part; but, for the sake of those whom this garbling may mislead, I will take occasion to say that my point in that portion of the speech was to show the impertinence of that platitude. The strike was spreading in every direction; the militia were flying to arms; the whole country was in alarm; and at this critical juncture the papers were harping on that string,—"They've no right to say who shall take their places." I confess I sickened at this stupidity. I did what I could to turn attention to a more vital point. To restore peace was the thing to be done. To do that it was necessary to understand the grievances of the men who were demanding to be heard. Seeing they had made themselves heard, it was entirely impertinent to ask if they had a right to take the step which secured a hearing. Because it was an impertinent question, I was careful in that speech to give no opinion of my own. The strikers had as good a right to stop the trains as the Boston mob had to throw the tea overboard. But if I should ask you to show by what right the tea-spillers acted, you would doubtless say that it was too late to raise the question.

In saying you were once accused of callousness to the wrongs of labor, you make an allusion that I feel compelled to notice. I do it because I have reason to know to what you refer. On the appearance of the *New Age*, you criticised it in your columns because it did not adopt the method of advocacy. The *New Age*, accepting this as entirely fair criticism, and supposing it to be a proper topic to discuss, published an article on "The Perils of Advocacy," pointing out the tendency in a person or a journal, that became the advocate of some special idea or party, to become one-sided and partial, and overlook other things equally vital. Among other illustrations it gave this: "There is THE INDEX, the advocate of a great national party of freedom, one of the objects of which will be to discontinue the employment of army, navy, and legislative chaplains. But when, this autumn, the entire State was startled by the conflict between the manufacturers and operatives at Fall River, and the bayonet was put in requisition in a time of peace, Mr. Abbot had no word to speak." This, as you say, you never noticed; nor should I now have referred to it, had you not said that he knew it was false who said it. It pains me just as much to be charged with intentional falsehood in this indirect and unmanly way, as it would to have my name connected with the charge. If the pleasant and half-jocose intimation in the above paragraph had been false, how easily you might have turned the tables upon it by a brief reference to some vigorous article of yours published during those stirring weeks. Nor (pardon me!) can I now think, after what you have just said, that you would have hesitated to do so if your own columns had given you due warrant. Why you should revive this matter after keeping silence so long, I do not know; but the facts are not changed by the lapse of time.

I have hastily, and at the earliest moment, noticed the points in your article which seem to call for remark from me. It might be thought hardly graceful to cut to pieces an article written in an hour of exhaustion on the eve of your vacation; but my own infirm health has been the best defence of your positions.

J. M. L. BABCOCK.

CAMBRIDGE, Aug. 2, 1877.

THE POLITENESS OF CHRISTIANITY.

A CATHOLIC NOTICE OF THE WALCOTT MEETING.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The *Catholic Union* of Buffalo, the organ of "The True Apostolic Church of Christ," notices the Liberal Grove Meeting to be held in Walcott, in the following polite and Christian style: "What a blessed gathering that of the 'Freethinkers' will be, which is announced for the 17th, 18th, and 19th, near Walcott, N.Y. A motley crew of blatant blasphemers will, of course, be gathered with the four-mouthed Ingersoll as the 'big injun' talkist. Bold and daring fellows these, who, while the heart of the country is yet throbbing from the effects to which their atheistic principles surely lead, defiantly announce their intention to spread these principles, hope to wipe out the very idea of God from the universe, and thus destroy the ultimate source of all authority."

If this "holy man of God" refers to the recent mobs that have devastated our large cities, allow me to inform him, of what every intelligent person knows, that the controlling and worst element of these mobs are communicants in his holy Church, in good and regular standing, and that this has been the case with all mobs that have ever disgraced our country. The Church keeps its dupes in ignorance. Freethinkers advocate education and science; therefore, the Church is the mother of vice and mobocracy, freethought the parent of order and good government.

FREETHINKER.

CLERICAL AND LAY BELIEF.

BY BISHOP FERRETTE.

An "Evangelical" clergyman, who was travelling in Italy, wishing to ascertain the exact state of the native mind with regard to the gross superstitions of the native Church, first went to a priest and asked him as follows:—

"Is it possible, sir, that you really believe?" etc.

"What your signory has said," answered the priest, "is verily the way that the common people believe. But we, the clergy, have for all those doctrines and ceremonies a theological and enlightened explanation."

The minister, having put this in his note-book, then went to a poor *facchino*, who was telling his beads before a picture of the Virgin Mary at the corner of a street, and interrupting him, spoke to him thus:—

"Is it possible, my dear fellow, that you really believe?" etc., etc.

"What your signory has said," answered the porter, "is verily the way that our priests believe. But we, the common people, have sense enough to take all that our priests say with a grain of salt."

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation

GLIMPSES.

S. H. M.

THE WORLD moves,—and so does Philadelphia. The Permanent Exhibition is to be opened Sundays.

ONE OF THE "Blue-Laws" read thus: "No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting-day." Blue enough.

"ANSWERS TO PRAYER" lately published, shows a large majority of "answers" were in response to petitions for money. Does this indicate a religious solution of the labor-problem?

MR. COOK asserts that God revealed to Solomon the lesson that man should be industrious; but denies that God informed him that the ant lays up food for winter. He says "The doctrine is true, but the illustration is a human error."

IN THE SAME way Mr. Cook destroys the story of Jonah, or, more strictly speaking, of the *whale*. Jonah had an inspired mission; he was false to his trust and was punished. That was God's part. *How* he was punished was left to the human fancy, and fancy invented the whale. Verily, our Joseph's coat is of "many colors."

THE *Independent* says of the *Witness*, started as a religious daily; "It has had a great deal of sound moral sentiment, but has not had the news." This is an error. It did have the news; but its news was too old by nearly two centuries,—perhaps we should say six.

MARS IS said to be inhabited, and its appearance from our earth holds the balance pretty evenly between red and green. Wonder how our earth succeeds in that particular? Does our red sandstone in the eye of Mars offset "we, the people"? It may be so; but we shall change our color when we have wiser grown.

SPEAKING of Mars and its inhabitants, it becomes a question of significance: Did Christ go there and die for their sins? Reasoning from analogy, we should say he must have. For, as we here came up from the "earth earthy," even so must the people there have come up from the "mars marsy"; and a Redeemer must have been quite as much in order there as here.

ONE THING: though Mars is reputed for its warlike behavior, owing doubtless to some "original sin"—just what it were idle to speculate,—it is to be hoped that the Prince of Peace found in that Martian sphere, among his professed followers, a sweeter temper and more winsome manners than vast numbers of his zealful disciples inhabiting our own planet display. How disheartening it would seem should we some day get an air-line road through space, and travel thither to find things no whit an improvement on our home-experience,—Christians there no better than other people!

A PART of the time those Orthodox critics who, like Dr. Lorimer, deem it their duty to expose the folly and impotency of rationalism, assail the rationalist with the charge that his only delight is in some new thing, that his pleasure is in what is new and not in what is true,—and they go on to tell how old truth is—"like the most ancient heavens." Then they turn about, eager for a telling point, and declare that liberalism, scepticism, infidelity are not new, but older than Christianity itself. Is consistency *never* a jewel?

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* wants everything in the Prayer-book that has the "appearance of absolution" struck out. Also, it desires to "strike at the root of priestly superstition by omitting the laying on of hands in the ordination service." It has been wrought up to this phase of "disestablishment" by the *Priest in Absolution*. It is becoming evident that the ritualists have fired a boomerang which in its backward flight will deal them a crushing blow. Is this the "wrath of man" once more "praising God"?

SOME OF OUR Christian neighbors have been excited—as it seems to us unduly—over this line in Mr. Ball's poem, "To Benedict Spinoza":—

O pure as Christ, as deeply-souled!

What is it they mean when they enjoin upon us all to be "Christlike"? Does it mean that we must have only likeness or an approach to likeness to him, and no "deeply-souled" reality? What is the doctrine of "perfection" as taught by Methodists? What does Paul mean when he says, "Except Christ be in you, ye are reprobates,"—or words to that effect? What did Jesus himself mean, when he said, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect"? We wonder Christians do not accept Mr. Ball's verse as a tribute to Christ. "O pure as Christ, as deeply-souled!" Must not all Christians be even so when they are "perfect"? Mr. Ball simply says he thinks Spinoza was one of those souls, and not a "Dutch-Hebrew," as Dr. Tefft calls him,—if that be any discredit to a man.

METTEN, Austria, is a new competitor for miraculous honors. Four children out gathering bilberries "saw a very beautiful lady, with golden shoes, standing on the stump of an old tree. She wore a white dress and blue mantle, and held in her arms a lovely infant, clothed in a little scarlet coat. The children not only heard the Virgin's voice, but even that of the infant Savior." If it be not irreverent, it occurs to us that times have changed since the days of the stall and manger. It is evident the children were more familiar with modern pictures of Virgin and Son than with the New Testament narrative.

AS AN offset—if one be needed—to Mr. Ball, we give the following by the Rev. Newman Hall:—

Athens and St. Paul.

"Athens, how grandly beautiful art thou!
Thy dignity, in death, retaining long,
In spite of centuries of cruel wrong;
In spite of earthquake, lightning, war, e'en now
Riseth sublime thy queenly, peerless brow.
What names and memories to thee belong—
Poets and statesmen; fields renowned in song,
Where Athens guarded Greece from tyrants' thrall;
Demosthenes; eventful Marathon;
Plato and Socrates; great Salamis!
Still awes the soul thy pillared Parthenon;
Thy glittering, temple-crowned Acropolis;
But of thy glories this surpasseth all,—
Rough, naked Areopagus, and—PAUL!

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Radical Sunday-School.

A NEW DEPARTURE—THE IDEA OF ROBERT RICKES REVIVED.

BY REV. DAVID H. CLARK.

The recent hint in the columns of THE INDEX that some account of the Sunday-school of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass., and the results of my experience as its superintendent during the past two years in respect to such work among liberals might be of interest to those who desire to initiate it, prompts this response.

It is an auspicious indication to those who, though they do not believe the time for destructive radicalism has passed, think that for constructive effort has come to witness the growing recognition of the worth of organization in behalf of the new ideas and principles which begins to appear, and especially with reference to the culture of the young. It is evident that there is an awakening sense, in the minds of many, of remissness in this particular. It has been the habit of radicals to point exultingly to the decay of ecclesiastical power,—the increasing disbelief in the doctrines of the creeds; to scornfully contemplate the misuse of the Church's energies and resources, while they put forth little or no exertion for the substitution of superior methods and convictions. But this could not be perpetual. It was natural to the first stage of the transition through which we are passing.

The human soul incessantly demands an ideal (if it cannot accept what is offered, it resorts to another) toward which it may labor and aspire.

It was the persuasion of the founders of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, that radicalism includes affirmations as well as negations; that there is something to build up as well as to tear down; that to pass the bounds of the Church is not to reach the end of philanthropy and culture.

With a consistency, which is not always exhibited, they did not believe in detaching themselves from the Church while they suffered their children to grow up under its influence. They did not believe in that amiable indulgence and conforming disposition which allows children to be educated in what the parents regard false and pernicious. They saw that to produce a more rational and better standard of human life than that which proceeds from the Church, they must begin at the beginning. Simultaneous, therefore, with their first steps toward the organization of the society, now somewhat more than thirteen years since, a Sunday-school was projected and set in operation as a necessary correlative to its contemplated scope and aims. As the society was not an evolution in the strict sense of the word, an outgrowth or modification simply of some preëxisting one, as is the case in certain instances in respect to those which occupy advanced positions, but was founded upon an entirely new basis—as it was, moreover, composed of a heterogeneous collection of persons, and could borrow but little from any previous experience as to plans and methods in Sunday-school work, or any other particular,—its course all along has been, and is still, very largely experimental and susceptible to improvement, when such has seemed possible. Of course, thus forced to feel our way, as it were, to cut our own path, we are not vain enough to suppose, or assume, that it is the one which all liberals should follow. We do not pretend we have attained perfection in our Sunday-school, or present it as a model for the imitation of others. We are simply assured that we have entered in a spirit of faith and perseverance upon the new departure which the time is calling for, and of which it does not yet altogether appear what it shall be. We hold ourselves, as has been intimated, ready and eager for light, knowledge, and suggestion from any and every source. This whole subject of the education of the young is so profound and imperfectly understood—is, in fact, so involved in the whole philosophy of human culture,—that it requires all the wisdom, originality, and ingenuity that can be brought to bear upon it to effect the best results. Meanwhile, much can be done with the fifty-two Sundays of the year in this direction.

The Florence Sunday-school has proved, in all respects, a gratifying success. That it is an unquestionable improvement upon the ordinary one seems not only conclusive to us, but is the general verdict of liberal-minded persons from abroad who visit it. For some time after it began, the exercises of its sessions were of a somewhat lighter and less systematic character than at present. They consisted of singing, the speaking of pieces by the little ones, readings and extemporaneous remarks by the elders, interspersed with marching and gymnastic performances. Each class was the possessor of a tasteful banner, upon which some motto correspondent to its age and character was inscribed. It was the custom, once a month, to distinguish a session as an almost purely festive occasion, when a dinner or collation was prepared, of which both young and old partook, the tables being supplied by contributions from members of the society. Occasionally, in summer-time, the sessions were held out of doors, in some favorite resort in the woods or fields, and assumed a picnic aspect. But nearly all these usages, peculiar to the earlier period of the school, without any specific reasons that it would be easy to particularize, have been gradually given up; doubtless, as the necessary consequence of the change which the society itself has been undergoing,—the better established, organized, and working condition to which it has attained. The marching and gymnastic exercises have fallen into disuse, though to what extent judiciously there may be a question. Very likely, such an element might be included with advantage in the plan of a liberal Sunday-school in some instances. Much would depend upon its character and circumstances, whether there is a competent person to direct the exercises. The class banners have also been abandoned, and instead of the monthly festival and dinner, all that survives of that nature is our annual Christmas celebration, which, as at present observed, is a recent adoption, and includes, instead of the usual tree as formerly, a dinner, with social and literary entertainment, the distribution of gifts, and like associations of the time. The out-door Sunday gatherings have now no other representative, if, indeed, it can be considered such, than our annual summer picnic, which is always, not for our own people alone, but for many outside, one of the most attractive occasions of the kind of the season. I have allowed my pen to run back in this review of our school, in order that the course of its experience and development to its existing status may be more fully understood by those who have in view similar enterprises; and that whatever it suggests, or we have let go that it would have been wisdom to retain, may be perceived and appropriated.

I come now to the conduct and condition of the school at present. It is the custom of the society to devote Sunday forenoon to its session, the afternoon being allotted to our regular public meetings, discourses, etc. The school assembles in the basement (which comprises a hall capable of seating three or four hundred persons, with several adjoining apartments) of the commodious and elegant building known as Cosmian Hall, erected by the society some three years since. Its sessions occupy one hour and a half, opening always precisely at half-past ten, and closing at exactly twelve o'clock. Much stress is laid upon punctuality and precision in this particular, the habit itself being regarded as of educational value. The number in attendance has run up to one hundred and twenty. Its average is about ninety. The usual programme of the school is as follows:—

First: Singing by all present, so far as possible, accompanied by the music of a parlor organ. The books in use for this exercise are *The Morning Stars* and *The Musical Fountain*, neither quite satisfactory to us, but the best for the purpose that we are acquainted with. This exercise may be improved by being led by a choir of young persons, selected from the school, under a competent director.

Second: Introductory reading by the superintendent. This occupies, as a general rule, fifteen minutes, and is rarely two Sundays in succession of the same character. It consists sometimes of a story in which some good lesson is conveyed; sometimes of fragments of poetry and prose; occasionally of a biographical sketch, an extract of history or science, or selections from the sacred writings of the religions of the world or the moralists, Pagan as well as Christian, with such comments or remarks as the reading may suggest. The school now resolves into classes. The Florence school includes at present the following: An adult class, composed not only of the oldest members of the school, but, in some instances, of the society,—one of its most constant attendants being seventy-five years of age, with others between sixty and seventy and thereabouts. They are accustomed to withdraw to a separate apartment, known as the conversation room, and to discuss in an informal manner, and with the utmost freedom in respect to opinions, the various reforms and questions of the day. The class includes both sexes, and varies in number from half-a-dozen to twenty or more. Next in the order of the elder members of the school is a class at present engaged in the study of Shakspeare. Its average attendance is probably about fifteen young men and women, some of them married persons, under the direction of a very competent lady of experience and superior qualifications as a teacher. The attention of the class was devoted last year to Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The plan of study embraced a critical examination of the characteristics of the genius of its author, as exhibited in his great epic, with expository comments and references to the mythological and classical allusions of the text. It involved, with a study of poetry (to a certain extent), a review of the Bible and a consideration of Christian theology. A method of similar critical thoroughness is applied to Shakspeare. The plays are not only read, but their various incidents, characters, and respective distinctions in respect to structure and forms of expression discussed with reference to literary art and their moral bearings. A written analysis of each play, prepared by some member of the class, is read at its close. The offences to good taste and delicate feeling embodied in the common text of Shakspeare are escaped by the use of Hudson's edition; while the consultation and comparison of some of the innumerable compendiums of literature, essays, and commentaries upon the author adds much to the study in interest and value. Such has been the progress of this class, the stability and faculty acquired, that the person who has conducted it with such admirable skill and success is meditating withdrawal from it to initiate some other good work in the school, feeling assured it has attained to a point where it can sustain itself independent of her assistance.

There is, in addition to the classes described, one in book-keeping,—pursuing this study in the winter and geology in the summer, with occasional expeditions to a considerable distance into the country and campings-out for this object; a class in American history (Higginson's), of young women, nearly all of whom are engaged during the week in factory work; a class in natural history (Morse's *First Book of Zoölogy*); one in botany (Miss Youman's); one in drawing; also one in *Many Teachers and One Lesson*; and three of a primary character, in which the time is chiefly employed in readings appropriate to those of their age, with conversation. There is nothing arbitrary or fixed in regard to the studies of the classes; the plan being to introduce new ones whenever teachers or scholars

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can be found to engage in them, or if it is preferred to pass from those pursued to others.

Besides the classes just enumerated, there have been in the school others in physiology, political economy, French, German, an historical and philosophical study of religion, and in Mohammedanism.

By way of digression, and yet somewhat in this connection, and as an illustration of the intellectual life of our village, which is mainly composed of what is usually described as "working-people," I may be permitted to say, in this place, that during the past winter there were week-day evening gatherings of a literary and social society, not to mention various musical ones; excellent day and evening schools, and a flourishing kindergarten; a superior dramatic club, with its presentation every few weeks of a high order of histrionic entertainment; and classes in Chaucer, Shakspeare, German (of different grades of advancement), and in scientific and philosophical readings. As the larger number of these (the schools, of course, excepted) were an emanation of Cosmian Hall, and mainly, if not entirely, sustained by those identified with it, this fact may be regarded as evidence that its influence has not been as pestilential or blighting as some would be disposed to imagine.

Returning to the exercises of our school: at about twenty minutes after eleven the classes dissolve, and all reassemble together for general exercises. These consist of singing by the school, recitations, songs, dialogues, readings by some of the elder members, usually followed by extemporaneous remarks from the superintendent and adult persons; the whole concluding with singing by the school.

There is a wheel within the wheel which I have just described—a smaller organization within the larger one,—which has proved so interesting and successful an auxiliary in the furtherance of the objects in view, that it deserves to be mentioned in this connection as necessary to a full presentation of our plan and the workings of the school. We call it the Banner of Wisdom Association. It is distinguished by the use of a few simple ceremonies and symbols, the principal one of which is a ladder. Each round corresponds to a certain virtue, and those who become members enroll their names in a book, with the round, or virtue, to which they propose to aspire. The first round upon this ladder is *effort;* and then succeeds abstinence from tobacco, intoxicating drinks, profanity, justice, mercy, sincerity, good manners, punctuality, peace, purity, etc. The first Sunday in each month, in the school, is assigned to this society, when the general exercises are arranged with reference to the virtue indicated by some round in the ladder of aspiration. This plan of arranging the general exercises occasionally with reference to a special subject we have found a very excellent one.

In addition to those mentioned thus in use, are the suggestions of various anniversaries, such as Christmas, New Year, national holidays, historic events, the birth and death of eminent persons.

It will be noticed by the foregoing account of our school that, contrary to usual custom, neither prayer nor Bible-reading constituted a part of our regular exercises. If any one should attend it at any time who desires to offer a prayer, I am very sure there would be no objection; while the Bible is placed upon the same level as the Scriptures of the other religions.

An objection is sometimes presented to our school because of its secular character. "Why teach," we are asked, "what is taught in the common schools?" But the fact that we find those who desire to engage in these studies is in itself a sufficient answer. Some maintain that it is defective and inadequate, because it has not a more direct ethical aim. They would eliminate the merely secular studies, and make all those of the school possess a moral or religious bearing. It is our persuasion, in answer to this, that though our school has not a preponderating bias on this side, in the distinct sense referred to, the whole influence of it tends to promote the higher culture, to develop superior manhood and womanhood. We hold to the conviction that such studies as have been specified in connection with our school, though pursued chiefly for intellectual ends, are, nevertheless, necessarily moral. Whatever invigorates or enriches any part of our nature correspondingly affects the whole. The rarely qualified teacher may make the day-school, unconsciously alike to teacher and pupil it may be, more moral even than that of Sunday.

And then, again, in deciding between what might be regarded religious studies and those we have indicated, the question arises of Herbert Spencer, "What studies are of most worth?"

Is the study of religion of any kind, even the Christianity of the New Testament, divested of the principal features of the old theology, as taught even in liberal Unitarian Sunday-schools, likely to be of more value to the average boy or girl in the future, than that of science, history, or literature? Of course this cannot be uniformly determined. Much regard must be paid to special circumstances. A word in relation to the furniture and apparatus of the radical Sunday-school. The place where it meets should be as inviting and pleasant as possible. The whole character of the school in its surroundings, and in all respects, should be cheerful rather than sombre. The value of the decorative and tasteful should be recognized. Mottoes and pictures should adorn the walls, and objects which suggest thought and quicken the sense of beauty. It may enlist its pupils in securing minerals and specimens of natural history for this object. It should be provided with as good a library as it can obtain; with a black-board; a geographical globe; with albums of cards illustrative of botany and natural history (such as issued by L. Prang & Co.); also of the likenesses of eminent persons; with some scientific instruments (a microscope for example); with whatever, so far as may be, can facilitate the end in view. Let no one lose heart at this formidable catalogue. The Florence Sunday-school has not yet attained to this ideal condition, though it is reaching toward it.

One of the principal difficulties which the conductors of a radical Sunday-school will encounter, is, to procure suitable books for its use, both for its library and for teaching purposes. It is impossible for any one to have any conception how thoroughly, notwithstanding the rapid change which is going on in the direction of an opposite tendency, our literature, and especially that intended for the young, is saturated with theology. One can scarcely find a child's book upon any natural subject, an account of birds or animals, or a sketch of travels, without a reference somewhere to the Bible, or an attempt to explain the ways and describe the character of an incomprehensible being. Nor do volumes of poems and singing-books for those of this impressible period escape the intrusion. As it is the aim of this article to be somewhat comprehensive in its practical considerations, in order to render it as helpful as possible, I may be permitted to name some of the books, in addition to those already alluded to which we are better prepared to commend (for use in teaching) than any with which we are acquainted: Conway's *Sacred Anthology;* Stebbins' *Bible of the Ages;* Cox's *Manual of Mythology;* Clodd's *Childhood of the World*, also of *Religion*. In this class should be mentioned *The Youth's Liberal Guide*, which has been announced as ready to be published by Prof. H. M. Kottinger, of San José, Cal.,—a book of morals and religion for the young, which, if it proves as good as its prospectus promises, will be a desideratum; Emerson's *Parnassus; The Speaker's Garland;* Baker's and Monroe's *Books of Select Readings; The Truth-Seeker Collection; The Beautiful Book, or Little Poems for Young Children;* Frost's *Book of Moral Dialogues;* Dana's *The Geological Story Briefly Told;* Appletons' *Science Primers; Pictures and Stories of Animals for the Little Ones*, by Mrs. Sanborn Tenney (six small volumes); *South Kensington Science Lectures;* Steele's *Science Text Books; History of Wonderful Inventions;* Dickens' *Child's History of England;* Lucy's *Wonderful Globe;* Smiles' *Self Help and Character; The History of a Mouthful of Bread; The Servants of the Stomach;* Frothingham's *Child's Book of Religion; Patriarchs and Parables;* Hale's *How To Do It;* Miss Wixon's *Apples of Gold;* Mrs. Underwood's *Heroines of Freethought;* Hooker's *Child's Book of Nature; Fables, Illustrated by Stories from Real Life*, by Mrs. Cupples (a series of several volumes); Cowdry's *Moral Anecdotes.*

Some of these need the pen to be drawn across sentences and expressions in places; but they will be found less exceptional than most of their class. Doubtless many can furnish a better list, or supplement this with others as worthy. But this may serve as a guide in the absence of another to those seeking such information.

There remains another difficulty in conducting a Sunday-school of the type under consideration, even when never so completely equipped with needed appliances. It is to procure teachers qualified to render it a success. And yet this need not be so great as it might seem. It is not to be supposed that it will be easy to find in every community a large force of persons of special attainments for such a work ready to engage in it. Nor is it necessary. If it were so, the liberal Sunday-school would have to wait for a more general diffusion of scientific and literary acquirements among the people. But with such a plan and aids as have been suggested, it may be initiated wherever there is a nucleus of ordinarily intelligent liberal minds. It is not necessary that the teaching be through classes on special subjects in each instance, or of a scholastic character. It may partake chiefly of conversations and such general exercises as have been indicated. Let those who are in sympathy with the idea of the liberal Sunday-school, wherever there is a collection of such persons get their children together and organize for the purpose; choose the most earnest and intelligent person (a woman is often to be preferred) for a superintendent, and teachers and methods will soon appear in unexpected abundance.

It is not easy to put our faith always in new things, to transfer our habits and sympathies from that with which they have been associated to others. There are, hence, many who, while they recognize the fact that the ordinary Sunday-school is, for the most part, a failure, serves but little more than to stultify the mind and lumber it with obsolete ideas, would feel a distrust of the moral results of one in which the religious element is not more emphasized than in that which we have delineated.

We are prepared to offer some testimony upon this point. It is now, as has been seen, nearly fourteen years since our school in Florence was first organized. During that time, a number have passed from childhood or youth in our school to manhood and womanhood; some are the heads of families, and among the most prominent representatives of the community. Nor do we hazard anything in affirming of such instances that in all that constitutes good citizenship, the higher elements of character, or secures the general confidence and respect, they would suffer nothing, in comparison with any of its members.

The Sunday-school of the churches as hitherto conducted, is destined to be numbered with the things of the past. There is evidence of a sense of this among those who are identified with it. It is not long since we saw it announced among local news that the Bible-class in an Orthodox school in our vicinity had substituted for the study of the book just named, the *Life of Washington;* thus adopting the Cosmian Hall conception. And at a recent country Orthodox Sunday-school convention, the pastor of the Church in Florence answered the question, "How shall we retain young persons in our Sunday-schools?" by recommending a higher and more secular grade of instruction; the temporary suspension in such instances of direct religious teaching, if necessary, and substitution of science, history, etc. Similar indications might be mentioned which go to show the growing dissatisfaction and change which is going on in respect to the operation and idea of Orthodox Sunday-schools,—indeed, among those of the Church of every kind, and their steady setting toward the radical ideal. The influence of radicalism is widely diffused and deeply penetrative everywhere; but it needs a more organized and systematic coöperation in order to contend with any prospect of victory with conservatism. It has existed sufficiently long, and gone far enough among the elders, to turn it to more practical uses. Let us now give the children the benefit of it, and apply it to their education and training.

[For The Index.]

A SUNDAY DIALOGUE.

BY J. L. STODDARD.

Scene: *A City Street.*

Linscott.—Good morning, Mandel. Whither bound?

Mandel.—To church. And you?

Linscott.—To the Art Museum.

Mandel.—What! Is the Art Museum open on the Sabbath day?

Linscott.—I rejoice to say it is. Why are you so surprised?

Mandel.—Because it seems to me a desecration of the day.

Linscott.—A desecration to throw open freely to the public a collection of beautiful and refining works of art?

Mandel.—Yes; for the Sabbath is a sacred day, and—

Linscott.—Pardon me; but why do you call it a "sacred day"?

Mandel.—Why, because—because it *is* so; is it not?

Linscott.—I do not think that it possesses any inherent sanctity. Pray tell me your reasons for deeming it thus holy.

Mandel.—Well, its sacred observance is commanded in the Bible.

Linscott.—I beg your pardon; in what portion of the book?

Mandel.—Why, in the fourth commandment of the decalogue, of course. "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy."

Linscott.—Precisely. But this Sunday of ours is not that *Sabbath day* at all.

Mandel.—Why, what do you mean?

Linscott.—I mean that the precept of the decalogue is to keep holy the seventh day of the week; whereas our Sunday is the first day,—as you see, a very different period of time.

Mandel.—I had never thought of that. I heard a long sermon recently about the obligation of keeping the Sabbath; but nothing was said of this change of days. Pray, how did it occur? Did not Jesus command us to keep the Sabbath day holy?

Linscott.—Not a word of any such command can be found in his recorded sayings. On the contrary, he was, you know, several times accused of violating the sacredness of the day; and defended himself for so doing, saying that "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath."

Mandel.—But when the rich young man in the gospel is said to have come to him inquiring the way of life, did not Jesus tell him to keep the Sabbath as one of the commandments?

Linscott.—On the contrary. The young man, if I recollect Matthew's story correctly, asked him "*which*" commandments he should keep. Jesus responded by quoting almost all of them, but the keeping of the Sabbath is not mentioned among them.

Mandel.—But did not his followers, the early Christians, keep the day holy and obey the old commandment of the decalogue?

Linscott.—No. On the other hand, they regarded themselves as at once free from this law, which they believed to have been abrogated by the advent of Jesus, whom they accepted as the Messiah.

Mandel.—What proof can you give me that the early Christians did not continue to keep the old Jewish Sabbath?

Linscott.—You regard Paul, I suppose, as a first-class authority?

Mandel.—Certainly.

Linscott.—Well, he clearly taught that the observance of the Sabbath was no longer a necessity. He wrote to the Romans: "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it to the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it."

Mandel.—Is that all he teaches on the subject?

Linscott.—Oh, no. For instance, he says to the Galatian Christians, who were being influenced to still observe Jewish ceremonials: "How is it that ye are turning again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe *days*, months, and times and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain."

Mandel.—This astonishes me beyond measure. But although his meaning is quite clear, Paul does not, I believe, allude to the Sabbath by name.

Linscott.—Excuse me; he does most emphatically. He writes to the Church at Colosse: "Let no man judge you in respect to the Sabbath days."

Mandel.—This, then, is certainly the view of Paul. How strange that it has never been brought to my notice before! But how do the fathers of the early Church view this question?

Linscott.—I have in my pocket some notes on that

very point. Let me read them to you. St. Augustine, for example, says: "Of all the ten commandments, only that on the Sabbath is enjoined to be observed figuratively; which figure we have received to be *understood, not* to be celebrated by the rest of the body." (*Ep.* 55, *c.* 22.) St. Chrysostom also speaks as follows: "For what purpose then did he add a reason respecting the Sabbath, but not in regard to murder? Because this commandment was *not one of the leading ones*. It was not one of those which are accurately defined by our consciences, but a kind of *partial and temporary* one. And for this reason IT WAS ABOLISHED AFTERWARDS!" (*Hom.* 12.)

Mandel.—This is remarkable. But tell me, Linscott, in a word, who St. Chrysostom was.

Linscott.—He was the greatest father of the Eastern, as St. Augustine was of the Western, Church. These quotations, therefore, are most important as showing the state of Christian opinion in regard to the Sabbath in the fourth century.

Mandel.—I now see plainly that there must have been a change on the part of the Jewish Christians from Saturday, their old Sabbath, to Sunday, the first day of the week. But I should really like to know, then, upon what authority the observance of our present Sunday can be based. My minister has always argued from the stand-point of the fourth commandment; but I am sure now that this is no authority at all, since Sunday is not the day there enjoined to be kept holy, and because that was a special precept for the Jewish people. Moreover, it seems that after the death of Jesus its keeping was actually preached against by Paul, as if it partook of a return to Judaism; and one of the greatest Church fathers states in so many words that it was abrogated!

Linscott.—Well and truly said. Shall I tell you, then, what I consider the only reasonable ground on which Sunday observance can be based?

Mandel.—Please do so.

Linscott.—The observance of Sunday, as a special day, is an institution of great antiquity, handed down to posterity from the primitive Church. We know that the early Christians used to meet on this day, talk of Jesus and his anticipated speedy return, sing hymns in his honor, and partake of a meal together in commemoration of the Last Supper. These services only occupied a small portion of the day, however. During the remainder of it they worked as usual.

Mandel.—Excuse me for interrupting; but why did they choose this day?

Linscott.—Because it was on *Sunday* (not the Jewish Sabbath) that they believed Jesus to have risen from the grave.

Mandel.—Ah! I see; and therefore they called it the "Lord's Day"?

Linscott.—Precisely.

Mandel.—Now, will you believe it? Until this conversation I had always supposed that the "Lord's Day" and the old Sabbath which the Jews kept "holy" were the same! No one in my church ever corrected my ignorance. But tell me more about it.

Linscott.—Of course as the Christians grew more and more numerous and powerful, the "Lord's Day" assumed greater and greater prominence, as a day set apart exclusively for worship. Thus it has acquired through the centuries an enormous weight of authority. But in reality *it rests on nothing but the long-continued custom of the Church!*

Mandel.—This reason then is plainly the only authority which can be urged to support its holy observance; and I am glad to ascertain exactly upon what basis it should be placed. I must say, however, that this ancient custom of the Church, around which cluster so many tender memories, seems to me very venerable from its long sanctity.

Linscott.—That is very natural and proper, Mandel. No liberal, I think, would fail to respect such a sentiment in the heart of any Christian believer. What he does object to is the arrogance of the Church in claiming a *divine command* for the sacred observance of this *Sunday*, and its infringement on the rights of people who do not care to keep it holy. It arbitrarily chooses one day as its peculiar season of religious worship, abrogating the day mentioned in the Mosaic code, which it still pretends to consider inspired. Then it forbids persons outside of its faith to spend this day as they prefer, and has the audacity to allege, as authority for this, *the very command which it has itself broken!*

Mandel.—I fear you are right. But tell me, Linscott; do you not think that one day of rest and recreation out of every seven is necessary for poor, toiling humanity?

Linscott.—I do, indeed. And precisely for this am I constantly striving. But it is just this day of *rest and recreation* which (pardon me if I speak too severely) Christian bigotry forbids. It will not allow this to be a day of rest and recreation! It pronounces it a sin for the toiling, half-stifled, working-classes of our cities to roam off into the fields and woods, to feast their eyes on the beauty and freshness of green grass and running streams. It says, "God commands you to worship him *on this day*," which is, on the lips of every intelligent man who utters those words, a monstrous and deliberate falsehood! It declares: "It is wrong for you to stay away from church on this day; wrong to read during its hours any but religious literature; wrong to play or hear any but sacred music; wrong to go upon excursions; and to ride, walk, or sail for pleasure." Am I in error in thus stating the usual teaching of Christianity on this subject?

Mandel.—No. I am afraid it is only too true.

Linscott.—Now, *why* does the Church say it is wrong to rest or recreate in this way on Sunday? Because, forsooth, "God commanded men to keep it holy"? But, as we have already seen, God did NOT command that this day (Sunday) should be kept holy. Its sanctity depends *solely* upon a long-continued custom of the Church. As such, *it should be binding only on those who accept that ancient custom as authoritative.* To force it upon others is tyrannical! "Let every man," as Paul says, "be fully persuaded in his own mind," and act accordingly.

Mandel.—Ought we, however, to be particular about the specific day, whether Saturday or Sunday? Perhaps the early Christians did wrong to change; but will not God be satisfied with a seventh part of our time, on whatever day it falls?

Linscott.—Whether God will be "satisfied," as you call it, with any other day, as well as with the one which he is said to have appointed, is something about which I know nothing, and which you Christians, who changed it, will have to settle with him when the time comes. Usually, however, when a command is issued for a certain day, it means that the order is to be obeyed *on that day which is specified*, especially when no counter-order comes for the observance of any other day. But why do you believe that God commanded even the observance of the old Jewish Sabbath?

Mandel.—That is easily answered. Because it says so in the Bible.

Linscott.—Do you mean to say that you believe every statement of the Bible?

Mandel.—Ye—es. I think I do.

Linscott.—You are a student of geology and zoölogy. Do you seriously tell me that you still believe the six-day theory of creation?

Mandel.—Oh, no! I forgot that for the moment. Of course all students of science have now given up that absurd idea.

Linscott.—Then you admit that some statements in the Bible are not true?

Mandel.—Ye—es. But what would you say to my minister, who claims that six long *ages* may have been meant under the imagery of "days" in the first chapter of Genesis?

Linscott.—Indeed? Does he hold that theory? Then he should be consistent and say that a Sabbath ought to be some thousands or millions of years long; for the command, which he supposes to have emanated directly from God's lips, states: "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy; for *in six days* the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested *the seventh day;* wherefore the Lord blessed *the Sabbath-day* and hallowed it"! Let him either keep *days* throughout, or *ages!*

Mandel.—I myself suppose that the author of Genesis meant, of course, literal days of twenty-four hours' length. Of course this is a childish view of the universe as we now know it; but it was consonant with the ideas of that age. In the decalogue the same language is used probably for the sake of harmony.

Linscott.—Both statements look then decidedly like human compositions. Do they not?

Mandel.—Well,—yes. But the decalogue *cannot* be a human composition! Such a marvellous code of morals could only have been produced by God himself.

Linscott.—Indeed! Do you think so? Do you suppose that no tribes or races, save the Jews, ever framed such laws as those? Do you think that such an elementary code as that would not be early and naturally formed in every growing nation?

Mandel.—I confess, I had thought so.

Linscott.—Have you never read the moral precepts of Confucius, who taught B.C. 551?

Mandel.—No.

Linscott.—Or those of Mencius, 371 B.C.?

Mandel.—No.

Linscott.—Or those of Buddha, about 600 B.C.?

Mandel.—No.

Linscott.—You ought to read them. They are not only far superior to the ethical precepts of the Old Testament (some of which are highly immoral), but are equal to, if not in advance of, the teachings of Jesus himself.

Mandel.—I shall have to verify this with my own eyes before I can believe it.

Linscott.—Do so. I will place the necessary books at your disposal. But we were speaking of the decalogue; the Buddhists have one very similar to it. Its precepts are as follows: 1. Do not kill. 2. Do not steal. 3. Do not commit adultery. 4. Do not lie. 5. Do not slander. 6. Do not call ill names. 7. Do not speak words which are to no purpose but harm. 8. Do not covet the property of others. 9. Do not envy. 10. Do not err in the faith.

Mandel.—These are all *negative* precepts.

Linscott.—Well noted. But let us look now at the Institutes of the Hindoo Menu (supposed to date from about 1200 B.C.), where there is the following arrangement of positive duties which must be obeyed. 1. Be contented. 2. Return good for evil. 3. Resist sensual appetites. 4. Abstain from unlawful gain. 5. Be pure. 6. Be chaste. 7. Study sacred writings. 8. Acquire knowledge of the supreme spirit. 9. Be truthful. 10. Abstain from wrath.

Mandel.—This is amazing. But in *our* decalogue God himself speaks these commands.

Linscott.—How do you know that?

Mandel.—It says so.

Linscott.—Who says so?

Mandel.—Moses, or whoever wrote the book of Exodus.

Linscott.—And what makes you believe this man?

Mandel.—Why,—I suppose because it is in the Bible.

Linscott.—Would you believe such a thing if any man should affirm now that God gave him laws?

Mandel.—No, of course not.

Linscott.—And you said a moment ago that you did not believe every statement of the Bible.

Mandel.—Well, I believe *this* statement.

Linscott.—Why?

Mandel.—Because the words of the decalogue are plainly those which God alone could,—oh! I forgot the Buddhist decalogue (laughs). I,—don't know why I believe it!

Linscott.—Nor I either, dear Mandel; especially when all great law-givers of antiquity were accustomed to sanction their laws by saying that they were communicated to them by the gods. They thus had far more influence over the people. Have you forgotten Numa Pompilius and the nymph Egeria?

Mandel.—At all events, Linscott, we must agree that the observance of one day in seven as a period of rest and worship is a good thing for the community.

Linscott.—It is. All I plead for is, first, that its enforcement should be placed upon its right basis; second, that it should be made a day of true rest and recreation for all to enjoy according to their own preferences; and, third, that the government should not draw a sectarian line and say that those who do not choose to observe the day as holy, cannot amuse themselves in festivities, or see works of art in our museums, or read freely in our libraries, or attend theatres and operas in the evening.

Mandel.—Well, to be candid, I am persuaded that Christians are wrong in thus interfering with the rights of others. Each individual should (under the necessary restrictions of good order) be allowed to pass his Sundays as he pleases. You would not, on the other hand, try to prevent Christians from worshipping on that day?

Linscott.—Certainly not. Let the pious worshipper go to church three times; let him fast all day if he so desires. But at the same time, let the man who wishes to go on a picnic be allowed to do so. Let him who wishes to hear the operas of Rossini or Mozart on Sunday evenings have the opportunity of so doing. Let the present Sunday laws which shut up places of amusement, and yet wink at such pious frauds as "sacred concerts" and "jubilee singers" singing low doggerel about Jesus, be annulled! I would have Sunday a free, joyous day of repose and pleasure; a day of worship, to those who desire worship; a day of intellectual culture in museums, libraries and lecture halls, to those who desire such mental improvement; a day of innocent country amusement to the poor, working classes who have toiled like cattle all the week and who need this change; and a day when a man can travel *with safety* and *legal security*, on some errands besides those of "necessity or mercy"! in other words, a day of perfect liberty to all, on which Christian, Pagan, Jew, Freethinker and Buddhist, may all find an opportunity for such rest and recreation as they may desire, with perfect respect and tolerance towards each other! But the bells have ceased to toll. You will be late to church.

Mandel.—I'll not go a second time to church today. Your hand, Linscott! Thanks to this conversation, I feel that I am now a more liberal man. Will you allow me to accompany you to the Art Museum?

Linscott.—Most gladly.

Mandel.—I, too, am rejoiced that its halls are now open on Sunday.

Linscott.—It is certainly a movement in the right direction. We see the dawning of what I trust will be a day of liberty and equality to all.

(They enter the Art Museum.)

[FOR THE INDEX.]

ANARCHY.

BY HENRY DOTY MAXSOM.

It is related that a Parisian of the seventeenth century chanced one day to hear that in Venice there was a State without a king; and the notion seemed so ludicrous that he nearly died of laughter. With no less ridicule, and, perhaps, more alarm, the average man of the nineteenth century receives any presentation of an ideal, social system without a government. Anarchy—the absence of an ἀρχή,—a central head, a governing power! The word is not particularly suggestive of millennial scenes.

There is a popular proverb that "That government is best which governs least." Therefore, adds Thoreau, that would be supremely best which should govern not at all. Admit the premise and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion. Is the premise true? Is "that government best which governs least"? "In proportion," says Wilhelm von Humboldt, "to the development of his individuality, each person becomes more valuable to himself, and is, therefore, capable of being more valuable to others." It is this principle alone which justifies the demand for liberty. The theory that there is any such absolute, inalienable right is a figment of the last century. Freedom makes a man more individual; individuality makes him more valuable; therefore he ought to be free. But what is freedom? The privilege of *choosing* your own masters? You would still be a slave. Rather, the privilege of *being* your own master,—of following out your own volitions to the utmost limit consistent with the enjoyment of the same privilege by your neighbor. Is "that government best which governs least"? Unless the favorite political principle of the age is a delusion; unless the greatest possible freedom in thought and action is not conducive to the highest human development.

The typical American never tires of asserting that our government is superior to any of the monarchies of Europe. Why? Because there is more liberty since the majority rule. Is that a sufficient proof? Does liberty vary inversely with the number of rulers? Was Athens three times as free under the Thirty Tyrants as under the oligarchy of ten, and thirty times as free as under Pisistratus? "Monarchy," says Proudhon, "is the sovereignty of one man; democracy, the sovereignty of the national majority." It is sovereignty still, though the agent which exercises it is changed. "The people" *rule.* "The limitation of the power of government over individuals," says

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Mill, "loses none of its importance when the holders of power are regularly accountable to the community." In our stereotyped adoration of the Goddess of Liberty, who is supposed to preside over the nation, this principle is frequently forgotten. Chevalier writes of America as early as in 1835: "The infallibility of the people, in everything, and at all times, has, in fact, become the received doctrine." The statement is hardly an exaggeration. The "sovereign people," as a numerical majority is euphemistically called, wears about as regal a crown as that of James the First. The king has disappeared, but the "divine right" remains to sanction the power which has succeeded him. *Vox partis majoris, vox Dei.*

Perhaps there is no phrase more obnoxious to the American ear than "Church and State." It is not because religion is disesteemed. Hardly any one will refuse to assign a very high importance to the religious sentiments. It is not even on account of any wide-spread hostility to existing religious organizations. But few, even among their most unsympathetic critics, will deny their beneficent influence. Why should not the Church be united to the State? There comes from history a prompt reply. It is voiced in the martyr's moan. It is written in blood. "Religious freedom is a sacred right." But what consecrates this as the right of the race? If religion is beneficial, why not give it, in some organized form, the authority of the State? Because freedom is a crucible, in which the dross may be purged away from ancient faiths. Because, through freedom, truth may win a speedier victory; while without it, error, intrenched, may be able longer to perpetuate its power. Because freedom makes a man more individual, and individuality makes him more valuable to himself and to society.

The propriety of withdrawing State support from the organized Church is being quite generally conceded; but the principle which demands the change is receiving a very tardy recognition and a very partial application. Herbert Spencer tersely remarks, "Though we no longer presume to coerce men for their spiritual good, we still think ourselves called upon to coerce them for their material good,—not seeing that the one is as useless and unjustifiable as the other." Popular faith in the ability of government to create prosperity seems inexhaustible. Statute laws are confidently expected to regenerate the very society which enacts them. Mankind is to lift itself in a basket. These sanguine expectations are dampened little, if at all, by repeatedly failing to be realized. The over-stimulation which results from government aid leads to all sorts of extravagant enterprises. Railroads are built where they are not needed, and cannot support themselves; immense sums of the money which belongs to the whole country are sunk in river and harbor improvements which benefit a very limited locality or nobody. But subsidies and appropriations are continued. The various departments of public service already under the control of the State have vitiated our political system with their extensive patronage and facilities for corruption; and yet it is proposed to establish still other departments. Moreover, there is a graver evil than that which appears upon the surface. It oftentimes exists even when immediate external success attends a policy of government paternalism. By assuming duties which should be left to citizens singly or in voluntary organizations, the State discourages individual enterprise and diminishes the sense of individual responsibility,—two factors essential to give society permanent vigor.

There is quite another field upon which government has been recently lavishing its fondest care. The union of Church and State has come to be almost universally decried; the union of School and State is being received with about as general approbation. It may be a thankless task to criticise our public school system, thoroughly intrenched as it is in popular affection; and yet it seems fair to inquire why primary education should be thus singled out to receive the aid of the State and submit to its control. Can the masses be trusted to manage their own religious but not their secular education? Can they attend, unaided, to their eternal interests which are more important but less apparent; while as to their temporal interests which are less important but more apparent, do they require the assistance of the State? The perils of uniformity are nowhere greater than here. A secularized State must secularize its school. The pious Catholic must leave all adoration of the Virgin behind him as he enters the profane portals; the Evangelical can find no place within for his sacred book. The State blunts the sense of parental responsibility by assuming duties which Nature has commissioned and fitted others to exercise, makes itself the foster-parent, and strikes a final blow at individuality by forcing all its wards into a common educational mould.

There is a central care which breeds local carelessness. There is an over-governing which stifles the very capacity out of which government springs. Universal suffrage is not sufficient to guarantee the freedom of a people. What needs to be universal is the right to govern not others, but oneself. That may not be an wholly Utopian vision which sees many institutions, now public, more serviceable on private foundations, government better administered by being transferred largely from the State to the individual, order often more completely attained through anarchy.

THE IDAHO TROUBLES.

The existing Nez Perces outbreak deserves study. It is understood here to result from dissatisfaction with agents and the location of the reservation, federal non-observance of treaty stipulations, and the influence of Sitting Bull. The assertion is made that Joseph "made claims which could not be allowed." Those claims, we here understand, culminated in the demand that his people be admitted to the benefits of annuities relieved of obligations to live upon a reservation. At any rate, the attempt to force them to forego a roaming life would seem to be at the bottom of the present outbreak, and the matter is one demanding the entire consideration by the government of the Indian question. The matter comes to the people of Montana, who know not when the four operating causes mentioned above may move the Crows to no longer follow the policy of friendship of so many years standing, and become hostiles. Their reservation was removed against their consent to a point to which they, with good reason, objected; their supplies have not for years been provided according to treaty stipulation; their agents have not, since the removal of Major Pease, been to their liking, and a small leaven of dissatisfaction existing in consequence, and particularly with one branch of the tribe, may, with continuance of these causes of dissatisfaction, yet carry the entire nation into hostility. Although at enmity with the Sioux—and deadly enmity, too,—the latter have made advances during the past three years which have received the attention of the Crows to some extent, and the Nez Perces surprise may yet be repeated by the "friendly" Crows. It may not be; but, then, no one expected the Oregon outbreak. There is a question which threatens soon to be sprung upon the government by the Crows, and which will doubtless prove a serious one; namely, upon the construction of the Big Horn post (known at the East as one of the two Yellowstone posts), the Crows may, and no doubt will, demand the removal of their reserve to the Little Horn country. The government will be forced to accede; or take the chances of trouble; for, unless amity with the whites may have dispirited them, they will make the demand in good earnest. As an illustration of the method adopted to secure peaceable acceptance by Indians of treaties, may be mentioned the following fact: The "Brunot treaty," which contemplated the removal of the Crows to the Muscleshell country, received their sanction only upon the promise that their ex-agent, Pease, should be returned to them. The condition was presented, the promise was given; but fulfilment was no more intended than though the demand had never been made. True, the treaty (?) was not ratified; but had it been, what then? What a howl would have arisen from the West had a Nez Perces outbreak come from the Crows! I am advised that this promise was made without the knowledge of Mr. Brunot; but it was made, nevertheless. Now I know nothing regarding the fitness of this agent, or of the causes bringing about his removal; but I mention it as preliminary to the inquiry. Why should not the Indian have a voice in the selection of his agent,—the man upon whom, theoretically, at least, his bread and butter may be said to depend? These Indians demand this man Pease; yet it is said they have had three or four agents since he departed, and, while I know nothing against them, the fact is patent that the Indians have not been satisfied, and yet ask his return. Is it right that such a demand should be denied; such a departure from ordinary rules be legalized in so important a matter? Do Eastern people appreciate the moral importance of all these things? They lie at the foundation of the terrible, urgent, blood-spattered "Indian question." Said an ex-Indian agent to me this day: "When I called to say good-by to a certain commissioner after my appointment, he said to me, 'Now, my dear sir, you must make what you can and divide with the contractors, or they'll oust you before you know it!'" He didn't steal and didn't divide,—and he was removed. "Ah!" said a lobbyist to an agent, who complained that failure of supplies was lessening him his influence with the Indians: "Ah! you don't understand it; it isn't the intention to expend upon any Indians anything like the amount of their appropriation." "Who told you so?" asked the agent. "The Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and a Senator," replied the lobbyist. And the agent tells me the supplies were purchased, for he had the bills; and paid for, for the bills were receipted; and shipped, for he had the bills of lading. But the supplies never came, and the Indians cursed the white man, and the agent lost his influence, and the Indian broke his "treaty," and roamed from the reservation. Had there followed a Nez Perces affair, all the West would have called for blood. What will the new administration do in these matters? It must not ask the army to go out, faint-hearted, to suffer and punish, and die and kill in support of a "policy" whose only result is robbery of the government, the demoralization of the frontier, and the forcing the red man to remain to-day the savage he was a century ago.—*New York Tribune.*

THE CHANGE IN ITALY.

Laymen past middle age, or advanced in years, seem often to feel a positive difficulty in realizing the fact that they are the same men who, thirty years ago in the Sardinian States, seventeen years ago in Lombardy, Central Italy, and the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, eleven years ago in the Venetian Provinces, and not even seven years ago in Rome and the patrimony of St. Peter, were liable at any moment to heavy penalties, to the choice between exile and imprisonment, if they dared to express in public the opinions which are now the recognized and official creed of the Italian State. Legally, as regards all outward acts, these men are free; but can it be matter of wonder if the iron of a life-long servitude has eaten so deeply into their minds and hearts that at every moment we recognize the traces of a mental bondage? Nevertheless, the transition from an anti-national and despotic task to a patriotic, free, and independent future is steadily going on among the Italian laity. Its progress is most observable among the peasantry, and for that progress the organization and discipline of the army are mainly to be thanked. The Italian officer has been the untiring and thoughtful teacher of the Italian soldier, and in teaching the Italian soldier he has been the best educator of the Italian people. From official data, which will shortly be published by the ministry of war, but of which the more important results have already been made known to me, it appears that, since the year 1859, when the old Sardinian army began to receive the conscripts from the first of the new provinces successively annexed, not less than one million five hundred thousand of common soldiers have received in the Italian army the educational training imparted to them by the younger officers. It would be difficult to estimate too highly the effect of this process on the national mind. Raw Sicilian and Neapolitan youths, whose entire stock of knowledge, until the day of their joining the army, has consisted in their acquaintance with strange provincial customs, or their traditionary belief in crass, local superstitions, have found themselves four times a week, during two hours each day for a period of three years, in mental contact with a class of as highly-educated and public-spirited men as Italy can boast of. The mere elementary work of teaching the young recruit to read and to write has been quite secondary to the contemporaneous work of eradicating the prejudices with which his mind was overgrown. And this educational process has been marvellously aided by another, of all processes the best fitted to incarnate in the young soldier's mind the idea of Italian unity,—his successive transference from Italian cities and provinces, speaking various idioms, and marked by very different customs, but all agreeing in the recognition of that common country, which, had the illiterate peasant remained in his village, would never have been to him more than a myth. The Neapolitan conscript who had been trained up in the faith of St. Januarius finds, when quartered in Padua, that St. Januarius is there regarded as a very insignificant saint when compared with St. Anthony, and on his removal to his Bologna barrack learns that neither St. Januarius nor St. Anthony is held fit to be mentioned in the same breath with St. Petronius. What deductions he may draw from the comparison will depend partly on his natural intelligence, partly on the tone of conversation which he holds with his superior officers, partly on the character of the works in the perusal of which he exercises his new sense of intellectual power. One thing is certain: the million and a half of Italian peasants who have passed, or are passing, through this course of training, are a million and a half Italian minds in a most decided state of transition; and one cannot feel surprised at the undoubted fact that among this class are found many individuals who subject to a searching criticism, and end by rejecting the doctrines of the Romish Church; and who, in consequence, join the Waldensian or other anti-papal communions.—*Contemporary Review.*

Poetry.

TWO SONNETS.

To Marshal MacMahon.

O sworded President of ill-starred France!
Thou com'st of such a race defeat nor time
Can school thee, lift thee from the stagnant slime
Of bigotry to heights, where brightly glance
The rays of freedom. Battled long ago
Your kindred for the Stuart, despot vile,
And with him left discomfited their isle
To dwell where priestcraft still its blight could throw.
As they the fatuous Stuart served, so thou
His modern counterpart wouldst reënthrone
O'er struggling sons of France, who thee disown,
Branding with scorn and infamy your brow.
Poor leavings of Sedan! thy baffled sword,
Is all too dull to keep thee Gallia's lord.

To Gambetta.

No recreant to Liberty art thou,
Gambetta! but her clarion and tongue,
Haply from blood of Hellas nobly sprung.
For from Phocæa sailed full many a wandering prow,
When laid the Persian fair Ionia low
In history's dawn, and colonized Gaul's shore,—
With blood, which throbs for freedom evermore.
It matters not. In this her trial hour,
Great champion, thy crest thou dost not lower
To priest or tool of priest, whom thou dost know
As everywhere and always mankind's foe.*
Thy lips, bee-clustered, gave no doubtful sound,
When lately maddened factions howled around,
To stop their clear, indignant overflow.

B. W. Ball.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 18.

L. B. Farrar, $3.40; Mrs. M. H. Parker, $3.20; Collins Whitaker, $5; Chas. H. Goddard, $3; Mrs. F. W. Titus, $4.40; Howes Chapman, $3.20; J. L. Stoddard, $1.50; Miss S. E. Dunn, $1; A. S. Waite, $3; L. Vingman, $3.20; F. E. Kaiser, 15 cents; H. H. Howard, $1 25; Lewis Scott, $3.20; C. Truesdale, $3.20; T. B. Skinner, $3.20; Jno. G. Jenkins, $3.20; S. J. Logan, $3; T. Brockway, $3.20; Miss S. M. Stone, $1.60; A. H. Rolfe & Co., $2.20; A. W. Kelsey, $4.40; L. S. Judd, $3; Thos. Nye, $1.75; O. A. Farwell, $3.20; Sarah Whitney, $3.20; Geo. W. Mead, $3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

* *Sacerdos semper, ubique et omnibus inimicus.*

The Index.

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NOTICE.

During the month of August, my friend, Mr. SIDNEY H. MORSE, will assume entire editorial charge of THE INDEX, and relieve me of all literary responsibility on its account. All letters and communications should be addressed, as usual, to "THE INDEX, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The report of the recent annual meeting of the Free Religious Association has been published in the usual pamphlet form, and can be obtained at the office 231 Washington Street, or at A. Williams & Co.'s, corner of Washington and School Streets, Boston. It contains the Essay by Rev. W. R. Alger on "Steps Towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and the Essay by Mr. C. D. B. Mills, on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; also Addresses by Messrs O. B. Frothingham, William Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson,—with tenth annual reports of the executive committee, treasurer, etc. Price, single copy, forty cents; four, or more, twenty-five cents each.

Persons sending for it by mail will address, "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. W. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

A WEEK'S rioting is enough in the New York *Nation's* judgment to start the New World on the back track to repeat Old World follies,—it wants the standing-army doubled, and if need be, thribbled.

WE ARE glad to record the Springfield *Republican's* opposition to an increase of the army. It says: "At all points where the military for the moment fell short and after the full danger was realized, the vigilance committee sprang into being. . . . It is the American self-governing faculty which thus asserts itself upon an emergency,—like the cat's ability to land feet foremost when thrown into the air."

THE *Christian Beacon* is responsible for this incendiary placard:—

"Railroad men strike! For better wages! Put on the brakes! Abandon the trains! Burn the bridges! Tear up the track! Let no man take your run! Break the company! We mean the Bee Line to hell! and all its branches. Quit the service of Satan and serve the Lord Christ. Cease to do evil,—learn to do well. We do not promise you surer wages but better. For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. (Rom. vi., 23.) Hands wanted. Information given at the rooms of the Y. M. C. A."

CARDS advertising "Redding's Russia Salve," have on one side a pious little tract in rhyme entitled, "Please don't Swear," the last two lines running thus:—

"You would not swear upon a bed of death;
Reflect! your Maker now could stop your breath."

We agree with Mr. Redding, swearing is *foolish*,—unless we make an exception in favor of the sort which comes forth provoked and flaming at long intervals, like George Washington's. We cannot imagine, however, why Mr. Redding should endeavor to frighten people by reference to their Maker's ability to "stop their breath." Is it that he is really alarmed, or—he will forgive us—does this touch of "piety" smooth a highway to the selling of his salve?

THE *Christian Beacon* also gives notice that

"No more strikes will be heard of when we have the great superintendent, the Lord Jesus Christ, at the head of corporation and brotherhood. With Christ in the office, Christ in the yard, Christ on the engine, Christ at the brakes, administration will be equitable and economical, Sabbaths will be days of rest, and runs will be cheerful, easy, and profitable. Let the world adopt the following great principles, and the question between capital and labor is at once settled: 'Servants, obey in all things your masters, according to the flesh; not with eye-service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ.' 'Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done, and there is no respect of persons. (Paul to the Colossians.) Frame these words and hang them in the office, workshop, and caboose.'"

WE OUGHT to make friends of our Indian foes. How to go to work after all that has gone into the history of our dealings with them these two hundred years—considering, too, what we are to-day and how incapable we are of dealing well with one another—is a problem passing any immediate solution. But such a prayer as Sitting Bull offered to the heavens before holding a conference with General Miles, came out of the heart of a man—if he were not also such a "savage"—one should delight to know and honor. One of his warriors filled a pipe and handed it to him. He held it for some time in silence. He then arose,—holding the pipe aloft, looking into the sky,—and prayed thus: "The Almighty God sees and hears me. Great Spirit, bless my people, and give me power this day to protect and care for them. Make me to speak the truth; and make the white man to speak with a straight tongue. May he who lies to-day die first."

THE GOOD there is in good Sunday-schools, and especially in the Florence Sunday-school, gets pretty well stated this week. We are sure our readers will find Mr. Clark's essay and the other kindred communications — which meet this week in the columns of THE INDEX by a sort of unpremeditated providence—excellent and instructive reading. We have only this to say: that every Sunday-school should have a motto as good at least as that Jesus furnished when he said, "Suffer little children to *come* unto me." "Forbid them not," but don't command them. Mr. Emerson has supplemented this with good council: "It is time enough to answer questions when they are asked." Let the "twig" bend itself. Liberals should not take possession of their children's mind any more than other people. Give them freedom, and as fast as they are interested and inquire, tell them what you think, and let them then think freely and say for themselves whether they think as you think they ought to think. This we believe is what they try at Florence to do.

THE *Independent* is discussing the question as to whether "nine-tenths" of the rioters at Pittsburgh were Catholics. Bishop Tuigg, the priest who put his life in peril to persuade the rioters to "stop the fires," says: "I am told not five *per cent.* were Catholics." The *Independent*, not satisfied, addressed letters to several public men in Pittsburgh, and among others received a reply from Dr. Alexander Clark, editor of the *Methodist Recorder*. Dr. Clark, "judging by the bits of iron and the stones" thrown at the Bishop's head, thinks "very few loyal Catholics were in the crowd," and "no greater *per cent.* were Protestants." The *Independent* thinks this answer evasive. It wanted to know how many were brought up under Catholic influences, and would call themselves Catholic if asked what was their religion,—not how many were what might be called "loyal Catholics." It will "hold any religion responsible for the character of those who have been educated under it." There might be a greater justice in this if Catholics were products only of the Church; but of those foreign-born Catholics who come to our shores, by far the greater portion of them are outgrowths of Protestant oppression as well as Catholic Church influence. Judge the tree by its fruits when you can; but be sure from which tree your apples fall. England must answer for Ireland quite as much as Rome.

MR. CONWAY writes to correct the *Independent* in its criticism of his *Sacred Anthology*, he being charged by that paper with "going out of his way to degrade Christianity and to put it below rather than above the other religions of the world." Mr. Conway cannot understand this, since his work has passed through five editions and "met with approval in such various quarters as M. Renan, Max Müller, Von Weber, the Dean of Westminster, and various Orthodox clergymen and journals, and many of them have used it to illustrate their views of the superiority of the biblical writings given in it without comment to those of other books." The *Independent* responds: "When we said that Mr. Conway 'went out of his way to degrade Christianity,' we used language too strong for our purpose. Mr. Conway, in fact, was scrupulously careful to put the selections from the Old and New Testaments into the same shape as that of the extracts from the ethnic Scriptures. But, by a choice of divers irresponsible translations, by the acceptance of unproved theories concerning the late composition of the gospels, and by his assumption that the claims of Christianity are not absolute, a general effect of 'degradation' was produced." If it all turns upon this, that he did not assume "the claims of Christianity to be absolute," Mr. Conway may still hold himself vindicated from the charge of "prejudice and want of catholicity."

THE "scheme of salvation," still so strenuously urged, that forbids all expectation of "eternal life" or blessedness as a sequence of right living, seems not to have received from the lips of the Christ the attention commonly supposed. Conversing with the young man of "great possessions," who had, from his youth up, observed all the Commandments, Jesus seems to have avoided all mention of the doctrine of the Atonement. Hearing what the man said of himself, he believed him; looking upon him, he loved him. "You have come nigh unto *perfection*," he exclaims; "do *one thing* more, and thou shalt be perfect." "What lack I yet?" the man eagerly inquires. Now, had one of our modern Christian teachers been near by to make answer, he would have held forth somewhat in this manner: "All you have to do is to *believe*; believe Jesus Christ came out of the heavens to suffer for your sins in your stead. Believe this, and you shall surely go hence in peace." But the only reply Jesus made was, "Go sell all thou hast, and give to the poor; then take up your cross and follow me." He did not tell the young inquirer how he had been trying to reconcile God to him; but he asked him to reconcile himself to the making of a great sacrifice. That was hard; he went away sad. Had he been asked simply to *believe* something, he doubtless could have managed that. One can judge as much, by seeing how easily *believing* is practiced in these times. What would the effect be if this same Jesus could take his place for a Sunday in some Boston pulpit on the Back Bay, and speak once more of the comparative ease with which the camel can go through the needle's eye? Would there be many "countenances sad"?

OPINIONS differ as to the Pan-Presbyterians. The *Catholic World* pertinently says: "The ingenuous reader may inquire, 'Who are the Pan-Presbyterians, and for what purpose were they in council?'" To this question it makes answer as follows:—

"The question would be a natural one, and he who propounds it need not blush for his ignorance. The people of Scotland may be presumed to know all that is worth knowing about Presbyterianism in all its forms; but it appears that, in certain rural districts of that very Presbyterian land, the impression prevailed that Pan-Presbyterianism was the title of a new sect indigenous to America, and recently smuggled into Scotland, like the Colorado beetle; while in more learned circles of Edinburgh this bucolic delusion was derided by erudite philologists, who explained that 'Pan-Presbyterianism is a learned form of stating that Presbyterianism is Everything, and that a Pan-Presbyterian is a person who holds that comprehensive yet exclusive doctrine.'"

The *World* has its own opinion, which it does not hesitate to give:—

"In point of fact, however, the Pan-Presbyterians were simply three hundred and twenty-five gentlemen, most of them with the handle of reverend to their names, who claimed to be the delegated representatives of the various Presbyterian sects throughout the world. . . . Presbyterianism has a history of about three hundred and twenty-five years, and in this period it has succeeded in dividing and subdividing itself, until even its own doctors do not know with exactness how many different kinds of Presbyterians there may be, or in what manner the points of doctrine which separate them should be formulated."

According to the *World*, one of the things done was the appointment of a committee which hopes to be able to report in three years' time how Presbyterian can become reconciled doctrinely unto itself. The discussions that took place during the sitting of the Council reveal the great magnitude of this committee's task. The widest difference of opinion existed:—

"A lay delegate, a lawyer, said that if the Council once ventured to deal 'with the very complicated, delicate, and difficult question of creeds,' there might be found many who would propose to solve the difficulty by dispensing with all creeds. Dr. Begg at this point boiled over, and read the Council a severe lecture, expressing the disgust with which he had listened to some of the statements which had been made and apparently accepted.

"'Every age had its own theology'! (Laughter and applause.) He did not in the least believe that. Theology had been the same since the days of Eden. The idea of having a new theology at every stage was a blunder. (Laughter.) They heard of discoveries being made, but these discoveries were only resurrections of old errors. (Laughter.) He found a revolt against the divine authority and the divine word, and the rebels were the discoverers of these new theologies."

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EDWARD D. LINTON.

Edward D. Linton died on the morning of the 17th inst., aged sixty-three. Twenty months had passed since he was stricken down with paralysis, while attending a labor-meeting at John A. Andrew Hall. A year or so previous he had been deprived of work as ship-carpenter at the Navy Yard in consequence of the support he gave General Banks, then running for Congress in opposition to the regular Republican candidate. From that time he was unable to obtain steady employment, and times went hard with him. He was not of the complaining spirit, and only his most intimate friends realized the struggle he passed through. Goethe's mother said of him: "When my son has a sorrow he makes a poem of it." So by a native impulse Mr. Linton was wont to turn to good account whatever misfortune befell him. He did not permit the absence of "civil service reform" at the Navy Yard to discourage him; he was stimulated to greater effort in the cause he had so early espoused. But it also may be said to have helped hasten his death, quickening a mind already too active and unremitting in its labors. Mr. Linton was naturally of a robust constitution, and he held on to life with a tenacity that was marvellous, scarcely partaking of nourishing food during his long illness. Nature at last reluctantly gave way, and in death he was only a skeleton; but up to the last moment, save some temporary wanderings in the first part of his sickness, his mind held its steady poise; his intellectual vision was clear and serene.

Mr. Linton was born at Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard. He early went to New Bedford, and was apprenticed to a boat-builder. There, besides long hours at his trade, he persevered in his own education, declining for that purpose the almost imperative command of his employer to attend church, he feeling that he could and ought to spend his spare hours better. It is plain, however, although he had as then not thought very seriously on the subject, his young life had been tinged with scepticism touching the Orthodox creed. For when he chanced to stray into the Unitarian Church and listen to Orville Dewey, he told a young friend that he had just heard for the first time something he could believe. After that, when Waldo Emerson was for a short time occupying the Unitarian pulpit there, he and his friend both went into raptures, and felt that they were "living in a new world." At the age of nineteen he was trying to give expression to his thoughts in the Boston *Investigator*, then under the management of Abner Kneeland.

But Mr. Linton's experience as an apprentice, and the general condition of the working-people with whom he came in contact, made the deepest impression on his mind, and turned him to thinking of measures of relief for the common laboring class. He espoused the "ten-hour" proposal, and labored for it until President Van Buren's order adopting it as the system on all government works.

Mr. Linton was early in the anti-slavery movement, but not without his eyes still open for the wrongs of all races, and with a word for their redress. It is related that he presented in an anti-slavery convention a resolution to the effect that there were working people in England whose prospect for themselves and their children's children was no whit better than that of slaves of the Southern States; that the abolition of chattel slavery was only one phase of a world-wide problem. He thus early

"In grasp of thought the future held,"

and lived to hear the news of the country's awakening forty years later to the reality of his vision. Mr. Linton's zeal in the anti-slavery cause was in no ways lessened by this larger view. He was the one young man determined Frederick Douglass should have a hearing in New Bedford. When the bill-poster dared not risk his life in putting up the bills, he traversed the city one cold winter night, and the next morning at every street-corner the people had "the news,"—they were to be "agitated" on the subject of human freedom by an ex-slave. Mr. Linton's anti-slavery work, though less prominent than some, was always to be counted on. He was an intimate friend of N. P. Rogers, and by his transcendental instincts allied himself mainly with that wing of the old abolitionists, which Rogers may be said to have led.

As a labor-reformer Mr. Linton has had quite a following of quiet but interested friends. Much of his work has been in social conversation, though he has contributed to several periodicals, and published some discussions of the labor-question in book-form. Among the latter may be mentioned *Specific Payments Better than Specie Payments*, and *Conversations on the Currency*; this last is now going through the press.

Mr. Linton early became acquainted with Josiah Warren, and remained his life-long friend. His views of labor were largely influenced by Mr. Warren, and he became a full believer in Mr. Warren's Cost Principle; but it was as the result of careful study and mature conviction. Intellectually he stood on his own feet; not too proud to learn of others, but desiring that whatever he received should be made his own by intelligent appreciation, and so become a part of his own thought. And then the unresting desire of his life was to impart to others willing to receive all he had gained for himself.

Aside from all questions of reform, all consideration of new views, there always stands a question friendship delights to answer: What of the man himself? Few, if any, in Mr. Linton's wide circle of acquaintances are not eager to give almost unrestricted expression to their sentiments of deepest esteem. No one is blest in life in whose nature friendships are not folded and sacredly cherished. Mr. Linton's life was rendered happy in this respect from his cradle to his grave. We do not fail to remember here the faithful love, the untiring devotion of his nearest companion in life, as through weeks and months, day and night, she has watched and ministered to his helplessness, until now she is herself stricken down and rendered an invalid, perchance, for life. It is no slight tribute to Mr. Linton that he could inspire the affection and sacrifice of one so gifted intellectually, so modest and true in all her ways.

Theodore Parker in discussing the forms of greatness, speaks of four different kinds: bodily greatness, crafty greatness, intellectual greatness, and religious greatness. Of the two former, Mr. Linton could not boast. His claim to the third in eminent degree his friends may assert. By the fourth, Mr. Parker meant the power of "justice, love, and obedience to the Eternal Right." If to be obedient in this wise is to be religious, Mr. Linton was a religious man, one among ten thousand. If true greatness comes also of such obedience, Mr. Linton achieved true greatness and true success. His life has not been a public one, but one hid in its own unselfishness. The public will not be able to lay its hand upon any great finished work or institution he has established. The work he did was without observation; but none the less great it may have been for that reason. Who can tell the force or the the flight of an idea? Mr. Linton sowed as not expecting to reap again, save in the surety of his own soul that he did not sow in vain. "He lived the life he desired to," said one at his funeral, "and it was beautiful."

"The sun set, but set not his hope.
Stars rise; his faith was earlier up.
Fixed on the enormous galaxy,
Deeper and older seemed his eye;
And matched his sufferance sublime
The taciturnity of time."

A GLANCE AT THE FREE RELIGIOUS REPORT.

The report of the late Annual Meeting of the Free Religious Association shows the proceedings to have been of much interest. Mr. Alger's fine address leaves in clearer light the "Steps toward Religious Emancipation," and Mr. Mills well states the "Internal Dangers to Free Thought." There are other shorter but interesting addresses reported, and two or three original hymns which show that the new religion sings and knows how to sing. One of these Mr. Wasson contributes; its last stanza we desire to quote:

"Blow, winds of thought! to clear our skies,
That vex the light with darkening change!
No more let clouds the day disguise,
No more man's heart to man be strange."

We quote it, and say in good Methodist fashion, "Amen!"

Turning the leaves we come upon some remarks by William Henry Channing which arrest attention, and to which in part we cordially assent. We would be glad to speak of this we like and commend, but our space will only permit of a few words of dissent, and those will necessarily have to be abrupt. Mr. Channing fell into the fault of making an "odious" comparison. He speaks of Jonathan Edwards, Ellery Channing, and Theodore Parker as the "eagles," and of Thomas Paine as "the turkey-buzzard." He thinks Paine was no representative of Free Religion, and that there are "vastly better" representatives than he of the free-reason. He tells of his voyage across the ocean once, when the captain, a "terribly tough old John Bull," pointing to the American flag with its eagle on its folds, said: "It's only a turkey-buzzard, after all." The old Adam in him naturally got the start of him, and he would liked to have knocked that captain down. Considering this experience, we are something surprised that he should come home to repeat himself the same offence under not dissimilar circumstances. As he worships the old flag, so there are very many who think highly, and with good reason, of Thomas Paine. In their eyes he is as much of an "eagle" as anybody America has produced; and one can imagine their fury on hearing Paine pronounced "only a turkey-buzzard," to reach an emphasis before which Mr. Channing's, at the disparagement of the eagle on our flag, would pale.

Thomas Paine lived in an age when the free-reason had to manifest itself differently, perhaps, than it needs to now; but it seems out of all harmony with the facts to say that he was not one of the best representatives of it the Free Religious Association could select. He was a veritable John the Baptist of these modern times preparing the way in a wilderness of American superstition and ignorance for all the liberal teachers who have since appeared.

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE second appearance of the *Radical Review* more than fulfils the promise inspired by the first. To begin with, its pages are beautiful to look at. There is no review or magazine in this or in any country that presents within a more attractive appearance. Democratic enough in spirit, it yet does not scruple to go dressed as well as anybody. Some have objected to its cost, and to its being gotten up in so expensive a style. As a reform *Review* it ought to go clad in cheap and unpretentious garb, so that "laboring men" could afford to take it. We dissent *in toto* to all this. By its appearance it asserts the right of the true and the beautiful to go hand in hand, and this for all laboring men and women throughout the land. Laboring people, however scrimped in their income, should find in this *Review* an opportunity of investment, that they may become capitalists in ideas,—laying up for themselves not simply treasures on earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt and thieves break through and steal. Where they absolutely find it impossible to become individual subscribers, let them club by the half-dozen or dozen. Its appearing but once in three months affords ample opportunity for such coöperative enterprise. The articles in this issue of the *Review* directly discussing the labor-problem are by Mr. Spooner, Mr. Andrews, and Proudhon, as translated by the editor. Mr. Spooner gives a very careful study of "The Law of Prices,"—an article which, by its great ability, demands and will receive attention, whether the reader will or will not be led to adopt its conclusions. Mr. Andrews discusses the "labor-dollar" as a medium of exchanging "price-bearing commodities" equitably. The article is one of the clearest expositions of Josiah Warren's "Equitable Commerce"—Mr. Andrews calls it *radical* political economy; we should rather say with Proudhon, social economy—yet presented. Proudhon begins, "I affirm the REALITY of an economic science," and proceeds in his powerful way to show what he means. But the labor question is not the only question the *Review* deals with. To this number Joseph B. Marvin contributes by far the finest study of Walt Whitman and his poems that has appeared. Its biographical part is intensely interesting, and its analysis of Whitman's poetry, about which there has been such a diversity of opinion, is very thorough, and in our judgment conclusive. It is a paper it will do all workingmen good to read. No less will all be interested in Mr. Weiss' discussion of "The Orthodox Basis of Revivalism." It has a practical bearing on the labor question, as there is nothing the average workingman more needs than emancipation from superstition and the supremacy of priest and the idolatry of the Bible. Mr. Ball's poem, "Paul at Athens," will be apt to stir the indignation of all true Paulites,—and we confess, to a degree of incredulity. Let the reader judge:—

Zealot uncouth, whose seething brain
With theomaniac visions glows,
What seek'st thou where Athena's fane
Empurpled mount and sea o'erbrows?
No desert-cradled prophet here
His mystic rancor ever poured:
But blue-eyed Pallas, calm, austere,
The might of reason, is adored.

To song and dance and joyous thought
The muse of Hellas sane inspires;
No dream of doom the soul o'erwrought
To pentecostal madness fires.
Yon is the stately Stoa, where
Wise Zeno taught with fluent might;
Amid his listening pupils there
Serenely walked the Stagirite.

Of hero-moulding ethics stern
The founder one; the laws of thought
The other clearly did discern
With keenest introvision fraught.
O wandering dreamer! well may shine
With wild, unsteady light thine eyes,
Gazing at altar, marble shrine,
Where glorious shapes of beauty rise.

Bards, sages, artists, statesmen grand,
With Jove-like brows, a noble throng,
In bronze and stone, on every hand,
Confront thee as thou mov'st along.
What bring'st thou from the desert far,
Palm-shaded sand and blazing sun?
Fanatic zeal! thou com'st to mar
All that the might of thought has done.

Reason is by thy narrow race
Unheeded—nigh dethroned in thee.
Thou heraldest the mind's disgrace,
First of a priestly pedigree.
Because of thee for ages long
Shall thought in chains and darkness sit,
While reign a wild and squalid throng
Of monks, fierce foes of wisdom, wit;

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And science, manhood, leave the world
In total, thousand-yeared eclipse;
Sense, judgment, into exile hurled,
No utterance find from human lips.
Fanatic Asia's rancor fierce
Shall poison Europe's spirit proud;
Long, long 'twill be ere reason pierce
With sun-bright shafts faith's murky cloud.

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, there is a short story, "The Child of the State," signed "S. A. L. E. M.," excellently written, and full of incident pertinent to the times. The writer evidently draws largely from intimate observation, and relates the inside workings of the "Reform School" with a fidelity which ought, together with the revelations of Legislative investigating committees, to draw largely upon public attention. No greater evils beset our civilization than these so-called "Reform Schools"; and their damage is all the more real in that they stand before the public mind in the guise of the wisest manifestations of philanthropy. Of the two sexes, as this writer's story illustrates, the boys, as "Children of the State," have by far the best of it; and when we have said this, the fate of the girls certainly cannot be said to be enviable. Mrs. Keyes is on a visit to the Reform School. She frees her mind to the Superintendent:—

"I have spent ten years studying the classes from which our reform schools, our houses of correction, and our jails are filled, and this is my conviction: that you take the children who are the worst born and bred in the world, and put them under circumstances which would render desperate, and consequently depraved, the best nature you could find. Your system is a failure, and you know it is."

The eyes of the superintendent contracted savagely for an instant. Then he said, as mildly as ever, "On the contrary, madam, a large proportion of the boys who leave this school go to earning their living honestly, and lead respectable lives."

"And the girls?"

"Oh, the girls! Well,—the girls are a great deal worse. Women always are worse than men, you know, when they are bad. There's a peculiar devil in women, somehow, begging your pardon."

"You mean that you do not reform the girls," said the lady, curtly.

"No; there is no possibility of reforming the girls. It is merely a house of correction for them, and serves a very good purpose in keeping them out of mischief for a few years, at least."

"And you only reform more boys than girls," said Mrs. Keyes, with some indignant passion in her voice, "because you don't undertake to cure the girls of the same faults; and it is no matter, when they go out into the world, whether they have or acquire vices or not. No, there is another reason why you reform more boys. You treat them better, with more respect, and thus you inculcate self-respect in them. You teach them a useful trade. You give them a decent yard to play in. You give them good seats at chapel. But what do you give to the girls to reform them? Vacant minds, a dismal present, and despair for the future. There's a peculiar devil in women, is there? You remember what the Bible says. You may sweep that chamber empty of devils as many times as you please, and they will come back, if you put nothing else in the place. Take that child, in there, who had the rags for her doll. Anybody can see what a nervous, impressible, restless creature she is. If she is chained down to this of hopeless monotony, without change and without chance, of course her feverish feelings will find an outlet in some wrong way."

We have particularly called attention to this article because of its bearing on a subject of late made prominent by an apparently serious attempt to examine into the workings of some of the Reformatory institutions of Massachusetts. Other contributors furnish entertaining and important matter. To the students of Dickens, Mr. Edwin P. Whipple offers one of his best essays; Mr. Howells adds to his comedy; "A Counterfeit Presentiment"; and David A. Wells has an instructive paper entitled "Are Titles and Debts Property?" His opening sentence is a reminder of a common experience worth quoting: "People in general act very much like the crows in the fable. So long as the wood-chopper and his sons talked about cutting down the trees, the crows did not much concern themselves; but when the blows of the axe began to be heard in their immediate vicinity, the question of changing their roosting-place became a matter of practical individual importance."

LABOR NOTES.

—There is better feeling throughout the country.

—The reason of it is the *faith* of Americans is coming to their rescue.

—America is yet young, and whatever seems inevitable and necessary to be done, she has no misgivings. She will "do it up brown."

—We have not yet settled into the "sear and yellow leaf,"—so to speak. In fact, we have scarcely yet *settled* into anything we can call absolutely our own from choice. We have been drifting,—taking our chances.

—We have had to wear out our "old clothes,"—foreign clothes. We are getting threadbare of late, fast. Now then, a direct, straight look at *first principles*, and let us *see* if we have settled down to a system of labor and labor-exchange it will do to swear by.

—The "demand" is so great, the price of ink is likely to go up,—so many pens are busy solving the "question of questions." We shall get surfeited, no doubt. 'Tis as if we were all at school: so are we, and our master is necessity. Let each and every one take to his and her task; we shall find the answer in due time, if we faint not.

—One other admonition, good friends. Let us keep sweet-tempered. Now that we have had our "French Revolution," let us make an end of it, by some genuine display of good-nature over our folly; strong in the faith that we can straighten things if we have a *mind* to. We cannot recall the past. It was needed for our purging. Let us see that we get purged; but no more fighting.

—There are some things that stand in the way of the peaceful, coöperative disentanglement of our difficulties. One of those things is foremost, and needs a word, if not many, to demolish it. It is a miserable distrust and misrepresentation of one another. Not one of us is able to state an opponent's position without making him appear either a fool or a knave. What Whately calls "illegitimate inference" is more common than wilful misrepresentation; but both abound extravagantly. When we think that another believes something "awful," because it so seems to us, we may remember with profit that if it *were* awful in his eyes he would not cherish it; either he sees what we don't see, or he don't see what we see; try to see all he sees, or enable him to see all you see. Let denunciation and calling of names end!

—"A curiosity-dealer carried with him to the studio of an artist a picture which he had just bought, with the view of re-selling it to advantage. 'I gave only £10 for it,' cried he, panting for breath. The artist ran his hands through his hair. 'Ten pounds, eh? Well, that's about what it's worth.' 'Isn't worth more? Not more than ten pounds? Then I've been robbed!'" This story is going the rounds of the papers, and everybody who reads it no doubt sees the point. The poor "curiosity dealer" considered himself "robbed" because he did not buy his picture for less than it was worth; that is, because he had not robbed somebody else. But, then, he belongs to an army out foraging, none of whom always find pastures green, and he can make it up another time. We do not denounce him; it is the way we *trade*.

—We are not unfrequently reminded that the working people are not all *men* and *boys*. There are *women* and *girls* who work, and who work hard and long hours, and get far poorer pay than men and boys do. Much of truth here; and no one thought needs to be more thoroughly grasped than this: that all work equally well done by women and men should be equally paid. It is not so; but it should be so. And another thing: boys and girls should be paid as much as men and women when they do the same work equally well. Under a system of equity this equality of remuneration would naturally occur. The conservative influence which shudders lest the world be upset should a woman teaching a school receive a salary equal to a man who taught no better and perhaps worse, is still in the ascendant; but it is also a fact that the moral sense of the world is moving to dethrone it, and will cast it out, let us hope, forever.

—If it be true that those who "lend to the poor lend to the Lord," then must it not also be true that those who "rob the poor" rob the Lord? That sounds like good theology. If granted, then this question arises: Which robbery does the Lord regard as greatest; that which deprived him of his "Sabbath," or that which withholds the just wages due for hard work on railroads, rivers, and elsewhere? We have our own opinion and venture to give it. If he burns cities and destroys life to square accounts for Sabbath stealing, what *ought* he to do to even out things when even their "bread and water" is taken from his (his children's) mouths? A "*bigger* riot" would not be advisable; let him not try that. We shall have a "standing army" (probably) to stamp that out. Suppose for once he should give over his lust for violence (he will pardon our plain speech; we have the same right to *suggest* things that Christians have); suppose he should try what virtue will come of giving the people a few right ideas as to how they may get along in a more brotherly fashion. We are a benighted set; we sit in darkness, Christians and infidels,—all. But what we surely need is light, inner light; not blood or fire. We wait a response. The *Christian Statesman* speaks for "the Lord" in so many things, perhaps it will in this. What we want to know is, how to stop stealing.

—Senator Conkling returns home from a brief sojourn in Europe to admonish all working people of this country that they are much better off than in France and England. This is the picture he paints: "Workingmen here are dissatisfied with wages, and unwise and lamentable counsels here recently led to lawless acts, from which in the end no one will suffer so much as their authors and abettors and those they assume to represent. I wish they could all go to France and England and see what the workmen and women do there, and hear of the wages they receive. England, excluding the twelve counties of Wales, is not larger than the State of New York. It contains twenty-four million people. Look at a fact or two! One or two hundred men own half of England. Their estates are princely reservations for game and pleasure and opulence. One man may ride thirteen miles in one direction and nearly as far in the other on his own estate, and when he dies his eldest son takes it all. The State of New York has less than five million people. Suppose there were five times as many, and then that one-half of the State was given up to the monopoly and pleasure of one hundred and fifty noblemen! Suppose, in addition, men and women labored in the fields and mines, and that the wages were only those paid in England. Suppose only one man in three had a vote or voice in public affairs, or in making laws, and the great body of workingmen were wholly excluded from all part in choosing members of the only house of Parliament in which the seats are not hereditary. Then suppose taxation to maintain a standing army, in which commissions are sold for money or given to sons and relations, and tithes taken to maintain an Established Church, in which the livings are sold to the highest bidder or bestowed as patronage. What would the workingmen of Pennsylvania or Ohio think of such conditions?" What would they think? Why, Mr. Conkling, they think, probably, that if these "conditions" are so much worse than those in which they now find themselves, that they do not wish to drift into them. They will stop short where they are. They think also, we trust, that it is small comfort to draw their solace from the misery of others. They might say, especially those in the coal-mines of Pennsylvania, "If there are any people worse off, God help them!"

—But Mr. Conkling continues: "We are all workingmen in America. No class has a monopoly of right to call itself a working class here. I have always worked, and have always been compelled to work, and my sympathies are all with honest labor. I believe in its dignity and in all its rights; but when the tidings of the strike reached me in Paris, under my eyes was a spectacle which seemed to heighten the madness of what the men in America were doing. The government of France was borrowing money, and on the curbstones in the street sat men all night to get each his turn in the morning to invest in the loan. They were workmen who were living as workmen do not and need not live here, and working for wages which American workmen would scorn. They had, by hook or by crook, saved fifty francs each. Fifty francs make ten American dollars, and these all-night watchers were there to buy a ten-dollar bond on which they were to get four *per cent.* interest. There sat the workingman of France amid the luxury of the more fortunate, contented with what fate had sent him. Can it be that liberty and prosperity have spoiled any portion of the American people till they cannot endure their share in a season of common adversity?" That is not the gospel to preach in America,—"contented with what fate sent them." Mr. Conkling has not forgotten that the Southern slaves were said to present a picture of contentment quite as inspiring. But he adds, as though that followed: "Can it be that any portion of the American people are spoiled so that they cannot endure their share in a season of common adversity?" No: it is not so. This is the way of it: they have discovered by no inconsiderable experience that when this "season of common adversity" comes, they are reduced to a far worse state than sitting on the curbstones waiting for the morning to invest their savings. No: they object to the inequality of the burden. They will take a fair share in any ill-fortune; but not so great a load.

Communications.

THE IDEAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL.

The ideal "Sunday-school University for the Million," as outlined by "T." in THE INDEX of July 12, already exists in Florence, Mass., under the auspices of the Cosmian Hall Association.

The departure from old methods, so successfully tried for years in this school, with an attendance of over a hundred, should be known and tried wherever there is the outreaching in societies for something better, for Sunday instruction and improvement for children and adults, than has been known.

Cosmian Hall is worthy of passing notice; it is the result of the united effort of the Cosmian Society. It has been handsomely ornamented in fresco by a native artist and member. But this is a minor attraction as compared with its admirable acoustic properties. One speaks to the several hundred before him with ease, and with as much security of being heard by the most distant-seated, as if addressing a small group gathered about him. The broad, raised platform for the speaker is adapted to theatricals, for which they have suited appointments, and plays are given by amateurs, in connection with the society, during the winter season.

The readers of THE INDEX have been already informed of the hopes of the members of the society, to have plays of an elevating character form an occasional part of their Sunday instruction.

Below, are rooms well suited to the social enjoyments of the society, and those who have had the pleasure of being entertained in them will know that genuine cordiality and fraternity of spirit enters largely into the religious element of the Cosmian Society.

Adjoining the social rooms are those for Sunday instruction. There are several, and they are well ventilated, bright, and cheery. The day I was present, the exercises began by the superintendent reading brief selections gleaned from various sources illustrative of the sense of justice that has been taught by all leading law-givers. Singing followed, of songs teeming with sentiments of brotherly love, and of appreciation of the works of Nature.

The classes then formed in groups about their respective teachers. One youthful class was abundantly supplied with the early spring flowers. They made themselves familiar with all of the various parts, forms, and development of the plant and flower. It was delightful to note their ready observation, and their enthusiasm over each newly-gained idea. Another class had a variety of entomological specimens, bottled and fresh. From the fixed attention they gave to the instruction and investigation of these little atoms of life, whose span of existence is often measured by a few hours, one could not doubt that even in these there is a law divine that shapes their being. There were geology and mineralogy groups,

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each supplied with the specimens they were studying. There were Shakspearian, history, and English literature classes. One room was devoted to drawing. An adult class was seeking for more light under the dispensation of such leaders as Darwin, Spencer, and Huxley.

Florence, a gem suburb of Northampton, is a centre for various manufactures, such as sewing-silk, stoves, and sewing-machines, and an important element in connection with the Cosmian Hall Sunday-school is composed of those whose opportunities for consecutive and continued study are limited.

In this weekly hour thus devoted to study, each may receive such impetus and inspiration in the specialty for which he has a fondness and a talent, as will enable him, later, to grasp the subject with an intelligence that will not only enrich his own life, but add to the common fund of scientific research.

Florence illustrates the influence for good that individuals may exert upon a whole community, turning by example the tide of thought and action into generous, instead of sordid, channels.

One woman, in dying, wills her large worldly possessions to the endowment of a college for women, which bears her name,—Smith College. If the massive building and the broad acres surrounding it are indicative of the solidity and breadth of its educational advantages, we who are not friends to monastic education for men or women, will still be glad of good work done, even under these unnatural conditions.

A Smith brother left at his death a goodly sum of his estate as a fund, the income of which is given in certain specified sums,—three hundred for young women, and five hundred for young men who shall have served an apprenticeship at any trade that fits them to be self-supporting and skilled laborers. He also left a certain amount, the income of which shall be given, to the amount of fifty dollars per annum, to indigent, aged widows.

Another citizen, whose name deserves to be a household word, wherever true worth and nobility of character are cherished, gives of his worldly goods as abundantly as he has received, and so unostentatiously that but for their abundant fruits none would be the wiser for them. It would seem as if the satisfaction that must be derived from planning and executing one's own bequests would stimulate each one who hopes in the end to endow charities to do it while living, and reap the reward of well-doing; and more especially so, since it so frequently is the case that one's wishes, as to the disposal of one's property, are disregarded after death, and the money that was designed for benevolent purposes is squandered in law, through the wranglings and dissensions of relatives.

A model kindergarten is one of the many blessings that this noble man has conferred upon the community. The spacious, airy, and light building, with all its suited furnishings; the ample grounds, upon which the children cultivate flowers, and the charming cottage-home for the kindergartners, in the same enclosure,—are all his gift.

Little waifs—for such we saw,—with home influences to curse rather than to bless, are welcome and free to come. None are asked to pay. All who send children who are able and inclined to give, do so, and no one else is cognizant of the amount. Such influences as go out from this kindergarten, presided over by women whom one feels to be truly inspired for the work; the tender regard for each other's rights here inculcated; the love of flowers; the respect for the life of the tiniest insect that crawls; the judicious guarding and guiding of the child's individuality,—in a word, the careful out-drawing and developing of all that is best in the child's nature, must help to weed it from evil developments, and give it strength to withstand evil communications later in life.

I can but hope that this great good conferred upon these children may be supplemented by a kindergarten system of progressive study for youths, in which the experiment shall be tried of evolving thought from within out.

If this could be done, it would be an entirely new departure in our system of education, and it would furthermore settle the question now being solved in this kindergarten of purely moral instruction, devoid of all sectarian bias.

MARY J. SAFFORD BLAKE.

BOSTON, July 23.

LIBERALISM AND THE MASSES.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Sometime ago I saw in THE INDEX an article on Sunday-schools that recognized the importance of early education in liberalism for children.

From children to "children of a larger growth" the transition is easy, and the importance of liberal education as easily recognized in the one case as in the other.

"Give me the child until he is eleven years old; take him away from me afterwards if you can," one of the Popes is reported to have said.

Every Protestant church is recognizing and acting upon this principle; hence the strenuous efforts that are made to gather in the children to their respective flocks. The means used are the Sunday-schools, young people's prayer-meetings, etc.

Now the great majority of the people are just as ignorant of the modern liberal ideas as children are of the "plan of salvation,"—they know nothing in either case until they are taught. It will be difficult for one whose ideas are gathered from THE INDEX and from Boston only to realize this; but let him launch out from some intellectual centre, let him mingle with the masses, and he will soon find that "darkness covers the face of the deep."

Of the great questions of the day, the *vast* majority of the people have but a superficial idea, if any idea at all. Some have heard of Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, Darwin; have heard of "science and religion"; have heard a din in the distance as of a skirmish; but, with Peterkin's grandfather, they can't exactly make out what it is all about; and it is safe to *say* of the *simple* majority of the men and women of this country that they are as innocently ignorant of the principles these men represent, and of their relation to religion, as if they never existed. They attend to their business in offices, stores, counting-rooms, in shops, factories, and on farms, read their newspapers, go to church, fortify their souls at the weekly prayer-meetings against infidelity, and are doing as well as can be expected.

I asked a friend some time ago why liberalism does not send out its missionaries as well as orthodoxy, to tell the people what it believes and the reason for that belief; why it does not popularize liberalism. I was told it could not be done; that the acceptance of liberalism presupposed a certain intellectual development and culture as yet unattained by the masses; that liberalism was a growth that could thrive only in rich and highly cultivated ground; in fact, that it partook of the nature of a caste-religion, and was not suited to the common herd, and that they were better off with their old forms of religion. The answer was not satisfactory to me, nor was it in accordance with facts gathered, knowing as I did that it is not only possible by teaching to awaken new and purer religious sentiments in illiterate but honest minds, but also, in many instances, how welcome is the smallest aid promising help to the individual in his struggle for religious freedom.

Some time ago I noticed in THE INDEX an article in which the writer intimated in substance that THE INDEX was too deep for the common people; to which THE INDEX replied that that was the highest compliment it could receive.

Though this does not indicate that THE INDEX is of the opinion of my friend alluded to above, it seems to indicate that its mission is not to popularize liberalism. In other words, it recognizes, in an indirect way, a plain fact conspicuous in the history of all religions; to wit, that for the successful propagation of any form of religion, the living voice is needed.

But is there any good and sufficient reason for believing that liberalism cannot be presented in a form to suit the capacity of the masses? I am convinced there is none. I am, on the contrary, convinced that free religion in its most liberal form, religion not only in harmony with modern science, but resting on a scientific basis, can be intelligently presented to the masses, and as intelligently received by them; and that the primary means to this end must be verbal teaching.

There is a complaint of apathy among the people. They do not organize as readily as we wish they would. They do not evince that zeal in secularization which they should; and the "transition from Christianity to free religion" does not go as fast as it might. Why? Is it not because we expect to reap before we have sown? How can we expect a transition from a time-honored institution like Christianity to anything else until the thing proposed as a substitute has been clearly set forth, its right to existence vindicated, its merits weighed, its adaptability proven, and the transition itself explained? But how can all this be done without teaching, or *preaching*, if you please, "and how shall they preach except they be sent"?

The *apathy* complained of as existing among the people is owing to this; they are as yet not in *sympathy* with liberalism.

As a work of philanthropy, a missionary work that will produce this sympathy would be the noblest by far that could be engaged in, in this our day. To those who feel the miseries resulting from orthodoxy it would be a work of mercy.

The dwarfing of intellect, the bondage of spirit, the anguish of soul, the changing of the whole current of life into bitterness and gall,—this is done by the religion of superstition. Intellectual growth, freedom of spirit, peace in a healthy conscience,—these are the fruits of the religion of truth. The happiness of passing from that to this, the difficulty of accomplishing it unaided, the vain regrets over life-long consequences of soul-slavery, the strength derived from sympathy, and the longings to extend a helping hand to those that are left behind,—these are known only to those who have gone through the transition, and their value to him who has paid the price.

PETER LONG.

ST. PAUL, MINN., July 30, 1877.

COMMUNISM AND THE STRIKES.

MR. MORSE:—

I found so many things in THE INDEX of August 9 that pleased me (especially your two columns of "Labor Notes"), that my feelings underwent a stronger rebound when, this Sunday afternoon, I turned to the article on "Individualism *vs.* Communism," than I ever felt in so short a time.

"E. W." says, "The *Communists*, or rather leaders of despotic unions, who have begun by making war on railroad and corporate property, and who denounce the accumulation of even private property, make the mistake of fighting against the only form of coöperative labor that can possibly be successful (?). Capital, they pretend, should belong to all; that is, to the State. The State should employ all," etc., etc.

Now there is not a particle of evidence—and I challenge "E. W." to produce any if he can—that the leaders of these "despotic unions," or those who instigated or took part in the violation of the law, were Communists, in the sense intended by him in the above quotation; or that they had any such ideas as he attributes to them. The truth is, that all these "strikes" and all this destruction of property and violence differed from the generality of the strikes in England, as well as in America, during the past half century only in their magnitude—extent of territory included—and simultaneousness. Nor did these peculiarities arise from any superior or more despotic organization than common, nor from the "strikers" being imbued with communistic ideas.

The material of sullen and deep-seated discontent underlies the whole industrial community; and it only needed a concurrence of "reductions" of wages on a number of railroads and other more or less related industries, to bring about a conflagration as soon as a spark should be dropped at a place, and a moment favorable for the spread of the flame.

The people whom "E. W." speaks of as "Communists," and whom the "press" generally speaks of as "Communists," and with whom I am proud to enroll myself, had nothing whatever to do with the strikes, are entirely opposed to trades-union methods, are entirely opposed to the violation of law, and wish to supplant these "despotic unions" with a better form of organization of labor based upon political action and the ballot.

It is true that the Social Democrats of the Workingmen's Party have been somewhat prominent in these events, not only at the theatre of strife, but in all the large cities of the Union; not as disturbers of the peace, however, nor as inciters of riot, but as calm and rational peacemakers between the angry belligerents, and as exponents of the true causes of the disturbances. That has been our mission, and some day justice will be done to the value of our services in allaying excitement and preserving order in the midst of wide-spread exasperation.

The Social Democrats are revolutionists, but not Communists, even in that meaning of the word which Communists would themselves accept, which is very different from its ordinary acceptation by the press and by people who do not trouble themselves to inquire the meaning of the words of reproach they are so fond of using.

I am afraid of encroaching too much on your space, or should like to dissect "E. W.'s" article. I must point out one or two of his errors as regards what *he* calls Communism, but what *we* call Social Democracy.

He says, "Capital, they pretend, should belong to all; that is, to the State." True. "The State should employ all, no matter how fast they multiply, at comfortable wages." True again. "There is now no personal or selfish motive to accumulate, *for all surplus belongs to the State.*" This would be Communism; but this is precisely what the Social Democrats do *not* hold. They hold that all surplus belongs to *the individual workers;* the State reserves only sufficient of the gross products for maintaining necessary capital and for public expenses. "As brains are to be no better paid than muscle, there is little motive left to seek office," etc. Wrong again. We hold no such thing; we hold that the reward of labor should be proportionate to the value to the public of each man's labor. All "E. W.'s" conclusions arising from these false premises are consequently valueless. Once more I ask those who undertake to criticise us to first ascertain what our opinions are, and not to jump at conclusions so hastily.

W. G. H. SMART.

BOSTON, Aug. 12, 1877.

THE MAGIC STONE.

Once upon a time a noble youth watched with tender care over the last days of an aged pilgrim, who, dying, gave him a sapphire gem, the most wondrous for beauty that was ever seen in the world. But it had a property more marvellous even than its beauty, for it gave the possessor to see, wherever he should look, only its own hue; every clod became to his eyes a crystal, and the universe all one infinite sapphire purity and splendor; and in his heart, meantime, reigned a celestial calm, that no passion could ever trouble, no fear nor care invade. The recipient lived long in enjoyment of the gift, and at length sank to his rest like a star, bequeathing the gem to the youngest of his brother's sons, for he himself had remained unmarried, since his heart had no place for the passion of love. The new possessor, after a life no less serene, left it in like manner to a young relative. But this youth, before receiving it, had fallen passionately in love with a maiden as beautiful as the gem itself. No sooner had he obtained the gift than the blood-red lip and blooming cheek of his beloved lost their tint to his eye, while his love, though it could not die, lay panting and struggling with death in his breast. The maiden wept sore on perceiving his altered regard; but for himself he could neither weep nor smile. Unable either to forget or to recover the past, unable either to resist or enjoy the fascination of the jewel, he lingered long in a dull painlessness, worse even than pain. At length one day, with sudden resolution, he seized the lovely, fateful stone, ran with it to a cliff overhanging the deep sea, and saying as he gave it one last look, "Henceforth let me share with others the sweet and bitter of mortal existence," flung it away forever.

Has not every time its magic stone, of one hue or another? They call it the spirit or faith of that epoch. But the day ever comes when its charm ceases to be sufficient. And in that day he is the unhappy one who wants alike resolution to part with it and power to restore its enchantment.

D. A. W.

THE funeral services of Edward D. Linton took place at the Unitarian Church, Charlestown, Sunday afternoon, 19th inst., and were conducted—in the absence of Rev. Pitt Dillingham, who had during his long illness been a very sympathizing and constant friend of the deceased—by Rev. Jesse Jones, assisted by Rev. Mr. Babcock and Lysander Spooner, who made short and excellent addresses. The Hutchinson family were present and furnished appropriate singing.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

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1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

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S. H. M.

SUMMER is gone. Vacation ends.

HAPPY the man or woman whose feelings the "mountains" and the "sea" have not lured into publicity.

GAIL HAMILTON is reported as not believing in woman's rights. She believes evidently in her own rights. See her letters to the *Tribune*.

THE PRESIDENT and his ministers have visited New Hampshire and found everything "beautiful,"—the weather and the people alike favorable to "reconciliation."

THE NEXT step, when the people have become reconciled one to another, will be to reconcile "man to his lot." When each man can sing of his lot, having earned it,

"I am monarch of all I survey,"

there will not be such a vast deal of trouble.

THE *Independent* insists that Mrs. Livermore is still a Baptist. The *New Covenant* says she is a Universalist. We are sure that both are in the wrong. Her name years ago was "dropped" from the record of Dr. Neale's church, and she has since joined no other.

THE FIRST article of a law signed by the King of Italy last June reads as follows: "Beginning with January, 1878, the office of spiritual director in lyceums, gymnasiums, and technical schools is abolished." The New York *Tablet* calls this "the obligation of elementary instruction and the liberty of irreligion"!

THE *Tablet* also speaks of the Sisters of Charity expelled from Prussia who have come to America, "a country not yet affected by the ailments of age, where they can think and do as they please." Does this praise include the "liberty of irreligion"? Would it be so were the temporal power of the Pope spread over the country?

MR. BEECHER says he would not speak lightly of the necessity of prayer; but when "there are books published in our day which teach that a man can pray at a mark," he thinks it time to "see the thing explored." "If a man can pray down a mortgage which he cannot pay off; or if he can pray up a three-story brick house which he wants very much; or if he can steadily pray down his rent which it is inconvenient for him to meet; if there is in prayer a financial policy such that things like these are possible, the world ought to know it." One would think so.

THE *Indo-European Correspondence* quotes some of the answers to questions by candidates for Anglican Orders, who had been particularly cautioned to give their answers as "nearly as possible in the language of Holy Writ." One of these aspirants was asked to "note any special characteristics which distinguish the Gospel according to St. John from the other three Gospels." His reply was, "The Gospel according to St. John is marked by a tone of fervent piety totally wanting in the other Evangelists." It is needless to add that the young man was found totally wanting in all that should make his "calling and election sure."

THE *Tablet* eulogizes MacMahon. "Society was safe and the nation marching in the path of progress," when the general elections placed a radical majority in the Chamber which had "scarcely got to work before its first blow at religion was delivered at the free universities," and the "clergy were to be robbed of their stipends." MacMahon saw behind the shadow of Republic the "principles of the Commune," and he determined to "finish his task." That is, he would do all in his power to restore to France the "ailments of age," and make it a land where well-disposed, liberty-loving people *cannot* "think and do as they please."

FROM OUR point of view it looks very much in this way: In countries where the Catholic Church is not established or has not a controlling power, true liberty consists in letting everybody "think and do as they please." This gives the Church the chance she desires. In countries where the Church is already supreme, true liberty consists in the peaceable submission of non-Catholics to Catholic rule; all else is the "liberty of irreligion," which the Church is bound to suppress. Everywhere she fights to keep all the power she has, and gain all she can. In France she cries "Commune," which means her interests are losing ground, and she wants a pretext for a reactionary despotic movement. In America she pleads for liberty; but give her the power here she hopes one day to obtain, and "true liberty" will then consist in obedience to God as represented by the Church. If we are wrong in this, will the *Tablet* or the *Review* explain to us what the truth is?

WE HAVE no slightest doubt but that the above is a correct statement of the aims and the policy of the Catholic Church. It will use all the liberty a country offers to raise itself into power, and then it will manage liberty afterwards to suit its own ends; that is, it will suppress it. But, while this is true, it does not follow that those who are disbelieving in the pretensions of the Church should in any way compromise their own devotion to the method of liberty which the Church assails or only uses for the time being. They must fight the Church not by any resort to despotic force, for then they will stand on the same untenable ground with the Church, and lose thereby the vital power which adherence to liberty insures. American liberty demands a brave and comprehensive spirit. It is a challenge to all foes to a free competition. It is not blind to the dangers that threaten it, but it will not excitedly resort to despotic methods in defence of itself; for from that moment it would cease to be liberty; it would commit suicide. It hears one command: "Thou shalt not oppress even the would-be-oppressor; it is for thee to turn him from the error of his ways and not to forsake thine own. Be patient and fear not." To all opponents of the Catholic Church we would say: Increase the love of freedom and the practice of it, and the Church will end by being outgrown. Freedom begets knowledge, and knowledge increases the desire of the human heart for greater freedom.

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Paralysis of Labor.

BY GEORGE H. HOLTZMAN.

"A certain man had a goose, which laid him a golden egg every day. But, not contented with this, which rather increased than abated his avarice, he was resolved to kill the goose, and cut up her belly, that so he might come at the inexhaustible treasure which he fancied she had within her. He did so; and, to his great sorrow and disappointment, found nothing."—*96th Fable of Æsop.*

THE INDEX of July 12 contains a circular from Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, from which I quote as follows:—

"In this first year of our second century of national existence there are said to be three millions of unemployed persons in the United States.

"Who can tell us why or how this appalling situation arose? Who can set forth in colors sufficiently vivid the degradation and demoralization it is bringing upon the sufferers and upon our country? We are dealing with wide-spread effects; let us search into their causes. Are these the ripened fruits of our boasted civilization? Or is this crisis an ordeal through which every nation must pass? Now, if ever, is the time for our legislators, our political economists, and our social science reformers to exert themselves for the benefit of a bankrupt people."

She also appeals to thoughtful persons everywhere, urgently inviting the expression of views upon the situation and the remedy. It may be well to exercise ourselves upon the topic at this time, though it is doubtful if much can be suggested besides awaiting the course of events that are hardly susceptible of being hastened. It may at least be profitable to compare notes as to causes leading to a penalty too lasting and costly for frequent recurrence.

While there is doubtless a connection to be traced between hard times in America and that general stagnation which seems to have infected every reservoir of labor; and while some prime cause is to be sought for an almost universal inertia, yet the immediate or precipitating cause of the arrest of business in our case may be readily pointed out. It is forcibly suggested by the fable at the head of this article,—the silly transaction therein related fitly illustrating the insanity which possessed the people, especially the manufacturing class, during the closing years of the late war.

The necessary waste of war demanded increased and rapid production of nearly everything, while the corresponding consumption so completely absorbed the products of labor for a time, that all classes were fully employed, thus enabling all to share in the rather luxurious tastes of the period. As there cannot be excess of consumption—as we cannot use more than we have,—and as large consumption implies corresponding production, the waste of war or the demands of extravagance must of necessity cause prosperous times for labor so long as such a demand lasts. We can all easily recollect the flush times of the earlier part of the war. It is well known that old stocks and "dead" stocks of all sorts of merchandise were easily run off at the price of new. It was a "hot-cake" season for all hands, and everybody was happy.

It would have been prudent, at least, to have considered that so remarkable an easy-going state of affairs was not, in the natural order of things, to be permanent. Not that we were to look forward to such entire demoralization as followed, but rather that such a catastrophe might be averted. A wise foresight was imperatively demanded, and here was where we failed. Instead of preparing for peace in time of war, we acted as if civil strife was a fixed status in this country. A devouring greed seemed to seize upon every opportunity or pretext for augmenting capital. Profits realized and prospective were re-invested in increased facilities for production. Mills were enlarged and machinery added as if the whole earth were going to cut throats for the future. Erstwhile prudent men became large borrowers to erect vast appliances for continuing and even enlarging the scale upon which business was being done. The saddest reminders of this recklessness may now be seen like wrecks upon an inhospitable shore; fine estates bankrupted; splendid establishments dismantled; sound institutions crippled; human labor itself, that legitimate origin and prime element of capital, almost paralyzed,—like the great white wings of a ship becalmed, feebly flapping in a zephyr breeze after the spanking gale that filled them so grandly. The manufacturing centres furnish the most striking instances of the unwise inflation. Our observing visitors, the English commissioners, in their exhaustive report upon our Centennial exhibition, give some carefully collected statistics showing the enormous additions to our iron and steel-making machinery, furnace plants, and other facilities for rapid and increased production, and justly attribute the present depression to this unprecedented and unhealthy stimulus, altogether out of proportion to the more steadily-growing requirements of the country under a normal development. There are those, I am aware, who will dissent from this view,—those who contend that unlimited production means unlimited enhancement of wealth. It is not now the purpose to combat mere sophistry; but I will take occasion here to say, that while Mr. Carlyle's rather dogmatic assertion that there cannot be excess of production so long as the world is full of uncovered backs, may be true in a certain sense, yet the inequality of distribution which is not easily nor suddenly remedied, makes excessive local production quite practicable, and as stubborn a fact as though everybody had enough and to spare.

The national credit—happily still preserved—and individual credit, which partook of the aggregate stanchness for a time, but has now been largely impaired by abuse, sufficed to sustain the mania for sudden wealth so long as a state of war made expense a secondary consideration. But the war ceased, and the nation proceeded to count up the cost and balance its books. Retrenchment everywhere became necessary that our credit might not be overstrained; *for this is the secret of credit that the debtor shall be plainly and persistently aiming towards discharging his debts.* How successfully the government has managed its affairs and sustained its credit, the world-wide popularity of its securities is alone sufficient to attest. The task of individuals, however, was, unavoidably, a different and more complicated affair; but it had to be undertaken. Prudent people began to follow the example of the nation, curtailing at every possible point, and the rate of consumption gradually assumed a peace basis. But we were not prepared for even a moderate (and it was moderate at first) abatement of demand. With large stocks ahead and preparations completed for a larger business than ever before—preparations for which huge debts had been contracted,—the country could not bear any reduction of the rate of living and spending. The result was inevitable. A few years' struggling ensued, during which the now excessive production was partly absorbed by the now waning private and corporate extravagance which was an outgrowth of the free national expenditure, and then—CRASH! The only thing completely consumed was credit,—the only thing, too, of which redundancy could not be calamitous. Instead of husbanding consumption and yielding only to legitimate and steady demand, avarice had glutted the market, forced it to capitulate, and so killed the goose that laid the golden egg. It is also important to remember here, as a considerable item in the account, and showing wretched want of foresight, that no allowance was made for the million of soldiers who, when their occupation of war was over, came crowding into the ranks of general producers, where no available place was reserved for them. Their rate of consumption, too, being reduced from waste to frugality, increased the disproportion and added to the disaster.

The foregoing is but a brief outlining of a picture that any reflecting person can fill in from experience and observation. The theory being correct, all can, from their own knowledge, supply facts in detail to corrobarate it; and a thoughtful exercise of this kind will not be unprofitable to many of us, who, unfortunately, have more leisure for rumination than ever before. Then, there is a course of suppuration and recovery before us, to which I will devote a few thoughts.

Time, and time proportionate to the thoroughness of the infection, is a necessary element in eradicating fever in the blood, to which our condition is analogous. Let Broadway, New York, become obstructed, and we have a good illustration of trade at the present time, while the means adopted for relief will point us towards what must be resorted to in the commercial emergency. Still, with the coolest heads at work, time, exasperating time, must elapse. The matter grows worse, too, a long while before easement. Crowding behind adds compactness to the barricade, until confusion gives place to calm despair. There is but one way of it. Everybody must stop a little, and wait. Then follow the cautious preliminaries. Slowly, how slowly! the movement begins. It is like digging a man out of the sand. Gravitation precipitates fresh ruin into the excavation, until persistence and patience gain the ascendency.

The process of recovery which we are now undergoing, involves an apparent paradox; *viz.*, a necessary absorption of surplus without a generally diffused ability to absorb. Labor, as to a large number at least, is laid on the shelf for a while; and, without laboring, how can the man who lives by his work acquire the means to purchase and consume? What have those, whose labor is not in demand, to give in exchange for what they could advantageously use—what they need, in fact,—and what must also be got out of the way before labor can be profitably employed in producing more? This is the occasion for our wits,—a commodity upon which so many of us are now subsisting.

It is plain that distribution must be effected, and that the laborer, though but partially employed, and even though without remunerative work, must help and share more or less in the operation. So far as he can get his labor taken in exchange, it is the best trade he can make, even at greatly reduced rates. Thus wages come down and down, labor being wanted in quantity only by those who can afford to store up its product for speculation. Still, we must consume to live. When labor will not go at any price, then we must fall back upon our saved capital. One thing after another must be traded off,—things we would gladly keep but that we need something else more urgently. As these exchanges are forced, in a measure, on one side, concessions in price must be corresponding, and the speculator's opportunity is the main outlet. Those who can best afford to lay by what they do not now need constitute the relief of the clogged community. The pawnbroker even becomes a recognized public benefactor. We may anathematize his rates, but are glad to live upon his advances. There is really no help for it often but this means, and governments have come to regard the making advances upon personal pledges as a business to be fostered, the charges for which only need to be regulated a little to render the transaction a positive benefit to society. So, little by little, the comparatively superfluous things are exchanged for the essentials, the former going into hands that will not force them upon the market for a long time perhaps; and so we rub along. It is surprising how long one can subsist thus without laboring, provided

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there has been any previous thrift at all. There are really few in a community who have not some store laid by, the fruits of their own or another's labor, which can be made available in a pinch; for it is a pinch we are in, and must make the best of it.

The same shifting must be resorted to upon a larger scale by nearly all classes and organizations of society. In general, all individual accumulations must diminish. Houses, lands, stocks, etc., must be parted with in favor of those who can with least inconvenience hold them in permanence. The one engrossing idea is and must necessarily be the bare sustaining of existence for the time being, until the little rill towards which we are feebly contributing shall gather force enough to widen its channel. In a vital struggle sometimes Nature seems to halt while summoning strength for an appreciable effort. If the patient be only kept alive at this crisis it is all that can be looked for. We are passing through such a stage at present, and it is useless and hurtful to fret over it. We are consuming at a minimum rate it is true, but we are gaining surely if slowly, and there are no healthful measures for accelerating the process. That the former rate of lavish expenditure, inducing another era of reckless inflation of the producing capacity, will be attained within the average lifetime, I am glad to say I seriously doubt. It would not be desirable to witness a repetition of the suicidal folly. But that if we follow the dictates of prudence and are content to make haste slowly, we shall outlive the present peril and be stronger and wiser for its teachings, I am contrarily confident.

Mrs. Thompson asks the question, "Is this crisis an ordeal through which every nation must pass?" I should like to answer, No, not necessarily. It would seem that the growing intelligence of mankind ought to shield advanced nations from such calamities. But wisdom does not always keep pace with knowledge; and so long as hasty riches are coveted and striven for, so long will men blunder and the race be liable to the consequences of unseemly greed. I cannot see either that any new discovery is to abridge the usual course of recovery. The prizes so generously offered will, I fear, remain undistributed, if any efficient patent method or short cut to regain our prosperity be requisite to claim them. Legislation, alas! is powerless. Nature governs here, as in the physical and moral universe. We do not, as it is commonly expressed, break her immutable laws; but in vainly trying to resist them or pervert their action, we are remorelessly broken upon them.

There is still a deeper inquiry that presses itself upon the thinking person in other nations as well as our own, the consideration of which occasions sad and perplexing reflections. Why is it that in the whole civilized world, except perhaps in the very latest settlements, human labor is in apparent or real excess of the demand for it? Why is it that a willing offer of labor does not at all times and everywhere procure the necessary exchange required by individual consumption to render existence a blessing instead of a dreadful burden?

The field of inquiry here is extensive, and much has been written upon the subject. It cannot be treated here proportionately to its importance, but a thought or two may be ventured. Unless Malthus' doctrine—*viz., that a man born into a world already occupied and overstocked with labor is a superfluity, having no right even to food*—be accepted as true, we must search for the answer in some grave error committed by man himself in the arrangement of his household economy. It seems to me that our fable will still apply with some force. That any disparagement of the blessings of cheap production is by many thinkers and writers considered unsound, I am aware; but there are facts nevertheless which strongly favor the view that the introduction of labor-saving machinery has been too rapid for the general well-being of the race, and that the tendency of the excessive stimulus is to increase and perpetuate that disparity of condition which is the cause of so much unhappiness among men. Robert Owen, a true lover of his race, devoted long and earnest study to this momentous question. An extensive and prosperous cotton-spinner himself, his immense human sympathy led him to ameliorate the condition of his work-people in many ways. Investigation of the most searching kind, involving the collection of much valuable data, brought him to the conclusion that an entire reconstruction of society, by which coöperative industry should replace competitive labor, had become necessary in order that the vast labor-saving power should be brought to the aid of, instead of oppressing man. From his careful collation of statistics he established the astounding fact that the labor-saving machinery of Great Britain alone equalled, in productive action, the manual labor-power of two worlds as populous as ours. This was fifty years ago. Since then, what strides! A late number of the *Iron Age* says: "There are at present in France steam-engines of an aggregate horse-power of one million five hundred thousand, which is equivalent to the effective labor of thirty-one million men, or about ten times the industrial population of the country. Yet so very recently as 1852 there were only six thousand stationary steam-engines in the whole of France, and these were estimated at only forty-five thousand horse-power." A recent writer upon "The Sewing-machine and its Results," estimates that in the United States alone in 1862 there were in use two hundred and thirty thousand machines, and in 1875 the number had increased to seven hundred and fifty thousand. The saving in wages for each machine is set down at over six hundred dollars per annum, which, if not overstated, would aggregate nearly five hundred millions of dollars for the latter year!

These citations are sufficient for the present purpose, which is rather to arrest attention than to advocate strenuously any particular view. Are not the facts striking? Deducing some general aggregate from these instances, and supposing the entire, enormous, overwhelming mass in operation, what a hopeless condition seems that of the teeming, superfluous millions of mankind! The situation becomes more appalling when we reflect that a few months' turning of these competing wheels suffices for the supply of a much longer period, and that it is economical in a narrow sense to operate power in this way. Then, during the period of cessation the machines do not eat, nor do they require tending, while man, alas! must eat, or die.

What is to be done? Suppose we all stop and think. There is an awful power in quiescence.

Looking at the subject in its worst phase even, it is best to be hopeful. Labor strikes—O, worst of madness!—on the one hand, will not meet the difficulty; nor will gulling insensibility and indifference discharge the weighty obligation devolving on the other. What the world needs is a more thorough humanizing, preparatory to the adjustment of so great a question. Men must learn as individuals to live and act with more regard for the general good. How long will it take to learn that lesson? Then let us reflect that it cannot be settled in a hurry. The bane of great reforms is impatience to pluck the fruit. It is wiser as well as grander, in movements affecting the welfare of the whole race, to be content to prepare the ground, to set the germ, and cultivate deep and well for the ages that will succeed; remembering that the mushroom will neither shelter us nor benefit posterity; and if we want the perennial shade of the oak, we must plant the acorn in patience, and be willing, like Nature, to wait.

[For The Index.]

THE MALTHUSIANS.

BY P. J. PROUDHON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY BENJAMIN R. TUCKER.

[*Le Représentant du Peuple*, August 11, 1848.]

Dr. Malthus, an economist, an Englishman, once wrote the following words:—

"A man who is born into a world already occupied, his family unable to support him, and society not requiring his labor, such a man, I say, has not the least right to claim any nourishment whatever; he is really one too many on the earth. At the great banquet of Nature there is no plate laid for him. Nature commands him to take himself away, and she will not be slow to put her order into execution."

As a consequence of this great principle, Malthus recommends, with the most terrible threats, every man who has neither labor nor income upon which to live to *take himself away*, or at any rate to have no more children. A family—that is, love,—like bread, is forbidden such a man by Malthus.

Dr. Malthus was, while living, a minister of the Holy Gospel, a mild-mannered philanthropist, a good husband, a good father, a good citizen, believing in God as firmly as any man in France. He died (heaven grant him peace) in 1834. It may be said that he was the first, without doubt, to reduce to absurdity all political economy, and state the great revolutionary question, the question between labor and capital. With us, whose faith in Providence still lives, in spite of the century's indifference, it is proverbial—and herein consists the difference between the English and ourselves—that "everybody must live." And our people, in saying this, think themselves as truly Christian, as conservative of good morals and the family, as the late Malthus.

Now, what the people say in France, the economists deny; the lawyers and the *littérateurs* deny; the Church, which pretends to be Christian, and also Gallican, denies; the press denies; the large proprietors deny; the government, which endeavors to represent them, denies.

The press, the government, the Church, literature, economy, wealth,—everything in France has become English; everything is Malthusian. It is in the name of God and his holy providence, in the name of morality, in the name of the sacred interests of the family, that they maintain that there is not room in the country for all the children of the country, and that they warn our women to be less prolific. In France, in spite of the desire of the people, in spite of the national belief, eating and drinking are regarded as privileges, labor a privilege, family a privilege, country a privilege.

M. Antony Thouret said recently that property, without which there is neither country, nor family, nor labor, nor morality, would be irreproachable as soon as it should cease to be a privilege; a clear statement of the fact that, to abolish all the privileges which, so to speak, exclude a portion of the people from the law, from humanity, we must abolish, first of all, the fundamental privilege, and change the constitution of property.

M. A. Thouret, in saying that, agreed with us and with the people. The State, the press, political economy, do not view the matter in that light; they agree in the hope that property, without which, as M. Thouret says, there is no labor, no family, no Republic, may remain what it always has been,—a privilege.

All that has been done, said, and printed to-day and for the last twenty years, has been done, said, and printed in consequence of the theory of Malthus.

The theory of Malthus is the theory of political murder; of murder from motives of philanthropy and for love of God. There are too many people in the world; that is the first article of faith of all those who, at present, in the name of the people, reign and govern. It is for this reason that they use their best efforts to diminish the population. Those who best acquit themselves of this duty, who practise with piety, courage, and fraternity the maxims of Malthus, are good citizens, religious men; those who protest against such conduct are anarchists, socialists, atheists.

That the Revolution of February was the result of this protest constitutes its inexpiable crime. Consequently, it shall be taught its business, this revolution which promised that all should live. The original, indelible stain on the Republic is that the people have pronounced it anti-Malthusian. That is why the Republic is so especially obnoxious to those who were, and would become again, the toadies and accomplices of kings,—*grand eaters of men*, as Cato called them. They would make a monarchy of your Republic; they would devour its children.

There lies the whole secret of the sufferings, the agitations, and the contradictions of our country.

The economists are the first among us, by an inconceivable blasphemy, to establish as a providential dogma the theory of Malthus. I do not reproach them; neither do I abuse them. On this point the economists act in good faith and from the best intentions in the world. They would ask nothing better than to make the human race happy; but they cannot conceive how, without some sort of an organization of homicide, a balance between population and production can exist.

Ask the Academy of Moral Sciences. One of its most honorable members, whose name I will not call—though he is proud of his opinions, as every honest man should be,—being the prefect of I know not which department, saw fit one day, in a proclamation, to advise those within his province to have thenceforth fewer children by their wives. Great was the scandal among the priests and gossips, who looked upon this academic morality as the morality of swine! The *savant* of whom I speak was none the less, like all his fellows, a zealous defender of the family and of morality; but, he observed with Malthus, at the banquet of Nature, there is not room for all.

M. Thiers, also a member of the Academy of Moral Sciences, lately told the committee on finance that, if he were minister, he would confine himself to *courageously and stoically passing through the crisis*, devoting himself to the expenses of his budget, enforcing a respect for order, and carefully guarding against every financial innovation, every socialistic idea—especially such as the right to labor,—as well as every revolutionary expedient. And the whole committee applauded him.

In giving this declaration of the celebrated historian and statesman, I have no desire to accuse his intentions. In the present state of the public mind, I should succeed only in serving the ambition of M. Thiers, if he has any left. What I wish to call attention to is that M. Thiers, in expressing himself in this wise, testified, perhaps unconsciously, to his faith in Malthus.

Mark this well, I pray you. There are two millions, four millions of men who will die of misery and hunger, if some means be not found of giving them work. This is a great misfortune, surely, and we are the first to lament it, the Malthusians tell you; but what is to be done? It is better that four millions of men should die than that privilege should be compromised; it is not the fault of capital, if labor is idle; at the banquet of credit, there is not room for all.

They are courageous, they are stoical, these statesmen of the school of Malthus, when it is a matter of sacrificing laborers by millions. Thou hast killed the poor man, said the prophet Elias to the king of Israel, and then thou hast taken away his inheritance. *Occidisti et possedisti.* To-day we must reverse the phrase, and say to those who possess and govern: You have the privilege of labor, the privilege of credit, the privilege of property, as Mr. Thouret says; and it is because you do not wish to be deprived of these privileges, that you shed the blood of the poor like water: *Possedisti et occidisti!*

And the people, under the pressure of bayonets, are being eaten slowly; they die without a sigh or a murmur; the sacrifice is effected in silence. Courage, laborers! sustain each other: Providence will finally conquer fate. Courage! the condition of your fathers, the soldiers of the republic, at the sieges of Gênes and Mayence, was even worse than yours.

M. Léon Faucher, in contending that journals should be forced to furnish securities and in favoring the maintenance of taxes on the press, reasoned also after the manner of Malthus. The serious journal, said he, the journal that deserves consideration and esteem, is that which is established on a capital of from four to five hundred thousand francs. The journalist who has only his pen is like the workman who has only his arms. If he can find no market for his services or get no credit with which to carry on his enterprise, it is a sign that public opinion is against him; he has not the least right to address the country: at the banquet of public life, there is not room for all.

Listen to Lacordaire, that light of the Church, that chosen vessel of Catholicism. He will tell you that socialism is antichrist. And why is socialism antichrist? Because socialism is the enemy of Malthus, whereas Catholicism, by a final transformation, has become Malthusian.

The gospel tells us, cries the priest, that there will always be poor people, *Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum;* and that property, consequently, in so far as it is a privilege and makes poor people, is sacred. Poverty is necessary to the exercise of evangelical charity; at the banquet of this world here below, there cannot be room for all.

He feigns ignorance, the infidel, of the fact that *poverty*, in Biblical language, signified every sort of affliction and pain, not hard times and the condition of the *proletaire*. And how could he who went up and down Judæa crying, *Woe to the rich!* be understood differently? In the thought of Jesus Christ, woe to the rich meant woe to the Malthusians.

If Christ were living to-day, he would say to Lacor-

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daire and his companions: "You are of the race of those who, in all ages, have shed the blood of the just, from Abel unto Zacharias. Your law is not my law; your God is not my God!" . . . And the Lacordaires would crucify Christ as a seditious person and an atheist.

Almost the whole of journalism is infected with the same ideas. Let *Le National*, for example, tell us whether it has not always believed, whether it does not still believe, that pauperism is a permanent element of civilization; that the enslavement of one portion of humanity is necessary to the glory of another; that those who maintain the contrary are dangerous dreamers who deserve to be shot; that such is the basis of the State. For, if this is not the secret thought of *Le National;* if *Le National* sincerely and resolutely desires the emancipation of laborers,—why these anathemas against, why this anger with, the genuine socialists,—those who, for ten and twenty years, have demanded this emancipation?

Further, let the Bohemians of literature, to-day the myrmidons of journalism, paid slanderers, courtiers of the privileged classes, eulogists of all the vices, parasites living upon other parasites, who prate so much of God only to dissemble their materialism, of the family only to conceal their adulteries, and whom we shall see, out of disgust for marriage, caressing monkeys, when Malthusian women fail,—let these, I say, publish their economic creed, in order that the people may know them.

Faites des filles, nous les aimons—beget girls, we love them,—sing these wretches, parodying the poet. But abstain from begetting boys; at the banquet of sensualism, there is not room for all.

The government was inspired by Malthus when, having a hundred thousand laborers at its disposal, to whom it gave gratuitous support, it refused to employ them at useful labor, and when, after the civil war, it asked that a law be passed for their transportation. With the expenses of the pretended national workshops, with the costs of war, law-suits, imprisonment, and transportation, it might have given the insurgents six months' labor, and thus changed our whole economic system. But labor is a monopoly; the government does not wish revolutionary industry to compete with privileged industry; at the workbench of the nation, there is not room for all.

Large industrial establishments ruin small ones; that is the law of capital, that is Malthus.

Wholesale trade gradually swallows the retail; again Malthus.

Large estates encroach upon and consolidate the smallest possessions; still Malthus.

Soon one-half of the people will say to the other:—

The earth and its products are my property;

Industry and its products are my property;

Commerce and transportation are my property;

The State is my property.

You who possess neither reserve nor property, who hold no public offices and whose labor is useless to us, TAKE YOURSELVES AWAY! You have really no business on the earth; beneath the sunshine of the Republic, there is not room for all.

Who will tell me that the right to labor and to live is not the whole of the Revolution?

Who will tell me that the principle of Malthus is not the whole of the counter-Revolution?

And it is for having published such things as these—for having exposed the evil boldly, and sought the remedy in good faith,—that speech has been forbidden me by the government, the government that represents the Revolution!

That is why I have been deluged with the slanders, treacheries, cowardice, hypocrisy, outrages, desertions, and failings of all those who hate or love the people! That is why I have been given over, for a whole month, to the mercy of the jackals of the press and the screech-owls of the platform! Never was a man, either in the past or in the present, the object of so much execration as I have become, for the simple reason that I wage war upon cannibals.

To slander one who could not reply was to shoot a prisoner. Malthusian carnivora, I discover you there! Go on, then; we have more than one account to settle yet. And, if calumny is not sufficient for you, use iron and lead. You may kill me; no one can avoid his fate, and I am at your discretion. But you shall not conquer me; you shall never persuade the people, while I live and hold a pen, that, with the exception of yourselves, there is one too many on the earth. I swear it before the people and in the name of the Republic!

ON THE PROBABLE FUTURITY OF THE LABORING CLASSES.

1. The observations in the preceding chapter had for their principal object to deprecate a false ideal of human society. Their applicability to the practical purposes of present times consists in moderating the inordinate importance attached to the mere increase of production, and fixing attention upon improved distribution, and a large remuneration of labor, as the two *desiderata*. Whether the aggregate produce increases absolutely or not, is a thing in which, after a certain amount has been obtained, neither the legislator nor the philanthropist need feel any strong interest; but, that it should increase relatively to the number of those who share in it, is of the utmost possible importance; and this (whether the wealth of mankind be stationary, or increasing at the most rapid rate ever known in an old country) must depend on the opinions and habits of the most numerous class, the class of manual laborers.

When I speak, either in this place or elsewhere, of "the laboring classes," or of laborers as a "class," I use those phrases in compliance with custom, and as descriptive of an existing, but by no means a necessary or permanent state of social relations. I do not recognize as either just or salutary, a state of society in which there is any "class" which is not laboring; any human beings, exempt from bearing their share of the necessary labors of human life, except those unable to labor, or who have fairly earned rest by previous toil. So long, however, as the great social evil exists of a non-laboring class, laborers also constitute a class, and may be spoken of, though only provisionally, in that character.

Considered in its moral and social aspect, the state of the laboring people has latterly been a subject of much more speculation and discussion than formerly; and the opinion, that it is not now what it ought to be, has become very general. The suggestions which have been promulgated, and the controversies which have been excited, on detached points rather than on the foundations of the subject, have put in evidence the existence of two conflicting theories respecting the social position desirable for manual laborers. This one may be called the theory of dependence and protection; the other that of self-dependence.

According to the former theory, the lot of the poor, in all things which affect them collectively, should be regulated *for* them, not *by* them. They should not be required or encouraged to think for themselves, or give to their own reflection or forecast an influential voice in the determination of their destiny. It is supposed to be the duty of the higher classes to think for them, and to take the responsibility of their lots as the commander and officers of an army take that of the soldiers composing it. This function, it is contended, the higher classes should prepare themselves to perform conscientiously, and their whole demeanor should impress the poor with a reliance on it, in order that, while yielding passive and active obedience to the rules prescribed for them, they may resign themselves in all other respects to a trustful *insouciance*, and repose under the shadow of their protectors. The relation between rich and poor, according to this theory a (theory also applied to the relation between men and women), should be only partly authoritative; it should be amiable, moral, and sentimental; affectionate tutelage on the one side, respectful and grateful deference on the other. The rich should be *in loco parentis* to the poor, guiding and restraining them like children. Of spontaneous action on their part there should be no need. They should be called on for nothing but to do their day's-work, and to be moral and religious. Their morality and religion should be provided for them by their superiors, who should see them properly taught it, and should do all that is necessary to insure their being, in return for labor and attachment, properly fed, clothed, housed, spiritually edified, and innocently amused.

This is the ideal of the future in the minds of those whose dissatisfaction with the present assumes the form of affection and regret towards the past. Like other ideals, it exercises an unconscious influence on the opinions and sentiments of numbers who never consciously guide themselves by any ideal. It has also this in common with other ideals, that it has never been historically realized. It makes its appeal to our imaginative sympathies in the character of a restoration of the good times of our forefathers. But no times can be pointed out in which the higher classes of this or any other country performed a part even distantly resembling the one assigned to them in this theory. It is an idealization, grounded on the conduct and character of here and there an individual. All privileged and powerful classes, as such, have used their power in the interest of their own selfishness, and have indulged their self-importance in despising, and not in lovingly caring for, those who were, in their estimation, degraded, by being under the necessity of working for their benefit. I do not affirm that what has always been must always be, or that human improvement has no tendency to correct the intensely selfish feelings engendered by power; but though the evil may be lessened, it cannot be eradicated, until the power itself is withdrawn. This, at least, seems to me undeniable, that long before the superior classes could be sufficiently improved to govern in the tutelary manner supposed, the inferior classes would be too much improved to be so governed.

I am quite sensible of all that is seductive in the picture of society which this theory presents. Though the facts of it have no prototype in the past, the feelings have. In them lies all that there is of reality in the conception. As the idea is essentially repulsive of a society only held together by the relations and feelings arising out of pecuniary interests, so there is something naturally attractive in a form of society abounding in strong personal attachments and disinterested self-devotion. Of such feelings it must be admitted that the relation of protector and protected has hitherto been the richest source. The strongest attachments of human beings in general are towards the things or the persons that stand between them and some dreaded evil. Hence, in an age of lawless violence and insecurity, and general hardness and roughness of manners, in which life is beset with dangers and sufferings at every step, to those who have neither a commanding position of their own nor a claim on the protection of some one who has, a generous giving of protection and a grateful receiving of it are the strongest ties which connect human beings; the feelings arising from that relation are their warmest feelings; all the enthusiasm and tenderness of the most sensitive natures gather round it; loyalty on the one part and chivalry on the other are principles exalted into passions. I do not desire to depreciate these qualities. The error lies in not perceiving that these virtues and sentiments, like the clanship and the hospitality of the wandering Arab, belong emphatically to a rude and imperfect state of the social union, and that the feelings between protector and protected, whether between kings and subjects, rich and poor, or men and women, can no longer have this beautiful and endearing character, where there are no longer any serious dangers from which to protect. What is there in the present state of society to make it natural that human beings, of ordinary strength and courage, should glow with the warmest gratitude and devotion in return for protection? The laws protect them, wherever the laws do not criminally fail in their duty. To be under the power of some one, instead of being, as formerly, the sole condition of safety, is now, speaking generally, the only situation which exposes to grievous wrong. The so-called protectors are now the only persons against whom, in any ordinary circumstances, protection is needed. The brutality and tyranny with which every police report is filled, are those of husbands to wives, of parents to children. That the law does not prevent these atrocities, that it is only now making a first timid attempt to repress and punish them, is no matter of necessity, but the deep disgrace of those by whom the laws are made and administered. No man or woman who either possesses or is able to earn an independent livelihood, requires any other protection than that which the law could and ought to give. This being the case, it argues great ignorance of human nature to continue taking for granted that relations founded on protection must always subsist, and not to see that the assumption of the part of protector, and of the power which belongs to it, without any of the necessities which justify it, must engender feelings opposite to loyalty.

Of the workingmen, at least in the more advanced countries of Europe, it may be pronounced certain, that the patriarchal or paternal system of government is one to which they will not again be subject. That question was decided when they were taught to read and allowed access to newspapers and political tracts; when dissenting preachers were suffered to go among them and appeal to their faculties and feelings in opposition to the creeds professed and countenanced by their superiors; when they were brought together in numbers to work socially under the same roof; when railways enabled them to shift from place to place and change their patrons and employers as easily as their coats; when they were encouraged to seek a share in the government by means of the electoral franchise. The working-classes have taken their interests into their own hands, and are perpetually showing that they think the interests of their employers not identical with their own, but opposite to them. Some among the higher classes flatter themselves that these tendencies may be counteracted by moral and religious education; but they have let the time go by for giving an education which can serve their purpose. The principles of the Reformation have reached as low down in society as reading and writing, and the poor will not much longer accept morals and religion of other people's prescribing. I speak more particularly of this country, especially the town population, and the districts of the most scientific agriculture or the highest wages, Scotland and the north of England. Among the more inert and less modernized agricultural population of the southern counties, it might be possible for the gentry to retain, for some time longer, something of the ancient deference and submission of the poor, by bribing them with high wages and constant employment; by insuring them support, and never requiring them to do anything which they do not like. But these are two conditions which never have been combined, and never can be, for long together. A guarantee of subsistence can only be practically kept up, when work is enforced, and superfluous multiplication restrained, by at least a moral compulsion. It is then that the would-be revivers of old times, which they do not understand, would feel practically in how hopeless a task they were engaged. The whole fabric of patriarchal or seignorial influence, attempted to be raised on the foundation of caressing the poor, would be shattered against the necessity of enforcing a stringent poor-law.

2. It is on a far other basis that the well-being and well-doing of the laboring people must henceforth rest. The poor have come out of leading-strings, and cannot any longer be governed or treated like children. To their own qualities must now be commended the care of their destiny. Modern nations will have to learn the lesson, that the well-being of a people must exist by means of the justice and self-government, the δικαιοσύνη and σωφροσύνη, of the individual citizens. The theory of dependence attempts to dispense with the necessity of these qualities in the dependent classes. But now, when even in position they are becoming less and less dependent, and their minds less and less acquiescent in the degree of dependence which remains, the virtues of independence are those which they stand in need of. Whatever advice, exhortation, or guidance is held out to the laboring classes, must henceforth be tendered to them as equals, and accepted by them with their eyes open. The prospect of the future depends on the degree in which they can be made rational beings.

There is no reason to believe that prospect other than hopeful. The progress indeed has hitherto been, and still is, slow. But there is a spontaneous education going on in the minds of the multitude, which may be greatly accelerated and improved by artificial aids. The instruction obtained from newspapers and political tracts may not be the most solid kind of instruction, but it is an immense improvement upon none at all. What it does for a people, has been admirably exemplified during the cotton crisis, in the case of the Lancashire spinners and weavers, who have acted with the consistent good sense and forbearance so justly applauded, simply because, being readers of newspapers, they understood the causes of the calamity which had befallen them, and knew that it was in no way imputable

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either to their employers or to the government. It is not certain that their conduct would have been as rational and exemplary, if the distress had preceded the salutary measure of fiscal emancipation which gave existence to the penny press. The institutions for lectures and discussion, the collective deliberations on questions of common interest, the trades-unions, the political agitation, all serve to awaken public spirit, to diffuse variety of ideas among the mass, and to excite thought and reflection in the more intelligent. Although the too early attainment of political franchises by the least educated class might retard, instead of promoting, their improvement, there can be little doubt that it has been greatly stimulated by the attempt to acquire them. In the meantime, the working classes are now part of the public; in all discussions on matters of general interest they, or a portion of them, are now partakers; all who use the press as an instrument may, if it so happens, have them for an audience; the avenues of instruction through which the middle classes acquire such ideas as they have, are accessible to, at least, the operatives in the towns. With these resources, it cannot be doubted that they will increase in intelligence, even by their own unaided efforts; while there is reason to hope that great improvements both in the quality and quantity of school education will be effected by the exertions either of government or of individuals, and that the progress of the mass of the people in mental cultivation, and in the virtues which are dependent on it, will take place more rapidly, and with fewer intermittences and aberrations, than if left to itself.

From this increase of intelligence, several effects may be confidently anticipated. First: that they will become even less willing than at present to be led and governed, and directed into the way they should go, by the mere authority and *prestige* of superiors. If they have not now, still less will they have hereafter, any deferential awe, or religious principle of obedience, holding them in mental subjection to a class above them. The theory of dependence and protection will be more and more intolerable to them, and they will require that their conduct and condition shall be essentially self-governed. It is, at the same time, quite possible that they may demand, in many cases, the intervention of the legislature in their affairs, and the regulation by law of various things which concern them, often under very mistaken ideas of their interest. Still, it is their own will, their own ideas and suggestions, to which they will demand that effect should be given, and not rules laid down for them by other people. It is quite consistent with this, that they should feel respect for superiority of intellect and knowledge, and defer much to the opinions, on any subject, of those whom they think well acquainted with it. Such deference is deeply grounded in human nature; but they will judge for themselves of the persons who are and are not entitled to it.—*John Stuart Mill.*

OPINIONS OF A HORSE-CAR CONDUCTOR.

This evening I talked with the conductor of a horse-car on my way in from ——. He was intelligent, educated, and seemed to appreciate the situation. He averaged twelve hours a day, for which day's work he received one dollar and seventy-five cents. He had seen the time when he would have "turned up his nose" at such pay; but now he couldn't help himself; he was glad to get anything to do, and most any kind of wages; he had friends enough who couldn't tell where their next meal was coming from; they belonged to the "tramp brigade," much against their will; they were "drafted, and couldn't get off, even on a furlough." I inquired after a conductor I used to know, whom of late I had missed. He had been discharged, not for anything he did, but for something he omitted to do. The "spotters" didn't hear the sound of the "punch" as often as they thought they were privileged to. When he was paid off, he informed the company that he had not worked for nothing. They judged he had not, as he soon went into a profitable business for himself. I said that I had read in some respectable daily journal that "the honest conductor regarded the punch as a badge of honor, the company thereby assuring the public that here was a man who could be trusted to record the number of his freight." He smiled, and said if they were obliged to wear a ball and chain, he supposed it would still be regarded as an honorable appendage by the enlightened press, which was always ready and eager to defend the upper dog. "Not so bad as that," I interposed. "They always take the side of the capitalist as against the laborer,—all the *respectable* journals do," he responded vigorously. I made some inquiries as to the management of the road in respect to the salaries of the different officers. "The president of the road is paid ten thousand dollars," he went on to say; "the chief conductor twenty-five hundred dollars,—or two thousand dollars by the railroad company and five hundred dollars by the punch company. He was influential in getting the punches introduced, and they have some sort of an arrangement. The punches are rented at twenty cents a day; each conductor has two. The punch company is making a big thing out of it; they wouldn't sell a punch for love or money. That makes forty cents a day for each conductor. If they would add that forty cents to the conductor's wages, and whatever else they pay for spies, in my opinion it would be a better investment. There would be a few who would steal all they got, any way; but most of them, when they knew the square thing had been done by them, would reciprocate. As it is now, the company says to every man, 'We've done our d—dest to fix you so you can't steal,' and that makes a thief even of an honest man. If he's got to wear the name, he may as well have the game. The fact is, no conductor has any sympathy with the company. If he does well, it's to keep his place. The thing ain't run right anyhow. If it's for the public, why don't the public manage it? Why does the city let a private corporation have such roads all in their hands? If the people had good sense, they would take all such things under their own protection. Fares on the roads could be reduced half, and gas could be furnished two-thirds less. All these corporations are just plundering the people, and there's no use in it." I must not omit to report one other remark, which will further serve to show that a conductor on a horse-car may not be without a commendable public spirit. "I have as much pride in Boston as any man dare have; but I would like to see Boston welfare include all classes of people. Boston, of all cities, ought not to measure her prosperity by a few rich people. What kind of success is it, when only a few succeed and the rest fail,—and fail, not because they don't deserve success, but because, as things are arranged, success for them is impossible? There ought to be one city in the world, just for the novelty of the thing, if for no better reason, which would secure a chance of prosperity to all. They may talk as much as they please, it isn't done; and those that have the upper hand don't want it done. I know, for I have been there, and have seen how things work. Don't you suppose I would like to do something besides just earn a living for myself? I would like to be able to contribute to the general good and pleasure by improving and beautifying the city. But I can't, and there are thousands like me. me. We can't on twelve dollars a week. But the President of the road, with his ten thousand, can. Now the question is, Are his two or four hours worth so much more than our ten or twelve?"

Of course I give this conversation from memory, but have made my report as faithful as possible. I have deemed its significance to lie in the expression of opinions indicating a new social science, which are by no means, as I have some opportunities for knowing, rare among this class of working people.—*Chips from my Studio, Radical Review.*

THE LADY SOCIALISTS OF RUSSIA.

The Russian socialists in London have published the photographic likenesses of the ladies who have been recently condemned to long years of hard labor or distant exile. Their faces are all those of women thoroughly in earnest, and some of them are very fair to see. For among the condemned are several ladies of position, young and handsome and cultured, against whom no charge was made of anything but such a protest against existing institutions as a strong government might well ignore, or, at most, lightly punish. One of them, the fairest of their number, is now fast fading away, her health having been altogether broken by the severity of the solitary imprisonment for nearly two years which preceded her trial. A poem written by her in prison, and now circulating widely but secretly in Russia, serves to some extent to show what are the feelings which mainly actuate such enthusiasts as M. Tourguéneff has described. The following lines contain a literal prose translation of its verse:—

"My deadly sin, my criminal design, punish, O Judge! but simply, rapidly; without pretence, without pharasaical mask, without speeches for the defence."

"Having donned peasant bonds instead of robes, and having 'criminally' doffed shoes, I thither went where groan our brethren, where the poor are and eternal toil."

"Surprised 'in the act,' on the scene of crime have I been brought up for a judgment. To what purpose are these witnesses and depositions? All things bear witness against me!"

"Ask not, O Judge! useless questions. Look at me! I am all proofs. On my shoulders the dress of the people, my feet bare, my hands callous with toil."

"All broken am I by hard labor. But know that in my heart of hearts, deeper than all others, is one proof buried: love to my native land."

"Know this, too, that however criminal I may be, thou, O my Judge, art powerless over me. No! I am inaccessible to harsh treatment, and not thou wilt conquer, but I."

"During my lifetime thou mayst punish me. But my malady has already entered a protest. And over me impends, as thou seest and knowest, only a brief arrest."

"Always holding that same love shall I die. And, dropping the prison keys, above my pillow will bend my punishers with a tear and a prayer."—*London Spectator.*

MR. FREDERICK LEIGHTON, the distinguished English artist, is a man of charming manner. In conversation he is always interesting, often brilliant; the most delightful of companions, the most genial of hosts, and the firmest of friends. For a brother artist Frederick Leighton has never an unkind word, and for his art nothing but single-hearted and unselfish devotion. As he comes forward to greet you on the threshold of his studio, you notice that silver threads are beginning to show among the soft brown that fringes his lips and curls crisply about his temples. But the old light flashes from his deep-gray eyes; the broad white forehead is unwrinkled; the chiselling of the face firm and unaltered; about the mouth a smile flickers, in which is a strange mingling of girl-like sweetness and manly power; the stalwart shoulders are unbent, and the activity of youth is in every supple movement of the well-formed limbs. On all subjects he talks with delightful animation; and his extensive reading and refined culture are a signal refutation of the charge which is sometimes made upon the literary acquirements and intellectual tastes of artists. One cannot, it is true, have imbibed classics in Frankfort, studied art at the Royal Academy of Berlin and in Rome, have been the constant companion of such men as Ary Scheffer and Robert Henry in Paris, exchanged thoughts with the greatest artists and literary men of Brussels and London, and lived in the best circles everywhere, without acquiring a vast amount of knowledge; but more than this, Mr. Leighton is an accomplished linguist, and familiar with the finest works of German, French, and Italian authors, the beauties of which have not been diluted by translation. He is a musician, too.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

TRANSITION.

The time of change has come,
And timid souls sit dumb
To see th' advancing strides
Of Freedom's rising tides.

Dead dogmas are decaying;
Half weeping and half praying,
The Church counts o'er its beads
And tightly grasps its creeds.

"We need no reformation;
We wish no alteration;
Our creed from Heaven descends;
Here mental progress ends!

"To onward-marching Science
We offer our defiance!
The Bible is our guide;
We trust in naught beside."

Thus wails the Church's chorus,
While steadily before us
Roll in the waves of light,
Resistless in their might!

Wail on, ye firm believers!
Denounce us as deceivers!
We calmly trust to Time
To prove our cause sublime.

No more may minds be fettered;
To e'en the most unlettered
Must truths be soon revealed,
In vain kept long concealed.

"We need no reformation"?
A foolish declaration!
Already in your fold
Have forms of faith grown old.

From Bruno's cruel burning
And Galileo's spurning,
To this your futile rage
At Tyndall and his age,

Your priests have been defeated
In conflicts oft repeated;
Compelled by facts to yield,
At length you quit the field.

The truths by Parker stated,
Though vilified and hated,
Are veritably tame
To those we now proclaim!

The sect which then expelled him,
The pulpits which repelled him,
Now gladly hear far more
Than they refused before.

Thus Freedom's cause is gaining,
While Error's force is waning;
Beside fair Arno's wave
He conquers in his grave!

Not his to see the morn;
He only felt your scorn;
Alone through storm and night
He toiled to bring us light.

And now that light is breaking!
The world to Truth is waking!
Old dogmas disappear
And Reason's reign draws near!

Still, not for us to see
The age that is to be;
We hail the day of Truth,
But perish in its youth.

Yet oft our spirits range
Beyond this scene of change,
And on hope's pinions trace
The future of our race.

We catch by inspiration
Its coming exultation!
We hear its thrilling strains!
We mark its wondrous gains!

E'en now through Faith's clear vision
We view those fields elysian;
Inhale their peaceful air,
And all their freedom share!

J. L. STODDARD.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 25.

J. Guiwits, $1; George Riker, $3; C. B. Deyo, $3; Chas. T. Pratt, $3.20; Jno. Bentley, $5; Chas. A. Miller, $2.20; B. F. Underwood, $8.20; Andrew Ashton, $1.60; E. C. Walker, 50 cents; F. G. Johnson, $3.20; George B. Wheeler, $3.20; Prof. S. Durell, $3.25; Henry White, 75 cents; George Martin, $5; Cash, $3.

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The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 30, 1877.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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NOTICE.

During the month of August, my friend, Mr. SIDNEY H. MORSE, will assume entire editorial charge of THE INDEX, and relieve me of all literary responsibility on its account. All letters and communications should be addressed, as usual, to "THE INDEX, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

F. R. A. ANNUAL REPORT.

The report of the recent annual meeting of the Free Religious Association has been published in the usual pamphlet form, and can be obtained at the office 231 Washington Street, or at A. Williams & Co.'s, corner of Washington and School Streets, Boston. It contains the Essay by Rev. W. R. Alger on "Steps Towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and the Essay by Mr. C. D. B. Mills, on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; also Addresses by Messrs O. B. Frothingham, William Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson,—with tenth annual reports of the executive committee, treasurer, etc. Price, single copy, forty cents; four, or more, twenty-five cents each.

Persons sending for it by mail will address, "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. W. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

WARREN'S photograph of Emerson is excellent.

WE HOPE THE INDEX will receive a report from the Walcott Grove meeting. Judging from what was promised and from items in the daily press, we anticipate an account full of interest.

THE TWO POEMS we have had the pleasure to publish from the pen of Mr. J. L. Stoddard have been most acceptable contributions. The one of two weeks ago gave our readers great pleasure, and we are sure they will find the one this week equally to their liking.

THE PREDOMINANCE of the labor-question in our columns this week is owing to no premeditated effort on our part to press that one subject on the attention of readers, but is due rather to the complicity of the times which has for the time being turned the thoughts of nearly all our contributors into this one channel.

J. VILA BLAKE has gone to Quincy, Ill., to preac for a free church in that city. He takes with him the warmest regard and best wishes of very many Eastern friends. Mr. Blake is a young man of rare abilities and ripest culture. He will be able to well serve the people who have been so wise and so fortunate as to persuade him to make his home in their midst.

INSTEAD of dying out, the Indians are increasing. There are twenty-five thousand more in the country now than when the first white settlements were made. If, as they are swept Westward (by General Howard), for the next fifty years, they go on abounding in the same ratio, there will be then some five hundred thousand tasting the salt waters of the Pacific. A goodly number to smoke the pipe of a prolonged Peace and make a last "treaty" with the great Father!

THE *Christian Union* has made a discovery which promises much good. In its "Sunday-school" columns it has "Thoughts for the Class," which, if heeded, will grow a new style of Christian "apologists," as the reader will perceive:—

"Infidelity is not modern. The pantheism which makes all God, and the materialism which denies any God, and the philosophy which regards him, as at best, only the unknown and unknowable, are all borrowed from ancient times. Observe how Paul treats this scepticism:—

"He treats it cautiously. He uses no vituperation. So Christ reserved his denunciations for Pharisaism; that is, hypocrisy within the Church. He never uttered a philippic against Sadduceeism, the infidelity of Palestine in the first century."

"POOR wretch of a Bismarck!" exclaims the *Catholic Review*. It seems that the Prince has been "sneering at the alleged miracle at Marpingen," and "laughing at the Papacy for having declared the Lourdes apparition a miracle notwithstanding the facts of the case had been officially ascertained." He has also spoken "with great kindness of those of the Evangelical pastors who are avowed infidels,—but he cautioned them not to go too fast." He further says that though they must not "allow Christ to be disowned, yet dogma requires to be developed; various beliefs have always existed, and no one has the right to appropriate to himself the exclusive privilege of being in the right." Poor wretch? Oh, no.

THE following note has a general interest which will be served by its republication in these columns:—

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., Aug. 10, 1877.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER:—

In your issue of August 11, Mr. James T. Bixby makes the assertion that "the maxim of Proudhon was that 'property is robbery,' and that the State ought to confiscate all estates and goods, and out of the general income provide an equal support for each." As a student of Proudhon, and in many things his disciple, I call upon Mr. Bixby to give chapter and verse from Proudhon's writings for so much of the above statement as relates to the duties of government. I not only deny that Proudhon ever advocated the doctrine attributed to him, but affirm that he improved every opportunity of refuting it. If Mr. Bixby is the candid man I take him to be, he will either comply with the above request, or plead guilty to my charge of reckless misstatement with respect to the ablest—I might almost say the bitterest—opponent of communism that the world has yet known. Respectfully yours,

BENJ. R. TUCKER.

WITH THE thoughtful essay by Mr. Holtzman, which is respectfully commended to the attention of the committee to be appointed, at Mrs. Thompson's suggestion, by the Social Science Association; Mr. Tucker's timely translation of Proudhon's annihilation of the "Malthusians"; the extract from Stuart Mill on the "Futurity of the Laboring Class"; the editorial communication by "E. W.," which if it does not in all respects challenge assent, challenges attention, and leaves no doubt of the writer's profound and humane interest in the great question it treats; and Bishop Ferrette's comments on the "Teachings of the Strikes,"—we are disposed to think that this number of THE INDEX may be regarded by those specially interested in labor reform as a good document for distribution. A copy will be sent gratuitously to any new address furnished by regular subscribers to the extent a small extra issue will permit. Names first received, first served.

THE NEW ENGLAND LABOR LEAGUE will hold a special Convention at 176 Tremont Street, Sunday and Monday, September 16 and 17, day and evening. This League has been holding meetings for a number of years, calling public attention to the question now uppermost throughout the land. Its voice is practically the expression of the opinions of Mr. E. H. Heywood, he presenting at each Convention the series of resolutions which, as they get reported or printed in the daily papers, give the tone to the proceedings reaching the public ear. It is to be observed, however, that very erroneous opinions of what Mr. Heywood teaches get in circulation. This is partly, as we think, his own fault; but largely comes from a disposition on the part of the public generally to caricature or place whatever new idea affecting established interests when it first makes its appearance in the worst possible light. It has been so from the beginning of the world, and perhaps it is no great misfortune. Ideas may have to get toughened to stand this world's racket, as well as men. The truth is, Mr. Heywood's labor doctrines are, when fairly analyzed, more in harmony with what people generally concede than those presented by any of the other, we may say, rival schools, that usually convene in this city. He is not an advocate of trades-unions, but defends the liberty of every one to make his own bargains; he does not advocate the eight-hour scheme, nor legislative interference of any kind. Even his opposition to interest, rents, dividends, etc., when fully set forth, amounts only to what he regards as a means of determining what are the demands of equity in these transactions. It is a peculiarity of Mr. Heywood's movement that the working-people themselves are not more captivated by it then the capitalists. His doctrines cut them off equally with all others from speculative increase, and so blight in their first estimation all the hopes they also are cherishing of one day getting abundance of riches. They are also not pleased to think that he will not invoke the strong arm of the law in their defence.

THE LIBERAL OUTLOOK.

We speak of that liberal sentiment which is spreading over the world inclining all people to listen more patiently one to another, of the tendencies to accept with more and more alacrity the appeal to right reason and fact as evolved by peaceful intellectual encounter. The spirit of dogma with the intelligent growth of mankind is dying out. The world's face is turning away from it. Our poet this week sings:—

"The world to Truth is waking!
Old dogmas disappear
And Reason's reign draws near."

We are leaving behind so many things our fathers held to be sacred, and which we inheriting have cherished, many feel as though they had been bereft, and wonder at times, like the doubting Israelites, if they have not been led out into a wilderness to perish. Instances are frequent where they return to the shelter of old institutions; and the prophecy is risked that a grand reaction is setting in: the prodigal age is about returning to the old homestead where authority and superstition are still venerated. Those, however, who have observed more closely the march of ideas have no such misgivings. They know that the march of events must be in the direction of ideas and not away from them. The Christian world is undergoing a transformation. In the thought of both clergy and laity Christianity is being made over. The old creeds may hold their outward forms; but could the believers of a past age listen to the interpretations of the "believers" in this present age, it is more than probable they would never suspect their old faith was so much as being talked of, much less defended. This transforming of Christianity is the beginning and the progress toward its complete abandonment as a system of religion. Men do not make over an old garment forever. The time comes when the new cloth, as Jesus understood, gets too vigorous by far for the old, and a new garment throughout is secured. That it will be so with Christianity we doubt not. The time will come when there shall be neither Jew nor Gentile, Christian or Infidel; but an inclusive religion which shall deem it the highest reverence for each soul to be obedient unto its own heavenly vision.

"Still, not for us to see
The age that is to be;
We hail the day of Truth,
But perish in its youth.

"Yet oft our spirits range
Beyond this scene of change,
And on hope's pinions trace
The future of our race.

"We catch by inspiration
Its coming exultation!
We hear its thrilling strains!
We mark its wondrous gains!

"E'en now through Faith's clear vision
We view those fields elysian;
Inhale their peaceful air,
And all their freedom share."

CO-OPERATIVE REFORMS.

One reform treads upon another. The world cannot get on piece-meal. It must sweep the circle and include all that goes to make up human felicity. Professor Fisher, in his "Notes" to Seebohm's *Protestant Revolution*, shows how intimately the religious reformation was connected with other various and complex elements. "Events like the growth of monarchy, the spread of commerce, the new birth of art, the revival of learning, were essential features in that form of society which gradually arose and followed upon the Middle Ages." The religious movement may be central, but it is dependent on all else that affects the life and growth of nations. To quote Professor Fisher farther: "As regards the mediæval period, secular history and ecclesiastical history are inseparable. Neither can be studied apart from the other. If a division is more possible as relates to the modern era, still, even here, one class of phenomena are so closely associated with another, that ecclesiastical history cannot be understood apart from secular, nor can secular history be adequately studied apart from ecclesiastical. The life of nations, as of men, is one." When the historian comes to record the progress of the religious emancipation so perceptibly advancing in our age, he will find that it went hand in hand with other and apparently dissimilar interests.

The peculiarity of the Reformation as it extends to our time is, that it consciously includes all classes of people; includes them not as simply changing their form of allegiance from one potentate to another, but as people to be freed from all enforced outward authority. It is a gospel of self-dependence

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to be preached to every creature. Seebohm, contrasting old and modern civilization, speaks of the latter as "aiming at making all classes of the people, town and country, rich and poor, alike citizens for whose common weal the nation is to be governed, and who ultimately shall govern themselves. In this aim of modern civilization *to secure the common weal of the people* lies its power and strength."

This aim is nowhere more quickly recognized and approved than in America. Whatever it be that seems desirable, it is desirable not for a part, but for all. If it be a liberal religion, or rational living, the message is unto all human kind. Whatever hinders its progress becomes of concern. The doom of poverty resting on the mass of people, consigning them to ignorance, making them easy prey to superstitions and priestcraft, becomes a matter to take special notice of. All that tends to unfold the manhood and womanhood latent in all men and women tends to emancipate them religiously. The prominence the question of reformation in regard to labor has lately assumed, gives most encouraging assurance that a new element is to come in to aid the progress of free and rational religion. The new gospel is not to be "preached to the poor." It says, "You have had the poor with you always until now: henceforth, pure and undefiled religion is to banish poverty for all men and women of industry." In saying this, it deals the heaviest possible blow at the tyranny of churches and creeds. 'Tis a common cause: a rational religion, and the equitable reward of labor.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

My friend, the responsible editor *pro tem.*, says, "Well, let the old goose die. The people want a new one,"—*apropos* of my remark that what the working-people want is "not so much an increase of wages as a better custody for their possible savings." I have never denied the deficiency of wages. I only assert that it is not proved that an increase of wages would remedy the trouble; while it is quite possible that it might lead to worse, if the increase were such as to make capital unproductive.

That the employers of labor, capitalists who have got possession of other people's capital, do drive unreasonably hard bargains with the laborer nobody can deny. The question of all questions is, how to stop it. Yet, notwithstanding all the statistics that prove the evil, one may say with emphasis, and may cite every level-headed American, from Ben Franklin down to Peter Cooper to back him, that there is not on American soil an able-bodied and sound-minded man *who loves work for its own sake*—and if he does not, his life is not worth living—who cannot, in spite of all such capitalists, earn his living, feed a small and industrious family, and save a little something besides. What honest capitalists of large capital ought to do, and will do if they have much wit, is to see that the little savings of such a man may become available to him as capital. The crime of the capitalists, or rather the gamblers who manage capital, is not that they use their own capital for their own emolument, but that they have absorbed the savings of the poor for their own emolument.

Rivers of ink are shed just now on the labor question, but very little of it in stating and illustrating the following quite pregnant propositions:—

1. Capital is nothing but property, and belongs to its owners.

2. Capital is property because, almost without exception, it is created by labor, and it belongs to the laborer who created it till he has sold it.

3. Society consists of individuals. Society can own nothing, except by virtue of individual ownership, whether the individual shares are divided or undivided.

4. To say that the use of capital should be granted gratuitously to the laborer who does not own it or any share in it, is to say that he shall be partially supported as a pauper. It is a wanton and gratuitous attack on his manhood. It is also the destruction of *his* right of property as well as of every other man's.

5. Proprietorship is as much an inherent quality of human nature as attraction is of a magnet. So, as a general fact, is the love of labor for its own sake; but to this there are important exceptions. If property were not the certain reward of labor, famines would probably be more frequent and destructive.

6. Proudhon might just as well talk about water running down hill without gravity, as civilization existing after capital has ceased to be property. Such a thing is possible only in a purely imaginary world full of angels, and without lazy people, thieves, or Jay Goulds. Of course Proudhon is quite right in saying that after capital is made everybody's and nobody's, government will not be needed; there will be nothing for it to do and nothing to make it of. All that sort of philanthropy is nothing but surrendering to thieves, swindlers, and lazy people, and letting them eat us up.

What the real laboring man wants is what every honest man, rich or poor, wants: better protection against the great, big, glossy moths and parasites of society who grow enormously rich, not by the profits of capital but by the profits of lying. What they absorb is not the worst of their mischief. They set the fashion of cheating, and thus ruin thousands who try to follow them and fail.

The laboring men of this country are not to be confounded with the "workingmen's unions," "brotherhoods," or "strikes." They stand mostly on the broad ground of American citizenship, individualism, every man entirely his own man. The unfortunates who merge their manhood in classes and cliques, thus far but a small portion of our laboring population, do not seem to understand that when a crowd has fallen into the water, the poorest swimmer in it has a better chance to escape drowning, by his individual effort, than if all should join hands and cling together. The destitution of money, that is, of meat and bread, in the families chiefly of laborers imported by our miserable system of tariff taxation, a system which really taxes the meat and bread out of the mouths of those very laborers, by taxing the clothing which they must put on their backs, is surely deplorable enough. But their destitution of wit in striking just at this time, if at all, is far more deplorable. If they could have had the benefit of wise counsel, instead of losing the miserable pittance they had in an ineffectual attempt to get a little more, they would have waited for the inevitable struggle of the mass of the people against the vampires who have been sucking the blood of mines and railroads, and made common cause with that honest side which will by-and-by bring more prosperous times, with honest and honorable pay-masters.

There are plenty of people who think the only way to set civilization right is to pull it all down and build anew, forgetting that they will only have the same materials, if not a little worse, to rebuild with. But the sturdy Anglo-Saxon common-sense, which has done about the best it could thus far, is beginning to see what is rotten and what is sound. It is going to cut out the one and save the other. It is not going to throw away its boast that here the poorest man has only to *be* a man, to be a rich one. And it will by-and-by make that true by taxing the rich to their faces—the richer they are the higher the rate,—and ceasing to tax the poor behind their backs.

This is not yet altogether a government of, by, and for the people; but it has got along so far that fugitive miners and railroad laborers are not hunted and brought back to work without any wages at all. If they don't like their wages, they have the same right all the rest of us have to carry their grievance into politics, where it is sure to come at last, and be righted in some measure. The more quietly they do that the better. Mobs have been entirely out of order in this country for one hundred years. Any cause that resorts to them, no matter how just, is likely to go under. If the wronged laborers must mob anything, or any body, it should be the custom-house and the superfluous priest. This, though dreadfully foolish, would be aiming at the fountains of *their* trouble. To mob a railroad, burn its buildings, or stop its trains for more than "ten minutes for refreshments," is to attack the carotid artery of society on which millions, besides the employés, depend for a living. It is worse for the latter than to kill their own goose; for other people have rights in it which they had much better, for their own sakes, respect.

The public has a deeper interest than can be measured in money in having all railroad employés intelligent, experienced, conscientious men, and consequently in having them well paid. The most melancholy revelation of the recent outbreak is the crime of the railroad managers in allowing it to take place at all. It was utterly unnecessary. The great stock-gamblers and stock-waterers who have mostly got the management of our railroads have no lack of intellect, and of course know well enough how to make such bargains and with such men as to make strikes impossible. The public ought to be, and ere long will be, wise enough to make them do it. By-and-by, if a strike occurs on a railroad, of a sort to stop trains, the managing officers will have to step out, and give place to men who are not so greedy in their private pockets as to thus endanger the lives and stop the food and fuel of the great public.

E. W.

A FEW COMMENTS.

The "goose" whose death we were willing to record without shedding tears was the one that had fallen into the bad habit of laying its golden eggs only in a few nests. It is generally conceded that an old dog will not learn new tricks; and we surmised it would turn out pretty much the same with the old goose whose life "E. W." seemed to be imploring laboring men to save. We were wrong probably in saying that it was a new goose the people should desire. On further reflection we incline to think that the days of the *goose*-period are drawing to a close. A new goose would soon get as old and undoubtedly fall into ways as partial and unsatisfactory to human wants in general, as her mother before her. What we should all desire then, is, a new kind of a bird; or, to aspire still higher, some new characteristics developed in the human race. The day is coming on rapidly, we hope, when these better things will appear.

We do not share "E. W.'s" fear least the increase of wages shall make capital unproductive. It should remain "unproductive" so far as its productiveness tends to accumulate it only in a few hands. "E. W." desires that the laboring men shall become capitalists, and we believe that if the products of labor were equitably distributed, all workers would be capitalists, and that capital would then be by coöperative effort far more productive than it now is. This is the "new goose" we were thinking of. "E. W." speaks of "capitalists who have got possession of other people's capital," and we agree with him that the question is, how to stop it. By these capitalists he means, however, "gamblers," and not the "honest capitalists of large capital." But when we come more thoroughly to examine into the real equities of business life, it is possible that we shall find much of that we now call *honest*, to be needing essential modification or reconstruction. There is a pretty general feeling that as things stand at present, capital in comparatively few instances, gets into the hands of its real producers. Whether it be wilful or otherwise, the evil remains to be destroyed. How? That is the problem before us. We are not satisfied thus far with "E. W.'s" suggestion that "in spite of all such capitalists," and all adverse circumstances, everyone, who loves work for its own sake, can "earn his living, feed a small and industrious family, and save a little something besides." Without going to further discussion, we affirm that the settlement of the question we look for is one that does not hold the mass of mankind down to any such close shaving. Suppose they can squeeze out some "little savings," it does not appear that the ends of equity are not thwarted all the same, and, as we believe, not alone by that class of capitalists whose whole ambition is to "get possession of other people's capital and drive unreasonably hard bargains."

To the first, second, and third of "E. W.'s" "pregnant propositions" we fully assent. As to the fourth, we do not know of anybody who makes precisely such an affirmation. The nearest approach to it we have noticed is a statement that capital should be "granted gratuitously," or *otherwise*, according to the *cost* or *damage* to the person granting it. To the fifth we subscribe, and would especially emphasize the last sentence, "*If property were not* (supposed to be) *the certain reward of labor*, famines would probably be more frequent and destructive." As to what Proudhon has said, we think "E. W." is laboring under mistake. It was in reply probably to some similar criticism that Proudhon was led to write the following:—

I protest that, in criticising property, or rather the *ensemble* of institutions of which property is the pivot, it has never been my intention either to attack individual rights recognized by previous laws, or to contest the legitimacy of acquired possessions, or to provoke an arbitrary distribution of goods, or to place any obstacle in the way of the free and regular acquisition of property by sale and exchange, or even to prohibit or suppress, *by sovereign decree*, rent of land and interest on capital. I think that all these manifestations of human activity should remain free to all at their option; I admit no other modifications, restrictions, or suppressions of them than those which naturally and necessarily result from the universalization of the principle of reciprocity, and the law of synthesis that I propose.

With much of what follows in "E. W.'s" remarks we are in hearty agreement. We are not, however, convinced of the "destitution of wit" he thinks the laboring men displayed by their "strike"; or, at least, we believe the effect of their striking, as it has begun to show itself in the awakening of the public mind to the whole question, to be most wholesome and fruitful. We are not of the opinion either that there are plenty of people who think the "only way to set civilization right is to pull it all down and build anew."

All people know better. There is a certain amount of bad building, however, which, in time, is seen to be bad, gets "condemned," and has to come down, no matter how costly its construction may have been. "E. W." is himself no stranger to the importance of this work in the evolution of religious ideas and institutions. And is it true that we "only have the same materials, if not a little worse, to rebuild with"? No, far from it. No French Revolution—(we say this because people generally think it is saying about the worst that can be said)—but left the world better off with respect to "materials"—we mean ideas—with which to rebuild. It were, indeed, well if we could always preserve the true balance; if in the work of destruction the good could remain and only the bad get displaced. But the good is often so interwoven with the bad that its sacrifice becomes a part of the price paid for a new order of things. "E. W." will also understand this in its application to the uprooting of the chattel slave system in this country.

As to mobs being out of order, and the advisability of doing things more quietly, we are not at variance with "E. W." But we see also that whatever happens, happens as an expression of conditions, and that the main stress of our protest should go to changing the conditions which render such things possible. Our ability to change the circumstances of life is our pledge that they shall not master us.

LABOR NOTES.

—"Excessive selfishness" is said to be at the root of the matter.

—This must be "toned down" and employé and employer work for each other's interest.

—Which sounds well; but, unfortunately, without some guiding principle which illustrates the permanent advantage of unselfishness, things will remain as they are.

—The question is wofully mixed. Everybody talks all around it, and on both sides, top and bottom. A writer in the *Science Monthly* says "teach" this, "teach" that, "teach" the other thing, and many things besides, and ends saying, "All that we can do is to search after the laws governing such matters, and remove obstructions from the way."

—This writer also says, "Labor, like everything else in the market, is worth neither more nor less than supply and demand put upon it. It is sheer madness to battle fact by saying it should be worth more." And yet "the capitalist must not toy with men's wages at every whim he has." And yet again, "teach workingmen that they bring down their own wages, and that this is not their employer's doings."

—The same writer says wages must fall and not rise, because all the world clamors for cheap goods. "Could workingmen be made to realize the fact that high wages mean correspondingly high food, clothing, fuel, rent, with all else he would purchase, while low wages mean the opposite, I think they would agree with me in saying that the amount received *per diem* for their work was of secondary importance." Very well; suppose all this be true. The question still remains, Is the permanent condition of workingmen one of mere hand-to-mouth living? Of course, high wages or low matters not to men if their outgo keeps its due proportion. But "labor should leave an excess" is an axiom. What excess? How much labor shall a man do in order to live and still have an excess?

—The point these times suggest lies below the mere surface-question of how to ease up so men will feel the pressure less. What society demands is not only the removal of the pressure, but an assured opportunity for all people to improve their natures. For this they must have time and capital,—an excess of wealth daily accumulating over their cost of living. The day's work must end before they are exhausted. We praise the good boy who, when his hard day's work is done, turns to his books and gets an education; but society suffers more than we know by the inevitable break-down of health from this overstrain of faculties. Boys and girls that toil eight, ten, and twelve hours a day to *live*, as we say, are really toiling thus to *die*. And when this goes on through life, or, through such life as they may keep themselves in possession of, what remains? No; the labor question touches the evil of this present civilization more deeply, or we are mistaken.

—We have outgrown some things, and we shall outgrow others. We shall come to see that for the industrious the world over there shall be an opportunity for all the wealth their proper culture and life in this world demands. We shall outgrow the idea of class-distinction. All laborers shall be capitalists, and there shall be none others. To-day, with prevailing notions and the prevailing system, this is absolutely impossible. The idea of a capitalist is, as entertained to-day, one who, by scraping and economy, has laid by somewhat of his earnings, and then proceeded not to add thereto by his continued earning simply, but by using the capital he has gained to gather unto himself the earnings of others; the opportunities to do this are one in a hundred or a thousand; so the successful capitalists are few. A Stewart, a Vanderbilt, a Rothschild,—a few tall peaks of the mountain range. As these peaks could not be without the mountain range, so the mountain range could not be without the great valleys that stretch between them. Sometimes these valleys are deep gullies,—the coal-mines of Pennsylvania, for instance. "Now what!" we hear some voice, touched with indignation, exclaim; "do you propose levelling down all these peaks and mountain ranges until they also are low as the valleys or gullies? A pretty state of things you would bring us to. Do not these peaks and mountains send down their trickling streams, fertilizing the plains below, and making the broad rivers on which float their commerce and the smaller streams which turn the wheels of industry? And this is the 'goose' you would kill? Be warned; there are no golden eggs you can get out of that goose, kill her ever so dead."

—The answer to all this ought to be so self-evident, and is, where the self-evident vision is not lacking or remains undeveloped,—that words of reply were unnecessary. Simply, then, this: some of the peaks for their own good will have to come down,—we believe there is a general advice that they should not go up.—"Don't aspire to be a Vanderbilt," is a lesson taught now in pretty much every Sunday-school. If not there as much as it ought to be, most of the respectable dailies are teaching it. (We remember especially that the press generally at the time, said: "To be a Stewart is not the true path of ambition for any young man"; but since Mrs. Stewart has developed the Stewart plan for a great Memorial Cathedral, "to be a Stewart" is not esteemed so reprehensible a thing.)—The high peaks will come down, but the mountain range, which in the main represents the idea that at about that altitude the air is most bracing and pure, may abide. The work of the age is to fill the valleys up. We say, then, not levelling down so much as levelling up, is the motto of the future. Most people now are anxious to fill up the gullies; they don't like to see them,—humanity is so far humanized. How to bring up the valleys? This is the question that presses.

—We repeat again, it cannot be done by the system of business interests that prevails. Thrift, temperance, economy, more or less tobacco, have nothing to do with it. There is as much of these in one class of people as another. The improvidence of the poor is all in your eye, Mr. Economist,—we say it respectfully. There is as much improvidence in the nature of the rich or prosperous world as in the denizens of that lower world. The difference that you see in their conduct is a difference which depends entirely on the different circumstances to which—we were going to say, they are doomed—but not yet: we hope for better things. Let any man see himself on the road to the promised land, and he will be very apt to conduct himself accordingly. Let him find himself switched off and doomed to a ditch, and your providence or improvidence is all one and the same to him. When he becomes convinced that business life is a shaking of the dice—so many sixes, he who gets them wins, and he who don't, don't win, but, for the most part goes to the dogs,—let him reach this conviction—which lies so close to the fact the line between is indistinct, coupled with the conviction that the sixes are not for him,—then what follows? Why, temperance societies, almshouses, charity bureaus, work-houses, prisons, dungeons, and, in the world to come, "hell." Go read this world's history and see the long track of poverty for the masses over which all the woe of the world has travelled. Are we complaining of this world and its history? No: we say only, that this world has now at length after long travailing and groaning reached the dawn of a new order of things, and that America is its prophet!

—A new idea of the capitalist comes in view. Let us look steadily and see if it be the Messiah. Do not echo the old cry, "Crucify it, crucify it." Enough of that. Try and see if it "indeed be the Christ." What it has to say of itself sounds something like this: I am he who claims as mine own that which I earn. My capital is the excess of my own labor; which labor consists in producing or in helping produce still greater wealth; not in gathering the wealth of my neighbors, as I should do if my "profits" came out of their earnings. We are all producers of wealth together; all doing certain necessary things. Each produces after his own genius; we need each others' products. Not to rob one another we must exchange equivalents. Time, the wear and tear of our lives, enter into and determine the nature of these equivalents. With the benefit my production may be to my neighbor *I* have nothing to do. My business is to say what it has cost me to produce it. We mutually exchange not *benefits* but *burdens*. That which costs me nothing, I give him, and so, *vice versa*, does he. In the ratio of our outlay and the damage done, we charge a price. We may not always hit the exact line, but enough that we try to approximate to equity. My motto is the old one, "A fair exchange is no robbery." What is fair is determined not by the distress of my neighbor, but by my own. He must pay me sufficient to equal what I render to him, as determined by me; or, if he thinks me extortionate, or incapable of doing the work except at too great a cost, he will exchange with others who are for that speciality more adequately gifted. I shall take the hint, and seek other ways of employing my time. I have done so, and I have an excess of labor reserved. I am a capitalist. I see now that I can conduct a large enterprise which will require the assistance of many others. I will do this as a means of obtaining the opportunity for work which will most gratify my tastes. I do not wish to sweep the streets or toil in a coal-mine. I am bound by my own inner desire to do that which I can do best, and which, while it gives me employment, will help keep the social welfare sweet and sound. I will do, in short, that for which I was made. I will use in this enterprise the excess of labor I have saved. I will charge for the average risk such enterprises run of failure, for the time and excess of mental wear I contribute; the demands of my capital will then be satisfied; all else will be the product of those working in my employ; they like myself working not on the profit system, but on the cost system. Our joint product will be disposed of at a price regulated by its cost to us. Each laborer constantly a capitalist by his "excess of labor" over his daily wants. This capital of theirs may be loaned to me to increase the facilities of doing business by whatever security we can mutually agree upon. For its *use* no price will be set; for its *security* adequate provision will be made. *Use* pertains to the benefit conferred on another; security to the cost of loaning it. Now by our joint efforts our capital would increase,—increase by a continued opportunity for labor; increase only by labor. Thus equality of distribution would be preserved in proportion to the labor done; the inequality would of course be the result of unequal amounts of labor. I am, then, a capitalist who denies the right of capital to self-increase. My capital is increased by the excess of my labor. All I ask is security for my labor thus reserved that I may have it to rely on in any future time of need.

—The New Bedford *Mercury* prints the following: "An able railroad man, with a large interest in one of the leading railroads of the Middle States, writes in a private letter: 'But I have no heart to aid in any way the corporations of the time. The complaints of suffering men are ringing in my ears; and when I say that I know of things of which many are ignorant, and am cognizant of brutalities exercised toward subordinates which, if generally known, would heat the blood of any right-minded man, I am sure that you will believe that I am trusting that a good Providence will ere long overthrow all scheming, cruel tyrants and brutal overseers, who live only by trampling upon their fellow-men, and scorn all thought of pity. I have for many months given much thought to some of the problems of the near future, and I tell you, sir, it will soon be time for considerate, thoughtful, earnest men to stand together, and insist upon improved methods of conduct, especially in our large corporations. I hope the nobler members of the American press, and the leading journals, with all their mighty power for good, will look into the workings of these Juggernauts, and after close and critical examination give to the nation and the world facts supplemented by the soundest of advice. The time is ripe, and I think the duty is plain and unmistakable. Twenty of the leading and wealthy men of America could, by the exercise of reason, and by safe and profitable investment, ameliorate the condition of every honest person in the land, and render labor-troubles and bitterness and bloodshed things to be apprehended no more.'"

—The *Labor Standard* of New York publishes this platform:—

WHEREAS, political liberty without economical freedom is but an empty phrase; therefore, we will in the first place direct our efforts to the economical question. We repudiate connection with all political parties of the propertied classes, without regard to their name.

We demand that all the means of labor (land, machinery, railroads, telegraphs, canals, etc.,) become the common property of the whole people, for the purpose of abolishing the wages system, and substituting in its place co-operative production with a just distribution of its rewards.

Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents to the injury of their employes.

Gratuitous administration of justice in all courts of law.

Abolition of all conspiracy laws.

Railroads, telegraphs, and all means of transportation to be taken hold of and operated by the government.

All industrial enterprises to be placed under the control of the government as fast as practicable, and operated by free co-operative trades-unions for the good of the whole people.

—Read in another column what Mr. Mill says in regard to "laborers as a 'class.'" It is a distinction Mr. Conkling should have remembered.

Communications.

THE TEACHINGS OF THE STRIKE.

BY BISHOP FERRETTE.

Whatever views may be entertained of the good or evil effects of the recent strike, and of its creditable or disgracing character as a page of our national history, one thing is already evident to all thinking minds: it will be the starting-point of a new and more practical study of questions which had to be crowded back till some more urgent ones should be disposed of, but which have now forced themselves to the front rank.

Among these practically new questions will be the relation of the right of voting to the determination of enforcing the result of the vote at all risks by personal military service. Suppose a sleepy majority is prevailed upon by a few cunning devisers to deposit a care-nothing-about-it vote whereby the living interests of an important and determined minority are jeopardized; and suppose the minority will fight to resist the law, and the majority will not fight to enforce it, what next? Shall the tens be allowed to fight it out with the hundreds, the thousands quietly looking on? Or shall the tens be allowed to enlist, on the New York wharves, a foreign soldiery, such as is now for the most part the United States standing army, and employ that soldiery for the support of which the care-nothing-about-it thousands are taxed, in shooting down hundreds?

This leads us to a second question, that of the enforcement of State law by federal military force. The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every State a republican form of government, and protection against domestic violence. These two provisions need keen interpretation to be consistent with each other. A republican government is one in which no laws are passed of such exaggerating character as to raise within the State an opposition

which the State has no sufficient strength, or no will, to put down. Suppose a State had a Quaker majority, and passed laws that the non-Quaker minority were unwilling to submit to, and the Quaker majority unwilling to enforce by strength of arms; would it be the duty of the President of the United States, on the application of the Quaker legislature or governor, to remove the militia of the two nearest non-Quaker States to help to enforce the Quaker laws? Or suppose a State finds it convenient to have only two companies of militia, and these are too far or too distanted to be of any use: shall the army of the United States be summoned to do military duty in their stead? This is too ridiculous almost to mention; and yet it is difficult to see on what other grounds—except, perhaps, that of having had too little time to reflect—the President's action in West Virginia and elsewhere could have been based. Assuming that a republican government has, at home, all the resources necessary to cause its laws to be obeyed of its citizens at least, the only kinds of domestic violence against which I can see the President called upon to protect a State are, first, domestic violence (if it can be so called) inflicted upon the State by persons belonging to another State or foreign country; secondly, domestic violence seizing as its opportunity the absence of the State troops, on federal service, or their inability to approach the disturbed district through a very unforeseen event, such as an unprecedented flood.

The more properly economic part of the labor problem, which is, of course, the core of the question, I need not here mention except to say that it is, from this moment, the main theme opened for general discussion. To anticipate its full solution would be above the reach of the ablest, in the present infancy of the science of political economy. But sufficient are already the acquisitions of that science to convince us that its further results will be like the earlier ones, matter of discovery; not of dogmatic assertion of what are not truly Nature's laws, nor of impatient rebellion against what are Nature's laws from whose control there is no escape. It is because this question, in Europe, has been made one not of reasons but of impulses, that it has made there so little satisfactory progress. What gives me an almost confident hope that in America the debate will lead to better results, is not only the fairer scope afforded by universal suffrage and republican institutions, but also the peculiar fitness of the whole American people to grapple with precisely such a problem. The question between laborers and employers is mainly one of mathematics, and I have always been struck by the fact that all Americans are naturally good at figures. However imperfect the educational advantages of an American may have been, his arithmetic is almost sure to be far ahead of all the other branches of his education.

But however confident I am of the results of science, and however complete my conviction of the futility of all authoritative anticipations of her discoveries, there is one point on which I will boldly venture to be dogmatic. One of the deleterious effects, not of modern industry itself, but of the crude form in which the application of its processes has taken place, mindful of production only and careless of social results, has been the creation of a numerous floating class of operatives, having no permanent homes, no means of existence except those which depend, from hour to hour, on the will of a few employers. To this class belong, without contradiction, even the most honorable of the generally respectable men who, from one end of the land to the other, have lately risen in rebellion against the laws of their country, half with her connivance. Now, the truest and kindest thing that can firmly be said both to those men and to their employers, is that the existence of such a class is a permanent threat to the existence of the republic. Such a class is, by the nature of things, an immense rebel army quietly organized in our midst under the blind connivance of our laws, and ready to take the field and supersede those laws the day that it pleases. The only way of practically controlling such a floating class is, as in France, through an overwhelming permanent army, which is itself nothing else but a dangerous floating class of the same kind, ready to lend itself to the support of any Napoleonade or Macmahonade to which its commander may choose to apply it. We cannot afford to have, and we will not have, a permanent army on the French system; and so we cannot afford, in this republic, to have any floating class. A floating class is incompatible, not only with the security of republican institutions: it is incompatible with the constitution of the true family, the most precious of all the things which a republican form of government is intended to secure. Gypsies have no marriages and no regular family ties. Make the family homeless, its head, its mother, each child, a separate carpet-bag bread-winner: free-love is the result. And this is what modern industry, in its present form, tends everywhere to effect.

When this republic was founded, it had no floating class; if it had had, it would never have been founded. Every American, then, had his farm, or his manly home however poor; and that, every American will have to have yet. Railroad corporations and mill-owners, and all other industrial lords will have, cost it what it may cost, to so modify their arrangements as to make that possible. Industrial lords can no more be suffered, for their own individual, selfish interest, to call into existence a floating class of dependent, underpaid, suffering men, than your next neighbor can be suffered to fill the five stories of his shell-house with pine shavings imbibed with kerosene oil, or than Aaron Burr was suffered to march through the country at the head of his army of yet unexplained purpose. Were it said that the operatives are oppressed not for the interest of their employers alone, but of the whole public who use the railroads and the manufactured products of industry, the answer would be simple. Cursed be the cotton shirt, the fibre of which an unpaid slave has raised, or an underpaid operative has spun. May that shirt cleave to its wearer's back as Nessus' tunic, and never be torn off it except with his skin and blood. No cheapness of railroad fares, nor of cotton goods, can compensate a civilization for the curse of pauperism, a nation for the danger and shame of having an oppressed class. The fathers and mothers of this republic, and their children, were clad in home-spun, and were so contented with what they had, that they fought for it. If modern industry, by her labor-saving processes, can give us more, well and right. But where are the boasted powers of her machinery if it cannot, after all, give those who run it a permanent home and sufficient bread, whereas the old-fashioned loom could?

CREEDS.

Theologies and creeds are attempts to formulate, or rather to humanize the infinite; but the infinite or the universe cannot be expressed in terms of humanity. True wisdom contents itself, therefore, with an approximate statement of the truth of things, and does not attempt to grasp truth in its entirety. All formulas of the infinite and all names, which pretend to define it, are barren and mean nothing, and can mean nothing except the vain endeavor of ignorance, fanaticism, and priestly arrogance to overawe and paralyze the minds of men. Theological creeds are invariably a lot of barren affirmations about non-entities, mere empty formulas.

Man having ceased to be almost purely an imaginative being, impersonating every kind of power, has at length come under the influence of his reason, which is an impersonal faculty, *locus principiorum*. Hence he no longer indulges in mere verbal propositions, which are neither subjectively nor objectively true. Once he fought for them and died a martyr for such propositions. Now only the stupid and unenlightened portions of the race believe them.

B. W. BALL.

THE MISTAKES OF JESUS.

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM DENTON,

(FROM HIS FORTHCOMING BOOK ON JESUS).

The mistakes that Jesus made were great and numerous. His belief in the miraculous was unbounded. He constantly sought to increase that faith in others, and his doctrines on that subject have done much to produce the unphilosophic notions about the supernatural that so many entertain to-day. God clothes the grass of the field; he will much more clothe his children. He will give good things to them when they ask him; but sometimes as he teaches by a parable (Luke xi., 5–8) it is necessary to tease him, to keep asking until they weary him into granting their request. If two shall agree about anything which they may ask, God will do it for them (Matt. xviii., 19).

Nothing can be farther from the truth than such representations. God does not clothe the grass unless there is soil for the grass to grow in, and conditions have been favorable for the seed of the grass to obtain a suitable position in the soil. God clothes no grass in California from June to November, because there is no rain. There are no good things that we can get by merely asking for them. The price even of life is labor, and no asking or even teasing will enable us to evade the unalterable laws, which regard the prayer of the bishop no more than the hum of the beetle. When men profess to support orphan asylums and hospitals by prayer, it will be found that extensive advertising does the work, and prayer obtains the credit.

"If you had faith as a grain of mustard-seed, you might say to this mountain, Remove, and be cast into the sea, and it would remove, and nothing would be impossible to you" (Matt. xvii., 20; Mark xi., 23). All the facts demonstrate that if we had faith as a mountain we could not say to a grain of mustard, Remove, and be cast into the sea, with any prospect of its accomplishment.

In accordance with these doctrines of Jesus are the prayers that are offered by the million, generally by people who mean well, and under the influence of religious sentiment, but undirected by cultivated judgment. All is natural, from the birth of a gnat to the extinction of a sun, the father of a thousand worlds. The rocks are natural and all their contents. Here is a hill; a hard rock beneath it withstood the fury of the elements for ages, and thus it was produced. The people of the globe are as natural as the rocks they tread upon. The Indian is what ages of wandering and war have made him, and his disposition can only approximate that of the Anglo-Saxon by the operation of higher influences upon many generations. We are what India, Greece, Rome, Gaul, Britain, and America have made us. In many an American of to-day the shillalah Irishman of a century ago occasionally crops out. We are more musical for the shepherds of Greece, who played upon their pipes as they watched their flocks. The men who wrote Bibles developed the brain by which other men criticise them.

A careful study of the New Testament and the times when it was composed, shows that Jesus, his disciples, and Christianity were all as natural as the appearance of a comet or the occurrence of an eclipse. These were once regarded as supernatural; every comet was a miraculous messenger; every eclipse foretold some disaster. The astronomer has removed miracle from the skies; the theologian will eventually remove it from religion.

Jesus prays, and teaches his disciples to pray, "Thy kingdom come." His followers to-day pray, "Lord, revive thy work." All such prayers are requests for a miracle-worker to perform the impossible. Had the persons who offer them lived in the carboniferous age, when the highest animals of the world were reptiles, they would have prayed, "Thy kingdom come; O God, improve thy work"; that is, convert these hopping frogs and scaly fishes into birds, beasts, and men. God did improve his work, but it took ages for the needed improvement to take place, by causes such as had been operating for millions of ages previous, and that still are pushing the planet on. The reptile was infinitely lower than the worst man, and if God never performed a miracle to transform reptiles into men, but allowed the slow operation of natural causes to produce the result, why should we expect him now to advance low grades of men into higher? If the nebulæ in the distant heavens are under the domain of law, condensing into suns and worlds, and, only during ages that are an eternity to our thought, advancing to life and intelligence, how can we expect human beings "to be hurried by miracle"?

IN THE Young Contributors' Department, *St. Nicholas*, we find this dainty little poem by "W. H., aged thirteen," which we cannot refrain from quoting:—

THE DESERTED HOUSE.

A SONNET.

There by the roadside stands the queer old house;
Deserted it has been for many years;
And when one enters first one has strange fears
Of what may be inside. But not a mouse
Raises its tiny head, or hides, afraid;
And the sole sound through the deep stillness heard
Is the shrill chirping of a mother-bird,
Who right above the door her nest has made.
While through bare, lonely rooms my way I wend
I feel a kind of pity for the thing
Left thus alone, like to some fallen king
Deserted both by enemy and friend.
But life is short; so gently close the gate,
And leave the house to mercy and to fate.

—*Exchange.*

DARWIN married his cousin. His eldest son, William Darwin, is a banker at Southampton; the second, George, took high honors at Cambridge, and is now a fellow at Trinity; the third, Frank, who has inherited his father's ill-health, acts as his secretary; the fourth, Leonard, is an officer in the artillery, and distinguished himself as one of the scientific corps sent to observe the transit of Venus; the fifth, Horace, is an excellent mathematician.

THE SMITH sisters of Glastonbury, Conn., live in a house one hundred and thirty-nine years old, sit under a tree one hundred and one years old, and are the possessors of the Gov. Saltonstall china, which is two hundred years old.

OUR brief editorial responsibility is now brought to a close. It was given us to freely express such thoughts as we deemed proper and on such topics as we were particularly interested in. We have gone through our task with what good-will we possessed, and hope our readers have been hospitable as well as charitable. We beg to say that the duties of an editor of a weekly journal like THE INDEX—though our own have in the nature of the case been comparatively slight—are not few, nor always the most agreeable. Our little touch of experience leads us into still stronger sympathy with our friend Mr. Abbot, the editor, who for seven years has carried THE INDEX through varying fortunes, but always with an eye single to the advancement of the general cause of rational thought and an improved humanity. His success thus far is by no means to be measured outwardly by any summing up of present results (though an excellent showing could be made even in that respect), but by the inevitable extension of his labor into the future. We have not in all respects found our own views in harmony with those he has so ably and earnestly presented; but we are always in agreement with him thoroughly as to the ultimate goal it is desirable society should reach, and in our radical faith in the high destiny awaiting the human race.

And now, at the risk of seeming in a degree impertinent, we would like to remind the friends of THE INDEX of the valuable service they can render its editor by a substantial manifestation of their sympathy and approval, while at the same time they help extend to others the ideas they themselves cherish. To make his paper all he desires it should be, an editor needs the yearly coöperation of all its friends and supporters. Especially does a journal that does not float on a popular current, but must be run on an up-hill unpopular grade, receive, if it is to prosper as it should, the steady reënforcing aid of all interested in its progress. Every one of its friends will say of a liberal journal that chances to die, "What a pity!" yet how few bestir themselves in time to ward off a catastrophe which, when consummated, they deeply lament. *This is not as it should be.* THE INDEX, friends, should live long and prosperously through your efforts! You know this as well as we do. You do not need to be told *how* you can render efficient aid. We will only say,—send the *new address*, plainly written, to the office of THE INDEX.

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as t is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THOMAS JEFFERSON once said: "All error may be safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." That is the fundamental principle of secular government.

THE MOST sensible of the resolutions adopted by the workingmen of Philadelphia, as the platform of the "Protective Labor Party" which they organized on August 25, was one in favor of "compulsory education and a liberal application of funds for the purpose."

PROFESSOR HALL'S discovery of the moons of Mars, one of the most important services to astronomy ever rendered, and one which must be set down to the credit of American science, is explained in another column by Professor Newcomb, in a letter which we copy from the *Tribune*.

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S death removes from active influence one of the men who have done most to corrupt and pervert the development of American institutions at the West. There is little doubt that the fate of Bishop John D. Lee ought to have been shared by his chief; and that justice has been cheated by his being allowed to die peaceably in his bed. The Mountain Meadow massacre, however, has written his name on the page of history in blood-red colors, as one of the most cruel and perfidious of religious impostors.

WENDELL PHILLIPS' "open letter" to Lord Dufferin, protesting against the surrender of Sitting Bull to the United States Government, reflects severely on the dealings of the American people with the Indians, as cruel, grasping, and unjust. The worst of it is that he understates the fact. The perfidy with which the Nez-Percés have been treated by this government has been exposed in detail by the *Nation;* and this case is but a sample of the unvarying iniquity of our "Indian policy." For once, Mr. Phillips and the *Nation* are agreed.

SIGNATURES to the petition of the National Liberal League for the adoption of a Religious Freedom Amendment to the United States Constitution have been received as follows, since our last acknowledgment in THE INDEX of August 2: from Mr. George M. Wood, Washington, D. C., 112; from Mr. V. Sinz, Trent, Michigan, 41; from Mr. R. L. Bunting, Fowler, Michigan, 60; from Mr. John D. Conzet, Greenwood, Minnesota, 71; from Dr. M. L. Weems, Columbus, Ohio, 87; from Mr. W. O. Mack, Canby, Oregon, 100. Total number of signatures thus far received—7,727.

A CONDENSED REPORT of the Wolcott grove-meeting, and of the formation of "The Free-Thinkers' Association of Central and Western New York," with its articles of association, has been forwarded to THE INDEX by Mr. H. L. Green, Corresponding Secretary, and will be found in this issue. We heartily congratulate the friends of Liberalism on this signally successful meeting, as a most auspicious omen for the liberal cause. The audience numbered about sixteen hundred; and (what gives us the greatest encouragement and pleasure) the new association proposes to coöperate in the best manner with the National Liberal League. We share Mr. Green's hope that the proposed new local societies may all be organized as Liberal Leagues, affiliated with the National League; for in that case they will be enabled to work effectively in a growing national movement of vast importance, without being in the slightest degree hampered in their local work. Success, glorious success, to the enterprise so finely inaugurated at Wolcott!

IN HER TWENTIETH and closing letter to the New York *Tribune* of August 25, Gail Hamilton says: "No responsibility attaches to belief. Belief is a result of evidence, not of will. You believe because you must, not because you choose." If Gail Hamilton understands the full force and implication of these words, she is "anti-Christian" to the core. To "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ" is, according to the New Testament, the one supreme duty of every human being to whom the gospel is known; and not to believe on him is, according to the same authority, to merit and to receive damnation in an eternal hell. Personal responsibility to God for religious belief is the very foundation of Christianity; and in the above-quoted words Gail Hamilton flatly and bluntly denies it. It will be interesting to learn whether she has the courage of her opinions, and will publicly confess herself to be the "infidel" she really is, if she comprehends the full scope of her own explicit and unqualified declaration on this decisive point—all the more interesting because she has been hitherto supposed to be an Orthodox Evangelical believer.

PROFESSOR ALLAN THOMSON, in his address at Plymouth as President of the British Association (an extract from which will be found on a succeeding page), spoke as decidedly as Professor Huxley did at Buffalo, last year, respecting the logical necessity of the Evolution "hypothesis" to science. It will be remembered (see THE INDEX of Sept. 7, 1876), that Professor Huxley said explicitly that Evolution is no longer a "matter of speculative reasoning," but "is now a matter of fact and history as much as the monuments of Egypt"; and also that, in his third lecture in New York (see THE INDEX of Sept. 22, 1876), he said with even greater emphasis: "The doctrine of Evolution at the present time rests upon exactly as secure a foundation as the Copernican theory of the motions of the heavenly bodies." Professor Thomson now uses language no less positive and emphatic. "I consider it impossible," he says, "for any one to be a faithful student of embryology, in the present state of science, without at the same time becoming an evolutionist." Mr. Darwin, like Mr. Garrison, has lived long enough to see the arduous reform to which he gave his youth and early manhood, and which brought at the time only obloquy and scorn upon his name, become now in his old age a wreath of imperishable laurel about his brows; and never was so brilliant a crown more worthily won or more modestly worn. It is beautiful justice, delighting every noble heart, that the scientific men of England should now, by a nobler appointment than that of the Queen, unanimously place Darwin on the highest pedestal of their admiration and esteem, as the Poet Laureate of Science.

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Who are Infidels?

A DISCOURSE PREACHED IN THE CHURCH OF THE UNITY, ON SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1876.

BY REV. M. J. SAVAGE.

One year ago this month, perhaps many of you will remember, I preached a sermon on the subject "Who are Infidels?" Not once, but many times since then, I have been requested to repeat that sermon. I cannot readily comply with the request; never having written a word of it, of course it is not in existence to-day. I simply have in mind the substance and the line of thought which I followed on that occasion, somewhat changed, as everything changes in a man's mind from year to year; and, this morning, in answer to that request, I shall preach, not the same sermon, but on the same subject, once more.

I take for my text what would ordinarily be supposed to conflict with my subject, to be even diametrically opposed to it, and yet what I believe to be in perfect sympathy and accord, the first verse of the lesson I read this morning: "Now, faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen."—Heb. xi., 1.

That is, that which is called popularly Infidelity in the world seems to me, in its higher and better phases, to answer with wondrous accuracy to this definition of faith which Paul has given us, or, rather, the writer of the first verse of the eleventh chapter of Hebrews. I said Paul, because we have got in the habit of thinking that Paul wrote this work, although in all probability he did not.

The epithet "infidel" has, in the past, when applied to earnest and thoughtful men, carried with it a weight of opprobrium hard to bear; it has had a sting, a reproach in it, that has startled a man's self-respect and caused the instinct of self-defence to rise in him; and if the word be properly used it ought to come as an insult; it ought to sting a man's self-respect; it ought to create in him a sense of injury and wrong, as much as though he were called a thief, a perjurer. For what does the word "infidel" mean? It means faithless, false; that thing which of all others is opposed to true manhood and true womanhood, and which, were they widely distributed, would be subversive of all civilized society; and yet we stand in this nineteenth century face to face with the fact that some of the most respectable, the most intelligent, the most cultivated, the noblest men of the time, have this label "infidel" tacked on them by popular rumor or popular estimation. It is even true, perhaps, as you shall travel over the country, that if you go and visit the village infidel, or the prominent infidel of the small city or the large town, you shall find him not a man who lacks the trust of the community as to integrity; not a man lacking in moral character; not a man lacking in intelligence. He shall even stand somewhat higher than the average grade of the thought and the culture about him. That is, the infidel, perhaps, is the peer of the noblest man in his place of residence; and yet, logically, if the word be properly applied to him, he ought to be the one that should be shunned; the one that respectable men would not associate with; the one to be left on one side in all the movements of philanthropy and humanity that are going on about him; the one man tainted and spotted that should be left outside of the finer and better society and culture and morals of his neighborhood.

What does this mean? How has this change come about? It means simply this: that the word "infidel," as popularly used, has ceased entirely to indicate anything which was supposed properly to attach to it when the word was first originated and used. It has ceased to be an impeachment of a man's character; it has ceased to be an impeachment of his culture, of his intelligence, of his standing in the community. I will even go farther than this. Over a large part of this country, to-day, a large part of the world, I should even consider it something derogatory to my own intelligence if I were not, by popular rumor, where I was known, regarded as at least verging towards what is called "infidelity." The patronage, the love, the estimation of large masses of men are things not to be taken as a compliment, but to be received as questionable; something not to be sought after; something almost to be shunned; for the simple reason that it is, as unbiassed thought and study will reveal to you, the intelligence, the culture, the independence, and the thought of the age that create what is popularly called the "infidelity" of the age.

To come at our subject at the beginning, let us go back a little and find out when this word was first used, and what it meant at that time, and out of what sprang the necessity for its use. If you travel back in imagination far enough, and come to that period in the history of humanity before society, as we understand it to-day, was organized, you find it, as you travel up the ages, less and less organized every step you take. We have here to-day, over the world, great nations, confederacies, unions of states, unions of smaller empires, making one great empire like that of the German nation; but if you go back, you will find that you are travelling toward more and more of disintegration, year by year, until you come to a time when the largest aggregation of humanity was the family. There was no city, there was no town, there was even no tribe. Man stood, except with the family organization, practically alone. If you will think of it for a moment, then, you will see that the first body of men that was capable of organizing around some central principle had reached the very condition by which they were to become superior to their surroundings; just as when a regiment of the Macedonian phalanx, under Alexander, could march back and forth, through and through, the hordes of the Persian army, simply because of their disciplined, compact organization. So you will find that the first body of men that was capable of organizing upon some central principle had attained to a condition of supremacy over their fellows; and you will see how naturally and necessarily there sprang from this, and from the necessity of this organization to success, the idea that loyalty to the tribe, loyalty to the organization, to the clan, whatever it was called, was the one grand virtue of man, the thing that overtopped, that out-towered everything else. A man might be what he would, if he were only loyal to his clan; and strong enough to be of service to it, he could be one of its masters. It was a necessity of that stage of human civilization and progress. But, as you see it in some nations to-day illustrated, if they stopped here, being loyal simply to their clan and their organization, in other words, if there were no infidelity to the popular organizations as they stood, there could be no progress. Those nations that have been organized after this old pattern, like the Chinese to-day, have stood stagnant for thousands of years, making no progress beyond that which they attained when they first grasped the supremacy of their nation and their time. So that you see, after the organization which gave supremacy, if there was to be anything like progress, there must be some one that was to think differently from his fellows, to think outside of them, to think beyond them, and so start a movement which should lift up and lead forward. And what was this man who was capable of doing this? In the eye of the clan, of the organization that was about him, he was the one that was faithless to that clan, to that organization,—"infidel," in other words; so that the very condition of advance, in this early period of humanity, was that there should be somebody thoughtful and brave and strong enough to defy that organization, come outside of it, and be an infidel according to popular clamor.

That we may understand this and see how it has worked, let us glance at a few of the illustrious infidels of the world, and see in what kind of company the prominent infidel has always trained. Without going very far for my illustrations, take those inside the religious line of history; take Moses, commended for his faith in this chapter which I have read this morning. What kind of faith did he have? To the whole kingdom of Egypt, to the civilization of his time, he was the arch-infidel. He had no faith in Egypt; he refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and he went out with a rabble of slaves at his heels, the scum, the outcast of his age, because he believed in a larger, grander God, and a larger future than that in which the Orthodoxy of his time believed. Who were the prophets of Israel, that to-day are the glory of their nation, the lights of the Hebrew civilization? They were the men who defied the priesthood; they were the men who were driven by popular clamor into the wilderness, like Elijah going out and pleading with his God, and saying that, because of his faithfulness to him, he was left utterly alone. The prophets were not popular in their time; the prophets were not the leaders of their people; the prophets were the infidels, from first to last,—every one. They were organized to overthrow the popular Orthodoxy of their age, and lead the way to something higher and grander than the nation had then conceived.

Come down to him who, with reverent and loving adoration, with a tenderness of heart second only to that which I feel towards God himself—come down to him whom I hold in this estimation, and what was he,—Jesus of Nazareth? He was, according to the popular estimation of his time, the arch-infidel of the world; he who dared to speak against the temple, which was the centre and life of his time; he who dared oppose that which was established, not because he disliked the divine principles which were under it, but because of his faith in something larger and greater. He who, in popular estimation, set himself against God, because he would not locate God on a mountain, on the top of Gerizim or Mount Moriah; who said "God is a spirit; he is everywhere." That is, he gave the people of his time so large and grand a conception of God that to the popular thought it meant nothing at all, and they thought him an atheist.

Go outside of the line of Christian history; take the first Grecian scientist, Anaxagoras, who first guessed at the nature of the sun and of the earth; the forerunner, the John the Baptist of our modern thought and intelligence concerning this grand universe in which we live,—persecuted by the people, outcast because he denied that the sun was a god. Come down to Socrates,—he who more nearly approached the brightness and the power and the glory of Jesus of Nazareth than any other man who has ever lived. Not only persecuted, not only sneered at by his time, not only made the scoff and the sport of the play-writers and of the theatres of populous and cultivated Athens, but at last, by the grave and reverend judges of his people, condemned to death as an atheist because he taught a god grander than had ever entered their thought or imagination; because he would not put any trust in the old-time conceptions, but strove to lead them on to something higher. Take Paul, another infidel, the scum, the outcast of his time; the one person who not only was hated by the Jewish Orthodoxy of his age, but hated even by the Christian Orthodoxy of his time, until he created another Orthodoxy that agreed with him. Paul was another of the old infidels of civilization. Come down the centuries to Savonarola, Huss, Wickliffe, Jerome of Prague,—the great lights that preceded the Reformation. Come down to Martin Luther, who to-day, in spite of the honor which we give him in this country—who *to-day*, I say—and I ask you to think of it—is judged by the prevailing Orthodoxy

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of Christendom as the blackest heretic and the most malignant infidel of ecclesiastical history. He stands as one of the leaders and lights of civilization; one whom we worship, almost, as we look back to him, although the air about him in the midst of the battle which he fought, and in which he came off the victor, was thick and dark with ecclesiastical curses.

And so we may take the leading lights of modern science,—Giordano Bruno, Kepler, Copernicus, Newton. Almost every man who has created some thought, who has given a new impulse to civilization, who has led to the advancement of the world,—almost every such man, I say, has been branded by his time with those fearful ecclesiastical epithets, "infidel" and "atheist," a subverter of the right ways of God. And so it has come down until to-day, by one of our most eminent ministers, in one of our prominent pulpits (and it is not an uncommon thing; it is repeated by somebody almost every Sunday), the men who stand leading the thought and lifting up the world to-day are branded as "infidels" and "atheists." The same old game of epithets played over, age after age,—a game lost every time; a game still untiringly renewed. One might think they would become discouraged in it at last.

These, then, are some samples of the infidelity of the world. But you will notice that this is not a distinction simply of words; it is not simply arguing to carry a point. You must transport yourselves backward, up the ages, if you would appreciate what it means. The cross of Jesus Christ to us to-day has become a centre of glory, like the sun in the heavens; but the cross, when Jesus hung on it, was simply a gibbet, and it meant nothing but infamy. Remember the words of Jesus himself to his people, when he said, "Your fathers stoned the prophets and cast them out; but now that you have grown up to their time, and can appreciate their truth, their power, their glory, and their influence, you build their sepulchres." And so, although the world now builds sepulchres, and raises monuments to, and honors the memory of, Luther, and all the long line of those who have protested and stood out for some higher conception of God and truth, yet remember that they stood as outcast, they stood as infamous in the popular conception of their day, as Thomas Paine, as Theodore Parker, as Channing, as Martineau, as Conway, as the first and most advanced thinkers of this time stand in relation to the thought of to-day.

Let us ask the question and attempt to answer it: What is the meaning of this word of which we have been speaking? What does it mean, historically, to be an infidel? It means nothing more nor less than this: that the man who is independent enough to dare, who has studied enough to conceive, who is intelligent enough to comprehend, he takes something grander and higher than the age around him has as yet laid its hand upon, and he marches with this as a standard one or two or three steps in advance of his time, calling the recreant and slothful world up to him, and looking forward with faith in God for the justification of the truth that he wields. That is what infidelity has meant in all the history of the world.

Conceive how it must be so. You go to a fetish worshipper in Central Africa, or one of the South Sea Islands, and you sneer at the stick or the stone, the toad or the serpent, that stands to him for his conception of divinity, and in his eyes you are a blasphemer, you are an atheist, you are an infidel; you have denied that which to him is sacred and which stands for God. Take the position of Anaxagoras, to whom I have referred, in his relation to early Greek history. The Greeks, in the height of their civilization, believed that the sun was not what we know it to be, a flaming globe around which the earth moves in the heavens, but they believed that the sun was a god. They named it Phœbus, or Apollo, or what not; a god who rode in a flaming chariot, with horses, across the sky from east to west. When, then, Anaxagoras dared to broach the idea, as he did, that the sun was a flaming stone, of course the Greeks took it that he had denied their god. He was then the highest infidel; he was dethroning their deity from the heavens, taking away the object of their worship; and, since they regarded their god as of such disposition as would lead him to punish those that were opposed to him, or sought to overthrow his power, they dared not countenance such a philosopher lest they should bring the wrath of the heavens down upon their cities, their country, their farms, and their homes. They cast him out, then, as a blasphemer, an infidel, an atheist.

Come again to the time of Jesus. What did Jesus do in his relation to the thought of his time? The Jews believed in a god who was simply a magnified man, somewhat grander than Moses, who sat on a throne like an Oriental despot, holding in his hands the thunders, like Olympian Jove; a grand man, sitting in the higher stories of the universe which they called heaven, manifesting himself specially in a temple and on their mountains; and when Jesus, with his higher thought swept the heavens clear of this anthropomorphic conception, and said, "God is not in the temple; God is not on a mountain; God is not on a throne; God is a spirit," not being able to rise up to the grander comprehension of this higher divinity, to their minds he was simply destroying their god. And I dare prophesy to you to-day that precisely this same thing is being played over again before our eyes, and will be recognized in a very few years. Huxley and Spencer and Tyndall, those men who are branded atheist and infidel to-day, are simply giving to the world the most magnificent conception of God that the human mind has ever attained; one so far beyond the common thought of the people that they think it means nothing at all, and they say, "Why, they have taken away our God!" without ever thinking that they have given them anything in return. This, then, is what infidelity means.

And I remark further, this one principle comes out apparent from our discussion; if there is to be ever anything like continuous progress on the part of the human race; if we are not to grant that we have reached the limit and sit down where we are forever, leaving God infinitely in advance of us, then not only have there been infidels in the past, but there must be infidels to-day and in the future. Through the ministry of this kind of infidelity has come every single step of progress that the world has yet attained; for the man who thinks outside of his circle, who dares to give utterance to something that is above and beyond the thought of his time, this man, of course, in the conception of his circle and of that time, becomes a denier of that, in the interest of the larger something that he offers them in exchange. And so I say to you, young men and young women, all that are young enough still for new thought, for progress and for advance, I say to you that you must choose this day what you will be; whether you will be infidel in the thought of those that are behind you, or whether you will be false to the grander revelation of God and of truth that is coming. You stand here on the dividing line between the Past and the To-be. You cannot be faithful to both in the sense in which this word is properly used. I believe, indeed, that the man who is called "infidel," in the popular sense, and who is willing even to accept the name in that sense, is yet not infidel in reality. He is faithful to the life that there has been, as a tree is faithful to its roots; but the faithfulness of a tree to its roots, to its last year's growth, does not mean that it must not throw out a new leaf, or new twig, or advance its branches, and spread abroad on every side. The tree is faithful to the life that made the past when it also goes on to accept the making of a larger and a better future. I say, you must choose whether you will be faithful to the common, thoughtless Orthodoxy of the time about you, or whether you will accept the larger and grander mission of receiving the new truth that God ever holds in his heart ready to bestow upon his children.

You will see that this necessity (and this is my third remark) is grounded in the very nature and constitution of things. Consider it just a moment. All of us admit that God is infinite. It is a part of our common definition of God. We cannot believe there is any God who is not infinite. What follows? We, of course, are finite. The conception which the human mind entertains of God at any particular period of its history must of necessity be a partial conception. It can only approximate the complete idea of God; and we may travel forward this year and next year and the next century and the next millennium, and still, if God be God, he is infinitely in advance of the human race. You will see, then, how logically this inference follows: the man who is nearest to God, who has that conception of him that most closely approximates the truth, he, of necessity, is in advance of the crowd, and must be looked upon by the crowd as faithless to their old-time ideas. That is, he who is nearest to God must forever be an infidel, according to the popular definition of that word. I have one more remark to make, and that is, that we should dismiss from our thoughts entirely the question as to whether, in this sense, we are infidels or not. That man who is intelligent, fair-minded, honest with himself and with the truth,—that man, I say, has no sort of control over the question as to whether, according to popular estimation, he shall be an infidel or not. The honest, intelligent, fair-minded man must separate his judgment utterly from his will. You have no right to say, "I will believe so-and-so." You have no business to say it. You have no right to believe anything except that which is true; and, in order that you may find the truth, you should make your intellect, if you can, like a reflector, a glass; like a clear and placid lake under the heavens above it, to reflect in clearest outlines the images of the facts that surround it. You should make your brain like a balance, that should go up or down, on one side or the other, according as the evidence preponderates, in the slightest degree, one way or the other.

I had the pleasure of hearing Prof. Huxley in New York, the other night, and he gave utterance to one of the grandest sentiments I have ever heard; one that, it seems to me, the honesty of the world must recognize by-and-by as one that every man should adhere to. He says, "We men of science get an awkward habit—no, I will not call it 'awkward,' for it is a valuable habit—of reasoning, so that we cannot accept anything that has for it no evidence;" and he added, "Not only do we regard it as illogical to do so, but immoral." And if you will think of it, and estimate the weight and meaning of these words, you will justify him. It is this acceptance of ten thousand fancies that no one has proved, or can prove, that opens the way for the coming in of all sorts of crudities, distortions, superstitions, things that stand in the way of the world's advance. Huxley was only quoting the advice of St. Paul when he said, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good"; that is, that which stands the proof.

I say, then, that if we are honest in our investigations after truth we must simply abide by that; we must simply seek after that which will stand the test, and then, no matter what the world thinks or has thought, hold this which can prove itself true as being the last utterance of God; for if there be anything in this universe that is divine it must be truth; if there be anything that God has made, it must be truth. Let us not care, then, whether we are called infidel or not.

But, in another sense, there is an infidelity that ought to come to us as an opprobrium and a reproach, by which we ought to be stung, which we ought to resent, or which, rather, we ought not to deserve; and that is the only infidelity which I would advise you to avoid. That is the infidelity that is so common in practical life,—faithlessness to the principles of righteousness in human conduct; the faithlessness that honeycombs the business and commercial life of the world, so that men stand as they do to-day, and as they have stood for the last several years, the one thing that more than any other creates the uncertainty and instability of business life, that makes men stand in their offices looking with suspicion at every buyer that enters their door. They know not whether it is safe to sell to this man or to that man, or who may deliberately fail and bring down not only his own business but theirs, with a crash about their ears, some day. One of our own business men said to me, the other day, when I asked him how business was, "It is as good as I want it to be." That is, he could make all the sales he dared to make. He simply meant that he knew not to whom he could safely sell, or who was to fail and bring disaster, if not ruin, on him next. I say here is infidelity; an infidelity that permeates and honeycombs our civilization; that is not even excluded from the membership of the most respectable churches; an infidelity high in honor; in deacons' chairs many a time. This is the infidelity that we should shun; that we ought to ostracize and fear.

Then there is the infidelity of social life; the falsity to the principles on which rests the stability of our relations with one another; the confidence between man and man; woman and woman; man and woman; the sensitiveness to the principles of right, of truth, of justice, of purity.

And then there is an infidelity in our political life. To indicate what I mean I wish to instance the grand arch-infidel of America, and hold him up to you for just a moment by way of contrast. Thomas Paine, although declaring in the very first words of the book which has made him, with the Orthodox community, infamous, "I believe in one God, and one only, and I hope for happiness in a future life," has occupied, for the writing of this book, a position of preëminent infamy in America for the last hundred years; and yet no man rendered grander service to this country; no man ought to be more cherished or remembered for his patriotic service in "the times that tried men's souls." Do you know that Thomas Paine originated that phrase: "The times that tried men's souls"? He wrote the book which caused the Declaration of Independence to be made, and which, probably, more than any other one thing, secured our separation from Great Britain; a book in such great demand that the presses groaned for months in endeavoring to meet that demand; a book, the income from the circulation of which, to-day, would make a man rich; and yet he steadfastly refused to receive a single cent from the necessities of his time for all the services which he rendered to it; and he put on record this declaration that I wish could be written over the main entrance of the Capitol at Washington, as well as over the State Houses of every State in the land: "I could never reconcile it with my principles to make money either by my politics or my religion"; and when he was clerk of the Pennsylvania Legislature, the first remunerative office which he held in this country, and Washington wrote him that the troops were in need of money, he sent them his whole year's salary, and then among his friends raised a large amount more to meet the wants of the troops. This man, I say, simply because he was not in accord with the popular Orthodoxy of his time, has been made the bugaboo of the century. He stands in his real character an illustrator of the most grand and noble fidelity in all the practical concerns of his political and public life; and yet men who are not worthy to carry his shoes, men who under the name of Christian statesmen are plundering and thieving by the year, will shudder and shake in their shoes at the mention of the name of Thomas Paine! This is the infidelity that we ought to avoid.

And, as my last words (for I have time for nothing more), I charge you, be faithful. Beware of infidelity in the practical matters of conduct, in the real, vital relationships between your souls and your God; and then, following the light of God's truth as fast as it shall be revealed to you—being careful, indeed, that you are not chasing a will-o'-the-wisp that shall lead you into a swamp,—following the light of God's truth as fast as it shall be revealed to you, do not stop to think or care whether men are shouting their plaudits after you, or whether they are blackening you with the mud of their epithets. Only stand true and firm on the principles of right and of God, and then by-and-by He who is the centre and the source of right, of truth, and of love, whatever the world may do, He to whom you have been faithful, will fold you in His arms as a little child, and be faithful to you forever!—*Boston Commonwealth.*

A REMARKABLE sermon was recently preached by the English Bishop of Manchester, near Bolton, in the course of which he said everybody deplored the comparative failure of results which Christianity had produced in the world. No one, he supposed, would say to-day that Christianity had done in the world what it might reasonably have been expected to have done. He could not account for the failure. It was easy to say, if it were God's work, it surely must have prospered more than it had done. That was not his way of arguing. He could see, from its own inherent excellency, its own admirable structure, its own entire harmony with and adaptation to every want of Nature, that Christianity must be divine. But if they ask him why it had failed—why there were perhaps fifty thousand out of the eighty thousand people in Bolton and the neighborhood living as if there were no such thing as Christianity—he could not explain it; he could only say it illustrated that important truth of the power which man had in his freedom of will to resist and to quench the sanctifying power of the Holy Ghost.

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CELEBRITIES AT HOME.

M. GAMBETTA IN THE CHAUSSEE D'ANTIN.

M. Gambetta's recent change of residence may be taken as one of the chief signs of a change in his manner of strengthening his influence with his party and the country. When he lived in the Rue Montaigne the ex-Dictator was before all things the parliamentary chief; and his residence was in what may be called the semi-official quarter. He was within a stone's throw of the Ministry of the Interior, and consequently quite near the Elysée, too near it considering the disposition shown by its successive residents for the perpetration of *coups d'état*. An order for the arrest of the great leader of the Left could have been executed in ten minutes if the agents had found him at home. In the Rue Montaigne he lived very simply; he lives very simply still; but then it was the simplicity of a party chief who has but a very distant prospect of power. There was a room in his apartment for himself and a few select visitors; but its tenant had evidently not arrived at that stage of the housekeeping of greatness which obliges a man to have open doors for the human race. His secretary alone stood between him and his acquaintance; and the antechamber was so small that it was impossible for the occupant of the adjoining room to say that he was not at home, without the greatest risk of being overheard.

Gambetta has now become a great journalist as well as a great parliamentary leader. In truth, journalism offers him a still better field than the Chamber for the display of those qualities of guidance in which he excels. He has the Italian genius for combination, and that demands for its free exercise a mode of working which does not necessarily betray the author of the work. M. Gambetta is one of the few writers in Paris who never put their names to a line. The *République Française* is known to be his organ, but no one can distinguish his articles from those with which he may be supposed to have a general sympathy, and he can thus often hit his hardest without enabling his antagonists to identify the author of the blow. They are struck—as he himself was struck, in another fashion, at St. Lazare a year or two ago—by one in a crowd, but by which one it is impossible to say.

He has followed his journal and made his home under the same roof—followed it to nurse its latest offspring, the *Petite République Française*, which has just come to life. The offices are in the Chaussée d'Antin, and the virtual director-in-chief lives on the premises. But, although he has his own rooms, he may more accurately be said to share those appropriated to his infant charge. He is with the paper all the earlier part of the day, and he returns to it again after he has taken his walks abroad. The great *salle de rédaction* is virtually his drawing-room, a use for which it seems to have been originally designed. Here, at one vast table, sit the writers who are associated with him in the undertaking, and who are always ready to cover his responsibility with their own. They are physically a "fine body of men," and that fact, it is well-known, counts for something in the composition of a French newspaper staff. The journalism of Paris, in particular, is still journalism militant; and many a smooth-spoken person who calls at the Chaussée d'Antin may be suspected to have come to have a look at a man who has written an article against him before asking him to fight. That first impression can hardly be an unfavorable one for the person observed: the Radicalism of Paris is always scrupulously well-dressed. It is in the traditions of the faith that all should be meet and seemly in the vestments of its priesthood. The writers who came forward to testify against Pierre Bonaparte at the historic trial that presaged the fall of the Empire would have been positive dandies but for a too general fondness for the wearing of black in the daytime, incompatible with our notions of the habits of the order. Their gloves, if not their writings, were without blemish, and the violence of their opinions was not betrayed by the faintest want of order in the arrangement of their ties. The men who work under M. Gambetta are as these, due allowance being made for the fact that they are not in the witness-box every day, and that necessarily on all but the most solemn occasions their coquetry of neatness is laid aside.

The ex-Dictator's room, the room in which he is more truly at home than in any other in the house, seems to be little better than a former passage converted to its present use. It is almost as sparely furnished as the cell of one of the monkish transcribers of the Middle Ages—a writing-table, a case of books, a chair for himself, a chair for a visitor, and that is all. Judge of a man's character by these surroundings, and you would say that he had a horror of the superfluous, and you would not be wrong. His Republic, when he has fashioned it in his own way, will not be the *République aimable* of M. Jules Simon, but the *République méthodique*. His disposition is shown in the appearance of his work-table. He has no litter of pamphlets, books, manuscripts, about him, although he receives some dozens of them by every post. You see the sheet of paper on which he is now writing, his pen and the inkstand; but all that he has written or read in the past is neatly stowed away, either here or in an adjoining room, with as much precision as if it belonged to the *dossiers* of the department of police. If he preserves but a tenth of what he receives, no other private collection can be so rich in *mémoires pour servir* relating to the history of his own time. The extent of his political information at first hand is wonderful. He seems to know everything needful to a leader of parties in regard to the state of the commerce, the finances, the military strength, and the political opinion of France. He is as well served by his unpaid agents as the government by its prefects—better indeed, for the former have no inducement to deception. They need not communicate with him unless they have something to say; and, as they are under no responsibility for the political movements of the districts with which they are acquainted, they escape the temptation to misrepresent them. It would be, of course, an exaggeration to say that he is never wrong in his forecast of the issues of a great question; but he has so often been right that he is at present about the best political "tip" in France. If his inmost thought on the new crisis could be revealed, business men might with confidence speculate on the announcement. He does not, indeed, conceal it from those whom he knows he can trust; but, on principle, he only opens his lips on the subject on the condition of perfect secrecy in the hearer. He is a statesman and a journalist; if the general public wishes to know his views in the one character, let them listen to his speeches; if in the other, let them read his paper. The *on dits* in regard to his unpublished opinions are, as a rule, to be received with extreme caution, as the mere fact of their being put into circulation tends to convict the person who reports them either of a direct breach of confidence or of deliberate invention. Interviewers may therefore spare themselves the trouble of intruding on his privacy, for Gambetta is not to be drawn.

The prime characteristic of his appearance and manner is robustness. With his burly build he is something of a Danton in frame; his voice is loud, clear, and decisive, and both its accents and the substance of his talk give you the impression—always invigorating to those who are looking to another for their cue—that he is strong enough to disdain *finesse*. Yet it would, perhaps, be more accurate to say that he is strong enough to disdain the appearance of it—the effect is the same for the majority of mankind. He is really, if one might go behind immediate appearances and judge by what one knows of his past, a politician as *rusé* as Bismarck or as M. Thiers; only he differs from the latter (and resembles the former) in not flaunting his astuteness before the world. M. Thiers at first mistook the purport of this reserve, and was even disposed to think that there was nothing to be hid. His estimate of Gambetta as a *fou furieux* may continue to serve party purposes in this generation, but in the next it will be seen to be wholly wrong. Its author has virtually admitted his error by staking his chance for the next Presidency on the support of the man he so rashly condemned. Grossly as he blundered, however, he was out only by a word, and by hardly so much as a sound. Gambetta is certainly no *fou furieux*; but call him a *faux furieux* (*pourle bon motif*), and you will not be far wrong. There is infinitely more difference between the two, it may be observed, than between tweedledum and tweedledee. A *faux furieux*, in the sense which it is now applied to him in a political *salon* in which he is always most warmly received, is one who keeps a cool head for the guidance of a warm heart—one who, without being an actor, has his passion under command, and who knows when the time has come to let it loose, and when and how to stop it in its full course. M. Bonnet Duverdier for an instance to the contrary, is very decidedly not a *faux furieux*, though the other appellation might suit him to a nicety whenever the ex-Dictator's enemies consent to divert it from its present use. Feeling wrath with the Marshal, he spluttered out an absurd accusation about cowardice and cunning at Sedan. M. Gambetta is at least as angry with the head of the State as the President of the Municipal Council, but he takes care to set both of them a perfect example of discretion. He thunders at him in his paper, as from the tribune; but while his every word on the subject is a masterpiece of eloquent denunciation, he takes care to say nothing to put himself in the wrong. Your *faux furieux*, indeed, are your only successful rulers of men: there must be passion; or how will you touch the feelings, the imagination of the mass, and obtain your motive-power? There must be the predominant policy; or how are you to direct that power to an end? The two qualities are natural growths of Gambetta's mind; for you cannot be with him five minutes without finding one and the other appear. When you catch fire from your own enthusiasm, he is ready to put you out in an instant by some cold *douche* of fact or calculation which you have not taken into account.

His character has, of course, been largely modified by circumstances since first he came before the world. The change is shown in his social habits quite as much as in those of public life. The author of one of the best accounts of his earlier days ever written—a period to which the personal knowledge of the present writer does not extend—has told us how the young Gambetta used to employ his somewhat too abundant leisure before he was known to fame. He has taken us into the famous Café Procope to show us "a dark Italian-blooded young Frenchman, blind with one eye, not over well-dressed, but with a voice as sounding as brass. It was the magic of the man, this voice. When silent he looked insignificant enough; but once he began to speak the rather Bohemian crew of friends around him woke to admiration. The desultory customers scattered about the other tables would prick their ears, and the landlord would hurry up in a scared fashion to beg the impetuous orator to speak lower, because—and here a whisper. But he with the ringing voice would shrug his shoulders at the "because," even when there was M. Pietri's name tacked on to it. He held the evening newspaper in his hands with the report of a speech delivered by some one of that twenty-three—say Jules Favre or Ernest Picard—who breasted in the Corps Législatif the mob of M. Rouher's blatant henchmen; and until the speech had been read through from end to end, with sonorous bravos at the telling-points, there was no stopping him with dread of eavesdroppers. Then, when the paper was laid down, more drinking of beer would ensue than perhaps the matter strictly required, and the young barrister would blaze out into flashing comments on what he had read, adding what *he* would do and say if the chance were afforded him. Nor did his Bohemian friends smile at this. Each man among them felt in himself that limitless confidence which impecuniosity begets, and they were also firmly persuaded that if their companion could only find the opportunity, he would soon set men's tongues rattling about him.

The famous *café* knows Gambetta no more, and the Bohemia of law and letters has to mourn a personal loss in what has been the gain of all the rest of France. He is in a new *couche sociale*, it was inevitable; and when he goes out now it is among those whose position, while it still permits them to aspire, also enables them to act. He is not at all narrow in his preferences; and he is as often to be met in a house in which he runs a risk of encountering his most vicious antagonist, M. Paul de Cassagnac, on the threshold, as in those of his own political set. It is good for both of them, for, if it does not bring them together in speech, it compels each to learn to listen to what the other has to say. When a charming woman presides over a drawing-room debate, there is no need of a President's bell. Those who have derived their chief knowledge of M. Gambetta from intercourse of this kind declare with satisfaction that he is a patriot, a very decided patriot, and, by consequence, not at all a cosmopolitan in sentiment—that his first thought is for France, and that he is a good deal less concerned for the welfare of her neighbors than most others of his school. This trait of common sense, perhaps, may be due to his familiarity with Englishmen and English modes of thought. In all that he has taken from us, however, he has not been a blind receiver of good things; our system of decentralization, for instance, is but one of many benefits for which it would be difficult to induce him to hold out his hand.—*London World, July* 4, 1877.

DARWINISM IN ENGLAND.

ADDRESS OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION'S PRESIDENT—CONCLUSION OF AN ARGUMENT BY PROF. ALLAN THOMSON—UNIFORMITY OF THE PLAN OF ANIMAL LIFE—THE HYPOTHESIS OF EVOLUTION A NECESSITY OF SCIENCE.

The following are the concluding portions of the President's address delivered on Aug. 15, at Plymouth (England), by Prof. Allan Thompson before the British Association for the Advancement of Science. A large portion of the address was technical in its character, dealing chiefly with the embryonic changes of living forms. From first to last the address refers to the doctrine of evolution of animal life as having secured general acceptance. The extract is from the full report of *Nature*:—

"But I am warned by the lapse of time that I must not attempt to pursue these illustrations further. In the statement which I have made of some of the more remarkable phenomena of organic production—too long, I fear, for your endurance, but much too brief to do justice to the subject,—it has been my object mainly to show that they are all more or less closely related together by a chain of similarity of a very marked and unmistakable character; that in their simplest forms they are indeed, in so far as our powers of observation enable us to know them, identical; that in the lower grades of animal and vegetable life they are so similar as to pass, by insensible gradations, into ach other; and that in the higher forms, while they diverge most widely in some of their aspects in the bodies belonging to the two great kingdoms of organic nature, and in the larger groups distinguishable within each of them, yet it is still possible from the fundamental similarity of the phenomena, to trace in the transitional forms of all their varieties one great general plan of organization.

"In its simplest and earliest form that plan comprises a minute mass of the common nitrogeneous hydrocarbon compound to which the name of protoplasm has been given, exhibiting the vital properties of assimilation, reproduction, and irritability; the second stage in this plan is the nucleated and enclosed condition of the protoplasmic mass in the organized cell. We next recognize the differentiation of two productive elements, and their combination for the formation of a more highly-endowed organizing element in the embryonic germ-sphere or cell; and the fourth stage of advance in the complexity of the organizing phenomena is in the multiplication of the fertilized embryo-cell, and its conversion into continuous organized strata, by further histological changes in which the morphological foundations of the future embryo or new being are laid.

"I need not now recur to the further series of complications in the formative process by which the bilaminar blastoderm is developed, and becomes trilaminar or quadrilaminar, but only recall to your recollection that while these several states of the primordial condition of the incipient animal pass insensibly into each other, there is a pervading similarity in the nature of the histological changes by which they are reached, and that in the production of the endless variations of form assumed by the organs and systems of different animals in the course of their development, the process of cell-production, multiplication, and differentiation remains identical. The more obvious morphological changes are of so similar a character throughout the whole, and so nearly allied in the different larger groups, that we are led to regard them as placed in some very close and intimate relation to the inherent properties of the organic substance which is their seat, and ever-present influence of the vital conditions in which alone these properties manifest themselves.

"The formative or organizing property, therefore,

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resides in the living substance of every organized cell, and in each of its competent molecules, and is a necessary part of the physical and chemical constitution of the organizing elements in the conditions of life; and it scarcely needs to be said that these conditions may be as varied as the countless numbers of the molecules which compose the smallest particles of their substance. But, setting aside all speculation of a merely pangenetic kind, it appears to me that no one could have engaged in the study of embryological development for any time without becoming convinced that the phenomena which have been ascertained as to the first origin and formation of textures and organs in any individual animal are of so uniform a character as to indicate forcibly a law of connection and continuity between them; nor will his study of the phenomena of development in different animals have gone far before he is equally strongly convinced of the similarity of plan in the development of the larger groups, and, to some extent, of the whole. I consider it impossible, therefore, for any one to be a faithful student of embryology, in the present state of science, without at the same time becoming an evolutionist. There may still be many difficulties, some inconsistencies, and much to learn, and there may remain beyond much which we shall never know; but I cannot conceive any doctrine professing to bring the phenomena of embryonic development within a general law which is not, like the theory of Darwin, consistent with their fundamental identity, their endless variability, their subjugation to varying external influences and conditions, and with the possibility of the transmission of the vital conditions and properties, with all their variations, from individual to individual, and, in the long lapse of ages, from race to race.

"I regard it, therefore, as no exaggerated representation of the present state of our knowledge to say that the catogenetic development of the individual in the higher animals repeats in its more general character, and in many of its specific phenomena, the phylogenetic development of the race. If we admit the progressive nature of the changes of development, their similarity in different groups, and their common characters in all animals, nay, even in some respects in both plants and animals, we can scarcely refuse to recognize the possibility of continuous derivation in the history of their origin; and however far we may be, by reason of the imperfection of our knowledge of paleontology, comparative anatomy, and embryology, from realizing the precise nature of the chain of connection by which the actual descent has taken place, still there can be little doubt remaining in the minds of any unprejudiced student of embryology that it is only by the employment of such an hypothesis as that of evolution that farther investigation in these several departments will be promoted so as to bring us to a fuller comprehension of the most general law which regulates the adaptation of structure to function in the universe."

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

By the death of Brigham Young the most capable and notorious religious impostor America has produced is removed. His career illustrated the advantage which a shrewd man may acquire by working upon the imaginations and weaknesses of the ignorant. That he had great executive ability cannot be denied. When this is said all is said that may be said in his favor. Wealth and the gratification of his lust were the prime motives of his action, and in the attainment of his ends he gratified the passion for power which was a ruling constituent of his nature. He was capable of being a despot, and he was one in a degree that it will hardly fall to the lot of another to enjoy. His name is inseparably associated all over the world with an imposture as shallow, as scandalous, and as degrading as ever rose to prominence in a civilized nation. He has achieved fame as one of the organizers of a commonwealth of iniquity, which is in itself infamous.

But for him the congregation of fanatics which Joseph Smith collected would in all probability have perished long ago. They were a feeble folk, who could never have endured the persecutions they provoked if the adventurer, Young, had not given them the benefit of his talent and executive faculty. He was a slightly educated Vermonter, who early drifted away from commonplace surroundings in search of an opportunity to exercise his craving appetite for leadership and nomination. The strange peculiarities of the new sect of latter-day saints appealed to his unregulated desires with such effect that he early enrolled himself as one of them. How much of conviction and how much of calculation there was in this act it is impossible to say; but it was not long before he found opportunity to exercise such talents as he had, by which he was brought into prominence among them. He joined them in Ohio, and was with them throughout the rough experiences in Missouri and afterwards at Nauvoo, where Smith was killed and Young chosen to be the head of the church, and subsequently dignified as a god, next in rank to Jesus, who was inferior to Adam. It was at Nauvoo that polygamous or rather adulterous practices were begun by Smith, although after the pretended revelation was received authorizing the faithful to have more than one wife, it was authoritatively denied to the outside world.

Brigham Young led the saints to Utah, and selected the great Salt Lake basin as their future home until such time as they should return to New Jerusalem in Missouri. In Utah they were for a time secure from the influences of decency and civilization, and the doctrine of polygamy was openly proclaimed as a part of their faith. Missionary operations were begun on a systematic scale, extending over this country and Europe, but were most successful among the ignorant classes of the Old World. All who could be induced to immigrate were encouraged and assisted to come to Salt Lake City, and before the Pacific Railroad was built the valley had a Mormon population of over fifty thousand, the greater part being ignorant and bigoted men and women, who were subject to the absolute rule of Brigham Young. Nominally there were councils and presidencies and quorums which had a share in the government; but in fact it was an essential despotism, of which Young was prophet, priest, and king. That he showed great capacity in planning, organizing, and building up the city must be recognized. He ruled firmly, preserved order, doubtless secured as much happiness and prosperity as was compatible with the conditions, and for many years was almost unmolested. One dream of his ambition was, however, disappointed. He desired to be independent of the United States, and when he could not accomplish this he organized a State government and applied for admission to the Union. If he had succeeded we should, before this time, have seen the doctrine of State rights and State sovereignty invoked to protect the security of another peculiar institution. Congress refused to admit the State, but created a Territory, of which the prophet was made governor. He exercised his authority in an arbitrary way, but was not much interfered with until he showed a disposition to prevent anybody but Mormons from living in the country. In President Buchanan's time it became necessary to despatch a considerable army to the Territory to compel him to relinquish his authority and suffer another governor to assume the office. During the war the Mormon settlement was closely watched, for naturally their leaders sympathized with the enemies of the Union.

Young had accumulated immense wealth from tithes and business operations. To all practical purposes he commanded the possessions of the entire community. Tithes were always large and rigidly exacted. Joseph Smith, before he died was judged to be worth more than a million dollars, exacted from his devoted dupes, and Young's accumulations were probably much larger. Of wives he had sixteen, besides an uncertain number of connections who were "sealed" to him for his felicity here and theirs hereafter, as they were taught to believe. His youngest son by his legal wife, a man of education and wide travel, who inherits in a large degree his father's business talent, who once renounced polygamy, but has recanted in order to be his father's successor, inherits the possession, and was some time ago named as the President in case of his father's death. Whether he will be able to perpetuate the prosperity of the Mormon Church remains to be seen. It is not all harmony in that community, and of late years all the Prophet's authority and address were required to prevent its being riven by dissensions. A portion of the people have never accepted the revelation sanctioning polygamy. Since the building of the railway to the Pacific and the discovery of mineral wealth in the territory there has been a considerable increase of population, and the presence of the Gentiles, with the diffusion of intelligence, has made a large proportion of the Mormon Church restless and ashamed under their restraints and disgraces. A new removal out of sight of the rest of the world has been contemplated. That, or a dissolution in the not distant future, appears to be inevitable. But whatever happens to the Mormon Church hereafter, Brigham Young's place in the roll of artful and corrupting impostors is assured.—*Boston Advertiser.*

THE MOONS OF MARS.

A LETTER FROM PROFESSOR NEWCOMB—FAVORABLE POSITION OF MARS FOR OBSERVATIONS—THE SMALLEST KNOWN CELESTIAL BODIES—VALUE OF THE DISCOVERY TO ASTRONOMICAL SCIENCE.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

Sir,—Some particulars respecting the newly-discovered satellites of Mars may not be uninteresting to the readers of the *Tribune*. The first question which will naturally arise is, Why have these objects not been seen before? The answer is that Mars is now nearer to the earth than it has been at any time since 1845, when the great telescopes of the present had hardly begun to be known. The next opportunity for seeing them occurred in 1862, but we may suppose they were then not especially sought for with the two or three telescopes which alone would show them. The next favorable opposition was in 1875, but Mars was then so far south of the equator that it could not well be observed in our latitudes. The present opposition is about the best possible for observation in the middle latitudes of our hemisphere, because the very smallest deviation from the greatest possible approach to the earth arises from the opposition occurring a few days after the planet reaches its position, and this throws it farther north in declination than it would be at the time of absolutely nearest approach. The next opposition will occur in October, 1879, and there is some hope that the satellites may then again be observed with the Washington telescope. During the ten years following they will probably be entirely invisible, with all the telescopes of the world, because, owing to the great eccentricity of the orbit of Mars, the planet will be too far away at the times of opposition. In 1892 a favorable opposition will again occur. During the present year it is hardly likely that the satellites will be visible after October.

Of the two satellites now discovered, the most extraordinary feature is the proximity of the inner one to the planet, and the rapidity of its revolution. The shortest period hitherto known is that of the inner satellite of Saturn—twenty-two and a half hours. But the inner satellite of Mars goes round in seven hours and thirty-eight minutes. Its distance from the centre of the planet is about six thousand miles, and from the surface less than four thousand. If there are any astronomers on Mars with telescopes and eyes like ours, they can readily find out whether this satellite is inhabited, the distance being less than one-sixtieth that of the moon from us.

That kind of near approach to simple relationships between the times of revolution is found here which we see in the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn. The inner satellite of Mars revolves in very nearly one-fourth the period of the outer one, these times being:

Outer satellite, 30h. 14m.
One fourth this period, 7h. 33½m.
Period of inner satellite, 7h. 38m.

These satellites may also be put down as by far the smallest heavenly bodies yet known. It is hardly possible to make anything like a numerical estimate of their diameters, because they are seen in the telescope only as faint points of light. But one might safely agree to ride round one of them in a railway-car between two successive meals, or to walk round in easy stages during a very brief vacation. In fact, supposing the surface of the outer one to have the same reflecting power with that of Mars, its diameter cannot be much more than ten miles, and may be less.

Altogether, these objects must be regarded as among the most remarkable of the solar system. Not the least service which Professor Hall's discovery will render to astronomy is that of an exact determination of the mass of Mars, and a consequent simplification of the theories of the four inner planets. The most profound researches on this subject hitherto made are those of Le Verrier, and we may regard his mass of Mars as the product of a century of observations, and several years of laborious calculation by a corps of computers. From Professor Hall's measures on four nights there is obtained by ten minutes' computation

$$\text{Mass of Mars} = \frac{\text{Mass of the Sun}}{3{,}090{,}000}$$

This is more certain than that declared by Le Verrier with so great labor. The latter was about one three-millionth that of the sun, so that the agreement of the two results is quite striking.

Simon Newcomb.

Washington, Aug. 22, 1877.

Veggis, the favorite barber of the Viceroy of Egypt, is dead. It was said of this important personage that he "had the Evil Eye," and though he learned to treat the matter as a joke, the consequences of this reputation were not always pleasant. One morning, as he was leaving the vice-regal chambers, Ismail called out to him: "Stop on the landing of the stairs." Veggis stopped, and the order was not reversed till the Viceroy had gone out for his usual airing. This order was repeated every morning for two years, and Veggis had to submit. At the end of that time, however, the Viceroy said to him one morning, "You may go right home for the future, after you have finished your work." Seeing his master in a good humor, the barber ventured to ask the reason of this long and weary command. "I will tell you," said Ismail. "The fact is, I was informed you had the Evil Eye. To prove this I tried an experiment which has succeeded perfectly, and I see that my informants were right. You bewitched my staircases, and every one of my enemies who has come up those stairs has since died. It's all over now, and I am much obliged to you." Veggis was an antiquary. He was said to be the owner of the famous copper globe made for Alexander the Great, that this distinguished warrior might learn geography.

Poetry.

[For The Index.]

AN INVOCATION.

We move in diverse ways to thee,
Eternal Mystery profound,
As men, lost in uncertainty,
Diverge to find the surer ground.
We raise our hands, and give thee praise
In words that inharmonious seem;
Yet, through the discord of our lays,
Thou risest clear, the one great theme.

As waits the sun the morning gray,
So wait we thy informing light;
Our reason is as dawning day,—
Is but a glimmer in the night.
And yet, as infant eyes we hide
From too great light, perchance may we,
Till stronger grown, in peace abide,
And live in lenient charity. A. O.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 1.

J. M. Barr, $2.05; E. H. Sargent, 35 cents; A. M. Comstock, 50 cents; John Jurgem, 80 cents; E. C. Walker, $3.44; J. W. Roberts, $1.50; Atherton Blight, $6; D. T. Herriott, $5; American News Co., $19.80; Wm. H. Allen, $3.20; T. W. Brigham, $3.20; G. A. Ellis, $3.20; S. K. Hazelton, $1.60; E. W. Pendleton, 10 cents; R. W. Jess, $6; D. E. Mayo, $10; Miss M. S. Devereux, $10; C. D. B. Mills, $3.20; Isaac Russell, $3.20; William Sterns, $3.20; Z. S. Wallingford, $5.20; A. O. Dunham, $1.70; Geo. W. Mead, $3.20; Reuben Frisbie, $1.60; Geo. W. Baxter, $1; Lizzie Richards, $2; Martha White, $1; J. W. Fowler, $5; J. L. Fort, 40 cents; Harry Wheeler, 50 cents.

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The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 6, 1877.

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THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognises no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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IT IS with deep regret that we are called upon to record the death of Rev. Thomas J. Mumford, editor of the Boston *Christian Register*, at his residence in Dorchester, on August 29. Possessed of a very unusual aptitude for journalism, and gifted especially with a brilliant wit (which its victims sometimes felt to verge on injustice), he was most successful in his editorial labors, and did much to increase the prosperity of the paper with which he was connected. It will be hard indeed to find a substitute so exceptionally skilled in the difficult art of "paragraphing." But it was his sunny, affectionate, and most lovable disposition, his warm and faithful heart, his utter innocence of any intent to wound even when his love of fun tempted him into sallies decidedly aggravating to their objects, which endeared him to many and will make him long and tenderly remembered. He was most constant and true in private friendship, as we have excellent cause to know. At our ordination on August 31, 1864, Mr. Mumford made the "ordaining prayer"; and we shall never forget the sweet fervor, simplicity, and beauty of his words, or the touching religiousness of his spirit. If the "laying-on of hands" by a true minister of Christ could indeed bring the Holy Ghost, we see not how we could ever have strayed so far from the fold. But no divergence of religious views ever cooled our mutual good-will; and it is with deep sorrow that we say good-by to one of the gentlest and best of humankind.

IN RESUMING our editorial labors, we cannot refrain from thanking our friend Mr. Morse for the admirable fidelity and ability with which he has edited THE INDEX during the last month, and especially for the too kind words with which he alluded to us at the close of the last issue. It was our wish that he should be untrammelled by any traditions or directions, but rather be just as free as we had always been to edit the paper according to his own ideas of what is right and true. In no other way could he do himself or his readers justice; and we rejoice that he followed the bent of his own mind, without seeking in any degree to consult ours. That he has done excellently well, is patent to all; and we are thoroughly glad that he has given his attention so largely to that which most interests him, without stopping to consider how far his views agreed with ours. This is exactly as it ought to be, and as we wanted it to be; and though we have dissented pretty stoutly in our own mind from some of the opinions he has expressed during the past four weeks, we have seen vastly more to delight in, to admire, and to applaud. Every word he has written has been the expression of a mind of transparent honesty and truthfulness, steeped in the love of liberty and illumined with a kindliness as radiant as it is rare. Who cares whether his thoughts and ours wholly agree? Not we, assuredly. It is enough that what he thinks and says is well worth thinking about, and that the readers of THE INDEX need no cautious sifter of thoughts to do their thinking for them beforehand. They have certainly gained not a little by our month's absence; and as we have gained to a considerable extent also, we step into the treadmill once more with a cheerful conviction that nobody is the worse off because for a brief season we ran away from it to recruit our wasted energies.

MOUNT DESERT ISLAND.

For over twenty years this wonderful little insular Switzerland of America has been attracting public attention more and more, as a spot quite unique on the Atlantic shore for combined beauty and grandeur. Lying close to the coast of Maine about one hundred and ten miles east of Portland, and containing about one hundred square miles of surface, Mount Desert Island strikingly resembles the human lungs in its general configuration, with the eastern and western portions divided into lobes by a long and narrow inlet of the sea, which penetrates into the very centre of the island and is called Somes Sound. Enormous masses of granite rise in parallel ranges to the altitude of mountains, running uniformly from north to south, and separated from each other by deep gorges or wild and lovely lakes. Seen from either north or south at a sufficient distance, these mountains, six of which are over a thousand feet high (the highest of all, Green Mountain, being over fifteen hundred feet), present a sharp, serrated horizon of unsurpassed boldness and beauty. They all slope gradually towards the west; but their eastern faces are jagged and steep, forming in many cases precipices which it would be absolutely impossible to climb. Dog Mountain, for instance, confronts Somes Sound with a perpendicular wall of granite six hundred feet sheer down to the water's edge; while the eastern sides of Newport and Green Mountains, if not quite so steep, are loftier and nearly as impracticable of ascent. Only the eagles, one of which, white-headed and white-tailed, with great black pinions, we saw soaring up the craggy side of Mount Robinson in solitary state, can scale in safety the battlements of these mountain fastnesses.

The lakes which lie imbedded among the numerous spurs of the chief peaks are wonderfully beautiful. Echo Lake, viewed from the top of Carter's Nubble, lay blue as a sapphire in a setting of emerald; and if the light skiff of the "Lady of the Lake" had shot out upon its smooth waters from the shelter of the surrounding woods, it would have seemed in perfect harmony with the lovely landscape. On the other hand, the Upper Hadlock Pond, skirted by the road which winds through the gloomy ravine between Mounts Sargent and Brown (a very lonely road which no one should fail to ride over who would behold the most impressive scenery in the interior of the Island), fascinates the imagination by the desolateness of the sterile and lofty crags that gird it on all sides, by the impenetrable mystery of its dark and unruffled surface, and by the singular weirdness imparted to it by the abundance of sedges, reeds, and lily-pads that make it seem the refuge of water-snakes and nameless sublacustrine monsters. Surely there cannot be found on this side of the Atlantic a wild mountain tarn that better tallies with what one dreams of the solitary Highland Loch.

From the summit of Green Mountain (or Newport) a prospect spreads before the eye that simply beggars description. The mainland, with the Gouldsboro Hills, Blue Hill, and the Camden Hills redeeming from tameness the long horizon that stretches from east to west on the north; Frenchman's Bay with its numerous islands to the east, and Point Schoodic far beyond; the Cranberries, Isle au Haut, and the countless islands to the west and southwest; the blue and illimitable expanse of the ocean to the south, looked down upon from a height of fifteen hundred feet above its own level, and studded with innumerable sails whose swiftest motion is absolute motionlessness at such a distance,—all this is but the frame enclosing a picture of surpassing and enchanting loveliness. The broad summit of the mountain must be faithfully explored, seizing a fresh view from every minor peak. To the south lay the exquisite valley of Otter Creek, smiling and green, dotted with farm-houses, with the sea-mists alternately advancing and receding, to retire completely at last only as the sun was declining towards the western horizon, and even then permitting only a view of the ocean which left the actual sky-line a subject of jocular controversy impossible of settlement. Across a lovely foreground of green, here lay Bar Harbor, with the chain of the Five Porcupines mapped out clearly beyond; there the Gorge, with Newport Mountain rising loftily behind it,—Eagle Lake, and the rolling hill country in its rear,—Mounts Sargent and Pemetic, cutting off the neighboring summits,—Southwest Harbor, and bits of Somes Sound, and all the bewildering archipelago at its mouth. But it is useless, we fear, to attempt giving even a faint idea of the matchless panorama here unfolded to the vision. No one who has not seen it can imagine the glories it reveals.

And the shore, with its mighty masses of rock piled up confusedly into towering and overhanging precipices, seamed with rifts through which the breakers thunder evermore, hollowed into caverns which swallow up the waves only to spew them forth in sheets of foam,—how can pen or tongue do justice to such things as these? Otter Cliffs with the vast "Detached Rock," split off to its base by a straight perpendicular chasm from the cliff to which it belongs, and seemingly built up out of huge blocks by some baby giant in his sport; Schooner Head with its "Spouting Horn," into which, after a storm, the surf dashes under an arch of solid rock to shoot up in spray, through a cleft behind it, far above the top of the lofty crag itself; Anemone Cave, extending from fifty to seventy-five feet into the very bowels of the cliff, accessible only at low tide, holding then small pools of water in which living sea-anemones, muscles, barnacles, star-fish, eels, etc., can be studied at leisure, and in its deep recesses receiving a tiny stream of cool fresh water most grateful to the thirsty palate; the Ovens, a series of smaller caves in cliffs of most exquisite coloring and shape; and, above all, Great Head, the very prince of rocky promontories, magnificent beyond imagination in the boldness and grandeur with which it confronts the angry sea, and opposes its enormous walls of broken and overhanging granite to the endless assaults of its enemy,—these are but a portion of the wonders of this most wonderful island, which can only be known thoroughly by months and years of patient exploration.

One little picture we must indeed try to paint. Seat yourself in fancy on a rock at the rear of one of the cool caves known as the Ovens, and let the irregular, ample arch of its gateway be the frame of the picture; note the long pebbly beach, with its fine slaty color, sloping gradually to the water's edge before you, where the becalmed waters of Frenchman's Bay kiss the shore with a low plash, but without a noticeable ripple; observe the glassy smoothness of the mirror in which the sky, mostly hidden from view by the rocky frame of your picture, reflects its own bright azure and snow-white cumulous clouds without a flaw; and, beyond this glorious daguerreotype of the heavens on the sea, admire the far distant coast of the mainland, and the noble outline of the Gouldsboro Hills, softened by that beautiful haze which is erroneously supposed to be the peculiar charm of the "Indian summer." Is not that a picture to be hung up in one's "chambers of imagery," and resorted to for imperishable delight when the hand of duty relaxes for a while its tenacious grasp?

But it would take a volume to record, however inadequately, the impressions left on our mind by this island-epitome of all earth's loveliness, during ten blessed days of rest from over-aggressive care,—rest made a thousandfold more restful by pleasant companionships and the renewal of sacredly cherished intimacies of early years. Let us close with a little incident which conveys a radical lesson of no slight significance.

Climbing the rugged steeps of Newport Mountain one afternoon, in company with a young lady whose light and agile foot made pastime of what would have exhausted many a stalwart man, the broken branch of an old stump caught our companion's dress and inflicted an inconvenient rent. This impeded her progress somewhat over the rough pathway of the ascent; and, while clambering up the inclined plane of a broad granite ledge, we expressed a regret that we were unprovided with one of those pocket-pincushions which gentlemen sometimes carry, and had not even a single pin that might obviate the inconvenience. The words had not fairly passed our lips, when a bright metallic gleam from the smooth face of the rock just in front of us arrested our attention; and, stooping, we picked up a blue-steel pin of the finest quality! This we immediately presented to our fair fellow-climber, with congratulations on the good fortune which made even Mount Desert rocks minister to her needs. Probably Newport Mountain could have been raked and swept from base to cope without yielding a duplicate of this timely pin, which had undoubtedly been dropped by some other lady who had ascended to the summit before us. The finding of it at the very nick of time, when we had just expressed a particular desire for it, was one of those extremely rare coincidences which nevertheless do occasionally occur, and which, if we had only *prayed* for it, would have been triumphantly cited as a signal instance of the Divine answer to prayer,—as a "special providence" which ought to

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confound the sceptic with shame and confusion! Nobody, however, will be so sanguine as to aver that the Almighty intended this pin as a response to the informal and merely constructive petition of a careless wish, or that it is likely he busies himself in scattering pins about to anticipate the wants of incommoded mountaineers. Yet the countless stories of miraculous answers to prayer have seldom so good a basis as this little incident affords; and it is worth remembering as a probable explanation of many of those marvellous tales which our Orthodox friends expect to overwhelm the radical's incredulity. The rigorous universality of natural law is not to be discredited by any such coincidence, however amazing; and the next time our faith in Nature is attacked with a narrative of supernatural interposition, we shall retort by rehearsing this wonderful history of "The Pin of Newport Mountain."

SECULAR SCHOOLS.

When the entire secularization of our public schools is advocated, many persons are at once seized with an apprehension that the schools are to be made "irreligious and godless," and that the religious education of the young is to be utterly neglected. As if the brief, formal religious exercise at the opening of our schools were all the religious education which the youth of America receive! In point of fact, though this brief exercise is doubtless an immense aid in maintaining certain popular theological beliefs and assumptions, it is capable of imparting very little genuine religious culture. It may be questioned, indeed, whether such an exercise, in which no questions can be asked or answered, does not tend to present religion to youthful minds as a very technical and mechanical thing instead of a living power, and therefore in the end work directly against a true religious education. If this short service of worship were to be omitted, and our public schools were to be devoted *wholly* to that kind of instruction which is admitted to be their *chief* office to give, we should then be doing, with respect to religion in the schools, what our fathers did for it in the National Constitution and Government,—leaving it, as they said, where it belonged, to the nurturing care of the home and the Church, in order that freedom of conscience might suffer no detriment. And, since the voluntary system of Church-support has been amply vindicated as wise and safe by its success in America, there is no reason to fear that the religious culture of the young would suffer if the State were to withdraw the slight provision now made for it in the few opening moments of Scriptural reading and prayer in the public schools.

Again, it is sometimes objected to the secularization of the schools that it is impossible to carry the principle thoroughly and strictly into practice; that religion is so universal in its relations that it is impracticable to teach anything without trenching on the religious domain; that history and literature and the very reading-books will have to be expurgated of all references to religion and to theological ideas; if the schools are to be consistently secular; that even natural science, as botany, astronomy, physiology, cannot be taught except as a dry and lifeless mechanism, a mere bundle of dead facts, without touching that mysterious secret of power and life which is hidden, yet evident, in the infinitely little and the infinitely great, and runs through the whole vast web of material and human phenomena, and which theology names Deity. But this objection rests upon a caricature of secularism rather than its true character. Secularism has to do with all the interests of human life on earth, in distinction from those ecclesiastical theories (with which the Christian religion has been specially identified) that regard the future life as the one grand concern of mankind. Everything comes into secular instruction which belongs to the domain of natural, material, or human phenomena, and knowledge of which may be acquired by man's natural faculties. Even the history of religion and of religious ideas may be studied from a secular point of view,—though naturally it is not a branch of learning that would come so early as to be adapted to the age of children in our public schools; and in any event, it is a kind of study which, on account of its close connections with sectarian views, had much better be left to private culture. But if any kind of knowledge is secular, it is certainly natural science. And secularism does not and cannot teach it as a lifeless bundle of dry facts. It must show the phenomena with all their relations, energies, forces, precisely as they disclose themselves to the human eye and mind. If the facts teach of a boundless power and life and unity, so be it. It is still secular knowledge and has a legitimate place in public instruction. It only becomes sectarian, to be debarred from the public schools, when the teacher should proceed to dictate to his class that all this proves the Hebrew or the Christian or the Hindoo or the Confucian scheme of theology to be correct. That is a kind of teaching—this drawing of a theological inference—which belongs to the province of the special Church and creed. But let the great facts of the universe, in all their relations and powers, be freely taught just as they are: they are a monopoly of no sect nor creed.

Again, it is objected that secularism would not only make the schools irreligious, but would make the teachers so. Secularism, however, by no means requires that public school-teachers should be void of religious faith nor of specific religious and theological beliefs,—only that they shall not bias nor indoctrinate their pupils' minds by their beliefs. The secular principle asks only what are the mental and moral qualifications of teachers, and not what may be their ecclesiastical relations or their religious creeds. It demands that those teachers shall be employed who are best qualified intellectually and morally for their positions, without reference to their theological attitude, whether Orthodox or heterodox.

But what I suppose thinking people mean when they object that secularism of the public schools implies teachers of a non-religious or irreligious type of mind, is that a deep and genuine religious faith gives a certain spiritual flavor and beauty to character, a certain moral grace and refinement, which is a subtile but most important element in educational influence, and of which for youthful minds to be deprived would be a grievous loss indeed. For one I am ready to say that I would rather have my own children under the instruction of a teacher having this element of character, though such teacher belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, than under the care of a teacher void of this element of character, though the latter teacher were of my own theological views,—provided the Catholic teacher could accomplish the difficult but not impossible feat of separating this refining influence of a consecrated and beautiful character from a habit of ecclesiastical propagandism. But this kind of educational influence, so precious when it can be secured, is not dependent on this or that mode of theological conviction, and is not under the ban of secularism. It is a spiritual quality of life belonging to religion *which has become character*, and not to that kind of religion which is enmeshed in the web of theological opinion. We know it and confess its beneficent power when we meet it, though it may not be easy to describe it. I have seen it in connection with Orthodox forms of faith, and I have seen it in connection with forms of faith which in Orthodox circles would be pronounced dangerously heretical and infidel.

Now there is and can be no law against religion going into our schools in this high form of consecrated character and life. On the contrary, this is just what we want, and must if possible have, in all educators of the young. We can and should keep out of the public schools the sectarian teaching of the creeds; but we cannot wish to keep out that which is the best fruit of all religious faith, the serene and constant influence of practical goodness. The formal services of worship may go and should go; but the "beauty of holiness," which shines in the face and graces every act and word of a true and devoted teacher who has this primal qualification of character, is a power in the schools that makes for righteousness, stronger than any recitation of Scripture or prayer. Against this kind of religion in the public schools secularism makes no protest; and with such secularism, we may be sure, our schools and our children are safe. W. J. P.

MR. BABCOCK'S COMPLAINT.

Rev. J. M. L. Babcock's article in THE INDEX of August 16, to which of course we could not reply in our absence, contained nothing which there seems the least need of noticing except his complaint that we "misrepresented" him, in attributing to him the opinion that "it is the right of the trainmen to say who shall take their places when they strike." This complaint we consider to be both puerile and disingenuous.

In the first place, we republished the full report of his speech in the same issue that contained our comments, that all might see for themselves whether these comments were fair or unfair; we simply criticised the speech as we understood it then and still understand it.

In the next place (and this is the main point), Mr. Babcock carefully avoids disavowing, in his article, the opinion which he claims it was a "misrepresentation" to attribute to him in his speech. If he will declare without ambiguity or equivocation that his real opinion is that "the trainmen have *not* the right to say who shall take their places when they strike," we will promptly confess that we have wofully misunderstood him, and therefore unintentionally misrepresented him. But until he does this, we shall believe that we represented his opinion on this point exactly as he meant his hearers to understand him at the time. His speech was utterly meaningless on any other construction. He said explicitly: "It was the right of these men to be heard by these railroad officials. And what was left them but to resort to a species of riot or war? They strike and blockade the road as the only resort left them." What is this, if not to adopt and defend the opinion in question? It is a conclusion to which we are irresistibly compelled that Mr. Babcock meant to be understood then and there as asserting the right of the strikers to drive off all men who volunteered to take their places; but that now, when called to account for the monstrous immorality of such a doctrine before another audience, he neither dares to maintain his ground boldly nor yet to abandon it frankly. In all this we find precious little to respect. We believe we did *not* "misrepresent" him in the slightest degree in what we wrote; and we shall remain of this mind until he explicitly disavows the opinion which we then attributed to him after a very careful consideration of his speech. Let him show his hand openly. If he admits that "the trainmen have *no* right to say who shall take their places when they strike," we shall be swift to withdraw our "misrepresentation," though we shall think that he was himself to blame for it by talking to the crowd in a way that necessitated such an understanding of his words. But if it was and is his real opinion that the trainmen do possess such a right, then we consider it pretty small business to whine over a "misrepresentation" which only represented him as holding his real opinion.

Communications.

THE WALCOTT MEETING.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF A NEW ORGANIZATION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Enclosed I send you the Articles of Association of the new organization formed at the Walcott meeting, August 17, 18, and 19, and the names of the officers, and ask a place for the same in THE INDEX. As your readers who were not present may desire to know something as to the result of the meeting, I will say, what I think was the unanimous opinion of those present, it was a grand success. The audience numbered not less than sixteen hundred, and a large number of those were earnest, intelligent persons from various sections of the country who came to the meeting, as many expressed themselves, to organize for practical work. It was evidently one of the most encouraging meetings to the friends of free-thought and secular government ever held in this country.

Mr. J. M. Cosad, the host of the occasion, had made the best of preparations for this large gathering. It had been advertised more extensively than any meeting of the kind ever had been, and during the whole session nothing transpired to mar the harmony of the occasion. The meeting was held in a beautiful grove on the premises of Mr. Cosad, and under the tent belonging to the County Fair of the county. Mr. C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, presided, and Mr. Edgar M. Sellon, of Wyoming County, was Secretary. Speeches were made by Horace Seaver and J. P. Mendum, of the *Investigator*; D. M. Bennett, of the *Truth Seeker*; C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse; Giles B. Stebbins, of Detroit; J. H. Harter, of Auburn; Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton; Mrs. R. M. Scott Briggs, of Herkimer Co.; Mrs. Celia Gardner, of Rochester; H. L. Green, of Salamanca, and many others, including one of great interest from an intelligent gentleman who had just left the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Words of encouragement were received from Col. R. G. Ingersoll, of Illinois; from Hon. George W. Julian, of Indiana; Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, of Albany; Miss Susan H. Wixon, of Fall River, Mass., and from many others, regretting that circumstances prevented their attendance.

As to the new organization, the reader will see that any person, wherever residing, can join by sending in his or her name and twenty-five cents to the Recording Secretary, and we hope many will do that at once. Each Vice-President will also see that he is required to appoint at once two associates to act with him as a county committee, and notify the Corresponding Secretary of the names and post-office address of each of these appointments.

The united opinion of the meeting was that Free Religionists, Materialists, and Spiritualists should all unite in this Association, and all others who agree with its objects. From what was expressed at the meeting, we expect to see one society at least organ

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ized in each of the thirty counties in the course of the next three months, and we hope these may be Liberal Leagues.

The President of the Association, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and the Corresponding Secretary will answer calls to lecture in any portion of the territory within the bounds of the Association.

H. L. GREEN, *Secretary*.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION.

NAME.

The name of this Society is the "Freethinkers Association of Central and Western New York."

TERRITORY INCLUDED.

The territory of the Association shall include the counties of Allegany, Broom, Cattaraugus, Cayuga, Chenango, Chemung, Chautauqua, Cortland, Erie, Genesee, Herkimer, Livingston, Lewis, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Niagara, Oneida, Orleans, Onondaga, Oswego, St. Lawrence, Schuyler, Seneca, Steuben, Tioga, Tompkins, Wyoming, Wayne, and Yates.

OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

First—To stimulate freethought and investigation among the people in relation to their civil, religious, and political rights, and encourage the investigation of questions relating to religion, science, and reform; and to that end to sustain freethought speakers, hold liberal meetings, and circulate liberal, scientific, and reformatory papers and periodicals.

Second—To act as an auxiliary to the National Liberal League in its efforts to accomplish the total separation of Church and State, and to organize local Liberal Leagues in the counties above named, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the National Liberal League.

THE CREED OF THE SOCIETY.

Universal, mental liberty.

PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES.

The platform of principles is the "Demands of Liberalism," as published in the Boston INDEX; namely:—

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any person may become a member of this society by signing the Articles of Association and paying the Treasurer twenty-five cents.

THE OFFICERS.

The officers shall be a President, one Vice-President from each county, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer; also an Executive Committee of seven, who shall have the general supervision of the Association. The duty of the officers shall be those usually pertaining to these positions, with the additional duties hereinafter mentioned.

The Vice-President of each county shall, immediately after his election, appoint two other persons of the county to act with him, and the three shall be the "Freethought and Liberal League Committee" of the county, the Vice-President to be chairman; and it shall be his duty to notify the Corresponding Secretary of this Association of the names and post-office address of each of said appointees.

The duty of these county committees shall be to carry out the objects of this Association, and also to coöperate with the National Liberal League in all practical ways.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The officers of this Association shall be elected annually and hold their positions until their successors are elected. The President shall have power to fill vacancies.

AMENDMENTS.

These articles may be amended at any regular meeting of this Association by a two-thirds vote of all members present.

MEETINGS—WHEN HELD.

The annual meeting and other meetings of this Association shall be held at such times and places as the Executive Committee shall direct.

OFFICERS,

For the year commencing August 20, 1877:

PRESIDENT.

Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton, N. Y.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Allegany—Samuel Latta, Friendship.
Broome—E. E. Guild, Binghamton.
Cattaraugus—A. L. Brainard, Salamanca.
Cayuga—Mrs. Mitchell, Aurora.
Chautauqua—E. Mitchell, Jamestown.
Chemung—J. V. Mapes, Elmira.
Chenango—C. S. Balmer, Norwich.
Cortland—William D. Hunt, Scott.
Erie—Geo. W. Taylor, Lawton Station.
Genesee—J. D. Richards, Batavia.
Herkimer—W. J. Lewis, Ilion.
Livingston—H. B. McNair, Dansville.
Lewis—Thomas Bacon, Leyden.
Jefferson—William Estus, Cape Vincent.
Madison—E. D. Van Slyke, Hamilton.
Monroe—Cornelia Gardner, Rochester.
Niagara—J. M. Harwood, Hess Road.
Oneida—M. Peckham, Utica.
Orleans—Henry Reynolds, Albion.
Onondaga—John W. Truesdale, Syracuse.
Oswego—Charles A. Gurley, Pulaski.
St. Lawrence—J. P. Armstrong, Ogdensburg.
Schuyler—Capt. D. P. Day, Watkins.
Seneca—Edmund W. Mitchell, West Junius.
Steuben—George Morehouse, Wayland.
Tioga—O. P. Kinney, Waverly.
Tompkins—D. B. Morton, Groton.
Wyoming—W. F. Graves, Castile.
Wayne—Samuel Cosad, Walcott.
Yates—S. S. Ball, Penn Yan.

Recording Secretary—Edgar M. Sellen, Castile.
Corresponding Secretary—H. L. Green, Salamanca.
Treasurer—Amy Post, Rochester.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

C. D. B. Mills, Syracuse, N. Y.
Sigmond Block, Cape Vincent, N. Y.
T. L. Brown, Binghamton, N. Y.
Charles A. Gurley, Pulaski, N. Y.
David Cosad, Jr., Oaks Corners, N. Y.
N. G. Upson, Nunda Station, N. Y.
Clement Austin, Rochester, N. Y.

MORE ABOUT THE WOLCOTT MEETING.

EDITOR INDEX:—

However valuable the space in THE INDEX may be, I am sure your readers will consent to have considerable of it devoted to some further account of the Wolcott meeting, and I wish an abler pen might perform the task. In many respects I believe that it was one of the most important liberal gatherings ever held in this country. For my own part, after the meeting was appointed by Mr. Cosad, I took it upon myself to see that it was well advertised. There were full notices of the meeting published in all the papers known as "liberal," and in every paper of any consequence in Central and Western New York, and most of the leading freethinkers were invited to be present. A notice of the meeting also appeared in most of the New York dailies, the *Tribune* and *World* devoting space in their editorial columns to that purpose.

The result was that nearly every town of any size in Central and Western New York was represented. There were live, earnest, intelligent liberals at the meeting, representing some thirty counties, and also from Pennsylvania, Ohio, New England, and Canada. There must have been not less than five hundred delegates present from their various localities. Mr. Cosad had made extensive preparations to accommodate the multitude. He had procured at considerable expense, from his own pocket, the large tent owned by Wayne County, with a capacity of seating a thousand people or more, and erected it in his beautiful grove for the use of the meeting, and had made arrangements with the hotels to provide board at reasonable rates. He kept some fifty at his own large residence, including most of the speakers free. Then there was a provision tent on the grounds.

On Friday, at two o'clock P.M., the meeting was organized by the appointment of C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, as President, and Mr. Edgar M. Sellon, of Castile, Wyoming County, as Secretary, with thirty Vice-Presidents, each representing a county. The readers of THE INDEX all know Mr. Mills; and, while I am mentioning his name, permit me to say that I have often heard him speak, but was never more charmed with his eloquence than on Sunday afternoon, while he was addressing thousands of people. That grand speech must have had a telling effect upon the hundreds present who were probably listening for the first time to progressive ideas. One word as to Mr. Sellon, the young man from Wyoming County, who acted as Secretary. He is not over twenty-three or twenty-four years of age; is the son of a Baptist minister; a telegrapher on the Erie Railroad by occupation; and if he lives, he will be heard from in the liberal ranks. I never remember seeing a more earnest, intelligent liberal of his age, and I was pleased to make his acquaintance.

The announcement that Mr. Horace Seaver and J. P. Mendum would attend the meeting attracted many of the old subscribers to the *Investigator*, and a solid, intelligent class of men they were. Mr. Seaver was very popular with the audience, and, although I had heard him a number of times in Boston, I thought I had never heard him speak so well. He did himself great credit. Mr. Mendum made interesting speeches and an effective appeal for Paine Hall. The other person present who attracted much attention was Mr. D. M. Bennett, the editor of the *Truth Seeker*. He gave a most interesting address on the various religions of the world. This was a most able production, and gave evidence of much study and research, and, if published, should be extensively circulated.

At the first session of the convention, Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton, made a strong argument against modern spiritualism. This was answered by Giles B. Stebbins, of Detroit, to the perfect satisfaction of the Spiritualists. During the meeting, Dr. Brown made a number of pointed and earnest speeches that were well received, and Mr. Stebbins, as he always does, spoke eloquently and with evident effect. I must not forget to say that Mrs. Celia Gardner, of Rochester, spoke decidedly well, and, as Mr. Seaver truly said, surpassed any woman now in the Orthodox ranks who was "standing up for Jesus" at camp-meetings and at "revivals." She is about to take the lecture-field for freethought and free religion.

But I am confident that the speech that had the best effect on that large audience was delivered by Rev. Mr. Ellis, of North Huron, formerly and for many years a minister of the Methodist denomination, and at one time (I understand) presiding elder of the district, who has recently left the church from an honest conviction that he could no longer preach Orthodoxy. He was evidently a thoughtful, honest man, and it was a brave move in him to take the freethinkers' platform there among his old church associates.

The conference sessions, held Saturday evening and Sunday morning, at which persons from various localities made short speeches, were very interesting. At these meetings brief addresses were made by G. F. Junkerman, of Cincinnati; Dr. M. Woolley, of Streator, Ill.; Mrs. Cornelia Gardner, of Rochester; Mr. John W. Truesdall, of Syracuse; Mr. William D. Hunt, of Cortland County; Mr. M. B. De Lano, of South Barre, Orleans County; R. C. Trowbridge, of Onondaga County, and a number of others whose names I do not remember. I must not forget to mention that Sunday forenoon Mrs. R. W. Scott Briggs, of West Winfield, read a well-written paper, and the secretary read a short address to the convention on practical work, by Miss Susan H. Wixon, of Fall River, Mass.

The new organization, to be known as the "Freethinkers Association of Central and Western New York," was entered into with great earnestness, and by a unanimous vote the "Demands of Liberalism" was adopted as its platform, and the society was made an auxiliary to the National Liberal League in its efforts to accomplish the total separation of Church and State. It includes thirty counties; and, since I arrived home, I have learned of three or four places where they contemplate organizing at once local societies, and probably they will be organized as Liberal Leagues. The President of the society is Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton, and I am confident he is the right man in the right place. The Dr. has talents of a high order and money, and he informed me he should devote both freely to the cause during the next year. Mr. Mills, of Syracuse, is Chairman of the Executive Committee, and I know he is very hopeful of the new society, and will give it the benefit of his character and services. The Corresponding Secretary will do what his humble abilities will permit.

This large meeting of earnest people has attracted much attention. A short notice of it appeared in the associate telegraph reports, and editorial notices in the New York *Tribune*, *Herald*, and *Sun*. Editorial notices have also come to my knowledge from the Elmira *Daily Advertiser*, Syracuse *Daily Courier*, Syracuse *Daily Standard*, Watertown *Daily Despatch*; and quite a lengthy report containing the platform was published in the Rochester *Daily Democrat and Chronicle*. Probably many other papers have given it notice. So much for the Wolcott meeting.

H. L. GREEN.

WHAT IS RELIGION, AND WHAT IS NOT RELIGION?

It is religion—

To do our daily duty towards God, ourselves, our fellow-men, animals, and all creation:

To live this life as well and nearly right as we can, and let everybody have his or her opinion about another life:

To ascertain the divine laws and the laws of Nature, and use them for the best good of all; for if a man cannot believe that there is a God, yet obeys his laws, he is more religious than another who prays to God and violates his laws:

To make the best efforts for the development of our own and others' reason:

To have sincere faith in that which our reason dictates us to believe, and sincere doubt of that which we cannot believe:

To aspire to true manhood and universal liberty and all other good attributes of the human soul.

It is not religion—

To bow-wow about God, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, etc., and, acting like the devil, Cain, Judas, etc., to build costly temples surrounded by the poor and needy:

To try to believe or make believe that a Pope or the Bible is infallible:

To make long faces on Sunday, and during the week speculate with the so-called religion for the gain of selfish ends:

To pretend that an emperor or a king is born with an extra mercy from God, while some of them act as if they had an extra share of folly from their devil:

To assume positive knowledge of something, which is our individual belief or theory only, or to make believe that we have a holy office, while the most of it is speculation, money-making, "cheek," and "gab":

To presume that our faith or theories are right and all others wrong,—that we are saved, and all who do not believe as we do will be damned.

If the Pope, sultan, czar, or the commander-in-chief over Stewart's Hotel in Saratoga, calls his unreasonable and selfish acts religion, I consider it just as much a mistake as when Mr. Einstein says, "Religion is an evil."

"Religion must do everything for the good"; therefore, it cannot be evil; but hypocrisy, selfishness, vanity, and fanaticism are often called religion. Just as much as I must, in accordance with the develop-

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ment of my reason and faith, call God the highest, all-ruling Power, I have to define religion as "the concentration of the best thoughts, aspirations, and actions of the human soul."

Mr. Beecher's criticism of Judge Hilton's silly sect is good; but do we not find similar exclusions in the churches? Do they allow Jews at their communion-tables? Do the Jews give Christians and others equal rights in their synagogues? With regard to the "cotton and codfish aristocracy," we think Plymouth Church has as full a share of them as Stewart's Hotel in Saratoga. All such actions as Hilton's are the fruits of Church education. When the reason and common-sense of our priests and judges and all others are better developed, then the time will come when we shall have the true religion of humanity, and all speculative forms of religion, sectarianism, and false theories must fade away. "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do," said that good and (for his time) well-reasoning Jew. But we have to say: "Reasonable people, forgive them, and try your best to make them think and reason."

There is a perfect and an imperfect; the perfect we believe in and aspire to, the imperfect we have to acknowledge and regret. Are not science, morals, ethics, politics, component parts of religion? Rev. T. G. Bonney finely says: "Beware, then, I pray you, of the arrogance of a theology which claims that all things have been revealed to it, no less than that of a science which claims that all things have been discovered by it." All forms of religion with another name appended, as Christian Mohammedan, etc., are aggressive, and offend the genuine religion of other souls. Massacres and wars have not been caused by religion, but by such offensive names. One man cannot shape the religion of all souls!

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N. H., July 24, 1877.

RAILROADS AND THE PEOPLE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—In your issue of August 2, you say in an article entitled "The Right of Riot":—

"This was simply a quarrel about wages between corporations and their *employés*, both being merely private parties so far as the government is concerned."

In my opinion, the railroad corporations are *not* private parties, but, having received a charter from the government to *open highways*, they stand in the same relation to the people as the government does, and ought to be controlled by the government in all that concerns the people, be it railroad fares or the pay of the *employés*. If you should give room in your paper to these lines, I wish you would give your answer in a few remarks.

Yours, C. P.

[It is true that the special charters, giving to the companies the right to take private lands for the use of the road on paying damages, render these corporations public bodies to some extent; but we do not see how it puts them in the same relation to the people as the government. The charters are really contracts between certain individuals and the State, each party binding itself to do certain things; and we do not think that either party acquires thereby any special right to exercise control over the other not directly conferred in the contract itself. But this is a subject for the lawyers to discuss; and, as it is not at all material to our main position, we had better leave it to them.—ED.]

DION BOUCICAULT ON THE DECLINE OF THE DRAMA.

When you ask me, dear R——, to afford some reason for the decline of the drama which we have witnessed during our time, I feel inclined to reply in the words of the Trojan exile:—

"Quanquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
Incipiam."

It is comforting to reflect that the fine arts, together with every form of literature—in truth, all the staple products of the brain,—have suffered a decline during the last half-century. There is a certain satisfaction in reflecting that the drama has been steadily declining for two thousand years since Cæsar, deploring the falling off in the Roman stage of his time, when compared with the Greek, stigmatized Terence as a half-bred (*demidiatus*) Menander. We, dramatists of this age, can therefore hope there is a still lower depth in years to come, when we shall be regarded as men of stature by a pygmy posterity. . . . During the last hundred years the mind of mankind has been eagerly devoted to the application of scientific discoveries to useful purposes, and particularly to the unification of political and commercial interests. Information has become a drug; investigation has set bounds to romance and rendered fancy ridiculous. The whole world is plotted out and turned into real estate. The island of Prospero is a thriving settlement, and if Rosalind should trespass into the forest of Ardennes, a sturdy keeper would take her into custody. Even the spiritual world has been staked out into claims. The ghosts that visited the couch of Richard were spirits in which the Shakespearian public devoutly believed. Ghosts are now secured by patent and produced by machinery by Professor Pepper. Such is the positive generation that calls its drama into existence, requiring the mind of the dramatist to be practical, utilitarian, to be in sympathetic accord with the minds of the people. He must not consider anything too deeply; his audience cannot follow him. He must not soar; their prosaic minds, heavy with facts, cannot rise. He cannot roam; their exact information turns him back at every step. I earnestly believe the human mind always maintains the same average level. There is always a Homer, a Virgil, a Dante, and a Shakespeare in existence, but mankind is pleased not to call them forth. A great artistic passion prevailed three hundred years ago. The world, setting all other things aside, called forth painters and sculptors to beautify the temples of God and the palaces of princes, and immediately the great classic band appeared, headed by Rubens, Titian, Michel Angelo, Raphael, and Murillo. Such crops of great artists or great poets are not freaks of Nature, but the necessary results of human demand. If we have no such poets, painters, sculptors, or philosophers now, it is simply because the mind of the nineteenth century has other aspirations. So our Milton has been directed to dismount Pegasus and bestride the lightning which science has bridled, Shakspeare is occupied in editing a morning newspaper, Dante is exploring the Isthmus of Panama to locate an interoceanic canal, Bacon is trying to reach the North Pole, while Michel Angelo is inventing a sewing-machine. Great intellect, no longer meditative, is active. It has been diverted by command of the world to other objects and has accepted other functions.

These, my dear R——, seem to me the main cause for the decline of the drama, and why Hercules is a spinster. If it has descended below the level at which it ought to have rested, it owes its further decline to the destructive influence of the newspaper press.

This literary machine was invented about a century ago. In the language of the turf, it was sired by Essay out of Flying Post. At first its object was simply to circulate news. Then it began to manufacture opinion. As mankind became more and more busy in commercial affairs they had less time for meditation, and it was very convenient to buy opinions ready made, and to have their minds made up for them without the trouble of consideration. So this machine soon came into universal use, and the slow craftsman of literature, the old-fashioned thinker, the weaver of sound, strong argument, finding no market for his laboriously-fashioned brain-produce, became a pressman. The inexorable machine now calls upon him for so much composition, not for thought. He writes by the yard. It matters not whether his faculties are ill at ease or well disposed, in vein or out of gear; *copy* must be had. This daily milking of his brain, this eternal diarrhœa of thought has debilitated his mental system. He is under instructions to write for commonplace intellects,—that is, to treat his subjects in a shallow or showy manner, as "the impression" is only intended to live for one day. He is appreciated not for the truth of what he writes (that is a secondary matter), he is urged to be racy, and so learns to cover with pertness of style his baldness of treatment, and to put a satin face upon a shoddy argument.

I speak of the newspaper press as a literary man, and as it affects the constitution of literature. It is needless here to allude to its power and services as a cohesive agent in civilization. But to effect its purpose and to consolidate its dynasty it was obliged to absorb our power as essayists and degrade our independence. We became subject to a training in which, it may be said, the march of intellect was regulated by the editorial goose step. By this means it raised a disciplined force, but by the process the race of literary heroes was extinguished. As the newspaper press has prospered, so in proportion have the poet, the novelist, and the dramatist disappeared. In the commencement of this century the list of authors, headed by Byron, Shelley, Moore, Scott, Sheridan, Colman, Bulwer, and Knowles, formed but a few of the phalanx. Where are their compeers of this period? They are private soldiers in the ranks of the press. Have you ever examined meditatively the counter of a bookseller? Have you not found nine out of ten new works of fiction, displayed there for sale, to be the product of female brains? Why do women almost monopolize this branch of literature? The answer is, that men are recruited for the ranks of the press. That is wherefore we see women doing their work in the fields of literature. But it may be remarked that surely some sturdy brain would rebel against this conscription and resolutely preserve its freedom. Such there are; but the press has, by depreciating the products of literature, cultivated millions of readers with no intelligence above or beyond the scope of a newspaper article. This multitudinous fry inhabit the shoals of thought, overwhelming the select few who still have stomach for works of greater reach and power.

In the drama the mischievous influence of the press is still more fatal in its effects. It has superseded and displaced the band of critics that used to stand upon guard over the production of a new play or the appearance of a new actor. This self-elected troop of exercised and experienced folk, priding itself in its power and its office, was cheerfully recognized by the rest of the public as a leader in taste. It was the body-guard of the drama. Its functions have been of late years usurped by the newspaper press, and the old critical band has been dissolved. Unfortunately the newspaper critic is, and always has been, incapable of discharging these functions. I speak from a personal acquaintance with the most distinguished of these gentlemen that have misguided London, Paris, and New York during the last thirty years. It has happened to me to address an eminent artist on the morning after a first performance with the complaint that not only had he misrepresented the character confided to him, but that he had altered it and had interpolated language of his own to the detriment of the play. He answered this reproach by directing my attention to the columns of the London *Times*, where his performance was eulogized, and the success of the play attributed largely to his buffoonery.

As a low state of health is liable to let in a score of maladies, so a low state of the drama has developed the *commercial manager*. This person in most instances received his education in a bar-room, possibly on the far side of the counter. The more respectable may have been gamblers. Few of them could compose a bill of the play where the spelling and grammar would not disgrace an urchin under ten years of age. These men have obtained possession of first-class theatres, and assume to exercise the artistic and literary functions required to select the actors, to read and determine the merit of dramatic works, and preside generally over the highest and noblest efforts of the human mind. The great theatres of London are filled by men of this class, who have thus succeeded to the curule chairs of John Philip Kemble, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Macready, George Colman, and Charles Kean. To the commercial manager we owe the introduction of the burlesque, opera bouffe, and the reign of buffoonery. We owe him also the deluge of French plays that set in with 1842, and swamped the English drama of that period. For example: the usual price received by Sheridan, Knowles, Bulwer, and Talfourd at that time for their plays was £500. I was a beginner in 1841, and received for my comedy, *London Assurance*, £300. For that amount the manager bought the privilege of playing the work for his season. Three years later I offered a new play to a principal London theatre. The manager offered me £100 for it. In reply to my objection to the smallness of the sum, he remarked: "I can go to Paris and select a first-class comedy; having seen it performed, I feel certain of its effect. To get this comedy translated will cost me $25. Why should I give you £300 or £500 for your comedy of the success of which I cannot feel so assured?" The argument was unanswerable and the result inevitable. I sold a work for £100 that took me six months' hard work to compose, and accepted a commission to translate three French plays at £50 apiece. This work afforded me child's play for a fortnight. Thus the English dramatist was obliged either to relinquish the stage altogether or to become a French copyist.

But the most irreparable loss inflicted on the stage by this management was the loss of *tradition*. From the earliest days there existed in the leading theatres of London groups of actors inhabiting Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Haymarket theatres, these being especially entitled to perform the highest class of drama, for which they had the monopoly, and consequently companies of artists were selected for the object of cultivating legitimate comedy and tragedy. These actors were the lineal artistic descendants of the great tragedians and comedians who preceded them on the same stages. The prompt-books were heirlooms of the art. From hand to hand, from mouth to mouth, the movement and gestures of every scene and every play were transmitted from generation to generation. The way in which Garrick or Betterton acted a certain part was compared with the manner and treatment of their predecessors in it, and the best parts of each performance were retained and employed by John Philip Kemble. He in turn was studied by Cooke and Young, who transmitted their traditions to Kean and Macready. The grouping of the actors on the stage, their relations to each other, their movements and gestures, all the product of the careful study of two or three centuries, formed this artistic treasure which we call tradition; and all this is utterly lost. The commercial manager having disbanded these leading companies of artists, all the wealth of the past has been dispersed.—*North American Review*.

THE TURKS AS THE "LITTLE HORN."—The millenarians are finding much encouragement in the present yeasty condition of the East, and Daniel and the Apocalypse are being overhauled and made note of in a way to delight Captain Cuttle. The latest and most careful computation of dates points out 1882 as the year of the culmination of prophecy, and not this year, as some of the Adventists have declared. In fact the recent Adventist calculation closed up affairs last Saturday; but neither the Russians nor any other instrumentalities, earthly or heavenly, came to time with anything decisive, and the earth still lingers. Now good sober Episcopalian scholars bestir themselves; and, starting from the accepted interpretation that Daniel's "time and times 'and the dividing of time,'" which they call three and a half (lunar) years of three hundred and sixty days each, coincides with the Revelator's forty-two months, or twelve hundred and sixty days of years,—go on to observe that this term, projected from the time when Phocas made Bishop Boniface pope, ended in 1866, and as the papacy didn't end completely at the same time, it became necessary to look out for something else to fill the *rôle* of the "little horn." Accordingly they foist that ungrateful part upon the Turk—who has so long been expected to come out "at the little end of the horn,"—and, dating the rise of the Mohammedan power from the Hegira in 622, find the fated termination of the prophetic twelve hundred and sixty days in 1882. This is giving the "unspeakable" a long shift; but the interpreters console themselves in the belief that both Islam and the papacy will end together at that time, and the restoration of the Jews begin,—which will be nuts for Daniel Deronda, as well as for his distinguished prophetic godfather.—*Springfield Republican*.

A BACHELOR'S CHOICE.—"Oh, Mr. Grubbles," exclaimed a young mother, "shouldn't you like to have a family of rosy children about your knee?" "No, ma'am," said the disagreeable old bachelor; "I'd rather have a lot of yellow boys in my pocket."

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

WOULD IT NOT be more appropriate for M. Jules Grévy to become President of Greece than of France?

THE PAN-PRESBYTERIAN COUNCIL at Edinburgh is said to have represented a general membership of thirty-four millions.

IT IS ANNOUNCED that "Bogus Charley," the Modoc Indian who fought under Captain Jack, is a recent convert to Christianity. We are afraid that poor Charley will now be more "Bogus" than ever.

HOW AGREEABLE it is to find the latest science coming to the rescue of the fairy tales discredited by its earlier dicts, though stoutly clung to by imaginative childhood! Here is Professor Marsh, telling us in his Nashville addresses before the American Association that the Pterosauria, or flying lizards of Mesozoic times, "were veritable Dragons, having a spread of wings of from ten to twenty-five feet." St. George will now hold up his head again.

THE NEW YORK *Tribune* fairly groans over the fact that the Permanent Exhibition was opened on Sunday, September 2, for the first time, "with the result of nearly doubling the receipts"! But it groans, as it were, in its sleeve, and does not dare to give full vent to its mighty emotions. Hence it only "questions a little, too, the policy of this Sunday-opening, as a mere matter of business, without venturing to touch at all upon the moral aspect of the case," and timidly hints that "the Sabbath-keeping, church-going community" is "the class which, after all, has the quarters to give at the stiles." What sneaking Orthodoxy is this!

THE CHURCHES know how to crack the whip over the heads of business men. Says the Boston *Advertiser*: "The exhibits of the American Tract Society of this city and the Presbyterian Board of Publication have been withdrawn from the Philadelphia Permanent Exhibition, in consequence of the determination to open it on Sundays. The Young Men's Methodist Episcopal Alliance of Philadelphia has adopted resolutions protesting against the Sunday opening." Does anybody go to the Exhibition to see a lot of dusty old fire-and-brimstone tracts? What a fearful penalty it is to withdraw such a vision of glory from the eyes of the weeping public!

THE DEATH of Col. Higginson's wife at Newport, Rhode Island, on Sunday, September 2, will awaken the sympathy of thousands who are personally unknown to him. Mrs. Higginson had been for a long time a confirmed invalid, and there never was a more devoted, attentive, or self-sacrificing husband than Col. Higginson showed himself during all these painful years. In the midst of constant literary labors which taxed his strength to the utmost, he spared no effort to alleviate the sufferings or promote the comfort of his chosen life-companion. He has achieved a high reputation by his never idle pen; but his noblest crown has been won in the seclusion of his own home.

ADOLPHE THIERS has bequeathed to his countrymen one of those great names which are a permanent tower of strength to any people. He lived for France in no metaphorical sense, and the irrefutable proof of the fact lies in the universal consternation and grief called forth by his death. Seldom indeed does the departure of an octogenarian throw a great nation into such commotion. There is something very noble in the clear and proud consciousness which dictated those words of his, in one of his last speeches in the Assembly: "I do not fear for my memory, because I do not expect to appear at the tribunal of parties. Before such a court I should be at fault. But I shall not be ashamed before history, and I desire to appear at *its* tribunal."

THE DEATH of ex-President Thiers adds a new interest to the approaching French elections. As one of the New York papers well observes: "The general anxiety, already sufficiently painful, is at once doubled, and Marshal MacMahon may henceforth count on the potent ally of Fear." Gambetta shows himself a true patriot in promptly putting forward Grévy as candidate for MacMahon's successor, in the event of the latter's resignation. Thiers' *fou enragé* is proving himself to be far better than the hasty epigrammatic phrase of the old statesman described him, as Thiers himself evidently came to believe at last. Notwithstanding the blackness of the gathering clouds, we earnestly hope that the French Republic will weather the storm, and our hope depends largely on the unselfish wisdom of Léon Gambetta.

NOT LONG SINCE the New York *Graphic* had this paragraph, which suggests the only just remedy for the difficulties described: "The familiar 'Bible war' has broken out in the schools of New Rochelle. It seems that all the children were compelled to be at school at a quarter before nine, and that, during the next fifteen minutes all children except Catholics were gathered in the school-room to participate in religious exercises while the Catholics were shut in a room below waiting for school to begin. Father McLaughlin thereupon petitions for the right of some Catholic to instruct the Catholic children in the lower room during their enforced presence of fifteen minutes, and adds: 'We would be far from desiring that the Protestant Bible and Protestant prayers should be thrown out, while there are parents or children who wish either, or both; but at the same time we respectfully suggest, to the sense of honor, justice, and fair play of your honorable Board, that the Catholic children should be allowed to read their Catholic Bible and say their Catholic prayers together, and under the direction of persons authorized for the purpose by us.' The dilemma is a difficult one; the request of the Catholic priest is rather a plausible one, and it appeals to the sense of fair play; and perhaps the best way 'out of the woods' is to omit all religious exercises, keep the public school for secular instruction, and remit the religious education of children to the mother's side and the Sunday-school. This settlement will not please the Catholics, and it will not satisfy all of the Protestants; but the offence will be a passive and negative, not an active and positive one, and the omission would unquestionably be according to law. Can anybody think of any *other* solution of this difficult question that would be less offensive to the various interests involved?"

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Duty of Liberals.

BY J. L. STODDARD.

The pages of history are eloquent with examples of boundless devotion on the part of propagandists of cherished faiths. The Buddhist missionaries laboring with tireless energy and love; the liberal Paul enthusiastically proclaiming his new religion from city to city along the shores of the Mediterranean and Ægean; the caliph Omar waging incessant warfare upon the believers in the Trinity; the Jesuits heroically braving death in every quarter of the globe; and many of the Protestant missionaries who have gone to barbarous tribes and dreadful climates with their "tidings of salvation,"—all attest how great may be the heroism of men inspired with an intense desire to extend their faith.

The motive impulse which fires these different enthusiasts is a vivid realization that all who are not converted to their faith will suffer future retribution and wretchedness. They therefore carry, as they think, *salvation to the perishing!* If these noble-hearted heroes should once conceive the idea that all forms of religion are kindred aspirations after the Infinite; if they should realize that the race is not confined to one, but may advance along many avenues of spiritual progress, immediately the very spring of their enthusiasm would be gone. Convince Protestant Christians that, under different symbols, pure-minded Mohammedans, Jews, Buddhists, and Catholics all over the world are worshipping their highest ideal of goodness, and that the future happiness of the race does not exclusively depend upon a knowledge of their particular founder, Jesus, and they will cease spending millions in maintaining discouraged proselyters among these various peoples, and will turn their charities into more useful channels.

Now the Free Religionist has attained to this belief. He views in amazement the horror with which different religious partisans regard each other. He smiles at the imagined doom to which each party fancies its opponents will be devoted. And thereupon, feeling that no souls are running any risk of hell-fire by his indifference, and consequently actuated by no fears concerning the eternal welfare of his fellow-men, he frequently settles down to the affairs of this life and does not try to disturb the faith of others. "To what purpose?" he asks. "It does them no harm. Why should I seek to force my views upon any?" In one sense this attitude of the indifferent liberal is right. In another it is wrong. He is certainly to be commended for his tolerance of others' beliefs and for his non-interference in their forms of worship, since believers in every religion should be allowed perfect freedom of conscience and liberty to worship as they please. He is wise, too, in not attempting to uproot a long-cherished faith in those cases where manifestly no good will be accomplished by such dislodgement, and when the believer is one whose age or mental incapacity prevents his accepting broader views. But for the free-thinker to sink back into the comfortable cushions of inaction and selfishly to neglect the means of spreading a freedom of opinion which he feels to be priceless and dear to him as life itself, is wrong and blameworthy.

But here we are met by the common question, What motives has the freethinker to urge him to the diffusion of liberalism? There is no scarcity of such motives, although a yawning gulf of perdition does not rank itself among them.

The first which suggests itself is the natural desire of any generous heart which has found happiness to point out to others the means of obtaining it also. This claim of "happiness" doubtless appears incredible to the majority of Christians, for they have been taught to look upon unbelievers with pity, as being miserably discontented. It is nevertheless true that the calmness of a life devoted entirely to the truth, and swayed alone by the dictates of reason, possesses a happiness immeasurably greater and deeper than that founded on traditional statements, inquiry into which must be constantly repressed by the doubting soul, and fanned spasmodically heavenward by gusts of feeling fickle as our New England climate.

A second powerful motive urging the freethinker to action is a desire to free men from the miserable thraldom of numerous superstitions, out of whose palsied clutch the liberal finds himself delivered. Let us look at a few of these. It is, for example, surely a worthy object of endeavor to remove from men's minds that hateful incubus of fear known as the "Doctrine of Eternal Punishment," which has brought anguish to so many millions of terrified souls, who have believed themselves or their dear ones hopelessly doomed to the gnawing worm and the quenchless flame. Much has already been done to dispel this superstition; so much, in fact, that probably not one professing Christian in a hundred at present believes the infamous dogma or dares to apply its conclusions to the case of his own unconverted dear ones. Few Orthodox preachers now venture to proclaim it in all its ghastliness to an intelligent congregation. But more remains to be done. The chilling shadow of this fearful doctrine still broods over the great mass of more ignorant believers. Its miasmal breath still lurks about country churches and reeks from crowded camp-meeting grounds, poisoning many an otherwise happy existence.

Another superstition which should be banished, is a belief in the devil and his diabolical assistants. The absurdity of this dogma will doubtless provoke a smile from the liberal reader, so incredible does it appear that such a doctrine is still believed and upheld in our churches. Yet it is a serious fact that the existence of an arch-fiend of evil, who, assisted by swarms of imps, is constantly at work alluring men to destruction, is actually taught not only in many a church, but in some, at least, of our theological seminaries! This belief is, it is true, rapidly on the wane. But from its having been taught by Jesus and the Apostles, upheld by the Church Fathers, and handed down through centuries of bloody witch-killing in Europe and America, it still retains a marked influence over Christian thought. The writer has himself heard and copied extracts from many sermons, delivered within the last ten years, containing repeated allusions to the "Great Adversary of Souls," the "Roaring Lion," the "Devil and his Emissaries," the "Warfare between God and Satan," the "Evil One," the "Prince of Darkness," etc., etc. Will it not be worth many an arduous endeavor if we can banish such a degrading idea of the universe and such a relic of barbarism as this from minds in which it is still dominant?

Another superstition which the liberal should endeavor heartily to dispel is the belief that God commanded men to keep Sunday holy. This day, for the sacred observance of which *there is not a shred of authority, save its long-established observance by the Christian Church*, which on its own responsibility adopted it in abandoning the Jewish Sabbath; this day, on which even Luther declared it lawful to dance, to sing, and to indulge in any festivity rather than associate it with the fourth commandment of the decalogue,—this, our modern Sunday, is believed by a vast number of Christians both in this country and in England to be a period of time during which, according to a special command of the Almighty, no work is to be done, and in whose hours *even innocent recreation or mental cultivation is wrong!* Consequently all places of amusement are on this day closed. All concerts, not of a sacred character, are forbidden. In most places an entrance even to libraries and art museums is prohibited. Public gardens and parks are in many towns shut against the people during the only day on which they have leisure to enjoy them. Travel is largely suspended. It is by law forbidden to play at cards during its hours. In fact a depressing gloom is cast over this day of the sun. People who do not wish to pass in church their only period of freedom from business are not allowed to indulge in many harmless recreations, being opposed in them by the law or by the bitter invectives of bigoted intolerance. Now the liberal should gladly devote time and strength in laboring to make this day a season of *true freedom for all.*

It should be his aim to have the present unjust Sunday laws repealed, and thus to enable every citizen of this nominally free country to pass his Sunday time as shall seem agreeable to him: whether worshipping in church, roaming in the forest, fishing on the lake, hunting among the hills, or gaining instruction in the lecture-hall and enjoyment in the theatre. Will not thousands whose Sunday liberty is thus secured return grateful thanks to those who accomplish it? The establishment of complete freedom on Sunday is surely not far distant. We may well take heart when we see meetings held in London for this very object presided over by such men as Dean Stanley of Westminster Abbey, Tyndall, Huxley, and others!

This delusion of Sunday sanctity suggests another superstition from which it should be the liberal's aim to free men; namely, the idea that many innocent amusements are sinful,—even upon week-days. Is it not almost incredible that here, in enlightened, cultured Boston, there may be found thousands who deem it a *sin* to go to the theatre, there to be ennobled by the witnessing of Shakspeare's tragedies; and who think it an act of dishonor to Jesus to listen there to the music of Beethoven's *Fidelio*, Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, or Wagner's *Lohengrin?* Is it not pitiable that intelligent men and women of this nineteenth century can still be so bound hand and foot by Puritan prejudices as neither to enjoy and profit by many inspiring pieces of acting, nor to recognize the great educating and ennobling influence which the drama is capable of exerting, and to regard such noble tragedians as Salvini, Ristori, Booth, Cushman, Janauschek, and others, as agents of the devil in leading men astray?

Yet such are the facts. Do not call this picture overdrawn. I have weighed my words and they express merely the actual truth. Thousands of church-members in our city are through this prejudice ascetically depriving themselves of much pleasure and benefit. Some of these persons are indeed ashamed to acknowledge that they think it sinful for people to attend the opera and theatre, but plead, as an excuse for not doing so themselves, that *in this country*, at least, there is to them no pleasure in such performances! Verily, they have their reward.

This same spirit of superstitious avoidance of the "things of the world" leads many Christians also to shun, as *sinful*, all games of cards, billiards, and the like. Dancing is still looked upon as wicked by probably half the number of professing Christians. A noted clergyman, a few days since, on the eve of his summer vacation, warned his flock not to pass their summer holidays in any place where excitement and pleasure might cause their present spiritual glow of feeling to grow cool. Whether his sheep will obey their shepherd may be fairly questioned, since his own name has appeared on the hotel register at Saratoga! Surely if the liberal can aid men to distinguish in this matter of amusements, as well as in other things, between their USE AND ABUSE, he will contribute much to the happiness and freedom of thousands.

Still another superstition which the liberal should strive to destroy is *a blind acceptance of the Bible as an infallible book.* A great fermentation is at present going on in the Church. People are too much alive to the discoveries of science and historical criticism

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not to be aware that their Bible is in many places incorrect, childish, and decidedly untrustworthy. Hence arises a terrible state of anxiety, which will continue just so long as Christians persist in claiming that it is an infallible, God-inspired production, and refuse to apply to it the same canon of criticism to which we subject all other books.

Not long ago, the writer sat at the table of a wealthy and prominent Christian gentleman. His son, a bright lad just coming into manhood, fresh from his books, inquired of his father if it could be true that Joshua had caused the sun and moon to stand still in their courses. His father instantly replied in a way to put an end to any further interrogation, "Certainly; *every word in the Bible is true!*" What is that young man destined to think of his father's creed ten years hence? If the liberal will bend all his energies to the work of showing people what the Bible really is,—a book not essentially different from, but allied to, other great compendiums of religious aspiration; a book not of divine but human authorship; a book in whose varied pages may be found many errors, inaccuracies, obscene stories, a passionate love-song, and puerile myths,—and, at the same time, beautiful religious thoughts, noble ethical principles, and pure spiritual instruction; a book whose wheat is mingled with chaff, which must be carefully judged like any other collection of ancient myths and precepts that have accumulated under many hands through centuries of slow development,—if, I repeat, he can do this (as Matthew Arnold has nobly striven to do), he will confer incalculable benefit upon thousands of hearts now secretly tormented and distressed.

In truth, something *must* be done, and done quickly, in the Orthodox churches, if they wish to escape the convulsive throes of approaching mental revolution. A different tone must be assumed by Orthodox Christian leaders in regard to their Scriptures, or they will witness an anarchy of confused and misdirected scepticism which even the most ardent radical would deplore. The masses do not like to be deceived, or even to have truth concealed from them. When that mental revolution comes, as come it surely will under the present Orthodox system, it will be seen that such men as Rev. M. J. Savage, of Boston, have been really doing an eminently beneficial work. No bitter reproaches will then be flung at him by disappointed members of his congregation, for he has led them steadily and firmly on to the truth as fast as he has been able to conduct their march. But how it will be with the Pentecosts and other narrow upholders of the plenary inspiration of the Bible, I will not venture to predict.

Still another superstition to be expelled is that involved in the doctrine of the "fall of man." Here is one of the foundation-stones of Christian theology. Upon a Hebrew legend, whose main elements are a garden, Adam and Eve, a serpent, and a fruit tree, have been reared the enormous superstructures of a Golden Age of innocence, the fall and condemnation of the race, federal headship in Adam, total depravity, need of an atonement, etc., etc. Science, however, knows nothing of a Golden Age in the past. It weighs all the myths of such an era in the balances, finds them wanting, and rejects them. Its Golden Age is in the future, not in the past. It finds the early origin of the race in the midst of barbarism and degradation. It traces man's progress painfully and laboriously onward and upward until he emerges into the dawn of history. This is now settled beyond a reasonable peradventure. Whether man has ascended from a lower species may be by many regarded as still unproven. The picture of the history of mankind is thus entirely reversed. On the one hand, is the spectacle of our race grovelling downward from a primitive state of innocence and perfect happiness,—cursed from the very first pair, and only to be redeemed after countless generations by a scheme so ridiculously limited that, even nineteen hundred years after its *denouement*, not one-third of the race are acquainted with it, while men are dying at the rate of thirty a second! On the other hand, we have the picture of man's progress from his humble and degraded origin up to his present stage of enlightenment and civilization; while science, which has already done so much, promises in every field of investigation glorious results of future growth.

It is the privilege of the liberal to substitute the latter hopeful conception of the race, founded upon the facts of scientific research, for the former gloomy and depressing view, whose only authority is a Hebrew legend and the ingenious inventions of theologians.

A third motive, which should spur the freethinker to energetic action, is the consciousness that he is thus striving to establish throughout his race the broad *fellowship of humanity*. He views all religions, even the lowest, as similar in kind and only different in their various degrees of perfection. He has no ONE teacher, whose claims and precepts he follows exclusively. On the contrary, he draws to himself the wisdom and influence of all past and present sages. From all the great master-minds of the world he rejoices to receive instruction. Isaiah, Confucius, Mencius, Buddha, Socrates, Jesus, Epictetus, Spinoza, Goethe, Shakspeare, Emerson,—these are all his masters. His eyes are opened to welcome, not alone the rays of one bright luminary of the boundless sky, but to receive the blessed light of all the kindred suns, which sweep indeed upon different courses through the interstellar depths, but are all obedient to the same grand laws. As Coreggio exclaimed rapturously, when he beheld the St. Cecilia of Raphael, "*Anch' io son pittore!*" so we, filled with the inspiration of kinship with these noble spirits of one race, may cry with joy, "*We also are men!*"

It is this great religion of humanity that it is the privilege of the liberal to diffuse. He is to urge men to take a broad, not a narrow view of their race. All are not to be "lost" who do not adopt the special path in which one single division of mankind is walking. Millions of the race have not perished, merely that a handful of believers on Jesus might march, like the Old Guard of Napoleon, over the dead bodies of their comrades into the kingdom of heaven!

And now the very practical question arises: "If these are my duties, how can I best perform them? Stimulated by the motives of conferring upon men the priceless boon of freethought, of removing superstitions from their minds, and of promoting a broader fellowship of the race, what are the means of success in my attempt?" Let me suggest a few practical methods.

1. *Circulate the best literature on these subjects.* If, for example, you read a plain, correct statement of the reasons why our present Sunday laws should be repealed, take pains to have that statement read as widely as possible. Purchase copies of the article. Send them broadcast. *Remember that the great thing necessary for the more rapid progress of Liberalism is to make men* THINK. Adopt a system precisely the opposite of that expressed in the significant motto of the Young Men's Christian Association, "Avoid argument." Court it rather! Remember you have nothing to fear from the freest discussion! Call men's attention to these topics, bid them use their reason without prejudice one way or the other, and the result is only an affair of time.

2. Form, if possible, a nucleus of half a dozen friends with whom you may discuss these subjects. Read together, and talk over what you read temperately and judiciously. Let each member of that little society try to exert as much influence as possible either to induce others to join it or to disseminate its views by the distribution of the right books, pamphlets, or articles.

3. Secure, if possible, in your town a course of lectures on liberal or scientific subjects, and make every effort to render them successful. If possible, get a clergyman to discuss these questions in public with an opposing freethinker. The result will take care of itself, if the men are at all evenly matched. Lastly, recollect that it is a matter of vital importance that freethought should have as many good exponents as possible in the form of newspapers and reviews. At present, however, it is better to rally firmly to support a few of these organs of liberalism than to waste our strength upon too many. Take for example this very paper, THE INDEX. It ought to be supported by the friends of freethought at all hazards. Minor disagreements should be forgotten in the great necessity which exists to maintain such an intellectual exponent of liberalism. Do you say, "It is not exactly as I would have it"? So say we all. None know its deficiencies better than its friends. Let us then make it better. And how? *By filling its list of subscribers, and thus replenishing its treasury!* For with sufficient means the present overworked editor of THE INDEX, who does with his own hands an amount of labor that few men would think of assuming, might enlarge its columns, secure the best talent of this and other countries to write for it, and thus make his paper a journal of immense power and incalculable good. Do you wish some different views advocated in THE INDEX? *Advocate them there yourself.* The columns are open. The editor is a model of tolerance, who will give every man a fair hearing, and either support him warmly or oppose him calmly and courteously. Do not reject a paper of this kind because an occasional expression upon politics or some minor matter offends you. Recollect that we liberals need this organ. Let us then cordially ignore its few faults for its many excellences, and strengthen and improve it by every means in our power.

One final word as to how we shall increase the circulation of this paper.

In a city of twenty thousand inhabitants I recently met with a man who had been for years a subscriber to THE INDEX. But though an admirer of its views, he had never loaned a copy of it, never made any use of his "talent," and the paper was completely unknown there. The inference, fellow-liberals, is plain. Let every friend of THE INDEX make personal endeavors to increase the number of its supporters. Let him make out a list of names of the liberals in the town in which he resides, to whom specimen copies of the paper can be sent. The result may be far greater than we think, for the chief objects of importance are, first, *to awaken sluggish thought by the presentation of these topics;* and, secondly, *to offer a journal where such objects are freely and ably discussed.*

[Mr. Stoddard's wise practical suggestions, at the close of his article, tempt me to add a word. The very best way to assist THE INDEX to accomplish its great work is, as he states, to get new subscribers for it. If every subscriber now on its list would only *determine* to secure three new names within as many weeks (and this could be done far more easily than is imagined), it would be very soon within my power to make this journal so good that it would be a pride to the liberals and a mighty power in the liberal cause. No one knows its defects half so well as I do; but it is impossible to remedy them without such an increase of means as would be in this way secured. No one man can make a good paper; and the *systematic coöperation of many minds* cannot possibly be had without adequate compensation. Is there not far-sightedness and disinterestedness enough among American freethinkers to create one first-class journal, sufficiently powerful by its ability and character and wide support to command the world's respect for that free thought by which alone mankind can be educated out of their miseries? I have clung to this hope tenaciously for eight toilsome years, and cling to it still. Am I the victim of my own credulity? It is for you, brothers and sisters who love "liberty and light," to answer.—F. E. A.]

[For THE INDEX.]

"WHAT THINK YE OF CHRIST?"

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

This question, often and variously answered for nineteen centuries past, still so retains its interest as to be thought, by vast numbers of people, the most important of all inquiries. Among those who entertain it, however, investigation seems to produce rather diversity than unity of opinion. Gail Hamilton, in a little book just published, has given her notion of the New Testament answer to this question; and I offer, to those who care to pursue the subject further, my notion of the Old Testament answer to it.

The conception of the Messiah, or, as we have it through a Greek version, the Christ, originated, confessedly, with the Hebrew prophets. Confiding in Jehovah, their national deity, and assuming, not only that the Hebrews were his chosen and favorite people, but that he would ultimately make all other nations subordinate and tributary to them, they represented the culmination of this prosperity as destined to take place under and through the rule of a lineal successor of David, the most venerated of their previous kings.

Great numbers of declarations and intimations occurring in the writings of those Hebrew prophets have been seized on by Christian sermonizers and commentators as Messianic predictions. Many of the matters claimed under this title are trivial and incidental, and not a few have been pressed into the service of the Messianic idea by misquotation or other perversion. But if we look for the *essential* characteristics of Messiahship, as they were conceived and recorded by the prophets, and cherished by the Jewish people, we shall find them to include the following, with or without other additions:—

The Messiah, or the Christ, was to be a lineal descendant of King David.

He was to be a king, as David was, ruling the Hebrew people, and joyfully accepted as their ruler.

He was to deliver that people from all foreign oppression, gather them from all countries into their own land, and rule them there, permanently, in peace and righteousness.

After having accomplished the supremacy of the Hebrew nation, and the subjugation of its enemies, he was to bring in a period of permanent and universal peace. No nation would make war, no people would learn the art of making it. All men would live in amity, transforming their weapons into useful implements; and he who should accomplish this glorious work was to be called "The Prince of Peace."

The messenger of Jehovah who was to accomplish all this was not to supersede the Hebrew religion, but to establish and perpetuate it. Jehovah was still to have his special dwelling-place on Mount Zion. The Temple at Jerusalem was still to be served with burnt-offerings and meat-offerings by the ministration of priests and Levites; the day of the new moon and the Saturday-Sabbath were still to be sacredly observed, and all nations of the earth were to send their delegates to participate in these observances. As the prophetic declarations upon this last head are passed over in silence by the Christian clergy, and so are comparatively unknown to the members of their churches, it may be well to quote some of them:—

"The word that Isaiah the son of Amos saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.

"And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths. For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

"And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people. And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."—Is. ii., 1–4.

"They shall declare my glory among the Gentiles; and they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord; out of all nations upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the Lord; as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord.

"And I will also take of them for priests and for Levites, saith the Lord.

"For, as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain.

"And it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord."—Is. lxvi., 19–23.

"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel and to the house of Judah. In those days, and at that time, will I cause the branch of righteousness to grow up unto David; and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely; and this is the name wherewith she shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness.

"For thus saith the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel; neither shall the priests the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offerings, and to do sacrifice continually."—Jer. xxxiii., 14–18.

Not one of the essential conditions and accompaniments of Messiahship above rehearsed has yet been realized. During twenty-five hundred years which

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have elapsed since the utterance of the predictions referred to, not only has no descendant of David reigned in Palestine, but the Jewish people have had no king whatever. They have ceased to be a nation, and are only a scattered people. Instead of dwelling in their own land, they are dispersed, and consent to remain dispersed, among all nations of the earth. Instead of having their own king, they are still under the rule of Gentile despots. Instead of being ruled "in peace and righteousness" by a son of David, they still suffer various forms of persecution from the peoples among whom they dwell, as well as from the rulers. Instead of possessing their temple on Mount Zion, and seeing tributaries from all nations come up there to worship, according to the prophecies of Isaiah, they have to content themselves with such small and obscure synagogues as their Gentile rulers are willing to tolerate. Instead of having a grand central worship maintained in Jerusalem by their own priests and Levites, as Isaiah and Jeremiah promised, they are forced perpetually to witness the triumph of an adverse faith, and are teased by Christian missionaries to accept as the predicted Messiah one who failed to fulfil the most important of the predictions; one who neither assumed the attitude, nor accomplished the results, which the Messiah, according to Isaiah and Jeremiah, was to assume and to accomplish.

Messiahship, then, is an idea of the Hebrew prophets never yet realized, and never likely to be realized. The Jews are, and have been, perfectly right in demanding that the functions of that office be performed, or at least assumed, before they accept the pretensions of any one who claims it. On the other hand, they greatly mistake in not seeing that a higher faith than theirs, a purer morality and better modes of living than Moses taught, are now extant, ready for adoption by any who choose to adopt them. The universal Father is better worth worshipping than the patron of a "chosen people," who was expected to make all other nations subordinate and tributary to them. The love of God, a love which casteth out fear, is unspeakably higher and better than "the fear of the Lord," especially of a Lord who, through passion, jealousy, and caprice, was really dangerous to his subjects. Acceptance of the idea of a brotherhood of mankind, under the rule of a Deity at once just and beneficent, is a better basis for the expectation of universal peace than the messianic doctrine that peace is to be expected only after all other nations shall have been subjugated to the Jews. To understand that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands is better than to suppose him specially resident in an earthly habitation, whether at Mecca or Jerusalem. To worship in spirit and in truth, addressing the ever-present Father directly, without depending on priest or mediator, is better than pilgrimage to a place reputed holy; and to cultivate purity of body and spirit is better than all ablutions, penances, and rites of purification. When the Jews learn these thing, they will be in a good position to send missionaries to the Christians.

MR. SPURGEON.

So much has been written about this most famous of English preachers, that it savors of temerity to venture upon an attempt to gauge the secrets, if secrets they be, of Mr. Spurgeon's unique position and influence. Within the limits of a single article it is possible to do little more than give a rapid outline of the facts as they score the development of a remarkable phase of non-conformist effort in our midst. The Baptist denomination has a singular history. Whatever its precise origin, we find that the Anabaptists as such were known in 1521, who not only held peculiar views upon the necessity of rebaptism at conversion, but were given to raising great social tumults, drawing upon themselves the wrath of the powers that were. Another sect were known as Abecedarians, because they declared it was wicked and useless to learn their A B C, since all human learning is founded on the alphabet, and knowledge was an obstacle to the reception of divine truth. Is it possible that Abecedarianism lingers among us yet under an *alias?* The Anabaptists paid dearly for their principles; in 1575, twenty-seven were apprehended for worshipping in Aldersgate Street, and ordered to recant; four consented, eleven were burnt, and nine were banished. Since then, no Baptist has been burnt in England, and only one imprisoned for life, in Newgate, in 1611, for conscience' sake. The Baptists of later times have been free from the extravagances of their ancestors, and with their sister-sect, the Congregationalists, may fairly appropriate their favorite expression, that they have been for the last two centuries the backbone of English liberalism,—a limited liberalism, doubtless, but sturdy and brave. The two grand divisions of the Baptist communion—the General or Arminian, and the Particular or Calvinistic—still exist, and lively is the internecine strife in the camp. We cannot now speak of the sub-sections which still exist, unfamiliar to the world without the pale, or much curious information might be extracted from the records of the Free-will Baptists, the Old School Baptists, the Six-principle Baptists, the Seventh-day Baptists, the Se-Baptists, the Hard-shell Baptists, the Campbellites, the Tunkers, and the rest. In the United Kingdom there are now some six thousand Baptist places of worship, and about two hundred and sixty-four thousand members,—membership involving adult immersion. Of late years, the growing resemblance of Non-conformist and Episcopal places of worship has become so striking that it promises to become a matter of no little difficulty to distinguish by the exterior church from chapel; indeed, the latter term is already becoming obsolete. This is but a phase of national development, though it has its deep significance; but the quest for the true cause of its hold upon the people must be made in rural districts. It is in the villages and small towns where the system can best be seen, and the intensity of its grip appreciated. The little whitewashed Zoar or Zion is something more than a "place of worship." There gather the earnest-hearted conservers of that grand old Puritanism which, if it lacked grace and culture, kept England sweet during a sultry time. With these meet the workers, all underrated they feel by the votaries of a more fashionable faith, and Zoar beams as a paradise below to the refugees from the social cold-shoulderings, who unconsciously transform it into a literal cave of Adullam. Here they weep over sin, and sing for salvation with all the zeal of the persecuted; and here they drink the cheering-cup as brethren to whom the parish church and its ritual are as rags of popery foisted into their own inheritance. Under such conditions men are produced whose lives and works are mysteries to the Church and the world. These latter know only the preacher, the pulpit orator, and ascribe, without thought or insight, successes to mere power of jaw. To how many is Spurgeon still a name without a meaning! The Churchman regards him coldly as an unlicensed trespasser on holy ground, but has found it prudent to bestow a gracious pat on the back for the passable imitation of the apostolic gift, as also in token of the valiant service done in the common cause. The man of the world thinks Spurgeon "a clever fellow," and his flock the opposite. The truth lies beyond these estimates. At seven years of age, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, son of a village pastor, was smitten with the desire to preach like his father. At sixteen, the ruling passion compelled the then usher of a small school to take a service each evening of the week, and two on Sundays. A precocious mind and a fluent speech started in the narrow channel of village Dissent were not allowed to broaden by contact with the great world. The "boy preacher," son of one whose life helped to fix that resolve, could not but follow his bent in the path cut before him. There is a strange but well-understood fascination in preaching to the reasonably capable mind. It offers a wide, an almost boundless field to the imagination. A man may speak his own thoughts as he cannot upon the stage; the political platform cannot be occupied from week to week; and in other departments of public work the audiences are more critical, and less under the spell of the speaker. The pulpit alone lets a man lash at will the follies, the hypocrisies, the sins of the people, and from its height alone can he reach down the terrors of eternity to lend human lips a power greater than his own. To the youthful this is an irresistible temptation. Young Spurgeon felt its charm, and, true to his training, rightly and with all honesty, resolved to proclaim the message he deemed put into his mouth. Naturally of a fearless, free-speaking temperament, the young man grew to be a wonder the country round. So unconventional a character struck the village mind, and in the ordinary course of events, he "went up to Jerusalem." The same results followed in London, where crowds, first of the brethren who welcomed one from their own ranks ungilded by university bookishness, and later by wondering outsiders, who mingled jeers with their praises of the palpable honesty of the stranger. At nineteen—possibly because he was nineteen—Mr. Spurgeon preached to larger crowds than flocked round any other minister. Unlimited abuse and ridicule, balanced by indiscriminate adulation, were the tutors of this period of his career, and the lesson was learned well. Mr. Spurgeon's theology was, and is, of the narrowest order; but this enabled him to paint his pictures in glowing colors, lit up with backgrounds of flame and lurid-lightning strokes of vengeance. It was the vehemence of his denunciation and the literal pictures of his heaven and hell that arrested the common mind; while his native geniality and bluntness, aided by a telling voice, had charms for others who cared only to listen as to an entertainment. The impetus thus given was wisely directed. At a cost of £30,000 the Tabernacle was built in 1861, and the fame of this man was spread the world over by the visitors to the World's Fair of the next year. The fund of common-sense which forms the stock-in-trade of Mr. Spurgeon's work, except his theology, has raised his name to a noble altitude. Great divines may have built up doctrines and reformed malpractices; but Spurgeon has reared enduring works which will live when "ologies" are dead. Six thousand hearers, comfortable pew-renters, smuggly proud of the bigness of themselves and their edifice, gather together twice each Sunday to listen to a man who follows the conventional preaching idea in an unconventional way; they hear him lay down the narrow views of sectarian theology, illuminated here and there by gleams of homely wit and simplicity of eloquence; but the preaching is not the secret of the crowd. His preaching is not to the intellect, nor always to the heart, but sometimes to the sense of weakness and fear. Sometimes again, that clarion voice summons out of lethargy to national duty, in time of social agitation or struggle. Practical politics, party politics, are here preached, and preached with consummate effect. This lets light upon the secret of Spurgeon's continued influence. He lives the life of his people, of *the* people; he throbs with their sympathies; he is still the comforter, the guide, the brother of the little group in the Cave of Adullam, but now expanded until the cave is a stately temple, and the flock are a power in the first city in the world. There is the old fraternity, the community of interest, the homeliness of the little village group. And the worldling's ridicule, empty and wanton at best, has been transformed into admiration at the noble outcome of what looked like mere talk and applause. Mr. Spurgeon set to work early, practical man that he ever has been, to let something visible, tangible, grow out of that admiration of the boy-preacher. A church membership of three hundred and thirteen in 1854, which had grown to four thousand eight hundred and thirteen in 1875, should show results of earnestness; so, obedient to the wise plans of the leader, first there grew a college, wherein other young men inspired to do mission within the circumscribed area of Baptist work have been licked into shape by able tutors and professors for some eighteen years past. Scores of Spurgeon's men are now scattered over the country, ministering to flocks of from three thousand down to village conventicles. Each man of these tells of his schooling and of the beloved master by some personal trait, or unconscious (in some cases) imitations of Spurgeonic peculiarities. £5,000 a year is given to this Pastors' College, mainly by the weekly offerings at the Tabernacle. A few years ago, a lady gave Mr. Spurgeon £20,000 to found an orphanage; and there, in Stockwell, stands the splendid institution, anything but institutional in its homely care and training of the two hundred and forty boys who are clad, fed, and started well in life. Another £5,000 is unfailingly forthcoming to maintain this noble work. The Colportage Association is another undertaking, in which the pastor is the life and soul. Forty-five men carry what are popularly said to be good books in various branches of literature to the poor and the working classes, doing missionary work. Looking over the list of good works ever being prosecuted around the Tabernacle, we see Bible-classes, a book fund for poor preachers, missions to Jews, town-missions, services for the blind, and social gatherings for kindred objects. Mr. Spurgeon is more than pastor,—he is political guide and counsellor; and while showing hospitality to the primitive Methodists, teetotalers, and other neighbors, he keeps open-house for political disestablishers of the National Church. Once a year the Tabernacle resounds with the cheers of those who would place every church in the land, and every professed minister upon the same level, with the same open field as that which was the only lot of the congregation and minister whose praise now fills the churches. But if he is a stalwart foe to the Establishment, Mr. Spurgeon is a valiant champion of the faith. That his sterling virtues have now universal recognition is not less a credit to his once revilers than a tribute to his rare geniality and superiority to everything petty. Such an influence as this comes from the life rather than the lips; it speaks in deeds more potently than in sermons. It is the exceptional instance of a man, floated up into notoriety by indiscriminate criticisms, who himself discriminates, takes a prompt and wise view of the situation, and, from that critical moment, sets to work to earn and win that which is best worth winning, instead of lapsing into the mere idol of a sect or grasping an empty bubble. Here, at last, is a true bishop of souls, with heart enough to have refused years ago rewards well earned from a willing people, remaining content with an annual stipend far below that pressed for his acceptance, and insignificant compared with emoluments pocketed by Episcopal laborers who could not personally conduct, much less initiate, the vast machinery, spiritual and material, in full work for years past at the Metropolitan Tabernacle.—*London Echo.*

THE OFFICE OF THE PRIEST.

PROFESSOR ADLER'S OPINION OF ANCIENT PRIESTS AND MODERN MINISTERS.

Professor Felix Adler lectured recently at Standard Hall before a large assemblage on "The Office of the Priest." He said: "The present movement for emancipation, which is travelling all over the world and agitating the souls of men in every civilized community, is not the product of individual minds; it is the rising reaction against the ungenerous systems of the past. It is idle to attack the leaders. The leaders are not the leaders; they are the white caps on the waves; the force lies below. It is not the men who are to blame; blame, if you must, the spirit of the age. The main thing is to control the elemental forces in this new movement, which have broken loose. A new feeling of freedom often intoxicates and leads some to destruction for destruction's sake, which is against reason and conscience. We should think well before giving up anything that is useful or that may be missed. Every ancient monument to religion has a claim upon us,—this, at least, that we study it; everything that has enjoyed the reverence of men must have had something of good in it. If it can be shown that some old religious usage was good in some bygone day, this, of itself, is often sufficient to show that it is time to abolish it now. The new thought needs new expressions.

"It is in this spirit that we come to consider the office of the priest. It may be viewed in two aspects: one singularly beautiful and impressive, a pure and saintly man devoted to the cause of religion, his thoughts and aims far removed from the multitude; the other most repulsive, making the name of 'priest' synonymous with 'knave,' a deep, artful, ambitious schemer, than whom there can be no worse enemy to human liberty. Both these are false; both are true. The priesthood richly deserve all the blame and condemnation they have received; but do we not also owe them much gratitude for their early services to mankind? To the ancient Grecian priests, and especially to those of the Delphic shrine, we owe the plastic arts for which Greece is famous. They encouraged healthful gymnastic exercises and the development of manly beauty; they were not merely idealistic, they were practical; they encouraged commerce, held great festivals for commercial transactions; they even performed, to a great extent, the office of the modern banker, guarding great treasures and lending money for great public enterprises. By their aid, too, Grecian sentiment and Grecian culture were planted beyond the seas. They gave us the alphabet. Astronomy was theirs, and the first computations of the

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calendar belong to them. History, too, had its birth with them; but of all their services the greatest was that of throwing a common bond of union around all the Hellenic race and thus forming the Greek nation. This was achieved by means of their religion; to Delphi all the Greeks turned their regards; at the Delphic altar they learned to join hands in mutual aid and help; there they sought mediation in times of war, and thus the worship of Delphi founded the Greek nationality. As in Greece, so in Palestine. Among the Hebrews the central sanctuary at Jerusalem served to combine the various parties in a spiritual bond of union. So far the influence of the priesthood was undoubtly beneficial; they presided over science and art, pursued knowledge and took morals in their keeping.

"It is a grateful task to recall the services of a class with whose present representatives we have so little sympathy. It is asked, How is it that they have so degenerated, becoming oppressors of the people and enemies of liberty everywhere? It is by long and uninterrupted tenure of power too often abused,—a power constantly arrogated to themselves. For them, God is a king like a human king, having his ceremonials, and they, the priests, are his courtiers. All petitions must pass through them; to them he delegates his authority; they are his lieutenants, governors, or vicegerents on earth. Hence their arrogance. They are selected not for merit, but by grace; their follies are clothed with sanctity; with them obstinacy is zeal, stupidity is faith; they condemn whoever offends them and denounce the offenders as reprobates and outcasts. Observe the Christian priesthood! The author of Christianity, in mending the old, did not wish to make new methods. According to his teaching, the kingdom of heaven was close at hand, so the early Church was as little formal as possible. Every day might witness the millennial period; any hour might bring the Messiah; but after long waiting Christ did not come. It was upon the non-fulfilment of prophecies that Christianity was founded. The Church became a close corporation, a copy of the heavenly kingdom.

"Some one was wanted in place of Christ. Then arose the class called 'Episkope,' and 'Presbyters'; hence bishops and priests, or, according to the Greek derivation, superintendents and elders. They derived their power from God; every bishop was called a pope, or master, and styled himself 'Vicar of Christ.' When, in the person of Constantine, Christianity ascended the throne, it became necessary to limit the power of these popes, and so a system based upon the imperial civil service was adopted. At this time, the fourth century, there were still four coördinate bishops; but one supreme ruler was wanted. First, the title of Universal Bishop was conferred upon the Bishop of Constantinople; but Rome, the rival capital, was jealous, and afterwards succeeded in having her bishop styled the Pope and exercising the supreme power. How this power was used we know; how a man assuming to be a god became less than a man; what a career of profligacy, crime, oppression, and bloodshed was inaugurated in Rome,—all these things we know.

"With the Reformation there came a partial reform, but only partial. The excommunication was retained; the Protestant ministers also assumed the functions of 'vicars of Christ,' and remember the treatment of Puritans in England and America. To all these characteristics of the priesthood the Jews form an honorable exception. For eighteen centuries they had the sense not to revive the institution. Their so-called rabbis were only teachers, and their positions depended upon their merits and ability. The Jewish ministry of to-day is only seventy years old; it came in with the decrease in religious learning, which had formerly been the property of every intelligent Jew. The Jewish ministry includes many men whose names should ever be spoken with high praise for their noble efforts to reform the religious usages of their people. All honor to these noble men. But it is to be regretted that dogma has entered the synagogue. Alas! it is the dogma that makes the priest. Every priest is a rudimentary Pope; and, morally speaking, the office of the priest is no less perilous to the community than to the person who fills it. Then there is the danger of personal ambitions and clash of selfish interests. Hear their discussions, their reckless defamation of character, their invective. The basest, emptiest pulpit harangue passes unchallenged in the Church if only accompanied by a few quotations and set to the regular jingle. Hear them: 'In God's name *I* command you! In the name of heaven *I* forbid you!' as if the whole universe rested upon their shoulders. Poor, puny babblers. Ah, there comes a time when men outgrow their leading-string. Science, art, and morality are no longer the possession of the priesthood. With the new age a new evangel has come, and its motto is: A new redemption, not by the creed, but by the deed."—*New York World.*

AN ADDRESS

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE FREETHINKERS' ASSOCIATION OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN NEW YORK,

BY THEIR PRESIDENT, T. L. BROWN, M.D.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

At Wolcott, N. Y., on the 19th of August, you organized a Freethinkers' Association of earnest, energetic men and women, in the interests of mental liberty as opposed to the usurpations of Church authority over those who cannot honorably subscribe to her dictum or teachings. Your demands seem fully to accord with the design and doctrine of the Constitution of our country and the teachings of science, while the fact that the clergy and the Church will be alike benefited in the consciousness that they are soon to cease using, in the name of their religion, money obtained by unjust church non-taxation will of itself be of sufficient importance to prevent their honest opposition to your efforts in the interests of a *just God*. You will not expect them to return the money they have already clerically wrung from you by extorting the taxes they should have paid on church property; but you will expect every honest Christian to help you obtain your rights and freedom from the tax he ought to pay. That which truly belongs to the Church as a religious body no freethinker would, by the influence of liberty or science, try to extort from it in opposition to the Constitution of the country. Your first duty is to form town and county organizations in the interests of mental freedom, science, and free speech, not to oppose and war with those who think differently, but for the honorable purpose of removing the unjust fetters they have tyrannically put upon you. In your deliberations you will be directed by the reliable and honest teachings of the fathers of liberty, such men as Paine, Jefferson, Franklin, Washington, Lincoln, and Ingersoll. And instead of the superstition, dogma, faith, and belief, forced upon the young and innocent through the influence of Sunday-schools, books, tracts, Bibles, clerical and revival preaching, you will find in the writings and teachings of men in the ranks of science, like Dr. Wm. B. Carpenter, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Prof. Thomas H. Huxley, Prof. John Tyndall, Dr. John Wm. Draper, Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, and many others, not less capable, but *more timid*, all you will need to liberate the mind from clerical errors and Evangelical tyranny. As available teachers you will first think of the educated, industrious, and efficient, Underwood, Bell, Jamieson, Miss Wixon, and other brave champions on the free platform, of what should be a free nation. Above all, avoid the selfish errors and angry strifes which to-day, as in the past, have kept the religious world defaming each other's honest intentions, and murdering one another for a difference of opinion. Promote liberty in its most radical claims in support of freethought, free investigation, free speech, free labor, free press, and a free use of all that can produce health of body and correct thought. Liberate children, women, and *timid men* from the fear and slavery of superstition, creed, and religious social oppression, by taking, reading, and distributing the *Popular Science Monthly*, the Boston *Investigator*, THE INDEX, the *Truth Seeker*, *Common Sense*, *Banner of Light*, *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, and like papers, books, tracts, and publications. Take into membership all persons of every class, who are willing to listen to the facts and truths of science, in the interests of universal liberty.

Remember that temperance, industry, health, honesty, justice, and success depend wholly upon the practice of human knowledge of the forms and uses of matter, the only available providence of our race. It is science in or out of the church you need most, to the exclusion of the Christian-adopted Pagan fables and myths of theology.

In the love of right, because it is *right to you*, organize in the honor of all you *know* that can promote a higher and truer estimate of human life, equal rights, and "universal mental liberty."

BINGHAMTON, N.Y., Sept. 1, 1877.

THE POPULATION OF THE EARTH AND THE PROGRESS OF HYGIENE.

The most trustworthy estimate of the number of people in the world for the year 1876, as furnished by statisticians, is 1,423,917,000. This is an increase of over twenty-seven millions on the estimate of 1875; but the augmentation is not due entirely to the excess of births over deaths, but largely to the obtaining of more accurate information regarding the population of regions hitherto little known, and to more perfect census returns from all countries.

Asia is still the home of the majority of the human race. About four-sevenths of the earth's population, or 825,548,590, is Asiatic. Europe comes next with over a fifth, or 309,178,300; Africa with about a seventh, or 199,921,600; America with less than a sixteenth, or 85,519,800; and finally Australia and Polynesia, with the very small fraction of 4,748,600 people. Europe is the most densely populated, having 82 persons to the square mile; Asia, 48 to the square mile; Africa, 17½; and America and Australia, 5½ and 1½ respectively.

There are 215 cities with populations of over 100,000; 20 of half a million or more, and 9 containing a million or more inhabitants, each. Of these last, four are in China. New York—including Brooklyn, as we may rightfully do for purposes of comparison—and the greatest cities of the world stand in this order: London, 3,489,428; Paris, 1,851,792; New York, 1,535,622; Vienna, 1,091,999; Berlin, 1,044,000; Canton and three other Chinese cities, one million each. New York being third in the list of great cities, without counting our New Jersey overflow.

Though there are not at hand statistics upon which to base an accurate statement of the fact, yet it is the general conclusion of all observers that the average longevity of the human race has largely increased within a hundred years. The reported death-rates everywhere support this conclusion; and it is thoroughly proved that the devastations of epidemics are nothing like so great now as formerly. Medical science, in its preventive aspect especially, shows a steady advance in its ability to discover, prevent, and check diseases which in past ages devastated large communities. In London, for example, two centuries ago the mortality was 50 per one 1,000 and the average duration of life was only 20 years. The death-rate, 1660–79, 80; 1681–90, 42.1; 1746–55, 35.5; 1846–55, 24.9; 1871, about as at present, 22.6, and the mean duration of life is now 42 years. The same holds good throughout England. There and elsewhere in Europe, as also in this country, the subject of public hygiene has received great attention of recent years, and its difficulties are being steadily overcome. Men unquestionably live longer now than their ancestors lived, and have better average health, and that our descendants will gain on us in these respects there is but little reason to doubt.

As to great cities, New York is easily third in population, but behind all England, and English cities, many other European and most of other American cities, in health and average longevity. If it took in all its children, it would press hard on Paris for the second place in population, and before the next century is reached, or before it has advanced far, will probably know no superior in population except marvellous London.—*Sanitarian for April.*

ANOTHER CASE OF HERESY.

The Reformed Church has its hands full of heretics. Only a few weeks ago it deposed the Rev. Dr. Blauvelt from its ministry, and now the Rev. O. L. Ashenfelter, pastor of the Reformed Church, Carlisle, is about to be formally tried before Zion's classis on a charge of heresy. The New York *Sun* says: "At the regular meeting of Zion's classis, in Gettysburg, in May, a committee composed of ministers was appointed to investigate the case, and its report was laid before a special meeting of the classis at Littletown, Pa., last week. The long report in substance charged Mr. Ashenfelter with preaching doctrines inconsistent with those of the Reformed Church; that he denies the inspiration of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, and teaches that it is not to be regarded as an absolute rule of faith and life; that he denies eternal punishment of the wicked and teaches the final restoration of all men to heaven, contrary to the teachings of the Heidelburg catechism; and that he used unguarded and seemingly irreverent language in the pulpit, and permitted the same to be published, thus bringing reproach on the Church, undermining the faith of some in sacred things, and preparing the way for looseness in morals. The report was adopted as a bill of indictment, and the trial for heresy will take place in a few weeks, as soon as both sides are prepared."

The Rev. Mr. Ashenfelter is thirty-two years of age. He belongs to the Mercersburg school of theologians. His father was a freethinker. He is an able and attractive speaker, and his eloquence and social qualities secured for his church a large membership, which upholds him in his trial. He is known as the most attractive speaker in the ministry of Carlisle, and abstracts of his most important sermons were published in the Carlisle *Mirror*, his occasional radical utterances giving him numerous hearers and readers. His views are about as radical as those of Dr. Blauvelt, and are to a marked degree similar. He also stands boldly by his views, and his contributions to the newspapers, even to those of radical thought, always appear under his own name. He has resigned his pastorate, to take effect September 1, a step he has for some years contemplated on account of failing health. The trial will excite considerable interest, as his has been the first promulgation of heresy in the Cumberland Valley, where the Orthodox teachings and influences of the Presbyterian settlers still strongly prevail.—*Investigator, Aug.* 29.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

SAND.

BY MRS. H. T. CLARK.

A careless hand on wayside sand
Flung withering sprigs of "morning" vine,
Nor ever dreamed that fruitage fine
Should rise from wrecks of "glory" past.

Scanty and poor the soil it clasped
With elfin fingers underground;
Yet, groping silently, it found
Its tiny food, and joyous grasped

The thing it longed for; swift and sure,
Into the sunlit air, it reared
Its graceful head, nor ever feared
That it should lack for dainties pure.

From the brown bosom of its nurse
Life of all life the suckling drew.
It crowned itself with fire and dew,—
The nectar of the Universe;

Then flamed in royal Tyrian forth,
And flanked itself with crimson, blue,
And silver, proudly to the view,
Among the kings of all the earth.

Oh, heart! cast down on barrenness,
Dread not that *you* will starve and die;
The chemistry of love apply,
To make the flinty soil confess

Its hidden stores and yield them up,
That you may lift your fruitage fair,
Shed beauty on the golden air,
And match the morning-glory's cup!

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 8.

J. E. Boynton, $5; George Harpel, $3; Martha White, $1.25; E. Wigglesworth, $3.20; David Newport, $3.20; O. H. Doolittle, $2; W. H. Ellery, $10.23; H. A. Buddington, $11; George Stickney, $3; W. H. Sherman, $3.20; Seneca Behymer, $3.20; D. B. Scolfield, $3.20; J. O. M. Hewitt, $1; T. B. Skinner, $1.25; R. R. Kelley, $1; W. F. Howes, $5.20; E. C. Stedman, 75 cents; F. Malcolm, 35 cents; M. Peckham, $3; Prof. A. Maguire, $6.40; E. D. Stark, $4.00; R. Wilkin, $3.20; W. H. Sawyer, $1.60; W. P. Wilson, $1.16; Mrs. S. E. B. Channing, $3.20; Mrs. J. P. Titcomb, $5; W. H. Dixon, $3.20; C. H. True, $3.20; F. S. Newell, $3.20; Cash, 25 cents; S. G. Morgan, 25 cents; W. Little, $3.25.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 13, 1877.

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The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, *Editorial Contributors.*

REV. DAVID A. WASSON has favored us with a noble specimen of his own agricultural skill in the shape of a very large and handsome potato, belonging to the new "Snowflake" variety and weighing one and three-quarters pounds! It was mealy in two senses, being not only remarkably nice in quality, but also sufficient in quantity to furnish what the Westerners style a "good square meal." But Mr. Wasson is doing very wrong, if he seriously contemplates getting up next winter a snow-storm of such flakes as these, without giving timely notice of his performance and furnishing the pedestrian public with cast-iron umbrellas.

"J. D.," A WRITER in the *Christian Register* of Sept. 1, in an article headed "A Layman's View of the Freethinkers' Convention," at Wolcott Grove, regards "these freethinkers" as "the product of a ruder or a less advanced civilization," and, while conceding that they are honest and intelligent, asks: "Why, then, do they stand in their equivocal position, and, with an apparent air of defiance, decry those sentiments which have been always near and dear to us, and which are, in fact, the whole basis of our ideal life? It is because they are in the dark. They have revolted from the faith in which they were born, or to which they were expected to bow in submission; and, as is usual in all revolts, their acquired momentum has carried them too far, and has led them to take and to defend positions which their cooler judgments can scarcely justify. They have not known that there was another and a higher ground,—a ground whereon every true man may stand, where we have the ideal Christianity from which all superstition is eliminated; which, in short, is Unitarian Christianity. Many of these men are to-day Christians, and follow the teachings of the Divine Master far more closely than they who bow to creed and dogma, and who forget the spirit. Personal integrity, a careful regard for the rights of our fellows, charity, forgiveness, self-sacrifice, unselfishness, what are all these and where do we find them? They are the fruits of Christianity, the products of the seed sown eighteen centuries ago, and wherever exhibited in their fulness they mark the true Christian. Shall we look for them alone where truth is shrouded in incomprehensible mystery, or shall we accept these fruits as evidences wherever they may be, and say to him who exhibits them, 'Thou art a Christian?'" There is a self-complacent conceit in these criticisms which is positively ludicrous. A Unitarian, forsooth, complaining of a "freethinker" for holding "an equivocal position"! What infatuation! The adopted "creed" of the Convention was "Universal Mental Liberty"; while that of the Unitarians from the beginning has been "Spiritual Freedom and the Authority of Christ." We will leave it to common-sense to decide which of these is the "equivocal position." Further, as to being "in the dark," this writer believes that "personal integrity, regard for the rights of our fellows," etc., are the "fruits of Christianity, the products of the seed sown eighteen centuries ago"—as if there had been no such thing as integrity before Jesus was born! If "J. D." can find anything half so absurd or "dark" as this in any utterance at Wolcott Grove, we will admit without hesitation that he is himself the one kerosene lamp created by Providence to enlighten the solar system.

"WHAT IS THE CREED OF LIBERALISM?"

A communication from Mr. H. Clay Neville, published under the above caption on a succeeding page of this issue, raises a question of such great moment, and one on which it seems so difficult to remove certain misapprehensions rooted in the universal preconceptions of the Christian community, that we are impelled to make it the topic of a special article. The overgenerous personal reference which Mr. Neville prefixes to the pertinent questions he puts has alone made us hesitate to avail ourself of his permission to print his letter; for such things as these, gratifying and encouraging as we confess they are, we seldom communicate to our readers, and never, we trust, except for some better reason than vanity or egotism. But the concluding portion of Mr. Neville's letter, containing the questions which we wish to answer as plainly and as unequivocally as possible, would lose much of its weight, if not viewed in the light of the pure and elevated aspirations unconsciously revealed in the writer's mind by the earlier portion; and therefore, in justice to the writer himself, we publish the letter entire.

"How far, I would like to know," inquires Mr. Neville, "do the principles expressed in 'Truths for the Times' represent the creed of Liberalism?" So far only, we reply, as these principles find an approving response in the minds of liberals themselves; and how far this is the case, only the liberals themselves are able to tell. It was our object and aim, in preparing that Index Tract (which we did with the utmost pains, long reflection, and careful revision), to draw up such a clear and condensed statement as should contain all that is essential to Liberalism, and nothing that is non-essential—one that should commend itself, by its comprehensiveness of scope, depth of insight, and exactness of expression, to all the best minds in the liberal ranks, and yet should be perfectly intelligible to all those who, without demanding philosophical or systematic entirety, are yet inspired by the hunger and thirst for freedom in the search for religious truth. Very few, we knew at the time and know better still now, appreciate the value of systematic thinking; it is taken (we think very foolishly) to be a mark of superior intellect to treat all systems with contempt, as if they were attempts to cram the universe into a baby-house; a vast deal of gasconade to this effect has passed current among liberal-minded people, as if it were double-distilled wisdom. Nevertheless, the truth of Nature is an absolute unity in itself; and the knowledge of all truth, could it be attained, would reflect this unity in a perfect and all-embracing system. Hence we sought, at the very outset of our endeavor to give to Free Religion, Radicalism, or Liberalism (we care not what name is preferred) an organ intellectually worthy of it, to present a bird's-eye view of all that really constitutes its essence,—to give to the aimless and discordant elements of the great liberal movement a consciousness of *unity*, both in thought and effort, yet without compromising or imperilling in the least that perfect freedom which all ecclesiastical attempts at unity have invariably destroyed. That this result has not yet been achieved in full, though it has certainly been promoted to some degree by THE INDEX, is as evident to us as to any; yet the fault is not ours. A time will come when this result will be reached—when "the principles expressed in 'The Truths for the Times'" will not only be comprehended intellectually, as the only "creed" that free humanity can ever unite upon, but constitute the framework of that nobler society towards which the world is slowly tending. This is simply our individual belief; of course it "represents" the belief of nobody who objects to it.

"How do we know what the belief of Liberalism is?" Not by any vote on a "creed," no matter if all who call themselves liberals could be induced to adopt one unanimously,—any more than we know the real belief of ecclesiastics by the creeds they profess to believe. The moment it comes to votes on such matters, a thousand influences combine to render the votes worthless in the estimation of every philosophic mind. Self-interest, timidity, stupidity, fashion, misunderstanding,—countless causes operate to prevent the creed from being a trustworthy exponent of many minds. It is time to comprehend this fact. No farce could be so grotesque, had it not been historically so ghastly and cruel, as the pretence that the creed adopted by a multitude of voters expresses a real unanimity of thought. Men have burned each other at the stake for rejecting dogmas which no two minds ever construed alike. What barbarity—what idiocy! There is no way to arrive at the common belief of any large number of religionists which can claim a higher certainty than that of mere approximation—of guess more or less lucky, of observation more or less acute, of analysis more or less profound. You may easily get at the *formulas* which bodies of men unitedly profess to believe; but the subtile variations of thought, the inevitably different meanings attached to words, the mental reservations or qualifications made by each votary to suit his own case, render all such formulas mere rough symbols, inaccurate and defective, of the beliefs really entertained. When churches adopt creeds, it ought to be understood that they merely agree to exact from their members a profession of belief in certain forms of word, but that they are powerless to secure a real unity of thought by any such device. What their members really believe can be determined only approximately from the most rigorously enforced creeds. Hence Liberalism is not so much worse off than the churches as is supposed, with respect to a criterion of common belief; a large allowance for individual deviations from professed standards must be made in any case, and a creed of definite tenets, even if adopted by all liberals, would still leave Mr. Neville in great doubt as to what they really believe.

"Who is authorized to speak for this heterogeneous mass of freethought?" Nobody. The very essence of Liberalism (as the derivation of the word from the Latin "*liber*, free," denotes) is the love of liberty; and that is why we like the name. No liberal even pretends to define the belief of others than himself, except as his own statement based on his individual observation and reflection. The value of such an unauthorized statement may be very great, but it must be measured by the degree of its actual conformity with the fact. He who sees the most and the deepest into the logic of liberty will make the most valuable statement of what Liberalism is; but no authority can be claimed for it save the authority of truth. With such authority as this the true liberal must be and will be content; to ask more is to ask that which denies liberty, the very essence of Liberalism. When the new Freethinkers' Association of Central and Western New York adopted "universal mental liberty" as the only "creed of the society," they were perfectly true to the genius of Liberalism; though perhaps a better word than "creed" could have been chosen to designate it. Faith in the principle of free humanity—freedom of the human mind to search for truth according to its own laws, and to determine what truth is according to the preponderance of scientific evidence,—that is the only principle that can unite all liberals, and it is a principle whose enormous cohesive power is little suspected by the world to-day. It will by no means leave the human mind empty of definite conclusions. Just as scientific men unite in associations for the discovery and spread of physical truth *without any "creed" whatever*, and by this common coöperation build up vast structures of definite knowledge on the basis of simple freedom of thought, so will liberals, if they unite on the same basis, gradually establish a unity of religious belief without dogmas. The inherent self-demonstrativeness of truth must be trusted to create this unity. We must all be patient enough to wait for it; any impatience to anticipate the results of discovery by adopting a premature creed would end necessarily in bigotry, intolerance, tyranny. It is exceedingly useful to multiply individual statements grouping the results of study and thought on religious matters into systematic form; the more of these, the better; and the best will in the end gradually win universal assent, as intrinsically true. The "Truths for the Times" is such an individual statement as this—nothing more; and if it is good, it will yet be appreciated at its just value. Let every thinker try his hand at constructing such a statement, for it will teach *him*, at least, much that it is useful to know by personal experience, and much that can be learned in no other way. But all such statements will be utterly valueless as exponents of Liberalism, if they in one particular violate the logic of intellectual liberty.

"But what is the representative belief, either religious or moral, of Liberalism?" We have already answered this question: "universal mental liberty," as the Wolcott meeting declared, and as the Free Religious Association declared in substance long before it. This belief is not a dead product (such as all dogmas always are), but a living, eternally productive principle. With this we must be satisfied, or else prove our own incapacity to comprehend the new civilization that is slowly dawning on the world. To put any specific belief, such as theism or atheism, spiritualism or materialism, Christianity or any other special religion, in the place of this great principle,

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would be to go back to the sterility of dogmatic authority, not forward to the fertility of scientific and spiritual freedom. Between these two we must take our choice.

This conclusion applies to all that is the subject of human thought, not excepting the sphere of morals. Moral truth must substantiate itself to the human mind exactly like any other kind of truth; there is no more room for dogmatism in ethics than in geology; scientific morality is the only morality that can permanently sustain itself, and this position is a part of Liberalism. Out of the love of truth and the love of liberty must all knowledge of the truth grow. If the "free love" theory is true, it will prevail; if, as we believe, it is a monstrously silly and sophistical piece of diseased sentimentality, it will die out like any other ephemeral folly. But it cannot be combated by proscription, which is only kicking burning embers into the midst of combustible matter, nor yet by any collective vote in favor of ethical commonsense; it will perish of its own bad logic, if not dignified by persecution.

"How can we expect any unity of action among liberals until there is some unity of belief? Mere negations will not make a basis of union for active workers. We must have a common affirmative belief before we can accomplish any constructive work." Mr. Neville certainly represents a large class of perplexed minds in propounding these questions. We wish we could convince them that *faith in liberty* is the most thoroughly "affirmative belief" that can be named; for this is true. The vast body of verified truths known as modern science is the result of this faith in liberty, and of nothing else. The human mind is naturally constructive; take off its fetters, and it forthwith proceeds to construct. What constitutes to-day the construction supremely necessary to human welfare is *such social and political conditions as shall foster, and not repress, this natural constructiveness of the freed mind of man.* To create these conditions is the sublime task and mission of Liberalism. The moment that liberals in general comprehend this supreme duty, and leap to their feet like men to perform it, they will find that they do already possess such an "affirmative belief" as shall lead them at once to "unity of action." The National Liberal League is but an embodied voice inviting them to this great destiny. Would that we could make it heard in every liberal conscience throughout the land! If liberals want to know the power they possess but despise, let them give themselves to the work of the National Liberal League in heroic self-devotion, and they will find all the moral forces of the universe at their back. "Construct?" Aye, but not a new *creed!* Give the world a radically new *society*—a social state of which the foundation shall be the universal love of truth, freedom, justice! Let us not hanker after the creed-fleshpots of Christianity, but press forward to build up that Commonwealth of Man whose corner-stone shall be the enfranchised human soul!

COLONEL INGERSOLL'S CHALLENGE.

Every liberal will hail with great satisfaction the bold and original proposition by which Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, in the appended letter, challenges the Orthodox world to prove the defamatory stories it has so long circulated concerning the death-beds of Paine and Voltaire. If the challenge is declined or ignored, so much the worse for the sincerity of those who profess to believe them. If they are true, never was there a better or fairer opportunity to establish their truth; and if those who have so loudly and dogmatically affirmed them in their pulpits really believe them to be true, there will be no dodging. We suspect, however, that the Orthodox press and pulpit will neither cease to retail them nor yet pick up the gauntlet so pluckily thrown at their own feet. Let all who would gladly see justice done in this matter help at least to give the widest possible publicity to Colonel Ingersoll's challenge, so that the cowardice of calumny may be exposed to the general contempt. A more effective vindication of the slandered dead could not have been devised; and the dignified, just, and formidably earnest spirit of the letter will command universal applause.

PEORIA, Ill., Aug. 31, 1877.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—I have sent a letter to the editor of the New York *Observer* of which the enclosed is a copy. You can publish it if you think best.

Yours truly, R. G. INGERSOLL.

PEORIA, Ill., Aug. 31, 1877.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK OBSERVER:—

I have been informed that you accepted, in your paper, an offer made by me to any clergyman in San Francisco. That offer was, that I would pay one thousand dollars in gold to any minister in that city, who would prove that Thomas Paine died in terror because of religious opinions he had expressed, or that Voltaire did not pass away serenely as the coming of the dawn.

For many years religious journals and ministers have been circulating certain pretended accounts of the frightful agonies endured by Paine and Voltaire when dying; that these great men at the moment of death were terrified because they had given their honest opinions upon the subject of religion to their fellow-men. The imagination of the religious world has been taxed to the utmost in inventing absurd and infamous accounts of the last moments of these intellectual giants. Every Sunday-school paper, thousands of idiotic tracts, and countless stupidities, called sermons, have been filled with these calumnies.

Paine and Voltaire were both believers in God—both hoped for immortality—both believed in special providence. But both denied the inspiration of the Scriptures—both denied the divinity of Jesus Christ. While theologians most cheerfully admit that most murderers die without fear, they deny the possibility of any man who has expressed his disbelief in the inspiration of the Bible, dying except in an agony of terror. These stories are used in revivals and in Sunday-schools, and have long been considered of great value.

I am anxious that these slanders should cease. I am desirous of seeing justice done, even at this late day, to the dead.

For the purpose of ascertaining the evidence upon which these death-bed accounts really rest, I make to you the following proposition:—

First.—AS TO THOMAS PAINE: I will deposit with the First National Bank of Peoria, Illinois, one thousand dollars in gold, upon the following conditions: This money shall be subject to your order when you shall, in the manner hereinafter provided, substantiate that Thomas Paine admitted the Bible to be an inspired book, or that he recanted his infidel opinions—or that he died regretting that he had disbelieved the Bible—or that he died calling upon Jesus Christ in any religious sense whatever.

In order that a tribunal may be created to try this question, you may select one man, I will select another, and the two thus chosen shall select a third, and any two of the three may decide the matter.

As there will be certain costs and expenditures on both sides, such costs and expenditures shall be paid by the defeated party.

In addition to the one thousand dollars in gold, I will deposit a bond with good and sufficient security in the sum of two thousand dollars, conditioned for the payment of all costs in case I am defeated. I shall require of you a like bond.

From the date of accepting this offer you may have ninety days to collect and present your testimony, giving me notice of time and place of taking depositions. I shall have a like time to take evidence upon my side, giving you like notice, and you shall then have thirty days to take further testimony in reply to what I may offer. The case shall then be argued before the persons chosen; and their decision shall be final as to us.

If the arbitrator chosen by me shall die, I shall have the right to choose another. You shall have the same right. If the third one, chosen by our two, shall die, the two shall choose another; and all vacancies, from whatever cause, shall be chosen upon the same principle.

The arbitrators shall sit, when and where a majority may determine, and shall have full power to pass upon all questions arising as to competency of evidence and upon all subjects.

Second.—AS TO VOLTAIRE: I make the same proposition. If you will substantiate that Voltaire died expressing remorse or showing in any way that he was in mental agony because he had attacked Catholicism—or because he had denied the inspiration of the Bible—or because he had denied the divinity of Christ.

I make these propositions because I want your people to stop slandering the dead.

If the propositions do not suit you in any particular, please state your objections, and I will modify them in any way consistent with the object in view.

If Paine and Voltaire died filled with childish and silly fear, I want to know it, and I want the world to know it. On the other hand, if the believers in superstition have made and circulated these cruel slanders concerning the mighty dead, I want the world to know that.

As soon as you notify me of the acceptance of these propositions I will send you the certificate of the bank that the money has been deposited upon the foregoing conditions, together with copies of bonds for costs. Yours truly, R. G. INGERSOLL.

THE LABOR QUESTION AND THE LAUNDRY.

The following brief communications, published in successive issues of the Boston *Advertiser*, are sufficiently spicy to interest the general reader:—

The Chinese and the Laundry.

Dear Sir:—Please make this appear in your paper as soon as possible, and oblige—I know you will—

A GREAT NUMBER OF THE GENTLER SEX.

The Chinese people seem to have a natural instinct for the laundry, and also for low prices in doing laundry work, and by their so acting under these instincts greatly injure a number of poor American women, together with a great many foreign women who are poor also, and who maintain themselves entirely by washing and ironing. We have struggled long enough now with this direful and formidable affliction. We women consider the laundry a place for women only; and when we see this one and only support of the poor women monopolized by a set of men, and those men the half-civilized Chinese, we think it is about time to plead to the authorities to see if they can't mitigate our misfortune. I think there ought to be a very strict law in governing these Chinese laundries. If they be allowed to keep them they ought to be charged a good round sum for a license; they ought to be made to carry to and bring from the houses the clothes they receive to be done up; and there ought to be a fixed lowest price, not descending to a less sum than seventy-five cents per dozen, and any clothes "done up," *i. e.*, washed and ironed, for less money than this (seventy-five cents) to be considered as a criminal offence, and punishable as such. This is a subject which ought not to be passed off thoughtlessly, but which ought to be read with a good deal of feeling and a determination to help along the wives of a good many of our former best citizens and soldiers, who are now deceased. When it comes to this part of our history where the citizen's wife, sometimes being a native of the country, is pushed behind the door to be superseded by one of these "pig-tailed" foreigners, I must say things have come to a pretty pass.

KATE MANSELL, a Boston female,
for the rest of the washerwomen.

BOSTON, August 29, 1877.

"Rally Round the Tub, Girls."

I would suggest that, in addition to the new law which "Kate Mansell" thinks should be passed, if those horrid, "half-civilized," "pig-tailed" Chinese will insist upon offering to do our washing, it should also be provided that the said Chinese shall not only charge "not less than seventy-five cents per dozen," and "carry and bring the clothes from the houses," but also that they shall furnish new clothes, of the best quality, free of cost, whenever their patrons need them; also, that "a good, round sum for a license" shall be charged any one (white, black, or yellow) who shall offer to do any washing, unless recommended by "Kate Mansell, a Boston female." In short, let us so arrange things that nobody shall do anything but "*We* and our friends," and let us charge accordingly. It really looks as if the old saying of "every *tub* to stand on its own bottom" might have to be upset. A BOSTON HOODLUM,
for the rest of the hoodlums.

"The Chinese and the Laundry."

There appeared in your paper dated August 31 an article headed "The Chinese and the Laundry," which seemed to me so unfair that I cannot let it pass without a protest. To quote from the writer: "The Chinese people seem to have a natural instinct for the laundry, and also for low prices in doing laundry work." I wish to know why any one should object to that? If our washing can be done cheaper and better by some real and dexterous Chinaman, why should we give it to some not over-particular Irishwoman, who will charge us more? As for the plea urged by the writer of the article, that "the laundry is a place for women only," we wish to inquire why, when men are so efficient in the kitchen and tailor-shop, they should be debarred from any "woman's work" when they can enter and compete fairly with her. I am not aware that any license is required to enable Bridget to take in our washing; therefore why expect John Chinaman to "pay a good round sum"? Neither do I know why the writer refers to washing as "the one and only support of the poor woman." Apart from the various kinds of needlework, there are many good places waiting for those who are not too proud to "live out." In conclusion, let me say that there is no need for any citizen's wife to be pushed behind the door if she is able to stand in front of it, and that the slur of being "half-civilized" need not be applied to a foreigner because he washes at seventy-five cents a dozen.

A FRIEND TO SUFFRAGE.

RELIGIOUS SNOBBERY REBUKED.

Here is a bit of correspondence which illustrates at once the insufferable impudence of a Christian clergyman and the dignified self-respect of a Jewish Mayor. Will Christians never learn that they make fools of themselves by claiming an especial right to administer this government, and tyrants when they succeed in any degree in doing it? Here are the letters:—

"TAUNTON, July 7, 1877.

"*Sir*,—It appears to be very generally supposed that you, who have become our mayor, are an unbaptized person, and, consequently, not a Christian. If, as I hope is the case, there be no truth in this supposition, will you authorize me publicly to say so, and thus relieve very many persons in our town from an exceedingly painful and distressing impression? It would also be an act of justise to the aldermen and town councillors who have elected you to free them from the imputation under which they now rest of having knowingly chosen for the chief officer and in some sense representative of our town one who does not believe in Him whom they themselves profess not only to believe in, but to worship as their Lord and God. I propose to publish this letter, together with any answer which you may send to it.

"I am your obedient servant,
"FRED'K SMITH,
"Vicar of St. John's, Taunton.

"To the Worshipful the Mayor."

"TAUNTON, July 9, 1877.

"TO THE REV. F. SMITH, VICAR OF ST. JOHN'S:

"*Rev. Sir*,—I have received a letter bearing your signature, and, but for recognizing your writing, would have deemed it a forgery. I am proud to avow myself a member of the Hebrew faith and of a people who in free England have attained some of the highest official positions in the land. I am equally proud to know that my Christian neighbors and

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friends have not permitted religious differences to influence them in the choice of their first mayor.

"I shall ever retain a pleasing recollection of the high distinction that has been conferred upon me, and shall not permit anything to mar the pleasure I feel in subscribing myself MYER JACOBS,
"Mayor of Taunton."

Communications.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XVI.

The absolute and the relative were the burden of the preceding article. These stand correlate with matter and form; more properly with substance and form. The substance of things is absolutoid; the form of things is relatoid. Substance repeats the absolute; form repeats the relative. Substance and the absolute are unismal; form and the relative are duismal. Again, substance and the absolute accord with homogeneity, which is also unismal (all-of-*one*-sort-of); form and the relative accord with heterogeneity, which is also duismal (of-other-sort-of); hence of *two*-or-more-sorts).

Spencer establishes the fact that evolution proceeds along a line of progression *from a state of indefinite, incoherent homogeneity, to a state of definite, coherent heterogeneity.* Let us see if these several specifications cannot be reduced to a broader, and, in fine, to an all-inclusive generalization. Homogeneity is the unity, or rather the spirit of the unity, of *the substance; not of the form*, of things. Indefiniteness—the absence of limits—is the unity or unism of the *form;* and *not of the substance* of things; and incoherence is the unismal state of either or both the substance and the form of things, *considered or held separately or apart.* So, again, heterogeneity is the duism (or diversity-element) of the substance, not of the form of things. Definiteness is the duism (or diversity-element) of the form, not of the substance of things; and, in fine, coherency is the *duism* in unism, the trinism, or higher and compound unism, of the substance-and-the-form, in a combined harmony, inseparable in nature, while yet distinguishable as *two.*

There is, in addition to all these, the phase of trinism; which is the combination (unismal) and the differentiation (duismal) of all the three preceding phases, the unity in variety, or the variety in unity, which is the final and integrative aspect of all beings, of all particular spheres of being, and of all objects, things, thoughts, or ideas, whatsoever.

It results from this analysis that Spencer's complicated definition of evolution (*First Principles*, p. 216) is resolvable into this simple formula: *a progressive change from unism* (the spirit of unity or oneness) *to duism* (the spirit of duality, twoness, and higher diversity), *and thence to trinism* (the spirit of three as uniting the one and the two) *and so to tri-unism*, as recombining all the prior aspects in a complex but intrigated unity—(integralism). To restate this revised definition of the law of evolution, omitting parenthetical inserts, it is as follows: *Evolution is the natural and orderly procession from a unismal to a duismal state of existence; and thence by combination, to a trinismal state; and thence again, by reversion and subsumption, to a tri-unismal state or stage which is final or ultimate.*

It is a great point in the progression of scientophilosophy, as Mr. Spencer has himself shown, when we can enlarge and thereby simplify our generalizations; and it is an immense simplification when his formidable definition of evolution can be referred to the simple progression of the numerical series, through its first stadium, from one to three, lapping back upon one, and subsuming the two. We have, indeed, not merely enlarged the generalization, and simplified the definition, but we have extended the definition itself, and the view of evolution so given, two degrees higher than the point to which it is carried by Mr. Spencer. He goes only from one to two, —from unism to duism; whereas, we now go forward to the trinism (only faintly embraced in his term coherency), and thence to tri-unism, as the complicated and integrative final aspect of things. But we have done still more; when, by referring these first principles to the first, principal, or head numbers of the numerical series, we discover *the source from which principles emanate*, and, at the same time, procure a *canon of criticism* upon the whole current of our reasoning on the subject.

This recurrence to numerical considerations, as *the origins of truth*, may excite suspicion in some minds of a theological *animus;* and the skittish Unitarian theologian may reluct to concede so much to Trinitarianism as that the *trinity* and the *tri-unity* of Orthodox theology, should turn out after all to be legitimate and fundamental technicalities of the philosophy of science. Radical philosophy, tending ultimately to universal reconciliation, must at times trench upon existing prejudices; and while Unitarian theology must concede this point, the surrender will be more than compensated by the demand on Orthodoxy to concede that the doctrine of the Trinity was no original theological dogma at all, but was borrowed by the Church from the metaphysicians. The earliest abstract thinkers, it cannot be doubted, had their attention focused on inceptive mathematical conceptions with an intensity which has had no parallel in the subsequent ages. When mathematics as a science began to be developed, the thoughtful attention of the world swung away from the consideration of the fountain to follow the stream; and it is only now, and from the universological point of view, that we are recurring to the mental posture of the earliest thinkers. Recall the fact, now almost never reflected upon, that for many generations the best thinking faculty of mankind must have been concentrated on elaborating so much of mathematics as would furnish an incipient multiplication table, say *three times three*, and upon establishing the distinct idea of a cube and a triangle. Indeed, to reach the construction of a multiplication table, even in its simplest form, was a finality of achievement, and not by any means a beginning-point in this earliest scientific curriculum. Think then how much more closely the primal numbers of the series of numbers one, two, and three must have been studied by those ancient students than they ever are by us. Think how naturally they would find in them something more than mere numbers; how certain the head numbers would be to become eminent symbols, the sources of principles and laws, in the distribution of all other things and ideas. When, subsequently, mathematical science took on an enlarged growth, and these primitive speculations were left behind, so far as the purposes of science were concerned, the ideas had of them remained, traditionally, as the basis of metaphysics; and falling into the common mind, and only partially understood, they first became antique mysteries; and, finally, were absorbed into theology as sacred dogmas. Thence they have come down to our day, to make the staple of Church doctrine, and of the disquisitions of the saints; in all which, however, the Church has been doing excellent service in preserving the seeds of a larger truth than that with which the mere scientific career was concerning itself.

The discussion between Trinitarians and Unitarians reduces itself under this analysis, to the simple primitive question which must have arisen among the earliest thinkers as to whether the first three numbers (one, two, three,) are the collective head of all number or count, or whether the single number, one, is the true head of the whole series; and we may fancy a very lively conflict of opinion on this then governing question of the hour among those primitive scientists of the olden world. On the one hand, one being the head of the odd numbers must have seemed in some sense unfitted, by this special destination, to serve as the total head; and two being the head of the even numbers, and three the head of the joint series, the *one-two-and-three advocates* had a strong case. On the other hand, the demand in the human mind, which is very strong, for simplicity and simple unity, favored the champions of the number one.

We are the inheritors of that old controversy in its theological and later form; and in this simple reversion to its origin is the solution and the reconciliative finality of the contest between Trinitarians and Unitarians. Each contestant is right, from a given point of view; and each is wrong in so far as denying the rightfulness of the other. Indeed, as the general basis of reconciliation, in controversy at large, we may assume it to be safe *to affirm the affirmations* and to negate *the negations* of each party in the discussion; for, usually, wherever any human eye, material or mental, *sees an object or a truth*, there *there is an object or a truth to be seen;* whereas, the failure to see what another sees is no certain indication of its non-existence.

The evolution of the doctrine of the Trinity was doubtless this: the number one, as a universal symbol, could not maintain itself without breaking into two; any more than the absolute can maintain itself (Spinoza-like) without breaking into the relative. One (after this revolt and fall from the primitive heaven) then remaining (so bereft) became the symbol merely of what was deemed good and true, whole (or holy), and hence, divine; while two, signifying revolt, trans-gression, in-fraction, and opposition, became the symbol of what was bad, un-holy, partial, un-divine. In other words, one (*τὸ ἓν*) was, thereafter, the symbol of God and his goodness and two, of their Satan or opposite (fiend or enemy), and his badness or evil,—"the devil and his works." In the old Persian theology, these two were recognized as equal and eternal counter-operating principles in the nature of things,—as they are shown to be, universologically; except that each is in turn shown to functionate in the *rôle* of good-and-evil. Later, the unity was redistributed, not now into two but into three aspects or parts, omitting the element of evil; one being God the Father; two, God the Son (proceeding); three, that which proceeded from, enveloped, and united the other two,—the Holy Spirit.

We may now note that these discriminations, purely metaphysical and related to numbers or the origins of mathematics, reveal another and higher source of metaphysical reasoning than that which we find in our *Histories of Philosophy*,—a prehistoric exposition of philosophy, only or chiefly preserved to us through theology. The later and historical origin of philosophy was not a metaphysics of number or mathematics, but a metaphysics of material Nature. We are all familiar with Thales and his water-origin of things; with Anexímenes with his air-origin, etc., —the Ionic school. "They sought for the universal essence of *concrete* being; they found this essence in a *material* substance or substratum; and they gave some intimation respecting the derivation of the elements from this original matter." Pythagoras alone stands out, mystical, uncomprehended, as doubtless a reversion to the older and higher form of philosophy of his day, traditionally descended, asserting that the origins of all things are to be sought for and found in number, or the principles of number.

When, five hundred or a thousand years later, the fathers of the Christian Church found themselves confronted by the necessity of forming some theory of the relations of the Christ of their theology to God the universal Father, this old, original and traditional strain of philosophy touching the relations of the one, the two, and the three, came fittingly to their relief. The natural proclivity of religious speculation for what is ancient, mystical, and obscure also favored the adoption of this more antique and less hackneyed form of philosophy; and so the body of Christian theology was gradually elaborated by the smelting of the Jewish and older Persian systems which rested on the primal difference of one and two (God and devil), with the later Gnosticism which rested on the larger difference of the one, two, and three. The two cosmical principles already received, viz., the world-soul and the world-reason, were distributed to God the Father and God the Son (the logos), and a third was added by the new Platonists, which was assigned to the Holy Spirit.

To recur to Mr. Spencer's definition of evolution, we may now say that homogeneity and heterogeneity are the unism and duism of substance; that indefiniteness and definiteness are the unism and duism of form; and that incoherency and coherency are the unism and duism of embodiment, as compounded of substance and form.

But as between the substance, the form, and the embodiment of things, as in part already shown, it is the substance which is unismal, the form which is duismal, and the embodiment which is trinismal. It is especially the difference between substance and form to which I wish now to direct attention. These, we have seen, are repeated by the subdivisions of substance into homogeneity and heterogeneity. This discrimination is much insisted on by Spencer; but he has founded nothing upon it in the region of classification. Elsberg has supplied this deficiency. Spencer makes the fundamental difference between the sciences to be that which separates the abstract from the concrete sciences. Elsberg, recognizing and insisting on this difference, also as very fundamental, goes back of it, and discriminates between what he calls the "aspectual" and the departmental sciences; aspectual science relating to the substance of things (and to form and force treated as substances), while departmental science relates to those regional divisions of being, which are form *in situ*, and which are therefore *morphological* in a higher and more definite sense,—the realm of *limitation* as definitely affecting particular objects or spheres.

This difference between the aspectual and the departmental is, therefore, virtually the difference between matter (ingrediency or substance) and form, and is thus again allied with that between homogeneity and heterogeneity; so that, in the order of evolution, aspectual considerations are unismal and prior, and departmental considerations are duismal and second, or later in order. The further application of these discriminations to the classification of the sciences will be made in next following article.

THE INTEREST DOCTRINE.

See INDEX, June 28, July 12, August 2. In the last of these numbers there is, besides my answer to the editor, and his new remarks on my answer, a very clear and intelligent note of Mr. E. W. Allright, bearing on one of the points which, in previous articles, I had, though only in general terms, eliminated from discussion. But I am not at all unwilling to go back upon my steps both to examine this point, and show that I had properly eliminated it from "The Interest Doctrine Briefly Stated."

Mr. Allright's argument is not new; and his "first" and "second lesson" are all one. Money, the writer concedes, is not of itself productive of income; but this, he says, is immaterial, for money is the means of buying things, such as farms, mills, which, of themselves, bear an income. To lend money, therefore, is to transfer to the borrower the power of becoming possessed, during the time of the loan, of property bearing an income, and is virtually the same as letting to him that property for that time. But it would be morally right to let to him that property for a yearly rent. Therefore it will be equally right to exact from him that rent for the use of the money during the same time. The answer is, that no kind of property, whether money, land, mills, or anything else, yields of itself to its owner any income beyond what is his fair remuneration for the labor and care bestowed by himself upon such property. Any excess of the owner's share over this either is found on examination to be imaginary, or leads to contention for the possession of it, in which contention all mankind participate. The intensity of that contention has for its adequate measure the amount of the excess of lucre above the value of labor. The intensity of the contention is itself the exact measure of the amount of military exertion necessary to subdue it. The expense of that exertion, when not carried to the point of actual war, is equal in value to the parting by the owner with all excess of the product of the thing over the value of his labor. When actual hostilities take place, the waste of life and property incidental to them are so much deducted from the dividend, out of which all—owner, laborer, and eventually militia and standing army—are to be paid, in one shape or other. This disposes of Mr. Allright's argument. The doctrine that there is a kind of property which yields an income to its owner otherwise than as the wages of his stewardship is immoral, condemned by the Church, and disowned by every decent advocate of property. Mr. Allright might have soberly limited his argument to what I have given, but he speculates. He shows that the mill bought by him with the $2,000 borrowed at five *per cent.* will enable him, at the end of twenty years, not only to repay the capital after having all the while saved the interest and paid his household expenses; he will, besides, own as profit a handsome balance in cash, with the mill itself thrown in as a sugar-plum. This milkmaid's calculation will, in some cases, be realized; but as an average will not. In the cases in which it will, it may be considered as a stroke of good luck, to be taken together with the chances of unluck which adequately affect it.

Coming now to the editor's remarks, I must first

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tell him how much I appreciate his keen perception of the necessity of limiting the controversy to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of receiving interest for the loan *per se*, that is, for the *use* of the money; leaving aside, as merely calculated to throw dust into the eyes, all that is commonly urged to show, what is not denied, that interest may sometimes be due on accounts extraneous to the loan itself. Without admitting that my putting a negative proposition in the form of the affirmative of a negation, now that it is no more customary to dispute *in formâ*, throws the burden of proof upon me, I will waive the question of rule, and endeavor to prove my proposition.

Suppose men were immortal; absolutely solvent; their powers of enjoyment and the value of money always the same; it is clear that the loan of a sum of money by an immortal to another could never have suggested the least suspicion of anything being due by the borrower beyond the capital itself. Here are ten thousand dollars which I own, and which represent a given amount of enjoyment in eating, drinking, or any other sport fitted for immortals; and that amount of enjoyment will be the same whether I have it now or in ten thousand years. But if I enjoy it now, I cannot have it to enjoy in ten thousand years; nor, if I wish to have it to enjoy in ten thousand years hence, can I enjoy it now.

Among my acquaintances is another immortal who will have ten thousand dollars in ten thousand years, and may enjoy them then. This, to him, will be exactly the same enjoyment in intensity as if he had it now. We make an exchange; I lend to him my ten thousand dollars, that he may enjoy them now in my place. In payment he promises to give me his ten thousand dollars when he gets them in ten thousand years. There is a loan divested of all accidentals. No interest is stipulated, and who would ever dream that any be necessary in order to make the transaction exactly and precisely just?

But we are not immortal! That is true, and that is precisely what entitles the lender to receive interest beside the reimbursement of his capital. Did he not lend his money, he might purchase with it at once, for himself, the enjoyments which that money represents, instead of running the chance of his being dead when the money is refunded, and his heirs having the pleasure of spending it instead of him. For running that chance it is just that he be indemnified; but by whom? By those who have the benefit of that chance; namely, his heirs. What has the debtor to do with that family arrangement between the creditor and the creditor's heirs? So far as the debtor is concerned, the creditor and his heirs or legatees, or, in defect of either, the State who will inherit by escheat, are one immortal person to whom the debt is to be paid, in any case, by the debtor and his heirs as another immortal person; and I have previously proved that no interest can be due on a loan *per se* between immortals.

JULIUS FERRETTE.

[1. The circumstance of "mortality" or "immortality" is, in our opinion, totally irrelevant in this discussion, and does not affect the nature of the transaction in the least. The lender sacrifices *power* by his loan in favor of the lender, who receives it—power to gratify his own desires and supply his own wants; he therefore has a right to compensation for this sacrifice from the person who benefits by it, *i. e.*, the borrower. The loan on interest is a freely made contract, profitable to both parties; the interest itself is a *quid pro quo*, and due like any other just debt.

2. Bishop Ferrette himself, however, now perceives and admits that (being mortal) the lender is "entitled to receive interest besides the reimbursement of *his* capital." *This concedes the whole point at issue.* It only remains now to determine who is to pay this just debt of interest. Why, of course, the party who profits by the transaction; it would be grotesquely unjust to hold anybody else to payment. Since, therefore, the heirs gain nothing at all by the loan, while the borrower gains the use of the money (which the Bishop now admits ought to be fairly paid for by somebody), could anything be plainer than that it is the borrower, and not the heirs, who ought to pay the interest? Our ingenious friend has yielded the whole point in debate by conceding that interest is justly due the lender, over and above the return of the money lent; and we leave the question as settled wholly to our own satisfaction, since he no longer denies the essential equity of requiring interest on borrowed money—ED.]

THE SCRIPTURE ON USURY.

EDITOR INDEX:—

When the blind lead the blind, we all know what happens; and it seems to me that when the Jewish and Catholic churches respectively undertook to enlighten the popular mind concerning the doctrine of money interest, something of this sort occurred. Both priests and people (and Almighty God also, according to the Bible) engaged in a futile crusade against usury for the reason that they failed to see where the real issue lay.

Interest is nothing else than a rent on the use of money, or, practically, any sort of convertible property. Therefore to denounce interest is to denounce rent; but to denounce rent is to denounce property, because a right of property in any wealth, in excess of an insignificant quantity needed for personal service, means a right to levy rent for the use of that wealth. Otherwise it means nothing.

Well, now, property has its drawbacks as well as its advantages, and the question is whether the drawbacks outweigh the advantages, as the disciples of Proudhon contend, or the advantages the drawbacks, as is commonly believed. The worst evil of property is, that it leads by a direct road to slavery. So far as the law is concerned, the *proletaire* who cannot afford to wait, is, just for that reason, at the mercy of the capitalist who can afford to wait as completely as any slave is at his master's mercy; for suicide, at worst, is always open to the latter, and, failing compliance with the capitalists' terms, nothing but starvation is open to the former. But practically this despotism of capital is always tempered by the action of two very different sentiments in the minds of the property-holders; namely, the natural benevolence of the human heart, and, secondly, the fear of incendiary violence. Ordinary men seldom speak of their generosities, and still more seldom speak of their fears; nevertheless these two sentiments are real forces in constant operation. As the typical government of the Orient has been called "despotism tempered by assassination," so the typical government of the Occident may be called plutocracy tempered by the dread of confiscation. This may not be quite satisfactory, but, on the other hand, property fulfils tolerably well two very essential offices; it provides the mass of the citizens with an effectual incentive to thrift and industry, and it acts as a check on the increase of population; whereas simple communism would do neither one nor the other, and must for that reason speedily terminate, should it be anywhere established.

The psalmist ranks the receipt of interest on a par with the most infamous kind of subornation, saying: "Blessed is the man that hath not lent out his money upon usury, nor taken reward against the innocent." This estimate was quite common in ancient communities, especially in Rome at the period of the agrarian agitations; and indeed Shylocks have always and everywhere been very subject to the vulgar odium. The clever allegory of the pound of flesh speaks to the people's heart.

In fairness it should be remarked that the attitude of the Bible on this matter sufficiently refutes the shallow eighteenth century calumny that religion is invariably favorable to the rich. So far is this from being fully true that, on the contrary, all religions have, of necessity, on one side of them, a strongly socialistic tendency.

Yours truly, CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

WHAT IS THE CREED OF LIBERALISM?

OZARK, Mo., Aug. 19, 1877.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Please allow me to thank you for your kindness in sending me the noble little tract, "Truths for the Times," in answer to my communication published in THE INDEX of July 26, entitled "What is Liberalism?" You were mistaken, however, in supposing that I had not read this definition of Free Religion, for it was one of the first tracts I obtained through the medium of THE INDEX.

Let me assure you that it is not *your* liberalism, as set forth in "Truths for the Times," or in any of your other writings that I have read, for which I have any censure. I consider "Truths for the Times" to be a grand gospel of itself, for those who can appreciate its manly, heroic principles. It utters, I think, the noblest thought and the loftiest faith of this eventful age; and did all liberals feel the inspiration of courage and duty as you do, the cause of liberalism would stand before the world without reproach. I can never tell you, without using more freedom than becomes a stranger, how much I admire your manly course as a leader of our common cause. On all questions of right and justice between man and man, you seem to me to stand on the eternal foundation; and I never read your brave utterances in behalf of truth and equity *here* and *now*, without having my faith in man strengthened. Many times I have been on the point of writing to you to express my hearty appreciation of some editorial in THE INDEX, but have been prevented till the impulse abated. Let me encourage you to hold aloft the banner of liberalism and keep it unsullied by bigotry or supineness to the universal cause of humanity. Too many so-called liberals construe liberalism to mean a selfish independence for the individual and an ignoble indifference to the social duties of life. A cold, sordid view of man's public obligations characterizes many of those who make conspicuous pretensions to mental freedom on the subject of religion. They are willing to let the world *alone*, if they are left to follow their own supreme selfishness. They have no enthusiasm for the cause of humanity. They believe in letting the future take care of itself, not realizing their own obligations to the self-sacrificing philanthropists of the past who have worked so nobly to prepare the present for their enjoyment. In endeavoring to leaven this sluggish mass of indifference, one of your generous nature must, I know, become very indignant at the meanness of spirit manifested by many who claim to be your co-workers.

How far, I would like to know, do the principles expressed in "Truths for the Times," represent the creed of liberalism? How do we know what the belief of liberalism is? Who is authorized to speak for the heterogeneous mass of freethought? In all other bodies of religionists there are certain cardinal doctrines that constitute a representative creed; and, when one identifies himself with one of these organizations we know just what he believes, as far as his church claims jurisdiction over the belief of its constituents. But what is the representative belief, either religious or moral, of liberalism? You have defined the movement as you understand it in your tract, "Truths for the Times." Have you any authority to speak for the whole body of liberals? Has liberalism ever affirmed anything as a collective and coherent body? Has not an atheist just as much right to claim that he represents liberalism as a theist has to claim that he represents it?

Leaving the realm of speculative belief, has liberalism ever affirmed a single *moral* principle? Your views on the integrity of marriage and the sanctity of home I indorse with my whole heart; but may not the free-lover claim that his theory of sexual freedom is just as genuine liberalism as your beautiful plea for the monogamic system that would "make manhood more manly and womanhood more womanly by blending them in one pure and happy home"? How can we determine what liberalism is so long as every one is at liberty to define it for himself? How can we expect any unity of action among liberals until there is some unity of belief? Mere negations will not make a basis of union for active workers. We must have a common *affirmative* belief before we can accomplish any *constructive* work.

I may be very much deluded in my views of the defects of liberalism, and if I am I should like to be enlightened. You are at liberty to make any use of this letter you wish.

Believe me to be as ever,

Yours truly,

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

PRIESTLY EXTRAVAGANCE.

It has been said that nine-tenths of the common, unskilled laborers of what used to be called the "free States" are Roman Catholics. Everybody knows that this class is burdened with the support of an aristocracy of priests who, in their style of living, are expensive, and who flocked to this country during the flush times which prevailed during the war and for years after it in great numbers. These priests went into the business of church-building to such an extent as to literally stud certain quarters of all our cities and large villages with church edifices, some of them of the costliest description, and with magnificent residences for the bishops and priests and sisterhoods and fraternities. There was a priestly tithegatherer on all the lines of railroad in process of construction. Serving-men and servant-girls, hod-carriers and railroad laborers were all taxed without stint to support priestly extravagance and build up a proud hierarchy in America, with palatial abodes and splendid cathedrals, and money to travel abroad with in luxurious ocean steamships, and bags of gold for Cardinal Antonelli in the shape of Peter's pence. Well, even in these hard times, the bishops and priests and religious orders are still in clover. They own an untold amount of untaxed, ecclesiastical property paid for by the hard earnings of laborers who are impoverished and scarcely able to earn their bread. Are not these priests in the same category with the railroad vampires and stock-waterers who reckon their ill-gotten wealth by millions? What right have priests to build vast cathedrals and episcopal palaces when their people are mostly living in tenement barracks and are reduced by failure of employment to beggary and the poor-house and to crime? What wonder that the Catholic mob of Pittsburgh jeered the Roman Bishop who harangued them during the riots? They doubtless recognized him as a capitalist whose coffers they had filled to overflowing. Catholic newspapers and periodicals have much to say about "holy poverty"; but the priestly order in this country is a well-to-do class. They live above board, and relatives in Ireland are continually getting a good thing over here out of the settlement of the estates of deceased priests. The wealth of the Roman hierarchy here, gathered as it has largely been in a very few years, has become a scandal taken in connection with the extreme poverty of the vast majority of their people, thousands of whom would now have had comfortable homes, had it not been for the holy horse-leeches, who diverted a large fraction of their hard earnings to the building of showy and costly churches. ECONOMIST.

HOW TO "DO SOMETHING FOR RELIGION."

LAKE CITY, Minn., Aug. 12.

FRIEND INDEX:—

Peter's story about the three men in the boat, which you print in your last issue, reminds me of one Prof. Denton told before an audience here a few years since. For some reason he had been requested to call for a collection to defray some lecture expenses, and it was evidently not fully in accordance with his feelings to do so; but he did it by relating the following. He said: "We are situated much like the three men who were cast away at sea, and were hanging to a piece of the wreck in a very perilous situation, when one said to another, 'Can you pray?' 'No, I can't pray.' Then to the third man, 'can you pray?' 'No, I don't know how to pray.' 'Well,' said the first man, 'I can't pray, but we must do something for religion; let us take up a collection.'" The result was a generous contribution by Mr. Denton's audience. B.

IT IS, OF COURSE, contrary to all recognised canons of taste to say that the pictures to be seen in Belgium soon tire. The frequent repetition of one treatment of the crucifixion, by however great masters, is annoying, and I should think must drive any but those whose souls are steeped in Catholic ideas into a more pronounced rejection of all that that representation implies. It was with growing feelings of strong distaste that one of us sat before a picture of this sort, and asked the attendant by whom it was painted. "Monsieur," was the answer, "c'est le 'Dieu Mourant' par—" These words at once gave form and definiteness to vague thoughts, and they took shape then and there somewhat as follows:—

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1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

THE PERSECUTION of Gambetta by the infatuated MacMahon government will go far to neutralize the effect of the death of Thiers. It will kindle in the Republican party of France a deep and terrible indignation against the treachery of the President and his clerical advisers. The hand-writing on the wall is visible to all eyes.

THIS ITEM of news in the *Tribune* would indicate that extraordinary "piety" is getting to be a very disreputable distinction: "Paul A. Thupe, late bookkeeper at the Russell Paper Mills, Lawrence, Mass., has been arrested on a charge of embezzlement. Mr. Thupe was distinguished for his piety. He used to impress his fellow-boarders by spreading a silk handkerchief upon the floor, kneeling thereon, and offering prayer before dining. His notions of literature, it is stated, were 'proper and of a high order.'"

ON THE SEVENTEENTH of September, the Army and Navy Monument on Boston Common, the grandest memorial of the kind yet erected, was solemnly dedicated. It is an honor alike to the living and the dead. May the great lesson it teaches sink into all hearts! Two years ago, on the same day of the same month, which was the date of the adoption of the United States Constitution and was selected for that very reason, the Preliminary Convention which resulted in the organization of the National Liberal League was held at Philadelphia. Read aright the meaning of these two events, and it was the same—love of liberty, of country, of mankind.

A GLORIOUS SENTENCE is this, in the oration of General Devens at the dedication of the Army and Navy Monument on Boston Common: "As in the Roman story which tells of Hannibal, the mightiest enemy Rome ever knew, it is related that his father Hamilcar, himself a chieftain and a warrior whose renown has been eclipsed by that of his greater son, brought him when a child of nine years old into the temple of the gods, that he might lift his little hands to swear eternal hostility to the tyranny of Rome,—so shall those who succeed us come here to swear hostility, not to one grasping power only, but to every tyranny that would enslave the body or enchain the mind of man, and eternal devotion to the great principles of civil and religious liberty." Amen and amen—a thousand times amen!

A DISPATCH from Chicago, September 13, states that "when the train on the Illinois Central Railroad arrived last evening, an officer was at the depot to arrest Father George, who, according to the story of the conductor and passengers, had, without provocation, thrown from the car-windows, during the trip, two Bibles placed in the racks by religious societies. He explained to the police authorities that he did so on account of obscene sketches which he found on the fly-leaves, and was released without bail." If Father George is a Catholic priest, his explanation was probably only half of the truth; but it at least exposes the absurdity of parading Bibles in such places. This is a piece of impertinence to which the public are subjected by the superserviceable fanaticism of the "religious societies," and the good it does is well illustrated above.

COLONEL F. M. HALLIDAY, now candidate for Governor of Virginia, strenuously opposed last year the opening of the Centennial Exhibition as a member of the United States Commission. In one of his speeches, addressing Mr. Corliss, he flapped his wings and soared to the rhetorical zenith in this fashion: "That magnificent engine of yours, sir, is a thing of beauty. Each mighty revolution made by it, as it puts and keeps in motion, for six days in the week, the varied machinery which covers fifteen acres of space, is *beautiful* beyond a question. But is there any *truth* in it? No, sir! Not unless, on the seventh day, that mighty engine stands silent before Almighty God." That was certainly a wonderful engine, and a wonderful colonel to see that it told more truth when it held its tongue than when it talked. In this respect the engine and the colonel were precisely alike. But the *Sunday School Times*, quoting the above excerpt, solemnly and unctuously exclaims: "It is good to see such men candidates for high political station. The more of them we can have, the better for all concerned." From which we infer that buncombe is better than brains in "high political station."

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition of the National Liberal League have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Rev. George W. Cooke and George Stickney, Esq., Grand Haven, Mich., 28; from Mr. Leopold Goepper, Union Village, O., 4; from Ingersoll Lockwood, Esq., New York City, 19 (including signatures of Mr. O. B. Frothingham and the late Hon. Robert Dale Owen); from Messrs. P. V. Wise, Jacob Sprinkel, John Demond, and the German Turnverein, St. Joseph, Mo., 78; from Dr. D. K. Boutelle, Lake City, Minn., 196. The total number of signatures thus far received is 8,052. Dr. Boutelle writes: "I meant to get a larger number, but my health has been such the past summer that I could make little personal effort, and I sent out several papers by others. I have some out which are not yet returned. I may have some more by-and-by. I have with a pencil marked some of the names on the list I got myself [this list had 141 names]. It is amusing to notice how differently persons talk about the matter. For example, Mr. Robertson, the fourth name on the list, said: 'I am a Christian; I believe the Bible; I belong to the Congregational Church; and I want everybody to pay his own taxes. I am ashamed of the church for not paying its taxes, and for that reason I sign this paper. Now I want you to go to Judge Stout, and have his name on next to mine.' I went to Mr. Stout, who is a leading Baptist man, and got his name next.' A day or two after, I was in Judge Stout's office, when he said to me: 'I want to ask you one question, which I expect you will answer candidly.' 'Well, what is it?' He asked: 'Do you understand that the petition you are circulating is intended to favor the taxation of church property?' I replied that I did so understand it. 'Well, then,' said he, 'I want my name taken off from it.' I threw the paper on his table, saying: 'Very well, you may erase it.' He read the petition carefully over, and remarked that he could not see but that was all right! And his name stands."

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

Brigham Young and Mormonism.

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah, Aug. 29.

Brigham Young died this afternoon at four o'clock. He was attacked by cholera morbus last Thursday night, which was followed by inflammation of the bowels, which prevented from the first all passage through them, and by continued swelling toward the throat finally stopped respiration. He was conscious as long as failing breath permitted him to speak, but only briefly answered questions during the last forty-eight hours.

Brigham Young, Prophet and Ruler of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, is dead. The singular religious delusion commonly called Mormonism, compounded of Judaism, Mohammedanism, Paganism, and perverted Christianity, has been kept alive for the past thirty years in spite of the influences of civilization and modern morality, chiefly by his force of character and his remarkable talent for leadership. He was an extraordinary man. With scarcely any education, and with no such gifts of eloquence and spiritual insight as are possessed by the founders of most new sects, he established a powerful theocracy in the midst of a vast desert, gathered adherents from all nations of the earth, and introduced a system of domestic life wholly at variance with the religion, moral ideas, and temperament of the peoples from whom he drew his proselytes. Polygamy, an institution confined in all ages to the luxurious races inhabiting warm climates, he domesticated among the rocks and snows of Utah, and so associated with religious fanaticism that it has held ground in defiance of the laws of the United States. He became possessed of great wealth, and ruled with an absolute sway thousands of men accustomed to the traditions and methods of self-government, interfering at his pleasure with their business and private affairs, disposing of their lives, families, and property with the tyranny of a Tartar Khan. Recent times have produced few such phenomenal characters. Most famous men achieve prominence by dexterity and power in riding on the current of their age; but the Mormon leader successfully antagonized all the forces of modern thought and civilization. His wonderful career was made possible only by the fact that there is, even in the most advanced communities, a sediment of superstition, fanaticism, and bestiality which a strong and unscrupulous man can stir up and utilize to serve his selfish ambition.

Brigham Young was born at Whitingham, Windham County, Vt., June 1, 1801. His grandfather was a surgeon in the French and Indian war. His father, John Young, was born in 1763 in Hopkinton, Middlesex County, Mass., served under General Washington in three campaigns, married Nabby Hune in 1785, settled in Vermont in 1801, and removed to Sherburne, Chenango County, N. Y. Brigham was the ninth of eleven children. All of the family became Mormons, and the father died in 1839 at Quincy, Ill., with the honors of first Patriarch of the church.

The chronicles of Mormonism are silent as to the youth and early manhood of Brigham, except to say that he learned the trade of a painter and glazier, was converted and baptized as a Baptist, and, it is said, showed some ability as a religious exhorter. It does not appear that he did anything remarkable for a working mechanic until his thirty-first year, when he was converted to Mormonism by Samuel H. Smith and Eleazer Miller, who were then preaching the new gospel in Central New York. The Book of Mormon had been printed two years before, and the first company of the Saints had already gathered at Kirtland, Ohio, at the house of Sidney Rigdon, whither Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum proceeded in January from their home in Manchester, Ontario County, N. Y., where Joseph pretended to discover the golden plates of the original volume. Young made his way to Kirtland soon after, and was there "gathered" with the Saints and ordained as an elder. He began preaching, and although deficient in education, he had a certain rude, strong oratorical power, and succeeded in making converts. He displayed great shrewdness and knowledge of character, and his powerful will enabled him to impress his opinions upon others, so that he soon gained a firm footing in the infant church.

ORIGIN OF MORMONISM.

It was an epoch of great religious excitement, a season of ferment, and gave birth to many new forms of faith. The Campbellites, or Disciples, now a large and respectable denomination, arose about the same time,—indeed, the first converts made by Smith and Rigdon at Kirtland were Disciples who had just seceded from the old sect. Millerism, or Second-Adventism, was just beginning to make headway. A number of other new sects, that have since died out or dwindled down to small dimensions, were then vigorously proselyting in the same field where Mormonism made its first efforts. The Latter-Day Saints were at first looked upon as only a new sort of Christians, and their revelation, pretending to be a sacred book of one of the lost tribes of Israel, was only put forth as a supplement to the Old Testament. They were not polygamists as long as they remained in Kirtland, and their departure from that place was caused more by the failure of their bank and the pressure of their debts than by hostility to their religion. In 1835 Young was ordained as one of the Twelve Apostles, a body organized for the special purpose of spreading the faith. Four years before, Joseph Smith had received a revelation that the final gathering-place of the Saints was to be in Missouri, and in the summer of 1831 he had founded a Mormon settlement at Independence, in Jackson County. Smith went backward and forward between the two colonies; but Young remained in Kirtland until after he was made an Apostle, and thus escaped the dangers of the miniature war between the Missourians and the Independence settlement. Receiving the "gift of tongues" in 1835, Young was sent on a mission to the Eastern States, and returned with a number of converts. His next advancement was in 1836, when he was chosen President of the Twelve Apostles. In 1837 the Kirtland colony was abandoned, the fine stone temple erected there (still standing) was seized for debt, and Young, with Smith and others, went to Davis County, Missouri, where the town of Far West had been founded by Mormons driven from Independence. As the city of revelation, Independence had grown to be the principal Mormon settlement, and the religionists when expelled by the Missourians, had gone to the Counties of Davis, Carroll, and Caldwell, then quite new. In Davis County new troubles arose, conflicts occurred between the Mormons and the militia, in which blood was shed on both sides, and Young, who failed to distinguish himself as a military hero, fled for his life to Quincy. Shortly after, Gov. Boggs, of Missouri, the "Nero" of Mormon historians, called out fifteen thousand militia, and drove the Mormons from the State, declaring that they should be expelled, "even if it were necessary to exterminate them." They scattered through the western counties of Illinois, where they were kindly received by the settlers. They began to gather in 1839 in the new town of Nauvoo, laid out by Joseph Smith on a high plateau on the bank of the Mississippi, and christened by a name which he said was reformed Egyptian, and meant "The Beautiful."

From this new city of promise Brigham Young departed in the same year with a company of Apostles and Elders to "open up the gospel" to the inhabitants of Great Britain. He landed at Liverpool on the 6th of April, 1840, and commenced preaching. He published an edition of the Book of Mormon, and established *The Millennial Star*, a periodical still living. Ever since the chief publication establishment for Mormon works has been in England, the largest depositary of church funds has been the Bank of England, and Great Britain has been the most fruitful field for missionary labors. In 1841 Young sailed for New York, having shipped seven hundred and sixty-nine converts in advance, and founded many churches. He returned to Nauvoo, which had prospered greatly during his absence. The colony continued to flourish until 1844, when Joseph Smith's revelation of polygamy, his arbitrary conduct, his protection of criminals, the habit of his followers voting in a body at elections, dissensions about the civil government, and many other causes gradually irritated the people of the surrounding country, until they became bitterly hostile to the new sect. The whole region rose in arms. Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were arrested for destroying an opposition newspaper, and were murdered by a mob in the jail at Carthage. The church was without a head. Sidney Rigdon, as the first councillor of Smith, assumed the Presidency; but Brigham Young, seeing the golden opportunity for seizing upon the leadership had come, went hurriedly to Nauvoo, and denounced Rigdon as an impostor, and his revelations as emanating from the devil. Then ensued a sharp struggle for the mastery between the two Apostles; but Young, who was a man of more personal influence than his antagonist, carried the majority with him, and Rigdon, together with about a hundred men who had voted for him, was "cut off" and "handed over to the buffetings of Satan for a thousand years." Rigdon left Nauvoo, and with a small band of followers went to Pennsylvania.

BRIGHAM BECOMES THE LEADER.

Brigham was now supreme. All opposition was driven away or silenced. He hastened the completion of the temple and put the people through the mystical ceremony of the endowments, in which they swore to obey the priesthood. He claimed the gift of revelation, and assumed the authority of a prophet and priestly autocrat. He saw that the blood of the Smiths had only allayed for a time the storm of persecution, and knew that there would be no peace for the saints among the Gentiles. In 1845 he professed to have a revelation of a Canaan in the West, flowing with milk and honey, where the hated Gentiles should never come,—a land of promise reserved for the faithful. In February, 1846, the whole body of the Mormons abandoned their houses and their temple in Nauvoo, and under his guidance started directly west across Iowa. This terrible winter journey, through a country almost entirely wild, is the *via dolorosa* of the Mormon annals. Hundreds perished of cold and exposure; but the fanaticism and the firm will of their prophet drove the survivors on. In the following spring they concentrated at Council Bluffs, and the next fall they crossed the Missouri and built five hundred log huts for winter-quarters at a point six miles below the present city of Omaha. Here, on the 27th of December, 1847, Brigham preached to his followers, and by imitating the voice and manner of Joseph Smith, he made them believe that their dead prophet stood before them. They declared that the mantle of Joseph had fallen upon Brigham, and immediately elected him President of the church. Before he had governed only as President of the Twelve Apostles. The great event at the winter-quarters was the enlistment of five hundred men as volunteers in the Mexican War, by the direction of Young. It is charged that he received the bounty of the men, amounting to $10,000, and that with this money he fitted out the expedition of one hundred and forty-three men and seventy wagons, with which he started in April, 1847, to find a home for his followers in the valley of the Jordan. They arrived July 24 at a gap in the Wasatch Range, from which they saw the valley before them. It was covered with a growth of stunted bushes and had a

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soil the color of ashes. Anything but a land of promise it seemed to be,—walled in by bare and savage mountains and washed by a lake as salt and lifeless as the Dead Sea. Young saw that irrigation was all that was needed to make the soil productive, and that the mountain streams would furnish plenty of water. A dam was made and a few fields of potatoes planted. Some of the party remained, and Brigham returned with the rest to the winter-quarters on the Missouri. In 1848 the whole body of Mormons, under his orders, made the journey over the plains, suffering severe hardships, and marking the road with the graves of their dead. When they arrived at the valley, they found it a desert that looked as forbidding as anything they had passed through. Starvation stared them in the face. Brigham quelled all mutinies, however. He scolded, pleaded, threatened, and prophesied. With a resistless energy he set them all at work, directing their labors and controlling their domestic affairs. He told foolish anecdotes to make them laugh; got up dances and theatrical performances, and sought in every way to make them cheerful and contented.

HOSTILITIES IN UTAH.

After a year or two of privation the colony began to flourish. In 1849, after the cession of the territory to the United States, a convention was held, and the "State of Deseret" was organized, with Brigham Young as Governor. Congress refused to admit it, and organized the Territory of Utah in the succeeding year. President Fillmore appointed Young Territorial Governor. The other officers were Gentiles, and did not arrive until 1851. The stream of emigration to California, passing through the Mormon settlement, rapidly enriched them by making a constant market at high prices for the cattle, grain, and vegetables, which the Territory began to produce in abundance. In 1854 Col. Steptoe came to Utah with three hundred troops and a commission in his pocket as Governor; but the adroit Mormon leader was determined not to lose his civil authority. With the aid of two Mormon women he entrapped the new Governor, and forced him to sign a resignation and a recommendation of himself for continuance in office. He held the place, quarrelling all the time with the Federal courts, until 1857, when President Buchanan appointed Alfred Cumming to succeed him. An armed Mormon mob had broken up a United States court. The Federal authority was openly defied, and the Judges left the Territory. The Mormons were now in open rebellion. President Buchanan sent an army of three thousand men across the plains, under command of Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, to subdue them. Brigham Young proposed to defend the passes leading to Salt Lake Valley, and armed his militia. The Mountain Meadow massacre, the blackest blot on Mormon annals, occurred during the excitement caused by the approach of the troops, when a fierce hatred was developed against the Gentile population. Young gave up his war plans as Johnston's army neared the Mormon settlements, and opened negotiations which resulted in his acceptance of the new Territorial Governor. He was often in hot water with the Federal authorities afterwards, and rumors of a Mormon war frequently came over the plains; but he was too sagacious to provoke an actual collision. His subsequent history is the history of the development of the Mormon element in Utah, the culmination of its power, and its decline by reason of the growing strength of the Gentile population brought in by the Pacific Railroad. Young maintained his hold on the great body of his superstitious followers to the last. There were a number of schisms, however, and the contact with the civilization of the East, through the travel over the railroad, and the opening of mines by Gentile capital and labor, was steadily undermining his power.

POLYGAMY.

The institution of polygamy may be said to be of Brigham Young's own establishment. It is true the first revelation sanctioning it came to Joseph Smith, and the prophet preached the new doctrine of plurality; but this was done in a furtive kind of way, with many denials to calm the rising anger of the surrounding Gentiles and of many of the Mormons. The revelation is said to have been first given at Nauvoo in 1843. The denials were made publicly, repeatedly, and with all possible solemnity over the signatures of Smith and his chief associates. It was not until the Mormons were firmly established in Utah that Brigham ventured to proclaim to the world what had been for nine years the most characteristic, although esoteric, doctrine of the church. The disclosure was made at a meeting of the Saints in September, 1852. "You heard Brother Pratt state this morning," said Brigham, "that a revelation would be read this afternoon which was given previous to Joseph's death. It contains a doctrine a small part of the world is opposed to, but I can deliver a prophecy upon it. Though that doctrine has not been preached by the elders, this people have believed in it for years. The revelation will be read to you. The principle spoken upon by Brother Pratt this morning we believe in. Many others are of the same mind. They are ignorant of what we are doing in our social capacity. They have cried out, 'Proclaim it!' but it would not do a few years ago; everything must come in its time, as there is a time for all things. I am now ready to proclaim it. This revelation has been in my possession for many years, and who has known it? None but those who should know it." Then the revelation was read. It is long, verbose, and ridiculous. The important section is the following:—

"If any man espouse a virgin, and desires to espouse another, and the first give her consent [Note: the next section lays a heavy punishment upon any wife who refuses her consent]; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins and have vowed to no other man, then is he justified; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to none else; and if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him and are given unto him; therefore is he justified. They are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment."

The revelation made a tremendous stir among the Gentiles, and for a while broke up numbers of the missions in England and the States; but the Mormons in Utah were well prepared for it. Brigham himself had long been a polygamist. His first wife was Mary Ann Angell. His second, Lucy Decker Seely, he married in Nauvoo, and his third while in winter-quarters in Nebraska; and as soon as he got his people established in Utah, he urged all Mormons, especially the bishops, apostles, and elders, to follow his example. Polygamy became general, and a supply of women was obtained from the converts in England, Wales, Denmark, and other countries, who were usually of the ignorant peasant class, and were told nothing of the peculiar institution of Utah until they arrived there. From being permitted to the Saints, polygamy came to be enjoined, and Brigham promulgated a revelation to the effect that the men who had great numbers of wives and children would have the highest glory and authority in heaven.

BRIGHAM'S WIVES.

It was never easy to ascertain in Salt Lake City how many wives Brigham had. The Gentiles had different reports, and the Mormons, when questioned, usually replied that they did not meddle with "the President's" family affairs. The most authentic accounts in late years placed the number at twenty-three, and the number of women "sealed" to him brought the total up to fifty-two. In 1866 he had twenty-nine regular wives, who were all named and described in a work by Mrs. C. V. Waite, called *The Mormon Prophet and his Harem*, published by Hurd & Houghton. Most of them lived in a large building called the "Lion House," and had rooms like boarders in a hotel. The first wife had a house to herself, however, and for the favorite, Amelia Folsom, who usually accompanied Brigham to the theatre and in his drives, a handsome dwelling was built, with a private passage leading to the President's office. In his later life Brigham established homes in a number of the smaller towns of the Territory, which he had occasion now and then to visit. One of his wives—about the twentieth in order—Eliza Snow, was a woman of some intellectual ability and a writer of poetry. Brigham practiced entire impartiality in the allotment of affection and worldly comforts among plural wives; but in practice, like Eastern Sultans, he was usually ruled by a favorite. As to the prophet's children, their name is legion. He provided carefully for their education. Some of his sons exhibit good business talent, one being the President of the Salt Lake Railroad. Many of the daughters grew up beautiful and accomplished women. The father instilled his religious fanaticism into their minds, and gave them, as they came of age, in polygamous marriage to his prominent supporters. Two of them married the same man and at the same time, it is said. The fifteenth, or, according to some reckonings, the nineteenth, wife was Ann Eliza, whom he married in 1868, and who has recently earned celebrity by lecturing on the horrors of Mormonism and suing the prophet for a divorce. The United States Court in Salt Lake City denied the petition on the ground that the marriage was polygamous, and therefore null.

There is not space here to go into a history of polygamy as it rose and flourished in the Mormon Church. It reached its climax in Utah in 1856, when a general demoralization seized upon the community and the most abominable practices prevailed; whole families of girls being in some cases married with their mother to the same man. Divorces became exceedingly frequent, and there were instances of women being divorced and re-married nine or ten times. Vulgarity of language in public discourses and private speech became so common that many Mormons were themselves disgusted, and a reaction set in. A powerful influence working against polygamy in late years has been the increase of the cost of living in Utah, which has restrained the young men from following the precepts and example of their elders. It is as much as they want to do to support one wife, now that the women are no longer satisfied with a sun-bonnet and a calico dress, but must have the latest fashions in apparel, and must live like the Gentiles, instead of on corn and potatoes, as in the early times of the Territory.

THE COURTS AGAINST POLYGAMY.

Only one serious effort was ever made to break down the institution of polygamy by the aid of the courts. During the year 1871 the Federal officials in Utah, headed by Chief-Justice McKean of the Supreme Court of the Territory, began an organized attack upon the polygamists, which necessarily involved a personal attack upon Brigham Young. At the September term of that court, objections were made to the acceptance of several Mormons of prominence as grand jurors on the ground that they were living in open violation of the law of the land in practising polygamy. Chief-Justice McKean rendered a characteristic decision, sustaining the challenges with a florid eloquence seldom heard on the bench, and combating the argument that polygamy was a religious practice, and could therefore claim the benefit of a religious toleration secured by the Constitution. He closed his opinion by declaring that "when the burglar is a fit juror to inquire into the crime of burglary; when the robber is a fit juror to inquire into the crime of larceny; when the assassin is a fit juror to inquire into the crime of murder,—then the bigamist, who swears in substance that his crimes are his religion, may be a fit juror to inquire into the crimes of bigamy and adultery." The Judge concluded: "But, thanks to centuries of Christian civilization, that time is not now; and, judging from the steady progress of the human race, that time will never come." At the same term of court a number of prominent Mormons were indicted under a statute of the Territory, which prescribed a penalty of imprisonment (not exceeding ten years and not less than six months) and a fine to the crime of unlawful cohabitation or "open and gross lewdness." Brigham Young himself was among those indicted, as was also Daniel A. Wells, Mayor of Salt Lake City. Young was brought before the court on the 3d of October. Judge McKean refused to allow him to give bail, but granted him the privilege of being imprisoned in his own house. The Judge also overruled a motion to quash the indictment. One conviction was reached under these suits, that of Thomas Hawkins, whose first wife brought suit against him for adultery. He was sentenced to three years hard labor and a fine of $500, Judge McKean explaining that he did not wish his judgment to be "so severe as to seem vindictive, or so light as to seem to trifle with justice."

This passage from his speech in passing sentence was evidently aimed at the head of the Mormon Church: "My experience in Utah has been such that, were I to fine you only, I am satisfied the fine would be paid out of other funds than yours, and thus you would go free—absolutely free—from all punishment; and then those men who mislead the people would make thousands of others believe that God had sent the money to pay the fine; that God had prevented the court from sending you to prison; that by a miracle you had been rescued from the authorities of the United States. I must look to it that my judgment gives no aid and comfort to such men." No other conviction was ever reached, either in these cases or in the indictments found subsequently against Young and others for the murder of Buck at Iron Springs, in 1857, about the time of the conflict with Cumming, the newly-appointed Territorial Governor. These indictments were evidently brought in the hope that they might help to break the Mormon leaders, but they came to nothing. The funds of the court were insufficient to defray the expenses of these trials, and Judge McKean and Attorney-General Bates visited Washington and applied to Congress in December, 1871, for an appropriation. But such slight prospect as existed of their getting funds to carry on the war against Young was destroyed by a unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court, reversing one of Judge McKean's test cases. In this he had advanced an absurd and fantastical theory to the effect that the Supreme Court of the Territory of Utah was in some way a part of, or allied to, the Supreme Court of the United States. The decision of the court showed plainly that Judge McKean was either ignorant of the law, or willing to pervert it to gain his object, and the judicial crusade against Mormonism was over. It had never gained any great popular sympathy, as it was evidently a fight made by one faction in war upon another, rather than a honest attempt to do away with a great evil.

THE DANITES.

The blackest spots in the history of the Mormon Church are the murders and crimes committed by the "Danites." This was the name given to an organization of cut-throats who committed the most atrocious crimes without suffering the slightest penalty of the law, or forfeiting the favor of the Mormon leaders, under whose orders it was often evident that they were acting. It was a sworn society, the members being pledged, according to the confession of John D. Lee, "to obey all orders of the priesthood of the Mormon Church, to do any and all things as commanded." From this order were selected "the Destroying Angels of the Mormon Church," who undoubtedly acted under the personal direction of Young himself. Books on books might be filled with the record of their brutal murders, mysterious or unconcealed associations, as it was thought best, and wholesale massacres. Many of the instances already on record would seem incredible if it had not long ago been seen that the number and atrocity of these crimes could hardly be exaggerated. One instance that is narrated is that of the revenge which Hickman, the "Danite" captain, took upon a man by the name of Drown, who sued him upon a promissory note. A few days after Drown had obtained judgment on the note, he was in a friend's house in Salt Lake City, when Hickman and seven or eight of the "Danites" appeared and called to Drown to come out. He refusing, they dismounted, burst in the doors, and shot the offending Drown and his friend, both dying of their wounds. The "Danites" were not molested. At the same term of court, a sergeant named Pike in the United States forces was indicted for assault with intent to kill, upon the son of a Mormon Bishop named Spencer. Pike was arrested and brought to Salt Lake City, and the next day was shot by Spencer who stepped up behind him for that purpose. Spencer then rode off with the "Danites." This was all in revenge for a blow, and a leading Mormon paper commended the young man for his bravery. The courts took no action in either case. Ann Eliza Young, Brigham's rebellious wife, after charging upon him the crime of organizing and directing this murderous band, narrates this incident as illustrating their methods: "Henry Jones and his mother lived in a house near where I lived when a girl. We were startled from our sleep one night by loud cries and pistol-shots. No one took any notice of them; but in the morning a wagon was driven through the street of the city, containing the dead

bodies of the murdered mother and son, with a placard attached, 'Apostates, Beware!' This was done as an example to terrorize the people." Another and more notable instance of the same sanguinary spirit was the "Morrisite massacre." One Morris undertook, with others, to start an offshoot of the church. He alleged that Brigham was a false prophet, and he the only true one. He went, with his followers, about thirty miles to the north of Salt Lake City, and encamped there in tents. Brigham Young quickly despatched the Mormon militia to root them out, under command of Daniel H. Wells, Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion (another name for Danites). They were all massacred. Whether true or not, these statements are of a kind with many that are known to be true about this secret society of assassins. Whenever it was necessary to remove an ambitious Mormon or an obnoxious Gentile, to exterminate a whole settlement or surprise and destroy an emigrant train, these men were ready for the work. They were proficient in all varieties of murder, and the least horrible of their deeds was sufficient to prove the existence of that reign of terror which it was their business to sustain, and on which Young's authority so much depended.

CHARACTER AND APPEARANCE.

Brigham Young grew immensely rich. He owned farms, mines, and factories, and had large deposits in the Bank of England. Probably his fortune amounted to several millions; but how much he chose to regard as belonging to himself, and how much to the church, is not yet known. In person he was tall and stoutly built, and during the last ten years rather corpulent. He had a large head, a broad, florid countenance, reddish hair, and a fringe of beard of the same color, and a pair of small, keen, blue eyes. His habitual expression was bland and oily. At seventy he was active and vigorous, and looked no older than many men of fifty. Bayard Taylor, who visited the Prophet at Salt Lake City in 1870, gave the following description of him:—

"I was ushered into a handsome, well-furnished room, divided by a wooden screen from a dim back office. The floor was carpeted; a circular table, with a great globe of gold fish, was in the centre, sofas and chairs were on either side, and the walls were covered with pictures, portraits of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Alpine landscapes, and a chromo tint of Bierstadt's "Sunshine and Shadow," which the artist had sent to Brigham Young. We took seats upon one of the sofas, while two or three strangers, apparently Mormons from the country, waited on the opposite one. In a few minutes Brigham Young came out from his office. At the first glance you would take him to be a successful bank or railroad president, and his quick, straightforward, business-like manner carries out the impression. After he is seated, however, and you have a chance of observing his features more closely, the signs of a quality with which bank presidents are not accustomed to deal begin to manifest themselves. He is both short and broad, but his thickness gives the impression of strength rather than corpulence. Although sixty-nine years old, there is no gray in his sandy hair, and his small blue eyes are keen and full of power. His head is large and approaching to squareness in its form, and his complexion is a strong, healthy red. His thin, firm-set mouth and large jaws express an indomitable energy. The general expression of his face is at once reticent and watchful. In his greeting there was the blandness of an acquired rather than a natural courtesy. His voice is mild, even-toned, and agreeable, and I can imagine that he might make himself fascinating to women, most of whom find a peculiar charm in a playful and purring lion. He said but little at first, and, I thought, seemed to be holding himself secretly at bay for questions which I did not intend to ask. By-and-by, when I referred to the similarity of the scenery to that of Asia Minor, and led the conversation to the resources of the Territory, he spoke freely and fluently, and gave me considerable information concerning the remote southern counties. On all points of material growth he was frankly communicative. While he was talking, I studied his face sufficiently to detect the three chief qualities of his nature,—great prudence, great determination, and great belief in himself."

The reverence of the Orthodox Mormons for Brigham Young exceeded that of Catholics for the Pope, and they sought his counsel in all important business and family affairs. They believed him a God in embryo, destined to reign over a celestial kingdom in the future life. In his death the Mormon Church has undoubtedly received a fatal blow. All its men of intellect and force of character joined it in its infancy, and but few of them are left. Its later proselytes were drawn from the ignorant classes. Among the second generation, now men in middle life, no one has developed capacity for successfully wearing the mantle of the Prophet.

Interview between Horace Greeley and Brigham Young.

THE MORMON LEADER'S VIEWS.

Horace Greeley's noted interview with Brigham Young was reported by himself as follows. It took place in 1859, when Mr. Greeley was on his way to California. It will be seen that Young's replies give, in a condensed form, the teachings of the Mormon Church:—

My friend, Dr. Bernhisel, M.C., took me this afternoon, by appointment, to meet Brigham Young, President of the Mormon Church, who had expressed a willingness to receive me at two P.M. We were very cordially welcomed at the door by the President, who led us into the second-story parlor of the largest of his houses (he has three), where I was introduced to Heber C. Kimball, Gen. Wells, Gen. Ferguson, Albert Carrington, Elias Smith, and several other leading men in the church, with two full-grown sons of the President. After some unimportant conversation on general topics, I stated that I had come in quest of fuller knowledge respecting the doctrines and polity of the Mormon Church, and would like to ask some questions bearing directly on these, if there were no objection. President Young, avowing his willingness to respond to all pertinent inquiries, the conversation proceeded substantially as follows:—

H. G.—Am I to regard Mormonism (so called) as a new religion, or as simply a new development of Christianity?

B. Y.—We hold that there can be no true Christian Church without a priesthood directly commissioned by, and in immediate communication with, the Son of God and Savior of mankind. Such a church is that of the Latter Day Saints, called by their enemies Mormons. We know no other that even pretends to have present and direct revelations of God's will.

H. G.—Then I am to understand that you regard all other churches professing to be Christian as the Church of Rome regards all churches not in communion with itself,—as schismatic, heretical, and out of the way of salvation?

B. Y.—Yes, substantially.

H. G.—Apart from this, in what respect do your doctrines differ essentially from those of our Orthodox Protestant churches,—the Baptist or Methodist, for example?

B. Y.—We hold the doctrines of Christianity as revealed in the Old and New Testaments, also in the Book of Mormon, which teaches the same cardinal truths, and those only.

H. G.—Do you believe in the doctrine of the Trinity?

B. Y.—We do; but not exactly as it is held by other churches. We believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as equal, but not identical,—not as one person (being). We believe in all the Bible teaches on this subject.

H. G.—Do you believe in a personal devil, a distinct, conscious, spiritual being, whose nature and acts are essentially malignant and evil?

B. Y.—We do.

H. G.—Do you hold the doctrine of eternal punishment?

B. Y.—We do; though perhaps not exactly as other churches do. We believe it as the Bible teaches it.

H. G.—I understand that you regard baptism by immersion as essential?

B. Y.—We do.

H. G.—Do you practise infant baptism?

B. Y.—No.

H. G.—Do you make removal to these valleys obligatory on your converts?

B. Y.—They would consider themselves greatly aggrieved if they were not invited hither. We hold to such a gathering together of God's people as the Bible foretells, and that this is the place, and now is the time appointed for its consummation.

H. G.—The predictions to which you refer have usually, I think, been understood to indicate Jerusalem (or Judea) as the place of such gathering?

B. Y.—Yes, for the Jews; not for others.

H. G.—What is the position of your church with respect to slavery?

B. Y.—We consider it of divine institution, and not to be abolished until the curse pronounced on Ham shall have been removed from his descendants.

H. G.—Are any slaves now held in this Territory?

B. Y.—There are.

H. G.—Do your territorial laws uphold slavery?

B. Y.—Those laws are printed,—you can read for yourself. If slaves are brought here by those who owned them in the States, we do not favor their escape from the service of those owners.

H. G.—Am I to infer that Utah, if admitted as a member of the Federal Union, will be a slave State?

B. Y.—No; she will be a free State. Slavery here would prove useless and unprofitable. I regard it generally as a curse to the masters. I myself hire many laborers, and pay them fair wages; I could not afford to own them. I can do better than subject myself to an obligation to feed and clothe their families, to provide and care for them in sickness and health. Utah is not adapted to slave labor.

H. G.—Let me now be enlightened with regard more especially to your church polity. I understand that you require each member to pay over one-tenth of all he produces or earns to the church.

B. Y.—That is a requirement of our faith. There is no compulsion as to the payment. Each member acts in the premises according to his pleasure, under the dictates of his own conscience.

H. G.—What is done with the proceeds of this tithing?

B. Y.—Part of it is devoted to building temples and other places of worship; part to helping the poor and needy converts on their way to this country; and the largest portion to the support of the poor among the Saints.

H. G.—Is none of it paid to bishops and other dignitaries of the church?

B. Y.—Not one penny. No bishop, no elder, no deacon, or other church officer, receives any compensation for his official services. A bishop is often required to put his hand in his own pocket, and provide therefrom for the poor of his charge; but he never receives anything for his services.

H. G.—How, then, do your ministers live?

B. Y.—By the labor of their own hands, like the first Apostles. Every bishop, every elder, may be daily seen at work in the field or the shop, like his neighbors; every minister of the church has his proper calling, by which he earns the bread of his family; he who cannot or will not do the church's work for nothing is not wanted in her service; even our lawyers (pointing to General Ferguson and another present, who are the regular lawyers of the church) are paid nothing for their services; I am the only person in the church who has not a regular calling apart from the church's service, and I never received one farthing from her treasury. If I obtain anything from the tithing-house, I am charged with and pay for it, just as any one else would. The clerks in the tithing-store are paid like other clerks; but no one is ever paid for any service pertaining to the ministry. We think a man who cannot make his living aside from the ministry of Christ, unsuited to that office. I am called rich, and consider myself worth $250,000; but no dollar of it was ever paid me by the church, or for any service as a minister of the everlasting gospel. I lost nearly all I had when we were broken up in Missouri, and driven from that State. I was nearly stripped again when Joseph Smith was murdered, and we were driven from Illinois; but nothing was ever made up to me by the church, nor by any one. I believe I know now how to acquire property, and how to take care of it.

H. G.—Can you give me any rational explanation of the aversion and hatred with which your people are generally regarded by those among whom they have lived, and with whom they have been brought directly in contact?

B. Y.—No other explanation than is afforded by the crucifixion of Christ and the kindred treatment of God's ministers, prophets, and saints in all ages.

H. G.—I know that a new sect is always descried and traduced; that it is hardly ever deemed respectable to belong to one; that the Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, Universalists, etc., have each in their turn been regarded, in the infancy of their sect, as the offscouring of the earth; yet I cannot remember that either of them were ever generally represented and regarded by the older sects of their early days, as thieves, robbers, murderers.

B. Y.—If you will consult the contemporary Jewish accounts of the life and acts of Jesus Christ, you will find that he and his disciples were accused of every abominable deed and purpose, robbery and murder included. Such a work is still extant, and may be found by those who seek it.

H. G.—What do you say of the so-called Danites, or destroying angels, belonging to your church?

B. Y.—What do *you* say? I know of no such band, no such persons or organization. I hear of them only in the slanders of our enemies.

H. G.—With regard, then, to the grave question on which your doctrines and practices are avowedly at war with those of the Christian world—that of a plurality of wives,—is the system of your church acceptable to the majority of its women?

B. Y.—They could not be more averse to it than I was when it was first revealed to me as the divine will. I think they generally accept it, as I do, as the will of God.

H. G.—How general is polygamy among you?

B. Y.—I could not say. Some of those present (heads of the church) have each but one wife; others have more; each determines what is his individual duty.

H. G.—What is the largest number of wives belonging to any one man?

B. Y.—I have fifteen; I know no one who has more; but some of those sealed to me are old ladies whom I regard rather as mothers than wives, but whom I have taken home to cherish and support.

H. G.—Does not the Apostle Paul say that a bishop should be husband of one wife?

B. Y.—So we hold. We do not regard any but a married man as fitted for the office of bishop. But the Apostle does not forbid a bishop having more wives than one.

H. G.—Does not Christ say that he who puts away his wife, or marries one whom another has put away, commits adultery?

B. Y.—Yes; and I hold that no man should ever put away a wife except for adultery,—not always even for that. Such is my individual view of the matter. I do not always say that wives have never been put away in our church, but that I do not approve of their practice.

H. G.—How do you regard what is commonly termed the Christian Sabbath?

B. Y.—As a divinely appointed day of rest. We enjoin all to rest from secular labor on that day. We would have no man enslaved to the Sabbath, but we enjoin all to respect and enjoy it.

The Mountain Meadow Massacre.

During the summer of 1857 a large train of emigrants from Arkansas started for California. They numbered one hundred and forty souls, and, according to an officer of the United States Army, constituted the finest train that had ever crossed the Plains. The train was owned by wealthy men, and had fine stock, richly ornamented carriages for the women and children, and a considerable sum of money in its possession. Reaching Salt Lake City in safety, the emigrants were advised to take the Southern trail, the old route being liable to obstruction by snow. When two thousand miles south of Salt Lake they inquired of prominent Mormons where good pastures for their stock could be found, and were directed to Mountain Meadow. The day after they left Cedar City a council of Mormon leaders was held, and it is believed the massacre was then determined upon. On the same night about sixty white men, in Indian disguise, with a large number of genuine savages, followed the emigrants, who were overtaken the next morning while at breakfast. Without a note of warning a volley was discharged in their midst, and ten or twelve persons were killed outright. The astonished emigrants hastily recovered from their surprise, and prepared for defence. For five days and nights they withstood the attacks. Unable to overcome the emigrants in open fight, the Mormons at last resorted to strategy. The firing was suspended, and the Indians apparently disappeared. On the morning of the sixth day a wagon-load of white men, carrying the United

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States flag, appeared in the valley. The emigrants sent out a girl in gay attire and cordially received the new arrivals as their defenders. Among the men in the wagon were John D. Lee and Isaac C. Haight, who at once charged the emigrants with having poisoned a certain spring from which Indians had drank and died. Lee and Haight said this was the cause of the Indian attack, and offered to bring about a treaty of peace. They then retired, and in a few hours returned, saying that the Indians were greatly enraged, and insisted upon a surrender of the emigrants' property and arms and the return of the whole party to the East by the route they had come. The terms were agreed to by the emigrants, and, with the Mormons as guides, they proceeded northward on foot. After walking a mile they entered a thicket of scrub oaks near a large pile of rocks. Here the Indians and disguised white men were concealed. John D. Lee gave the signal, "Halt!" and the bloody work began.

GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE MASSACRE.

"Suddenly," wrote a correspondent of the Sacramento *Record-Union* recently, "Lee brought his gun to his shoulder and fired at a woman in the forward wagon, killing her instantly. It was the signal for the massacre. Indians rose from behind bushes, painted Mormons stepped from behind concealments, and all along the line the men and women were shot down like cattle in the shambles, while Lee and his aids dragged women and youths from the wagons and cut their throats from ear to ear. It was the most heartless, cold-blooded deed that ever disgraced the pages of history. The cowardly assassins could not have performed one single act that would have added to the blackness of their perfidy; they feigned friendship and sympathy; they induced those poor men to lay aside every weapon and then shot them down like dogs. The venerable gray-headed clergymen, the sturdy farmers, the stalwart young men, and the beardless youths,—all were cut down one by one, and above their dead bodies waved the Stars and Stripes. Sick women, too ill to leave the corral, were driven up to the scene of slaughter, butchered and stripped. Some of the younger men refused to join in the disgraceful work. Jim Pearce was shot by his own father for protecting a girl that was crouched at his feet! The bullet cut a deep gash in his face, and the furrowed scar is there to-day. Lee is said to have shot a girl who was clinging to his son."

The property of those murdered people was quietly divided among the Mormons, and it was not until a year afterward that it was proven that white men had anything to do with the deed. A man who visited the scene eight days after the massacre said on the trial of Lee in 1875, that he saw the bodies of murdered emigrants left without a particle of clothing, save a torn stocking-leg that clung to the ankle of one body. There were one hundred and twenty-seven bodies in all, and all except one—a beautiful lady—bore the marks of wolves' teeth and ravens' beaks. Most of the bodies had been thrown into three piles, distant from each other about two and a half rods.

TRIAL AND SENTENCE OF LEE.

All possible efforts were made to prevent any knowledge of this monstrous wickedness from ever coming forth to the world. No survivor was left to tell the tale. Every man engaged in the murders was pledged to secrecy, and Brigham Young commanded his leaders not to talk of it even among themselves. But in the course of time, as fact after fact came out, he was generally believed to be one of the guilty men. In July, 1875, he was tried, but the jury disagreed. In September, 1876, he was again tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be executed January 26, 1877. The law of Utah gave him the choice of being beheaded, hanged, or shot; he chose the latter. A stay of proceedings was granted, pending an appeal, but on February 11, 1877, the verdict of guilty was approved, and Lee was remanded to the court below for sentence. On March 23, 1877, he was shot over the graves of his victims at Mountain Meadow, his last words being, "Let them shoot the balls through my heart. Don't let them mangle my body." Thus did justice revenge the horrible deeds of September 15, 1857. Lee declared, on the day of his death, that he was resigned to his fate; that he had used his utmost endeavors to save the emigrants, and that he was "sacrificed to satisfy feelings, and used to gratify parties."

The exact motives which led to the massacre will probably never be known. In his confession Lee said that when he reported the massacre to Brigham Young, the latter said: "Brother Lee, not a drop of innocent blood has been shed; I have direct evidence from God that the act was a just one,—that it was in accord with God's will." As to Brigham Young's part in planning the murders Lee's confession was vague. He made no distinct charge which seriously implicated Young. But his statements of what occurred between him and Young after the massacre, if true, would seem to show that Young was at least an accomplice after the fact. All the statements implicating Young were denied by him at the time. In an article published in 1875, Ann Eliza Young, who was then seeking a divorce from Brigham Young, said: "The feeling has long been entertained by Gentiles and Apostles in Utah, and even among many of the Saints, that Brigham Young gave the order himself for the massacre. Not only was the jewelry taken from the emigrants worn by the leading Mormons, but Brigham Young used for many years to ride in a carriage taken from the emigrants."—*New York Tribune.*

"THERE is one good thing about babies," says a late traveller, "they never change. We have girls of the period, men of the world; but the baby is the same self-possessed, fearless, laughing, voracious little heathen in all ages and in all countries."

ROMANISM IN BOSTON.

The Evangelical Alliance held its first meeting after the vacation, in the Meionaon, yesterday morning. The Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D.D., read an essay upon the "Rise and Progress of Romanism in Boston." The essayist began by stating that he did not intend to eulogize or anathematize the Catholic Church, but to simply present a comprehensive, historical sketch of Romanism in Boston. He first spoke briefly of the early days, when the laws provided banishment or death as the penalty to be inflicted upon a Catholic priest who might venture among the Puritans of Boston, and then alluded to the time immediately after the Revolution, when the Catholic population of Boston consisted of about thirty Irishmen, with a few Frenchman and Spaniards. From the time of the Revolution, when the old, harsh laws were repealed, the Catholic Church began to make progress. The first church was built in 1803, though public services had been held for several years before that time. In 1825 there were in New England 15,000 Catholics, about one-half of whom were in Boston, 3 priests, and 8 churches, only one of which was worthy of the name. In 1877 the statistics of the church in New England were as follows: 1 archbishop, 6 bishops, 549 priests, 508 churches, 167 chapels and stations, 2 colleges, 168 ecclesiastical students, 32 academies and select schools, 86 parish schools, 15 asylums, 6 hospitals, and a population estimated at 900,000. There are in Boston 30 churches and chapels; 1 Portuguese, 1 Italian, 1 German, 3 under the direction of Jesuits, 89 priests (14 of whom are Jesuits), 4 convents, 9 asylums and hospitals containing 1275 children, and caring in the course of a year for 750 patients, 9 parochial schools, taught by 85 sisters and 12 brothers, and containing 4686 pupils. Since 1840 the Catholic churches in Boston had increased five-fold, and those of the four leading Evangelical denominations, Methodist, Congregationalist, Baptist, and Episcopal, a little more than two-fold. Then, besides, the Catholic churches were larger as a rule than the Protestant, and had each three or four audiences every Sunday. The speaker said that, according to the editor of the *Pilot*, the Catholics numbered half the population of Boston; but his own estimate was that they were not more than thirty-five *per cent.* He said that it was claimed in a recent article in the *Catholic World*, and Dr. Nathan Allen's calculations seemed to substantiate the claim, that the Catholics, with twenty-five *per cent.* of the population of New England, had seventy-five *per cent.* of the births. The essayist, in closing, said that though the Catholic Church in America was now in a better condition than ever to take care of those who belonged to her, she seemed to be out of joint with the progress of the time, and, therefore, could not expect to keep up in the race of the next hundred years. At the conclusion of the essay short encouraging speeches were made by Rev. H. M. Parsons, Rev. Mr. Carleton, Rev. Doremus Clark, Rev. Asa Bullard, and others. The meeting adjourned until November 12.—*Advertiser, Sept.* 11.

GAIL HAMILTON

ON "THE DISTORTED WAY OF MAKING CONVERTS TO CHRISTIANITY."

Much debate is characterized as useless on questionable grounds. What is a mere truism to the comprehension of the critic may be matter of doubt to the inferior intellect of the congressman, and even of his constituent. It is not enough for the "hard-money" man to know that a specie basis is best; he must get the "paper-money" man to believe it also. It is not enough for the granger to know that the cost of transportation is too high; he must put the railroad man under conviction of sin. Whatever is of broad and vital interest is not likely to be passed in the House without prolonged and even heated debate, no matter how closely it may have been discussed in committee.

Religious papers may well quarrel with Congress here. They "know a trick worth two" of these national debates. A minister preaches a sermon through, and lets no dog bark. We may think he has left out a fact or two in his argument on the atonement; that there is a flaw in his reasoning on original sin; a cloud in his definition of the doctrine of substitution: but the good minister has put us under such training that we dare not open our lips, and he has it all his own way. How long would a sermon last, if, every time the Congregational Evangelical preacher struck a snag, Brother Charles K. Whipple and Brother Voysey and Brother Bishop Potter and Brother Fulton and Brother Abbot and Brother Patton should rise and say, "Will the gentleman allow me to ask a single question?" "Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt him a moment?" "Will the gentleman grant me a few minutes of his time to correct a statement of fact?" "Will the gentleman kindly repeat his last assertion?"—if, in short, he were surrounded by eager antagonists, ready to claw and clutch at every lapse from logic, and every weak statement or forced inference? Let me not be arraigned for a mover of sedition; but I sometimes think when I hear, as I sometimes do hear, a good man plodding serenely onward in the pulpit, assuming his premises, begging his questions, confounding his terms, mistaking assertions for conclusions, and upsetting his dish generally, that it might not be wholly insalubrious to have a little "useless debate" introduced into the churches. When I read in the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, that "elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ, . . . others, not elected, . . . never truly come to Christ, and therefore cannot be saved," I think I should like to see that poor little non-elect infant run the gauntlet of the debate in the House of Representatives.—"*Sermons to the Clergy*," p. 284.

ZEAL OR IMPUDENCE?

A correspondent of the Boston *Christian Register* wrote some time since as follows:—

In your last issue one of your "Brevities" says: "We question the right of self-appointed and brazen-faced religionists to thrust their meddlesome operations into homes where they are unwelcome." Let me give you one of several instances within my own parish limits, the past month.

A mother and daughter, living alone, are visited by a woman, who says she has heard there is sickness there, and asks to read with the invalid. Rising to go she asks leave to bring a friend, and, after hesitancy, confesses that the friend is a man, and her object is to have him pray and talk with the sick one. Leave is granted, as such leave is granted by quiet and lone people to the pushing and prying religionist.

The man enters, and going up to the bed, abruptly exclaims: "You are a very sick woman." The patient replies: "I know that I have been very sick, but am better now, and trust to be well again." "Are you afraid to die?" "I do not know that I am. I would like to live, but I do not fear death." "Are you a Christian?" "That is a difficult question to answer, but I hope that I am." "Where do you go to church?" "I do not go anywhere now, because I am unable to." "What do you call yourself?" "I was brought up Orthodox, but my husband was a zealous Unitarian. I always went to church with him, and I call myself a Unitarian." "Hell and damnation! I see nothing before you but that. If you should die to-night you are lost;" and he made his exit.

On being told of this incident the next day, the physician said that in nine cases in ten, such a conversation with a woman in such a condition would have thrown her into convulsions. When appealed to to know what they could do to be clear of such intrusions, as they had no man in the house, I could only advise prompt refusal to let any such people cross the threshold.

I do not know that these and others are Mr. Moody's visitors. I do know that in one instance great indignation was expressed because a woman refused the offer made to have Mr. Sankey come and pray with her. If homes and sick-beds are to suffer from this kind of invasion, it would seem as if the outrage committed under the name of the Gospel needed to be met by the administration of the law.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE FRIEND'S PHILOSOPHY.

We know our God existeth,
And to the spirit listeth;
We know by his revealings
Unto our conscious feelings.

A law indeed enduring,
A blessedness securing,
This oft our being filleth
And to the spirit willeth.

Concerning faith and duty
And good and truth and beauty,
A model thus we cherish,
For we know it ne'er can perish.

And though Nature's royal forces
Are constant in their courses,
Yet through the soul's clear vision
We view the heart's Elysian.

For in God's vast creation
We find no dread negation;
But the Infinite is near us
With an inward voice to cheer us!

This is powerful in attraction—
It is manifold in action,
And is graciousness to all
Who heed its righteous call!

And as river or an ocean
'Tis perpetual in its motion,
With its energies increasing,
And a love that is unceasing!

Yes, 'tis reason, speech, and feeling,
E'en to each man appealing,
With forces *all internal*,
And a love that is supernal!

What wonder then we love it?
What wonder that we covet?
That blessed spring duernal,
That Holy power ETERNAL!

DAVID NEWPORT.

ABINGTON, ninth month 1st, 1877.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 15.

T. B. Skinner, 20 cents; E. C. Walker, $4.78; Gilbert Billings, $1; G. M. Blair, 60 cents; W. F. Abbot, $2; Cash, $2; T. B. Wakeman, $3.50; T. C. Evans, $4; P. V. Wise, $3.20; H. C. Witmer, $3.20; Dr. E. Moyer, 50 cents; Frank Hermance, $3.20; W. S. Bradley, 25 cents.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 20, 1877.

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The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, *Editorial Contributors.*

AT POUGHKEEPSIE, New York, about three years ago, the Catholic priest, Father McSweeny, leased the building of the parochial school of St. Mary's Church to the Board of Education. The Board pay rent and all the expenses of repair, books, teachers, etc., while the priest has the nomination of all the teachers, seven of whom are Sisters of Charity. By this arrangement the city is made to pay all the cost of educating the children in the Catholic catechism and faith! Are the people to be henceforth taxed in this country to train the rising generation to give their supreme allegiance as citizens, not to the State, but to the Pope?

THE "SOCIETY OF HUMANITY," 141 Eighth Street, New York city, have published *An Epitome of the Positive Philosophy and Religion*, explanatory of the objects of that society, together with its Constitution and Regulations. It is a well-printed tract of fifty-nine pages, which will be mailed to any address on receipt of twenty-five cents. A letter by Harriet Martineau on her religious convictions is also included in it. The tract is full of material for reflection, and exhibits a scheme for human advancement which is in many respects admirably planned. There is much in it to command sympathy from persons of thought and aspiration, and nothing to offend good taste. Though there seems to be, according to our own views, an excess of sentimental conservatism in the attempt to retain certain outgrown words of the older cults, the new meanings are often tender and full of beauty. It is undoubtedly a mistake to suppose that even so great a mind as that of Comte can mould the "religion of humanity" after his own often whimsical thought, and the chief danger of his influence lies in its tendency to create another new sect. If this "Society of Humanity," can escape all conceit of this nature, it may render true and lasting service to the world.

WITH GREAT pleasure we are permitted to announce that Mr. B. F. Underwood, so well known to the independent thinkers of the United States, will be in future an editorial contributor to THE INDEX. Mr. Underwood was born in New York City, July 6, 1839, and became a radical at a very early age. During the war, he was among the first to offer his services to the government; and he served faithfully till the close of that great contest, bravely encountering wounds, sickness, and confinement in the terrible prison-pens of the rebels. He was promoted to be Adjutant of his regiment on account of his fidelity, and held this position when mustered out of service in July, 1865. Since that time he has been prominent as an earnest friend and promulgator of liberal principles. In 1868 he entered the liberal lecture-field, and has here achieved a most remarkable success. No other lecturer or public debater on behalf of "scientific materialism" attracts such large audiences or commands such thorough respect from friends and foes alike. Clear and strong in reasoning, bold in statement, yet always calm and gentlemanly in manner, he has won a great influence by his character and abilities among the multitudes who have taken their stand wholly outside of the dominant religion of the day. Several of his debates with Orthodox clergymen have been published in book form; for instance, those with President Burgess, of the Northwestern Christian University, Rev. Clark Braden, etc. An article from his pen in this issue well illustrates a quality of his character with which we have great sympathy—uncompromising plainness of speech unalloyed by the least tinge of bitterness towards individuals.

"EDUCATION AND FAMILY RIGHTS."

The Catholic, denouncing all schools, public or private, in which children are not taught the Catholic faith by Catholic instructors, always plants himself ostensibly on "parental prerogative," "family rights," or (more explicitly) on the rights of the *father*; for the father is, on the Catholic theory, the supreme ruler of the family. But, by the same theory, the father himself is subject to the priest, the priest to the bishop, the bishop to the Pope; and the upshot of this theory is that the Pope, by the "grace of God," has an absolute and Divine right to control the education of all children born on the planet—a right reverently and obediently acknowledged by all good Catholics, but wickedly denied and disregarded by all non-Catholics. Moreover, wherever and whenever the Roman Church has the power, the Pope not only claims, but exercises, this universal prerogative by arrogating supreme control of the educational system of the country, putting it exclusively into the hands of his ecclesiastical subordinates, and suppressing all schools not thus governed. That is the logic of "infallibility"; and it is a logic everywhere sternly and despotically enforced up to the full limit of the political power held by the Church. If the Church ever gains the ascendancy here, that will be the logic to which the people of the United States must submit with such grace as they can. It is well for them to comprehend fully the nature of the issue between the Catholic Church and the public school system.

But Catholic writers are seldom candid enough to proclaim this theory with all its hideously tyrannical consequences. Adroitly adapting themselves as far as possible to the prevailing phraseology of the time, they tickle the public ear in this country with catchwords, to which they attach one meaning, but to which (as they well know) non-Catholics attach a meaning widely different. Here is this phrase, "parental rights," or "family rights." It sounds beautifully. Nobody questions it; everybody admits that there are such rights as these. Yet the Catholic means by it, in the last analysis, merely the right of the Pope to command and of the father to obey,—merely the right of the father to surrender his conscience and reason absolutely into another's keeping; while the ordinary citizen means by it the right of the parents (mother as well as father) to follow their own independent conscience and reason. The Catholic really means only the right to be a slave—to put another's will in the place of one's own; the non-Catholic means the right to be free. By not carrying the argument beyond this convenient but delusive stopping-place of "family rights," Catholic writers sometimes entrap liberal thinkers into a sympathy with their sophistical reasonings by which they hope their church will profit, yet at which they themselves must secretly laugh.

We do not propose now to go over again the ground covered in our discussion with Bishop McQuaid, published by the Free Religious Association in its tract on "The Public School Question." That this question involves, not merely "parental rights," but also the personal rights of the child and the collective rights of society,—and that the exaggerated, exclusive emphasis put by the Catholics on "parental rights" is nothing but the protrusion into modern times of the obsolete and despotic "Patria Potestas" of ancient Roman law,—is in that tract, we believe, made sufficiently plain. But we were not so sanguine as to hope that justice to our argument would be done by any Catholic writer; it is much easier to reiterate the exploded fallacies, since Catholic audiences are guiltless of reading both sides of the question. But it is not useless to keep prominently before the reading and thinking public the essential elements of a problem which threatens grave practical evil to our institutions, and whose gravity is only due to the impenetrable opacity of mind which characterizes the bulk of our Catholic population. Hence it seems worth while to reproduce the following passage from an article published by the Brooklyn *Catholic Review* (one of the ablest representatives of the Catholic press), under the caption which we have quoted at the beginning of this article, in order to show afresh that the doctrine of "parental prerogative," or "family rights," is the central strategic position of the Catholic attack on the public schools:—

"Purely secular education, at least, is but a pale moral moonlight, having in it none of the heat that is given by the bright sun of true religion. It is religion directing knowledge, and not mere book-learning of itself that has civilized the world. We are firm believers like our Westphalian brethren, and all true Catholics the world over, that children should be trained up in the way they should go, so that when they are old he [*sic*] will not depart from it. Worldlings, on the contrary, affect to think that the whole duty of the parent or the State is accomplished when children are instructed in that knowledge which will make them good subjects of the State. Those who propound this theory build their arguments on an essentially false foundation, the assumption of a principle which is subversive of society itself; namely, that the child belongs to the State first and then to the family, or rather not to the family at all. If this were laid down as an unalterable principle, the whole social edifice would soon crumble into primitive barbarism; nay, perhaps, into the savage state. We hold, on the contrary, that the State has no right to pass upon the violability or inviolability of the family tie. We think our adversaries, Darwinians included, will be forced to concede that the family existed before such a thing as the State was ever dreamed of; that stateship was only a mutual compact of alliance between families desirous of protecting themselves and one another from the encroachments of turbulent and rapacious neighbors. And even supposing that the turbulent and rapacious were the first to band together for aggressive purposes, our argument will not be one whit the weaker. Looking at the matter in this light, how can any one, and especially a father of a family, encroach upon rights which it is his duty to respect and cause to be respected by others? The parents and not the government have the first rights over the child for whose existence they are responsible, at least as long as they are able and willing to give it the proper care; this condition failing, the State has even then no right to influence the growth of its mind as long as others are found willing to undertake and faithfully perform the same duties. But the worldliness of man, his innate propensity to evil and consequent opposition to the Catholic Church, of which Christ himself has told us, has ever inspired the powers of this world to try every means to destroy that Church which neither sanctions their usurpation, tyranny, and immorality, nor allows them to pass without pronouncing upon them the severest judgment that lies within the power of man to give. Else why should these powers be so opposed to the teaching of the Catholic Church, a teaching and a Church that have civilized the world and kept it from relapsing into barbarism? But this modern tyranny will fail to crush the Church as all the others have failed, and also will save society at another critical moment. Education is now the fresh point of debate, and it is in the school that the battle is being fought of which it is not difficult to foresee the issue."

To those who are interested in reading an extended analysis and refutation of the central sophism in this kind of reasoning, we can only refer to the tract above mentioned. A few points, however, are worth noticing here.

1. The *Review* imagines that those who defend the secular principle in public school education teach that "the child belongs to the State first and then to the family, or rather not to the family at all." This is an instance of gross misinformation or of reckless misrepresentation. They teach, on the contrary, that the child belongs first of all *to himself*; that neither the State nor the parents have any right of proprietorship in him; that all the right which the parents and the State have over his education is that of *joint-guardians* during the period of his immaturity, and that they are together responsible for his preparation for the duties of his future life as a member of society.

2. "We think our adversaries, Darwinians included," says the *Review*, "will be forced to concede that the family existed before such a thing as the State was ever dreamed of." In the same manner Bishop McQuaid (whom the *Review* has been diligently studying) declares that "parental rights precede State rights." Yes, we admit that; but *individual rights precede both*. In the state of absolute brutishness, before family relations could possibly exist, the individual existed, and had his rights,—whether recognized or unrecognized it matters not. First the individual, then the family, at last the State: that was the order of evolution. Now the Catholic Church swallows up all other rights in her own pretended right of absolute Divine rule; her ostensible recognition of "family rights" is only a delusion and a sham, as we have above shown. But the secular republican State recognizes first of all, as its own foundation, the *natural rights of the individual, whether as an individual, a member of a family, or a citizen*; it exists solely to protect these natural rights of individuals from invasion by other individuals or other communities. Hence it protects every parent in his or her real parental rights, but equally restrains all parental encroachment on the rights of the child. The impregnable citadel of the secular theory of education is that it recognizes the rights of children as individuals, and does not, like the Catholic theory, make children a mere appendage and possession of the parent. Hence the State punishes a parent who physically starves his child; and it ought to punish one who starves him mentally. Inasmuch as the State has even more at stake in the child's future than the parent has, since the period of his citizenship is much longer than that of his nonage, it has a just jurisdiction over the parent to

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the extent of forbidding him to rear the child in such a manner as to impose on society at last a pauper or a criminal, instead of sending forth a decently educated citizen. It is the child's individual right to be protected to this extent from the ignorance or cruel selfishness of his own parents; and it is the duty of the State to claim and to exercise so much jurisdiction over the parent as is necessary to defend the child's own personal rights. Let the *Review* overthrow these positions, if it can.

The Catholic Church hates and dreads this doctrine of natural individual rights, anterior and superior in sanctity to its own supernatural claims; and because she has not logic enough to disprove them, she either cunningly ignores them altogether or misrepresents them to suit her own purposes. Before marriage (and thereby family ties and rights) can exist, the individuals who contract it must pre-exist; "family rights" are only a complex combination of individual rights. Let the *Review*, and all other Catholic journals or spokesmen, take notice that the secular theory of education does not, as they allege, begin with "the State," but *with the individual*,—that it teaches that individual rights precede both family and State rights,—and that "the State" is nothing but an aggregation of individuals for the effectual protection of their own rights *as individuals*. To represent this theory as anything else, after the repeated expositions of it, is neither candid, respectable, nor in the long run useful. We commend to the *Review* the policy of fairer statement and better reasoning.

"A RELIGION WHICH BY ITS VERY NATURE IS INTOLERANT."

Some time ago Rev. Dr. Thompson, who is much praised as a Christian scholar, said in a lecture, reported in the New York *Tribune*:—

"This god [Serapis] was set up in the temple as the god of Alexandria; the one protecting deity, invented for a class of men who had agreed to disagree, and live as good neighbors together, each agreeing to allow the other to think as he pleased. . . . But now in the fourth century of the great city's existence, when the population numbered about two million, in this enormous wealthy city, there appears one day an unknown man, preaching an unheard-of story that God has come to earth; and he established a religion which, by its very nature, is intolerant; which declares war against all difference; which has a clear-cut, definite faith and creed, and says, 'There is one God and one Lord Jesus Christ; and there is no other name given among men whereby they can be saved'; and this man plants that faith there, and gathers a Christian Church, distinct from Jews and idolaters, which grows and spreads till it has a clergy and bishops, and comes to be a power in Alexandria."

So I have thought, and this is the view of the subject entertained generally by freethinkers. But when *we* say this, we are charged with *misrepresenting* Christianity through failure to distinguish between the system itself and a perversion of it. We are usually reminded of some saying of Jesus such as "Love your enemies," or "Overcome evil with good."

But Dr. Thompson is undoubtedly right. The influence of a positive theological dogma, firmly believed and zealously taught, never has been and never can be neutralized or counteracted by the inculcation of a few general precepts of morality, however much the precepts are opposed in spirit to the dogma. Christianity makes persecution inevitable in proportion as it is believed and there is power to persecute. It makes unbelief and heresy a crime, and unbelievers and heretics criminals. It makes it the religious duty of Christians to legislate for the extirpation of heresy and the punishment of heretics. Is not God angry with the heretic, the unbeliever? Are not his views an offence to God? Is it not natural that the sincere Christian should try to please his Maker by removing whatever is displeasing in his sight?

But the most powerful consideration is the belief that the unfortunate victims of heresy will suffer unending torment; that "he that believes and is baptized shall be saved—he that believeth not shall be damned"; that, as Dr. Thompson reminds us, "there is no other name given among men whereby they can be saved." In view of such an awful thought, can the sincere Christian permit the spread of heresy, if he can prevent it? Having the power to prevent the damnation of souls, will not benevolence prompt him to use it, and will he not punish open offenders to deter others from leaving the true faith? In an age of intense faith, will not the most earnest and devoted Christians be the most active and zealous persecutors? Reasoning *à priori*, we cannot avoid this conclusion, the correctness of which is too sadly confirmed by red records of history. The founders of the Inquisition, as Llorente has shown, were men who acted from philanthropic motives. They destroyed their fellow-beings by thousands, often torturing them most horribly, to please God and to lessen the number of the lost and damned. The same is true of the Puritans. They whipped women and hanged Quakers for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. What were a few hours of suffering here, if by it multitudes could be saved from eternal torture beyond the grave? The worst religious persecutors, as Buckle has mentioned, have been, like Theodosius and the English Mary, most sincere and conscientious persons. Their cruelty was the result of their faith, the result of a false and bad principle. In proportion as men believe that correct theological beliefs involve merit and are essential to salvation, and that theological errors involve guilt and will be punished with torments in hell, they will persecute to the extent of their power. And such has been the case. "But few persons," says Lecky, "can follow the history of Christian persecution without a feeling of extreme astonishment that some modern writers, not content with maintaining that the doctrine of exclusive salvation ought not to have produced persecution, have ventured, in defiance of the unanimous testimony of the theologians of so many centuries, to dispute the plain historical fact that it *did* produce it."

No amount of special pleading can disprove Dr. Thompson's statement that Christianity is "*a religion which by its very nature is intolerant.*" When we consider the history of Christian persecution, the ill-will and bad feeling that have sprung from this faith, its suppression of honest doubt, without which there can be no progress; when we trace it back through centuries and think of the hundreds of thousands that have been scourged, confined in dungeons, tortured by the rack, the thumb-screw, and hundreds of other infernal instruments of religious cruelty; that have had their bones broken, their flesh torn, and their joints one by one dislocated; that have expired amidst flames, reproached and mocked while dying; that have been led out in garments covered with hideous representations of devils, and burned to amuse royal guests; when we remember the countless thousands that have been massacred for their faith; the millions that have perished in religious wars which subjected whole nations to their awful curse; giving them over to pillage, torture, and destruction; that "converted Syria into an Aceldama, and inundated with blood the fairest fields of Europe"; when, coming down to this age and to our own land, we consider the immense numbers that are ostracized from society, injured in their business, subjected to numerous hardships on account of their views, made untrue to themselves, forced into concealment of their opinions and hypocritical conformity to the popular faith, with that other class of victims of which Channing speaks; those "who, spellbound by early prejudice, or by intimidation from the pulpit and the press, dare not think, who anxiously stifle every doubt or misgiving in regard to their opinions, as if to doubt were a crime; who shrink from the seeker after truth as from an infection, who deny all virtue that does not wear the livery of their own sect; who, surrendering to others their best powers, receive unhesitatingly any teaching which wars against reason and commonsense, and who think it a duty to impose upon such as live within their influence the grievous bondage which they bear themselves,"—surely we find sufficient illustration of the truth of the statement that Christianity is "*a religion which by its very nature is intolerant.*" It has been the cause of more unprovoked strife and war and more unmerited suffering than any other religion of which history gives an account. The multitude of its victims can never be numbered.

Christian intolerance to-day, as in the past, is greatest where its adherents are least divided into conflicting sects; where faith is the strongest, and where scepticism and freethought have exerted the least influence.

B. F. U.

MR. MORSE ON "INTEREST."

Mr. Morse sends us the following letter, which we are very glad to print:—

DEAR ABBOT:—

It seems to me you turn aside from the point the opponents of interest make. They would say, "If A lends B a thousand dollars, he has a right to charge B for all sacrifice and for risk. But that is a different thing from charging for the *use* of the money. B might use the money, and, A's sacrifice being nothing, not wishing himself to use it, and his risk nothing, no price whatever could be set. It might even occur that B's taking the money was a great favor to A. If taking care of it was in any way a burden to B, there would be a ground for charging A instead of A's charging him." This, I fear, is a poor statement, but it gives what I consider the strong point; one which you in your various responses to correspondents seem never to heed. Parting with power lays no basis for a charge, unless you do so at a sacrifice. This, in your last response to Mr. Ferrette, you realize. You put the right to a price on the ground of sacrifice. Each lender must determine the extent of his sacrifice, and charge accordingly; if it be a hundred *per cent.* it is perfectly equitable for him to do so. The point is, he charges the cost to him of *parting* with his money, not for his neighbor's *using* it. That he confers a *benefit* on his neighbor, is no concern of his, so far as charging a price for the money goes. He is concerned simply with the *damage* done to himself.

Now this does not "concede the whole point at issue" in favor of interest. Interest is "premium paid for the *use* of money." The opponents of interest deny that the *use* of money of itself justifies any such premium. They therefore deny interest, and put the right to compensation for loaning money on other ground.

I might say more, but I will respect the virtue of brevity. Yours truly, S. H. MORSE.

1. So far as practical importance is concerned, the only question about interest that has seemed to us really worth discussing is this: when a man borrows $100, and repays it a year later, shall he in equity pay only $100, or $106? If equity requires him to repay $6 more than he borrowed, it is *practically* of no consequence on what ground the interest thus paid is demanded. We have imagined that the position taken by the opponents of interest was that the borrower ought in equity to repay only the original sum borrowed, and that any additional sum required, no matter for what reason, was unjustly extorted. To concede that any additional sum, however small and for whatever reason, is *justly due the lender*, seemed (and still seems) to concede the only real point at issue.

2. But it now appears that, at least in the opinion of Mr. Morse, it is the *reason* for which interest is asked, and not the asking of it, that constitutes the justice or injustice of the transaction. The lender may justly exact 100 *per cent.* for one reason, while it is rank injustice to exact 1 *per cent.* for another! We confess that this is rather an astonishing view of the matter, and takes us a little by surprise. Instead of having a fixed rate of interest, based on the ascertained value of the use of the money and approved as just by the experience and consent of the community, we now have only the lender's capricious estimate of the "sacrifice" he makes by lending, as the rule of justice. Nobody is entitled to revise his estimate or call it in question; he alone makes the sacrifice, and he alone can estimate the amount of it. Would the substitution in business of such an arbitrary standard for the standard of a fixed rate, generally approved, really conduce to equity in business transactions? We suspect not. We suspect that lenders would practically measure their own "sacrifice" by the amount they could extort from the necessities of the borrowers; and that the proposed reform would practically end in such usurious oppression as would make mankind gladly return to the fixed rate, as now.

3. Looking at the question theoretically, however, ought interest to be charged on account of the lender's "sacrifice" or the borrower's "use" of the money? These two elements appear to us to be only different sides of the same fact. Of course there are cases when people wish to lend money to have it well taken care of, and to lend it to such parties as are qualified by integrity and sagacity to take good care of it. In such cases, it is even now customary to *pay* money for such care to agents or trustees, and not to receive interest on the loan. But, throwing out exceptional cases, whenever the borrower wants money, the lender wants it too; they both want it for the use they can make of it; what the lender "sacrifices" is this use, and what the borrower receives is nothing else. Do not the lender's "sacrifice" and the borrower's "use" always go together, and are they not in fact only the same thing looked at differently from their respective points of view? What is it that the lender "sacrifices," if not the "use" of the money he lends? And what is it that the borrower receives, if not the "use" of the money "sacrificed" by the lender? The loan is simply a "sacrifice" *of* the "use" by the lender, and a "gain" of the "use" by the borrower; and the interest paid by the latter still seems to us to be only a just compensation for this "use." The cost of the lender's "parting" with

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the money and the benefit of his neighbor's "using" it seem to us to be both justly measured by the current rate of interest; and the two ways of viewing the transaction come to one and the same thing.

If this is not true, why not? We do not see how we "turn aside" from the point; but if we do, we shall not evade considering it when it is made plain. Why is it not true that the "premium for the use of money" borrowed by B is, looked at from the other side, merely the *premium for the sacrifice of that use* made by A? We wait to be enlightened.

Communications.

NATIONAL PATRIOTISM.

EDITOR INDEX:—

A true, enlightened national patriotism is one of the chief factors of civilization. Anything that invigorates, harmonizes, purifies, and exalts that sentiment is a blessing; anything that divides, distracts, degrades, and weakens it, is an enemy to human progress.

The first stir of national life in the American colonies developed two theories of government and two qualities or kinds of patriotism. These two theories have come down to our day under the names, "State sovereignty" and "National sovereignty." The first theory prevailed at our first attempt to set up a national government, and a *Confederacy* was formed. This Confederacy was so inefficient and poorly adapted to national purposes, that, after a fair trial, it was abandoned. The wise men met in council and devised our present Constitution. This new instrument of national government combined the two theories as far as possible, and retained the actual sovereignty in the general government. It was considered a signal victory for the national theory, and was vehemently opposed. Had it not been for the energy and ability of the clergy of New England, it might never have been adopted.

Unfortunately, the first named theory found a congenial abiding place mainly in the southern half of the Republic, while the second took root mainly in the northern half. One became the shield and bulwark of chattel slavery and collateral barbarisms; the other dwelt in the hearts of all lovers of equal rights.

The natural and inevitable consequence of this dual growth was a terrible civil war. The national patriots conquered in the fight, preserving us *legally* a nation. In point of fact, however, we remained as inharmonious and disunited as before. The serpent was "scotched" but not killed; and the fight was transferred to the arena of politics and discussion. The final result is yet to be determined.

From this slight outline of our past history the inference is plainly drawn that true patriotism, for many years, has had to encounter one deadly enemy in the extreme doctrine of "State rights" and its "peculiar" patriotism. But another powerful opponent has arisen. The most conspicuous foe of national patriotism in modern nations is the Roman Church. Its natural tendency is to distract and weaken that sentiment, thus more surely binding the masses to her *infallible* sovereignty. Slowly, silently, but surely, the Roman Church has acquired great power in our Republic. She is the close ally, the fast friend of "home rule," and all other forces and influences that render by their opposition the growth of national patriotism so slow, difficult, and uncertain.

To these two mighty enemies of national harmony and patriotism, the priestcraft of Protestantism, which seeks to mould our Constitution to ecclesiastical ends, must be added. In view of these three foes of true liberty, and the minor influences that corrupt a noble patriotism, may not we be justified in growing concerned over the future of our Union?

That noble man and shrewd observer, Theodore Parker, once expressed his belief that our nation would be divided into four Republics. But we will trust that our fate be grander than that. If Bunker Hill meant anything of importance, it meant that we were to be a united, harmonious, freedom-loving *nation*, not a jangling Confederacy; it meant, not only that we must attain to equal rights and *efficient protection to the national citizen*, but that we should aim to be a shining example to the world of a democratic liberty that means order, security, and peace. In order to reach this desirable conclusion it is essential that patriotism be redeemed from its localized, narrow, and corrupted condition. Our safety lies in seeing the necessity of this, and applying the appropriate educational remedies.

The learned historian of rationalism, Mr. Lecky, says: "Religion and patriotism are the chief moral influences to which man has been subject; and the separate modifications and mutual interaction of these two agents may almost be said to constitute the moral history of mankind." Again he says: "The creation of a strong and purely secular political feeling, diffused through all classes of society, and producing an ardent patriotism and a passionate and indomitable love of liberty, is sufficient in many respects to modify all the great departments of thought, and to contribute largely to the formation of a distinct type of intellectual character."

THE INDEX is destined to do as good a work for patriotism as for religion,—a much needed work for both. Despite all evil appearances, let us continue to hope that "home rule" patriotism will gradually be transformed into a superior *national* patriotism; that priestcraft, Roman and Protestant, will be foiled in its hopes of dominion over our fair land; that war, intemperance, avarice, and sensuality will be successfully resisted; and that we shall emerge from the coming ordeal purified as by fire—a truly united, harmonious, peaceful nation,—a nation exalted to the highest standard of the noblest patriotism.

IOWA.

CASTANA, Sept. 3.

[To this most penetrating and far-seeing article we heartily subscribe. The views it expresses as to the necessity of "efficient protection for the national citizen," and especially for his *equal religious rights*, command our unqualified assent. That is the central principle of the National Liberal League, as patriotic as it is religiously just to the individual. Come what may, that great principle is destined to revolutionize American politics. Who are ready to step forward bravely, and pledge themselves to its service? Have we no heroes among us?—ED.]

TRUTHS FOR THE WORKING-MEN.

"KNOWLEDGE IS POWER."

Mind governs matter. The superiority of the Anglo-Saxon over the Hindostanee, of the Caucasian over the Abyssinian, of the highly-cultured European over the semi-bestial Australasian, is only to be explained by the relative weight of their brains. A race of giants destitute of mental ability would be utterly exterminated by a tribe of pygmies capable of inventing gunpowder and breech loaders. Therefore, in any contest between opposing forces, it is the habit of mankind to gauge as accurately as possible, the comparative intellectual calibres of the contestants, and to award the victory by anticipation, to whichever side indicates the possession of the larger amount of brain-power. Particularly is this the case in all civil, social, and political convulsions. So far as a single skirmish is concerned, Sitting Bull may have the advantage of the United States troops; but we all recognize that ultimate victory will remain with the whites as against the native American Indians. Nor is this merely because the latter are so largely outnumbered, but by reason of our confidence in the capacity of the white race to out-wit, outlast, and out manœuvre the Sioux, or any other tribe of semi-civilized mankind. The English soldiers in New Zealand were not as brave as the Maories; but the latter are now hardly more than a memory of the past. King Theodorus of Abyssinia was fighting against fate, although his devoted warriors outnumbered their assailants ten to one. Lopez of Paraguay succumbed, and the Emperor of Brazil survived, by virtue of that same law of "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest" that causes the rattlesnake to perish in ninety-nine out of every hundred instances where it comes in contact with mankind. So is it with thieves and burglars and murderers, those vermin of civilization; here and there an occasional instance of undetected knavery is reported, but the police records will show some years later, at the longest, that society is avenged. Nothing endures except the principle of justice in our human communities; that cannot be done away with except at the cost of abolishing civilization.

Herbert Spencer, than whom the working-men have no warmer friend, and John Stuart Mill, who devoted the best efforts of his life to the amelioration of their condition, have both pointed out in luminous language the fatal error of the laboring classes in supposing because they form a majority of the population in Europe and the United States of North America, that they can *therefore* dictate terms to the wealthier classes, who are in such a small minority. All their efforts to dominate either the industrial, financial, or political movements of society, are destined to be failures so long as they lack that essential *education*, without which none of these questions can be correctly apprehended. Spencer says (*Study of Sociology*, chapter x., page 261): "Members of the regulated classes, kept in relations more or less antagonistic with the classes regulating them, are thereby hindered from seeing the need for, and the benefits of, this organization which seems the cause of their grievances; and they are also hindered from seeing that *the improved industrial organizations of the future can come only through improvements in their own nature.*" And again: "Feeling keenly what they have to bear, and tracing sundry real grievances to men who buy their labor and men who are most influential in making the laws, artisans and rustics conclude that, considered individually and in combination, those above them are personally bad, selfish, or tyrannical, in special degrees. It never occurs to them that the evils they complain of result from the average human nature of our age. And yet were it not for the class-bias, they would see in their dealings with one another plenty of proofs that *the injustices they suffer are certainly not greater, and possibly less, than they would be, were the higher social functions discharged by individuals taken from among themselves.* The simple fact, notorious enough, that working-men who save money and become masters are not more considerate than usual towards those they employ, but often the contrary, might alone convince them of this. On all sides there is ample evidence having kindred meaning. Not to dwell on the occasional killing of men among them who assert their rights to sell their labor as they please, or on the frequent acts of violence and intimidation committed by those on strike against those who undertake the work they have refused, it suffices to cite the despotism exercised by trades-union officers. *The daily acts of these make it manifest that the ruling powers set up by working-men inflict on them grievances as great as, if not greater than, those inflicted by the ruling powers, political and social, which they decry.*" And John Stuart Mill remarks in the fifth book of his *Principles of Political Economy* (chapter x., §6): "If it were possible for the working classes, by combining among themselves, to raise or help up the general rate of wages, it needs hardly be said that this would be a thing not to be punished, but to be welcomed and rejoiced at. *Unfortunately, the effect is quite beyond attainment by such means. The multitudes who compose the working-class are too numerous and too widely scattered to combine at all, much more to combine effectually.* If they could do so, they might doubtless succeed in diminishing the hours of labor, and obtaining the same wages for less work; *but if they aimed at obtaining actually higher wages than the rate fixed by demand and supply, the rate which distributes the whole circulating capital of the country among the entire working population, this could only be accomplished by keeping a part of their number permanently out of employment. As support from public charity would of course be refused to those who could get work and would not accept it, they would be thrown for support upon the trades-union of which they were members, and the work-people collectively would be no better off than before, having to support the same numbers out of the same aggregate wages.*"

There is but one tiresome and difficult way for the laboring classes to elevate their condition, and that is, by working *more* instead of less; by strenuous study out of working hours, and by economizing their scanty means so as to enable them to provide for the better education of their children. The history of the great engineer Stephenson, of Benjamin Franklin, of Stephen Girard, George Peabody, Peter Cooper, the Harper Brothers, and many, if not most, of the great money kings of Europe and America, fully illustrates the possibilities open to workingmen. Industry, economy, and—more than all the rest—*patient perseverance*, united to good health and habits of sobriety, are sufficient to assure success in any legitimate business; but *political power* requires education in addition, in order to dominate other men. The reign of mere brute force was terminated a century ago, and *it is no more possible for a brutal majority of working-men to coerce an intelligent minority of capitalists, than it would be for a tyrant to do the same thing.* The utmost the communists can accomplish is to unsettle, for a brief period, the normal condition of social affairs at the expense of the laboring classes! "Mind governs matter," and superior minds rule their inferiors, as naturally as the farmer's boy causes the yoke of dull-witted oxen to obey his wishes. Not till eagles shall surrender to house-flies, because the latter are the more numerous, will the working-classes reign supreme.

A. W. KELSEY.

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 7, 1877.

"NOTHING TO DO WITH IT"?

TIPPECANOE CITY, O., Sept. 4, 1877.

MR. ABBOT:—

In THE INDEX of Aug. 30, under the head of "Labor Notes," I find the following: "The writer in showing the good of our civilization requires the high peaks of our mountains [the rich] to be torn down, and the valleys [the poor] to be raised up." To this I have no objection. Then the writer (as temporary editor) adds: "We repeat again, it cannot be done by the system of business interests that prevails. Thrift, temperance, economy, more or less tobacco, have nothing to do with it. There is as much of these in one class of people as another. The improvidence of the poor is all in your eye, Mr. Economist. We say it respectfully. There is as much improvidence in the nature of the rich or prosperous world as in the denizens of that lower world."

Now I am not about to deny that there is improvidence in the "rich and prosperous"; but that "thrift, temperance, economy, more or less tobacco," have nothing to do in keeping the poor poor, I utterly deny, and appeal to every man's experience for proof. I add further: such things not only tend to keep the poor poor, but they tend to make, if practised by the rich, them poor also; and, if not, supply the means to make the rich richer, to build still higher the highest peaks. Take the want of "thrift, temperance, economy, and the use of tobacco" from the poor, or let them voluntarily abandon such habits, and it will do more towards bringing mankind on a level as to riches than any other means that could be devised.

I speak from my own experience and that of thousands of others I have known: if a man can get a dollar and twenty-five cents per day, there is nothing between him and his full share of this world's goods (for his full share is only four or five hundred dollars) but the "want of thrift, temperance, and economy." Of course I mean such as have reasonable health and no particular accidents. I hold that any man who at thirty, has not his share of this world's property, has by no means done his duty; and if any one is to blame for the unequal distribution of property (and I think there is something wrong somewhere), he, as a general thing, is most to blame. If a man will not save something of his daily pay, but chooses to spend it, perhaps, he has the right to do so; but he should not complain of his neighbor who saves what he spends. The world would be in a desperate condition, if no one saved the products of labor. It is continually rung in our ears that the "products of labor belong to the laborer." I say so too. But has the laborer no right to spend what he earns? If he chooses to spend it, to whom then does it belong? Is the old adage at fault, "A boy can't eat his cake and have it"? I know there are many ways employed by the rich to get means which are unjust. Such ways our laws do not sanction, and should not. I know also there are many ways of avoiding the law resorted to; I justify none of them. But what now,—shall we have mob law? Would that give us justice? Of late, we have had some experience given of the justice of mob law. The subject grows.

E. L. CRANE.

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THE GREAT STRIKE.

ROCK FALLS, Ill., Sept. 4, 1877.

DEAR INDEX:—

The few back numbers of THE INDEX, particularly the last one, have given me great gratification. I am rejoiced that we have had that great strike. I honor and respect those who inaugurated it, for their attempt to get from under their grievous yoke. They may have done wrong in some cases; but this feeble resistance to the moneyed power was as natural as the first drops that precede a copious shower that comes to refresh the parched earth after a long drouth. The drops have fallen; we shall not be disappointed in expecting the shower that will surely come. For the last thirty or forty years, I have predicted that this slavery of the working-classes would go down in blood; but I did not expect to see so auspicious a beginning,—auspicious only that it was so wide-spread, and the actors manifested such deep and solemn earnestness, that it has drawn the attention of the whole world to it, and enlisted the sympathy of thousands of the best men and women of the land in their favor. It is now discussed in all our papers for or against the toilers. This agitation will greatly help to purify the moral atmosphere, and give to all a clearer perception of the great wrongs under which the poor are laboring. This is the first step in every reform by arguments and information to present the subject in such a light, that all can see the evil to be reformed. I hope this discussion, let it take whatever range it may, will not only show that there are great wrongs in our present civilization, but will throw some light on the means by which we are to get rid of the greatest curse that ever afflicted the human race. It seems to me that there are but two ways we can remove our present burdens of labor: either by a bloody revolution that will cost millions of lives, or by wise and harmonious political action that will turn the power that statute law wields in favor of the rights of the long-enslaved working-classes. Hitherto their oppressors, the capitalists, have had undisputed possession of the field of political power. The working-men now are without unity of action. They have strength of numbers, but they lack organization; without combined strength their superior numbers count them nothing. I hope the example set them in Ohio will be followed by all the States, and that they will never suffer temporary defeat to paralyze their efforts until they free themselves from the intolerable oppression that capital has imposed upon them.

Respectfully, W. E. LUKENS.

MR. BEECHER ON BREAD AND WATER.

Mr. Beecher has come down to bread and water,—at least to preaching a bread-and-water diet, which we suppose of course he would not do except upon practical knowledge. In his sermon on the railroad strikes, as reported in the New York *Herald* of July 23, he says: "Water costs nothing; and a man that can't live on bread is not fit to live. The man whose culture has lifted him away from the power of self-denial is falsely cultured. A family may live, love, and be happy, that eats bread and good water in the morning, water and good bread at noon, and good bread and water at night."

A recapitulation of Mr. Beecher's bills of fare for the last thirty years or so would be interesting, owing to the complete corroboration of these dietary doctrines which they would doubtlessly afford. Still, as Mr. Beecher has not during that period habitually performed exhausting manual labor, his experience may not be considered conclusive for laboring people.

As I am unfortunately the victim of an incurable mania for dietetic science, and also for comparative psychology, I read the above-mentioned discourse to a number of laboring people and invited a statement of their views and experience. I was surprised and pained to notice a certain bluntness with which they expressed their non-concurrence with some of its sentiments. Said one, in substance: "It is provoking past endurance to hear this prate about frugality from men who live in luxury. Mr. Beecher gets his twenty thousand a year for spouting on Sundays, and has made himself so notorious that he can command five hundred dollars a night for making a raree-show of himself,—he calls it lecturing. He has always evinced a heavy capacity for money and honors. If he chooses to take his twenty, fifty, or one hundred thousand dollars a year out of the general stock of wealth, why, it is all a matter of taste; but preaching starvation rations to people who actually work and produce value doesn't come with good grace from such a man. In these matters, precept without practice doesn't do much good,—is rather insulting than otherwise. We expect our saints and heroes to bear our burdens with us. Who is Beecher, anyhow? He is the spiritual whitewasher of an association of traffickers, leeches on the country's industry, whose essential thievishness necessitates a disguise of ultra sanctimony. It is rare to find as good and great a man as Beecher naturally is, who is willing to justify the money-changers in the temple and give them his moral support, instead of casting them forth. Beecher is a noble man; a splendid man; but he believes pleasant and profitable things too readily; he has sold himself to the devil, the devil of Orthodoxy, wealth, and pride."

Now I think my friend, in common with many rather secular-minded people, hardly does justice to Mr. Beecher and his clientage. I am aware that it is estimated by many that Plymouth Church contains (along with many humanly good people) a dominant *coterie* of the most arrogant hypocrites the world ever produced; that the church is run in the interest of a club of merchant princes who in intent and effect are piratical toll-takers in the gates of commerce; and that Mr. Beecher is their hired flatterer and pettifogger,—a histrionic prodigy on whom they are pleased and profited to lavish much misgotten cash. But this comparison between piracy and traffic seems to me defective; piracy hinders exchange (upon which civilization confessedly depends); while, generally speaking, the mercantile desire for gain furthers exchange. The fact that both merchant and pirate seek to get something for nothing should not mislead us. Rapine is illegal, except in some localities, or under special circumstances (as in privateering; confiscation and appropriation or destruction of enemy's property; or expelling from their lands and homes heathen people who are not strong enough to defend themselves); while trade is universally legal, and, besides, pays better, in the long run (to the winner), than square robbery. As to Mr. Beecher's right to preach for the association that will give him the largest salary, no one is insane enough to dispute that. To struggle after fame and gold, or to go without them,—that is the question. One may impale himself very neatly and thoroughly on either horn of the dilemma. Mr. Beecher has enjoyed the pleasures of an alliance with the stiffest Orthodoxy and the solidest wealth; and if there are certain disadvantages inseparable from the connection—such for instance as a base distrust of the genuineness of his *afflatus* by common-poor, "no-account" people,—why, without doubt, he will bear up under them like a man.

Considering how difficult it is in this rough world to do anything satisfactorily, I think Mr. Beecher has done well,—few better. He has entertained and pleased; he has contributed to the happiness of mankind. He makes us think better of humanity,—makes us better satisfied with ourselves. While we are with him, we are all good fellows. We are, it is true, permanently aware of this fact,—only sometimes we forget it; Mr. Beecher rarely forgets it. He never trots the skeleton out of the closet when there is nothing to be made by it. His moral digestion is excellent; his appetite for happiness unfailing. This makes him popular, for everybody loves happiness and those who love and believe in it. All hate those who croak of it as something difficult, deceitful, and dangerous. Jeremiah, John Baptist, and all that sort of men, were not highly appreciated by the well-to-do people in and around Jerusalem.

Undoubtedly Mr. Beecher never could be a profound philosopher or a stern moralist; Nature never meant martyrdom for his strong point,—but something much more pleasing, entertaining, and perhaps full as useful; she intended him to delight, cheer, soothe, and mildly enlighten the minds of a numerous class of well-circumstanced and eminently respectable and superficial people. The lowly have also their ministers, but they have been in all times poorer than their flocks, and surer of dungeon and gibbet than of any other salary. Mr. Beecher is well-beloved of many; he is a success; he has overcome his enemies; he has made piles of money; he is a lovable man, a fine man,—but he is not just the man to preach bread and water to the laboring poor.

G. E. T.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

SCIENCE AND THE APOSTLES' CREED.

DEAR INDEX:—

In this valley of the Mississippi we are not indifferent to the religious movements at and near the "hub," such as that of Brother Cook and the inaugural of President Seelye, of Amherst. And possibly you may be interested in such things in this distant land. Hence I send you a slip for your comment, with a brief explanation.

We have in this city of Davenport, Iowa, an Academy of Natural Sciences. All classes of persons—saints and sinners—may be members thereof; and, in the common church sense of the term, it is probable that the sinners predominate. We are doing our best to erect a suitable building, and are soliciting funds. An amiable lady has given us a lot, and others are contributing according to their means.

The Episcopal Church has a college here, Griswold College, which has been in rather a collapsed state for several years; also a large block of land on which the cathedral is built, making more than two blocks and three dwelling-houses *exempt from taxation*. The church has a new bishop, Bishop Perry, who is highly cultured, much of a gentleman, and a thorough-going ecclesiastic. He also has proposed to lease our academy a lot on the church property for the consideration that the students of the college have the free use of the academy. That was the first impression which the good people of this city received; but here I send the proposition reduced to writing, that you may see with what unconscious simplicity a bishop addresses a free scientific association, and how naturally the assumption is that there is a kind of authority embodied in ecclesiastics which outsiders should respect.

The communication is from Trustees, who state the substance of the bishop's plan. Now read it, and give it to your readers; comment on it as you please. Mind especially the fourth section in all its bearings. Observe how science is welcomed as an ally to religion! See how much freedom is proposed for the freest association in the city!

As you read those articles given out of an honest Episcopal heart, do you not get a hint of the working of honest conviction in ecclesiastical circles? There is not a suspicion that such propositions might be regarded as insulting to the scientific intelligence of this age; but all is simple honesty of purpose, the church only hinting what its rights are when the question of science is up. The *buildings* not to be used on Sunday, though on cathedral ground! No lecture to be given therein assailing the Christian religion as taught in the "Apostles' Creed"!

Probably the questions which touch religion will never be discussed directly; but when the science of life is treated by some biologist, and the laws of generation are explained, some persons might get the hint that virgins do not have children, and the inference might be that it would be *impossible* for a virgin to have a child, and this might conflict with one statement of the "Apostles' Creed"!

Then again, it is shown that all bodies, after death, return to dust and gas, which combine with other bodies, and this might conflict with the doctrine of the "resurrection of the body." It opens some of our eyes to have a bishop invite an Academy of the Natural Sciences into fellowship, and prescribe that nothing shall be taught in conflict with the "Apostles' Creed."

Does it not strike you as funny? I imagine that you smile. The whole document is courteous and kind, honest and true to the conviction of a representative bishop, representing the ecclesiastical heart of the country. What inferences do you draw from such facts? Truly yours, SPECTATOR.

DAVENPORT, Aug. 22, 1877.

Academy of Natural Sciences.

A special meeting of the Board of Trustees was held last evening, at which the following members were present: Rev. S. S. Hunting, Drs. Preston, Cochran, Hazen, Farquaharson, and Messrs. J. D. Putnam, Reipe, and Pratt.

President Hunting occupied the chair, and stated that the especial object of the meeting was to receive and consider a proposition from the Trustees of Griswold College.

Mr. C. E. Putnam, who was present by invitation, handed in the following communication, which had been received by him:—

TO THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE:—

The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of Griswold College (subject to the approval of said Board) make the following offer:—

I. To grant by perpetual lease so much land as may be needed for use of the Academy of Science for its buildings in the north-east corner of Cathedral block, the Academy of Science to pay all taxes or assessments, municipal or otherwise, that may be lawfully levied upon the lands or the buildings thereon; the buildings to be used for the appropriate objects of the said Academy of Science.

II. The architecture of the buildings to harmonize as nearly as possible with the buildings on said block; approaches to be so made as not to interfere with the use of the grounds not taken up by the Academy of Science building.

III. The lease to end when the academy dissolves or ceases to act, and buildings to become the property of the college.

IV. Premises not to be sub-let or used for any other purpose than as above indicated; the lease not to be transferred; the buildings are not to be used on Sunday; no lectures assailing the Christian religion are to be delivered therein (the doctrines of such religion being those set forth in the Apostles' Creed). This restriction is not intended to prevent the full and free discussion of scientific truth.

V. In case of the dissolution or extinction of the academy, its collections, books, manuscripts, etc., as well as the buildings, to become the property of the college.

VI. To identify the college and the academy the curator of the academy shall be *ex officio* an officer of the college.

VII. The heads of the several departments of Natural Science in the academy are to be *ex officio* professors of the corresponding departments in the college, each to deliver each year not less than four (4) free lectures to the students on subjects connected with their departments: Mr. J. Duncan Putnam to be Professor of Entomology, Dr. Parry Professor of Botany.

VIII. The collection of Griswold College in natural science, as well as its library of works on scientific subjects, to be added to the collection and library of the academy.

This is but a rough outline of what is proposed. As the academy advances more professors can and will be added. The details can be arranged hereafter, as well as legal forms.

S. E. BROWN, *Chairman.*
J. L. DAYNUDE, *Committee.*

Mr. J. D. Putnam presented the following resolutions, and moved their adoption:—

Resolved, That while the proposition from the Trustees of Griswold College to erect the academy building on the Cathedral block is supported by many inducements, and offers great advantages, yet as the location proposed is less central and accessible than that so generously donated by Mrs. Newcomb; and, moreover, as the offer is accompanied with conditions and restrictions inconsistent with the free action and independent existence of the academy, it is therefore most respectfully declined.

Resolved, That the thanks of the academy be extended to the Trustees of the college for the recognition of the educational value of our society, which is implied in their friendly offer.

Resolved, That we extend to the Trustees of Griswold College our congratulations upon the proposed revival of that institution, and tender to them the free use of our museum and library for the benefit of its faculty and students.

After very brief discussion the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

On motion of Dr. Cochran, the following was also adopted:—

Resolved, That the free use of the museum and library connected with the academy be granted to the public schools and all other educational institutions of our city, and that, under proper regulations for their preservation, they be allowed the use of such specimens as may be needed to illustrate studies in natural science.

Mr. W. H. Pratt presented the following resolution, which was adopted by a unanimous vote:—

Resolved, That, in consideration of his valuable services in archæological research and large contributions to the museum, Mr. W. P. Hall, of Davenport, be enrolled a life-member of the academy.

Mr. J. D. Putnam, Corresponding Secretary, stated that a letter had been received from Miss Emma Smith, of Peoria, proposing to give a course of lectures before the academy, on the subject of Entomology, and illustrated with models. He moved that the President be requested to procure the use of the old high school room for that purpose.

The motion was carried and the meeting adjourned.

A BLACKSMITH was summoned to a country court as a witness in a dispute between two of his workmen. The judge, after hearing the testimony, asked him why he did not advise them to settle, as the costs had already amounted to three times the disputed sum. He replied: "I told the fools to settle; for I said the clerk would take their coats, the lawyers their shirts, and if they got into your honor's court, you'd skin 'em."

WEBB HAYES is reported to be responsible for the statement that the temperance society to which his father belonged once fined a member for carrying a penknife with a corkscrew attachment.

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of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

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TO ADVERTISERS.

The following states the experience of a successful Bookseller who has advertised in THE INDEX:—

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1872.

TO THE INDEX ASSO., Toledo, O.:

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CALL FOR THE FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

BOSTON, Sept. 25, 1877.

In obedience to the Constitution of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July First to July Fourth, 1876, the Directors hereby issue a call for the FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS of the League, to be held at Rochester, N. Y., October 26, 27, and 28, 1877. The best Hall in the city is engaged for those days. Further particulars, including list of speakers, etc., will be announced hereafter. For information respecting cheap hotel accommodation, reduced fares, etc., apply without delay to Mr. H. L. GREEN, Salamanca, N. Y.

After the hearing of reports and election of officers for the ensuing year, the most important business of the convention will be to decide whether the National Liberal League shall adopt a political platform and nominate candidates for the Presidential election of 1880; and, if so, whether this platform shall advocate the following principles and measures, to wit:—

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, etc.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

In order to give to this First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League the representative character befitting the gravity of the questions which will come before it for decision, the Directors suggest and earnestly recommend to the liberals of the United States that they immediately organize themselves throughout the country in *Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues*, each of which, on receipt of a charter, will be entitled to send its President, Secretary, and three other members as DELEGATES. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay. Charters are indispensable to secure the unity of organization without which efficient coöperation is impossible; but Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues remain absolutely independent, and recognize no authority in the National League to control their action in any particular. The small fee of ten dollars (which will surely be grudged by no one) is only desired in order to help defray the necessary expenses involved in the conventions and other public work of the National League, *which has no salaried officers.* Life-memberships of twenty-five dollars, annual memberships of one dollar, and voluntary donations, will also be gladly received for these public purposes. Time presses; and it is hoped that hundreds of new Local Leagues will be organized forthwith. Any existing Liberal society can be represented in the convention by applying for and receiving a charter in the usual way, and transmitting to the Secretary a certified copy of the following vote:—

"*Voted*, That this society, desiring to coöperate with the National Liberal League in the furtherance of its general and specific objects, hereby declares itself a Local Auxiliary Liberal League, according to the true intent of the Constitution of said National Liberal League, and has duly elected the following persons to represent it at the next Annual Congress of the same; to wit, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——."

Persons desiring full information respecting the history, principles, and objects of the National Liberal League, in the shape of a closely printed book of 190 octavo pages, can obtain it by sending for *Equal Rights in Religion: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals.* Price (reduced), in advance, paper covers, 75 cents; handsomely bound in cloth, $1.00.

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WILLIAM H. HAMLEN, *Secretary.*

GLIMPSES.

PLEASE READ the "Call for the First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League" very attentively, and bring it to the notice of all your liberal friends. Now is the time to prove your earnestness in a most righteous cause by active aid!

THE LONDON *Quarterly Review* speaks of the Methodist denomination as being above all others "the American Church." The Methodists themselves are inclined to take the same view of the matter.

REV. F. F. EDMONDS, of Vienna, Ohio, as reported in the Cortland *Gazette* of August 3, expatiated on the sin of Sabbath-breaking in a manner decidedly amusing. He accounted for depression in the iron business and in the cheese business by the fact that rolling-mills and cheese-factories employed their hands on Sunday. Said the speaker: "My impression is that, unless a new order of things is instituted in cheese-making with reference to the sanctity of the Sabbath, there is in reserve such a financial crash in the cheese business as will compel the great Western Reserve to feel that there is a God of Sabbath." The railroad strikes, also, he considered a result of Sabbath-breaking by the companies. Who can set limits to the follies of superstition?

AN EXTRACT from the Paris *Siecle*, which we clip from a copy of *Galignani's Messenger* for August 24, shows what a floodtide of superstition is sweeping over France: "We are at present in the full tide of pilgrimages to Lourdes, and miracles abound. Hardly had the correspondent of the *Univers* arrived when he had the delight of chronicling six perfectly authentic cures. A member of a religious sisterhood had suffered for seven years from chronic rheumatism; she descended into the piscina, and was cured instantaneously! A lady, paralyzed for eight years, had almost expired on the road: cured! A nun of Boulogne suffered for three years from an affection of the knee: cured! Finally, Mother Marie-Joseph, of Sainte-Enfance, badly consumptive, and given up by the medical men, 'sang the *Magnificat* twice before the whole congregation.' The correspondent adds, with rather puzzling candor, 'The six patients cured are doing well.' Doubtless at Lourdes some sick persons who have been cured are doing badly. Astonishing country! 'Joy incomparable!' the writer adds. 'Prayers are being redoubled, and our two hundred sick are in the utmost hope.'"

MR. CONWAY writes: "The authorities of the House of Detention in Clerkenwell, London City, finding that their chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Horsley, is a member of the Holy Cross Society, and refuses to leave it, have given him notice that he must leave that society or cease to be their chaplain, their reasons being not theological, but practical, they being unanimously convinced that the introduction of such morbid soul-anatomy as the said society enjoins among the inmates of the establishment would foster the vicious ideas they are trying to extirpate. Mr. Horsley will probably resign his chaplaincy and become a Ritualist martyr; and as long as the dogmatic views of human nature inculcated by the national Church remain, the logic will be on their side. The bishops are terribly excited. The Archbishop of Canterbury has at last had the confession wrung from his lips that the Church is in danger. The plain fact which the bishop cannot face is, that in the determined front of the Ritualist priesthood the England of to-day meets its dead self—nay, to that antiquarian corpse is bound fast, and must either be cut loose from it or be stifled and poisoned by its putrescence."

THE FOLLOWING NOTICE of one of the noblest women that America has ever produced will surely be of interest to readers of THE INDEX: "Lydia Maria Child, though one of the oldest of living writers—she will be seventy-six next February,—is said to be in vigorous health, and her mind to be as clear and strong as that of most persons twenty years younger. Her father, David Francis, was a baker, and the original manufacturer of the once famous biscuit known as the Boston cracker. When she was twenty-four she published *The Rebels, a Tale of the Revolution*, some of the characters being the historical men of the period. The book was for years a standard novel, the subject and its treatment rendering it very popular in its day. It has long been out of print; but, even at this date, a speech which Mrs. Child put into the mouth of James Otis is still declaimed in New England, and often believed to have actually been delivered by that patriot. An imaginary sermon of George Whitefield (Garrick said he was so great an orator that he could make his congregation tremble and weep merely by varying his pronunciation of the word Mesopotamia) also appeared in *The Rebels*, got into the New England school-books, and was long thought to be genuine. She was one of the original Abolitionists, and published one of the first distinctively anti-slavery books—*An Appeal in behalf of the Americans known as Africans*—issued in this country. For a while she resided here, and was the editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, assisted by her husband. She has done no literary work recently; but she is still a student. She lives in Massachusetts near many friends, and is enjoying peacefully the fruits of a well-spent and thoroughly conscientious life. Very few have been from the start so wholly devoted to principle, or have so earnestly and ably defended what they conceived to be right."

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

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[See alphabetical list of 170 Charter-Members, in *Equal Rights in Religion; Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals*, pages 181–183.]

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Woman: Her Past and Present, Her Rights and Wrongs.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT DENVER, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 6, 1877.

BY B. F. UNDERWOOD.

MADAME PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

I feel much honored in having been invited to speak under the auspices of the Woman Suffrage Association, and I have availed myself of the invitation with a great deal of genuine satisfaction. At the same time I want it understood that this Association must not be held responsible for any opinions or principles which I advocate, nor is any officer or member of the Association to be considered responsible therefor. I say this without the least suggestion or hint from that organization, and I say it because I know that there are persons who are members of it, and there are those who are in hearty sympathy with the Woman Suffrage Association, who do not share some of the convictions which I entertain, and to which, incidentally, I may give utterance this evening. The subject, as has been announced by the worthy president, is "Woman: her Past and Present, her Rights and Wrongs." Woman is one-half of the human race. Since the dawn of civilization her position has been acquiring additional importance with every age. If we would understand what is the earliest condition of woman, that previous to the period with which history begins, we have to go among the lowest tribes of the earth to-day; for their condition coincides apparently, as far as we can learn, with those early races that lived away beyond the historic periods, and of which we have no remains but those rude implements that have survived the bones of those who made them. From those early ages in which man was a savage, to the full meridian of the nineteenth century, the course of humanity, on the whole, has been progressive, and corresponding with this progress has been an elevation of woman, until now in some countries we are beginning to admit that she is entitled to a place by the side of man as his companion and as his equal. If we go among the low tribes to-day in different countries we find that woman is a servant and a slave. She is the minister of man's wants and pleasures; her individuality is merged into his, and she has no rights which he is bound to respect, except so far as they are compatible with his own immediate selfish interests and gratifications. Marriage is communal. At the birth of a child it is a common thing for the husband to go to bed and receive the sympathy and congratulations of the neighbors, while the poor wife waits upon him, and does the drudgery consequent upon that occasion. This illustrates the low and exceedingly degraded character of woman among the rude and undeveloped tribes of the world. Her position is one that is so essentially subordinate that we in our present state of civilization can have but a faint conception of it.

WOMEN IN HISTORY.

If we look at the historic period, if we go back to one of the oldest nations in history, ancient Egypt, we find that woman's position is gradually improving in proportion as that people become civilized, and that at the height of its civilization woman occupied a position that was remarkably high, higher than any other nation of antiquity. The recent discoveries that have been made by the efforts of Egyptologists in deciphering the old hieroglyphics of that land, have brought to light the customs and the habits and the institutions of that country so fully, that we are almost as familiar with the history and with the manners of ancient Egypt as we are with those of ancient Greece, and woman's position there stands so high that indeed in some respects it is not surpassed at the present day either in Europe or in America. Perhaps no nation from that time to this has ever treated woman with more consideration and regard than she received in the Egyptian empire. If we go from Egypt to Greece, there we find in the Homeric age some of the most beautiful examples of female excellence that we have in literature; but in those rude ages there was necessarily a great deal of harshness and severity and rigor. In the historic periods of Greece, woman's position was always one essentially subordinate. The wives of Greece were always condemned to seclusion, and it was a remark of Thucydides that the greatest merit of a wife was to so live that no one should ever speak well of her or ill of her,—that is, that she should be a cipher, intellectually speaking. The honors were reserved for a class of women that were not the wives of Greece, and who had very little to do either with the education or with the intellectual or the moral culture of the rising generation,—a class of women that would correspond with a disreputable class among us, but entirely different in many respects. They were the women that received the admiration of the ancient Greeks, even in the days of Pericles. Aspasia, you remember, was as remarkable for her genius as she was for her beauty, and to her Pericles became most devotedly attached. She taught him oratory, and indeed was his tutor in many other respects. This class of women in ancient Greece were cultivated; they had their parlors, in which they appeared in the most intellectual conversation, and they took as much pains to add to the brilliancy of their minds as to the charms of their bodies; and thus grew up in ancient Greece what may be considered an anomaly,—a class of women for whom were reserved all the honors, while the wives and the mothers of that land were left in seclusion to do the needle-work and other work of that kind, and to enjoy only the society of their husbands. Is it strange that ancient Greece, renowned

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as she was for her learning, remarkable as she was for the genius of her statesmen, her philosophers, her poets, her warriors,—is it strange that she declined, that the sceptre of empire passed from her when she thus neglected and insulted the wives and the mothers of that classic land? Surely those to whom was intrusted the education of the youth should have received all the honors and all the attentions which man could bestow. But by some strange insanity, for it can be hardly called anything else, this was omitted; and at a comparatively early period the corruption of Greece commenced and finally culminated in what we see that people now, the "degenerate sons of an illustrious ancestry."

If we pass from Greece to Judea there we find woman's position also very inferior. It was a common maxim among the ancient Hebrews that woman was made especially for man as he was made specially for the glory of God, and consequently woman's position by the side of man should be one of inferiority. A man could divorce his wife at pleasure, himself writing the bill of divorce; he could buy or sell his wife, in any of the periods of Jewish history, or even dispose of his daughter, by sale, to become a slave of her master. This condition of things naturally kept woman in a comparatively degraded state, and it was only with the advance of Hebrew civilization and culture that woman took a place beside man, and occupied anything like a respectable position.

Stepping from Judea to Rome, we find another and a very different condition. Woman's position was always one of extreme honor and pride in the Roman empire. Very corrupt, very degenerate Rome became, treading the lowest depths of vice and infamy; but in her worst days there never was a time when honors were not paid to woman, when there were not monuments erected to her name. Monogamy, the marriage of one woman and one man, was the system that prevailed throughout the Roman empire, from the earliest period down to the latest, even in the most corrupt days of the empire. There were in some periods three forms of marriage, but every one of them was monogamic. What was known as *usus* was a form of marriage of a man and woman living together with a simple declaration recognized by law and binding equally on each. The woman held property in her own name, disposing of it by her will, and having an amount of liberty which Sir Henry Mane says that with the decay of Roman civilization she lost, and has never regained up to the present time.

UNDER THE CHRISTIAN SYSTEM.

Under the influence of the Christian system we find many things advancing and some retarding the progress of woman. The revival of the old Jewish ideas naturally contracted her sphere and somewhat derogated from her intellectual worth; and so we find in the early ages the doctrines of St. Paul becoming very prevalent, that woman being subordinate, she should have no participation in affairs of State. Saint Paul said, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man"; and his reason was this: "For man was made first, and woman afterwards, and Adam was not deceived; but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression"; and in accordance with this doctrine—first that man was made before woman, and second that woman was first in the transgression,—with this opinion there came into the world a contempt of the very character of woman, as is illustrated by the fact that there was a council convened which passed an edict that no woman should take the eucharist in her naked hand lest she should pollute it by the contamination of her touch.

In those days asceticism became general; there were more men and women living a monastic life in Egypt during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era than comprised the entire population of the cities of that land.

If we now consider the ancient Germans, who are the fathers of most of the great nations of modern times—they having broken up into the Goths, the Vandals, and other savage tribes that overrun the Roman empire,—we there find woman in a position which seems anomalous. They allowed women to occupy positions in Church and State, and to enjoy all the honors of the one and the other. It was a land in which purity and chastity were honored more than among any other of the nations of antiquity, not excepting one. The ancient Teutons were in this respect a most remarkable people, and overrunning the Roman empire, carrying their severe ideas of purity and their idea of woman's equality by the side of man. They impressed their character upon succeeding generations, and it is the statement of many historians who have examined this subject minutely and extensively that Roman monogamy and German rigor and severity in regard to chastity and purity went largely to give us the dominant type of marriage that we have to-day. We come down through the Middle Ages and we find woman's position a very low one, indeed. She was burned to death and she was hung for offences for which man was only mildly punished. She lived a life that intellectually and morally exerted scarcely any influence on society, and received no recognition from man. But finally the Saracenic invasions took place, the Germanic influence began to exert itself, and chivalry and knight errantry and all those follies appeared, which nevertheless had some tendency to attract attention to woman. Even when the knight went out with his shield, fighting for his lady-love, attacking almost every man he came across, imagining that he was thereby defending his honor and the love of the woman for whom he conceived an attachment, yet that had a tendency to elevate her character, by bringing her into notice and making her an object of contention. From that time down to the renaissance there was a gradual improvement of woman's condition; and still it continued, with the growth of science, with the progress of enlightenment, and the advance of liberal thought, woman becoming all the time a more prominent figure, until finally she began to be recognized as entitled to some consideration, and some, at least of advanced minds, began to maintain that she was the equal of man.

This is, as I intended it to be, only the most cursory sketch of the condition of woman in different land ~ preparatory to some remarks that I shall make as to

HER CONDITION TO-DAY.

Many women say they have all the rights they wish, and many men think it disgraceful on the part of one of their sex to plead for a larger amount of liberty and a greater equality for woman. Yet her position to-day is one of essential inferiority by the side of man. Man may do with impunity in every part of this enlightened nation that which, if woman does it, is to her worse than death. And it is considered as a matter of course. It is something to which there is scarcely any objection, and yet it is simply an implication that woman is not the equal of man, else it would never be that that which shall bring disgrace and social infamy to one may be tolerated in the other without anything derogatory to his character. Go into our schools and the various places where both sexes are employed, and for the same amount of work woman rarely receives the same amount of pay. There are various secondary reasons given for this; but trace them back, and you will find they are based upon the thought that woman is not of as much importance as man, and therefore we do the injustice of depriving her of the same amount of pay, even when she does the same amount of work, and does it just as well. In Washington, Mr. Spinner, whose honesty we all admit and admire, said the most useful clerks he had were women, and he recommended to Congress that the salary of the female clerks be increased. He did not ask that it should be raised to the same amount the men were receiving, but something like two-thirds of that amount; but Congress—it was the Congress that was composed of the men who speculated in *Credit Mobilier* stock, and voted themselves back-pay,—that same Congress had the meanness to refuse to comply with that righteous request. If you go into a community where teachers are employed, you rarely find that a woman receives the same amount of money that a man does, although she may be a most efficient and most admirable teacher, in every way qualified, both by experience and by education. Now I ask every honorable, fair-minded man or woman, why ought not a woman, if she does the same amount of work as a teacher or a clerk, to receive the same amount of pay as a man? Why, because of this old idea that man was made first and woman afterwards, and Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression; in other words, the view expressed based upon the essential inferiority of woman, that supposes whatever she does must be of less value than what a man does. We want to get rid of this notion, in order to do justice to all parties, and any government that is not based upon the principles of justice can have only a transient and temporary existence. [Applause.] Then we find, further, that of the great avenues of employment there are very few that now are or have been open to woman. The professions that give money and distinction are reserved for men, and whenever in some cases women have endeavored to qualify themselves for them, so that they could occupy positions, under the influence of habit and custom, combined with some amount of selfishness, men have raised their voice in protest and declared that women were getting beyond their sphere, just as though they had any definite sphere—as men have not—beyond which their ambition should not carry them. We find that positions that give honor, that call out talent, that make men ambitious,—they are all so many glittering prizes which are beckoning man on and stimulating him to do his best, to improve his mind and put forth his efforts; but woman, standing beside man, has none of these inducements, and it is not strange, therefore, if there is not the same intellectual activity. Again, we find every little boy, when he goes to school, is encouraged by the thought that he may become a lawyer, a physician, a minister, a merchant, a senator, may be a

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

I once thought I was going to be President of the United States. [Laughter.] I begin to abandon gradually this notion; but every boy that has any ambition at some time of his life doubtless labors under the illusion that not improbably he will occupy the highest position that can be attained. This is a real incentive and a great encouragement. But little girls, sitting beside these boys, have nothing of that sort to encourage them. They possibly may entertain the thought that they may become the *wife* of some doctor or lawyer or senator, or possibly they may be the wife of some man who will become President of the United States,—it is always that they are going to occupy a position *subordinate* to that of man, he being the glorious central figure towards which all eyes should be directed. She is taught by custom, by habit,—she is taught to think from an early period of what is considered her chief duty and her highest aim,—to get a husband; and then, by the tricks and deceptions that are in society, she sets her cap, as the saying is, for somebody, or adorns and prepares herself that somebody may fall in love with her. This is degrading. None of us have a word to say in disparagement of that institution that has given us the home with all its refining influences, and which, in my opinion, has done more to civilize and cultivate mankind than any other institution. But with man marriage is an incident. Sometimes, indeed, it aids him and assists him in the performance of the duties of life; but he never abandons his pursuit nor relinquishes his ambition because he takes a companion to travel with him the journey of life. But woman at marriage becomes thenceforth a cipher. She changes her name; she loses her individuality; she is supposed to have no ambition beyond her own family; she loses very frequently her taste for music and literature; she becomes absorbed in her husband and her family, which is proper enough in its way; and, indeed, she lives a life that is comparatively secluded. Her range of thought is circumscribed; there is nothing to call out her intellectual nature; and as she grows old she is liable to grow more ignorant; and with her beauty faded, her health impaired by the demands on her vitality in rearing a large family, the poor woman lives this life, while her husband, in contact with the world, is daily growing larger and stronger intellectually.

The disparity between them becomes so great that it is not strange so many husbands find nothing to attract them in the society of the women with whom they were enamoured in early life! And thus we find a reason for many of those marriages which, however beautifully and blissfully they may have commenced, end in anything but a pleasant picture. While but few will question the propriety and utility of the marriage system, anybody can see that it is far from what it ought to be when woman's position excludes her from the professions, subordinates her to man, and is one in which her whole life is dwarfed and narrowed into such a range of thought and action. Then again she is not allowed the same opportunities for education. She is not supposed to have any independent opinions. If she becomes cultivated, independent, expresses her views, she is a "strong-minded woman," and the great mass of women will laugh at her as though she were a kind of monstrosity that Nature had produced to illustrate the contrast between a true woman and an unnatural woman, when the fact is, probably, by her intellectual culture, by her application to things of interest to mankind, she is one of the noblest of her sex. She is rewarded by the contempt of a superficial class of women who are unable to feel the humiliation of the subordinate position which they occupy. All this, I say, only illustrates what I remarked,—that woman's position to-day is far from being what it ought to be and what it one day will be.

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

And then another illustration, and one to which I may devote a little more time. Woman is not allowed to exercise the elective franchise, and to have the rights of a citizen in a free republic, where the government is supposed to be based upon the choice of the people. All just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed. Woman constitutes one-half of the governed of this nation, and yet she has no voice in making those laws to which she is amenable, or in forming the institutions in accordance with which she lives and which are wound up with her own interests, and those of the generations that shall come afterwards. And what are the reasons? It is said that "woman is not the equal of man intellectually." Suppose that is true. Are citizenship and the elective franchise based upon the amount of intelligence that a person has? Suppose you go among the negroes of the South, the millions that have been enfranchised lately,—are they, intellectually, the equal of the people of Denver? Certainly not. You don't deprive them of the ballot, notwithstanding their intellectually undeveloped condition, and why do you urge this as an argument against giving the ballot to women? But the fact is, many of our wives and sisters and mothers are far more intelligent than a great proportion of the men who cast their ballots and who participate in the government of the country. It is not necessary to notice here the question as to equality of man intellectually with woman. I can only say it would be very surprising if, considering the way that woman has been treated in the past, the repressing influences to which she has been subjected, if she had shown as much intellectual activity as man has; but then this question of giving to woman all her rights and privileges is not connected with the question as to the amount of brain or the quality of the brain in the man and the woman. Another objection is, that women would vote just like their husbands. Well, supposing that were true, it is no reason why they should not vote. It would add to the aggregate vote, and it would not then be a disturbing element in our politics. Suppose that woman is such a passive creature that she would have no opinions of her own and that she would acquiesce in those of her husband. It would swell the vote without changing the ultimate results. For that reason should we deprive her of the privilege of voting? Is that an objection that is valid and logical against the granting of a privilege that is obviously just and right? But another objection is, that sometimes comes from the same class, it would produce family discords and would lead to tumults in society. That is a contradiction of the statement that the woman would vote just as her husband in every case. I say let the discord come. If men are so bigoted and intolerant that they would not let their wives enjoy different political views from those which they have, it is about time something should be done to break up that intolerance and substitute, therefor, something like charity. There is a vast amount of bigotry on all subjects, social, political, and religious, and anything that will have a tendency to destroy this will be in the way of a benefaction. When we see women voting, interested in politics, showing their preference on great questions, my opinion is it will tend somewhat to destroy the asperity and the bitterness which are so often infused into our political elections; for when men see that their relatives, their wives, their mothers and sisters are in parties opposite to those to which they belong, demagogues will not have the disposition, while praising without stint the party

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to which they belong, to denounce in such unqualified terms the party to which they do not belong. The common practice now is, to denounce the opposite party, whether Republican or Democrat, as guilty of all meanness and deceit. The party to which the speaker belongs is spoken of as everything good, true, and noble; while the adherents of the other are characterized as robbers, thieves, and murderers. Now, if our mothers, wives, and sisters belonged to that party, perhaps we would not be quite as willing to apply such epithets, and, in my opinion, the result would be to soften somewhat the asperities of politics. [Applause.]

WOMEN AT THE POLLS.

Another objection is, that it would interfere with woman's domestic character and it would impair the delicacy of her womanly nature. I never could see the force of that argument. A gentleman, a very good friend of mine, too, whom I invited up here this evening with a view to having him on the platform, said to me the other day, "Why, I never want to see my wife go to the polls. Just see the rudeness, the profanity, the vulgarity. What woman of delicacy would want to breathe such an atmosphere?" But if the atmosphere is so impure, if men are so vicious and have so much "cussedness" in them that they cannot even make it tolerable for ladies to be in their presence on election days, it is very easy to have other places where women can go and deposit their votes, just as they go to the church or into the parlor. This objection is very frivolous. My experience in the army and in civil life is that the presence of respectable women is the guaranty of order and decorum wherever you go. [Applause.] The very reason that there is so much profanity, drunkenness, and vulgarity on election days, and so much that is disgusting to every woman of taste, sense, and refinement is this: that the presence of women is not permitted, and consequently that restraining, that softening and elevating influence that noble women always exert over men is absent. Many of you have had experience in the army, and you know that when the restraints of civil life are absent, and when woman's society is not known, what demoralization follows. All army life is demoralizing, from the highest officer down to the lowest soldier, because it is an unnatural, abnormal life; but let the presence of respectable women be known in the camp, at once rowdyism and ruffianism are hushed into silence, and the disorder and rudeness, before so prominent, hide their diminished heads in shame. What is true in army life is true in civil life. How is the exercise of the elective franchise going to interfere with the domestic duties of woman? You are all familiar with the way in which the objection is put. It is the duty of women to remain at home and take care of their children, and to attend to the duties of married life. Very well, there are a great many respectable and noble women that are not married; there are some who were married and are no longer; and there are many who have no disposition to enter married life, because of the restrictions which it imposes upon them,—what do you say as to these classes? How is it that going to the polls and quietly depositing a vote when the election comes round, is going to interfere with the domestic duties of women? Such as do not wish to go, certainly will not be dragged to the polls and required to vote. There are men whose physical condition will not permit them to vote at certain times; that is never urged as a reason for interfering with the elective franchise. But then it is said the right to vote involves the right to hold office. It don't follow that woman must be made to hold office when she don't want it. Many speak as though if they give the ballot to woman, the very next thing they have got to elect some woman as policeman or sheriff. Do we necessarily take every person that votes and elevate him into a position to which he is not qualified? We have given the elective franchise to

MILLIONS OF NEGROES IN THE SOUTH

who have only just had the manacles and shackles thrown from them. It does not follow because we have tried to do justice to them we must pick out one of those uneducated, undeveloped negroes and elevate him to the chief magistracy of the nation. It doesn't follow that because woman votes we must, whether she be best qualified or not, vote her into a position incompatible with her nature. But where there are positions that woman can have properly and with profit to herself, let them be opened to her. Indeed let all positions be opened to women; but, naturally as a weak cripple would not be chosen for police officer, constable, or marshal, just as a very illiterate, ignorant man would not be chosen for judge or governor, so a position that needed strength and masculine energy would not be forced upon a woman. These arguments have no strength. As John Stuart Mill says, there is no argument whatever against the right of woman to the ballot. Then another objection is, there are a great many women who don't want to vote. Nobody thinks of forcing them to vote, except the political engineers who sometimes go round and hold out certain inducements to vote and swell the lists of the party. However, this argument has no force. Another and a powerful one, so considered, is, women can't fight. I don't know about that. [Laughter.] I think some of our friends who make this objection have had some experience that women *can* fight. But, seriously, what is meant is, that woman can't shoulder the musket and take the sword and go into the field and fight the battles of the country to which she belongs. Well, if I were to descend to details, I might show you how women have fought in the history of different nations, and with what gallantry and with what splendid success they have carried out their martial undertakings. But we may consider that woman, being weaker, with her feminine nature, with less actual physical courage than man, we may concede she is less adapted to go into the field and participate in the barbarisms of war. Nevertheless she is not disqualified for office. How many men, intelligent, moral, upright, who go to the polls, but if the country should be involved in war could not go to the defence of their country, for the reason that they are suffering from disease and disabilities that would destroy their effectiveness, and they would be thrown out by the surgeon upon medical examination. Do you remember in war times that long list of diseases they used to publish, with the unpronounceable names you never before saw nor have seen since, standing opposite the names of men supposed to be well and hearty, their disqualification from going into the draft? Certainly you all remember that. Suppose we should tell those fellows they can't vote because they have *rheumatismus chronicus*, or some other disease of that kind, which was published at the time mentioned. If consumption, tic doloreux, or any other disease may disqualify a man from fighting, it don't disqualify him from throwing a ballot. War is a barbarism, and it is one of those relics of the cruelty and savagery of human nature which, unfortunately, have descended to this time, and exist among us just the same as the old gladiatorial exhibitions in Rome, when she was at the zenith of her glory, were an anomaly among the Romans. Strange that any of us, professing to have love toward our fellow-beings, to practise the Golden Rule, to be engaged in philanthropic pursuits, should be apparently pleased with the prospects of a terrible war, saying that it will make good times; pleased with the thought that it will put a little more money in our pockets; not considering or caring, perhaps, that hundreds of thousands of innocent men, who have hardly a knowledge of what is involved in the contest, will be destroyed, children made orphans, wives made widows, mothers robbed of the idols of their affection, fields drenched in blood, and the whole country in grief and mourning, and for generations after poverty, suffering, and distress in ten thousand ways, of which the mind looking from the present time can have no adequate conception. Because woman, by her refined and noble virtues is not adapted to participate in these terrible scenes of carnage and distress, to bring that up as an evidence that she ought not to participate in trying to improve her country by making good laws and good institutions, is indeed the very height of absurdity itself.

THERE ARE OTHER OBJECTIONS URGED

sometimes by our liberal friends; I suppose some of them are here. Some of them say that woman has been under the dominion of superstition more than man has, and were she given the right to exercise the ballot, she would throw her influence in favor of restrictive measures, circumscribe personal liberty, and very much impair the rights of men. For instance, the question of the exclusion of the Bible from public schools, those schools in which we are equally interested, which we think should be entirely free from religious influences; it is said the majority of women would naturally vote in favor of keeping King James' version of the Bible in our schools, and thus perpetuating the wrong to the Catholics, liberals, pagans, and freethinkers. Then it is said, further, that woman, owing to her religious nature and her religious teachings and tendencies, will be sure to deposit her vote in favor of evangelizing the Constitution of the United States, "putting God in the Constitution," and recognizing that form of religion to which she is specially attached; and it is said she would oppose the taxation of church property, because woman reasons in a narrow manner, only taking note of parts, and never reasoning from large generalizations; and if the question should come up for removing the disabilities now resting on freethinkers in some States of the Union, on account of religious belief, it is said woman would throw her influence in favor of their continuance; that woman would encourage sumptuary laws, interfering with personal liberty, thereby joining a large party of men in favor of these measures.

An objection of some of our German friends is, that if woman should have the vote, she would throw all her influence generally in opposition to their customs of spending their time in their own manner in their gardens on Sunday, and having their music and their beer and everything that makes their social gathering pleasant.

Well, I confess I believe that from woman's education and the influence by which she has been surrounded, that she would at first exert some influence in that way. I am rather inclined to believe it, and one of my best and noblest friends, Mr. Abbot, of Boston, is so impressed with this view, that he feels some lukewarmness practically on the woman suffrage question until the secularization of the State can be secured. But I remember the saying of Macauley, that the best way to prepare a people for liberty is to give them liberty. If a person has been in a cave or dungeon, and his eyes are dim from want of light, the best way to prepare him for receiving the light is to shed light upon him. I have discovered this, speaking from an independent stand-point. I have found, wherever I have gone, the great majority of women who are in favor of suffrage are taking a liberal view of these subjects, discussing them, agitating them; and I believe to-day, if you will go through the country and talk with the women who are in favor of woman suffrage, you will find eight out of ten of a liberal turn of mind, and disposed to take a liberal view of all these questions. They are thinking women; and when women begin to think they see that any interference with the liberties of any class of our citizens is something that cannot be justly maintained; and they see that the perpetuation of any of these disabilities to which I have referred would be unjust. And if the woman should be admitted to the polls to-morrow, and throw her influence in favor of restriction, I should oppose such measure with all my power. The only way to make women just to us is *to be just to them*. If we deprive them of their rights, as we habitually have done, and do not allow them to exercise the elective franchise when they are intellectual and rational beings, it is not strange if many of them, under the influence of churchcraft and priestcraft, should now be so slow to do justice to us, and acknowledge our rights. Now

SUPPOSE THESE QUESTIONS COME UP,

we find they will be discussed; they will be agitated; women will be interested in them, and matters of dress and frivolity, which ought not to be ascribed exclusively to women—since there is a large class of men as much addicted to small talk and fine clothes as women are,—these matters would be subordinated, and their minds would be filled with these matters of great and general concern. The question of temperance, for instance, would be discussed with due regard to the rights, tastes, and liberties of all men. These ideas of religious freedom will all come before the public in a way they do not now. Woman will be brought out from under the influences of these objectionable organizations to the exercise of her judgment and independence. Woman will be more charming because more rational and more intellectual, with no diminution of her refinement and delicacy of nature. I believe the exercise of the elective franchise would infuse a good element in our politics. I believe the instincts and tastes of woman would be on the side of purity and goodness. I believe, while there might be many mistakes—indeed there have been under the present *regime*,—there would be, on the whole, an infusion of purity and a diminution of corruption. Some think that both parties participating it would naturally generate corruption; that the supreme benches and the houses of Congress would become dissolute owing to the introduction of this element. On the other hand, it strikes me it would purify the atmosphere of politics, and give society a normal and natural condition. I base the right of woman to the franchise upon this: all just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed. Woman is a part of the governed; therefore she is entitled to a voice in the government, in the laws of the country. If she is not, you might as well deny, for some trifling reason, that you have a right to participate in the government. If she violates a law, is she not punished, just the same as a man? If there is a law made, does she not suffer from, or is she not blessed by it, the same as a man? If she has property, is she not taxed just the same as a man is? In some States of the Union women have been wealthy, and a large tax has been assessed on their property by the votes of men in some cases who had no property; and the women are taxed perhaps much more than many others in the town for the building of a bridge or the carrying out of some project in which they had no voice whatever. Is there any justice in that? Surely it is a perversion of all the principles of justice and equity. Now since women have to help support the government by taxation; since their interests are wound up with the progress of the government in every way; since men and women rise or fall together; since they are a part of the government,—in the name of right and common-sense, I declare that women have a right to vote; they have a right to help make the laws; to participate in the government; and as long as we continue to withhold from them this obvious right or privilege, whichever name you apply to it, we do a great injustice to them and to ourselves; for the sexes are so constituted that an injury inflicted upon one is necessarily and quite as greatly inflicted upon the other. We cannot withhold a right from our wives or sisters without doing injustice to ourselves, as they indeed cannot neglect the exercise of any privilege to which they are entitled without doing injustice to us as well as to themselves.

AN APPEAL TO REASON.

Then in this coming contest in Colorado, I feel some degree of interest; and while I have not spoken on this subject of woman for a long time, and may not for a long time to come, and while I am not considered a representative of the woman suffrage party, having never connected or identified myself with it, I believe it is right, I believe it is just; and I wish every young man who has a vote to cast would look at this subject, not from the stand-point of the old politicians, not from the stand-point of men who have become fixed, stereotyped in their opinions, brought up under the influence of tradition and custom, but from the stand-point of common-sense, and answer for themselves whether their sisters are not as much entitled to cast a ballot and participate in the government as themselves; and whether, when we admit hundreds of thousands of ignorant men to vote who are just out of servitude in the South, it is not an insult to our mothers, our sisters, and wives, to say that they are not fit to vote, or entitled to exercise one of the highest privileges men or women can enjoy,—the privilege of helping to form and construct human society. This is all I have to say on the subject. I have expressed myself very freely, not always attempting to represent those who are exclusively occupied with the woman suffrage movement, because there are other measures in which I am just as much interested,—for instance, the emancipation of the minds of men and women from the thraldom of superstition. A man or woman need not be confined to one reform. We should be broad, liberal, cosmopolitan, giving all these reforms a generous support and uncompromising aid every time we have an opportunity; and for that reason I came here this evening, and have spoken in favor of woman suffrage. I thank you for your very respectful attention.

A resolution of thanks was adopted.

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PAGANISM IN FRANCE.

BY ELIE RECLUS.

SINGULAR REVELATIONS BY PAUL PARFAIT, FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS—HOW FRANCE IS LEARNING TO WORSHIP LOCAL GODDESSES—THE MULTIPLICITY OF BLESSED VIRGINS, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CLERICAL PARTY—VIRGINS WHITE, BLACK, AND YELLOW, AND THEIR DIVERSE GIFTS.

LONDON, August 16, 1877.

Every one knows that the present political crisis in France is the work of the clerical party, which has led Marshal MacMahon to his *coup de tête*, hoping that the *coup de tête* will end in a *coup d'état*. However, the public does not seem to us sufficiently to realize the immense influence which the prevailing religion exerts by its manifest workings, and especially by its occult action on the affairs of that country, of which so much is said and so little understood. People are too apt to discuss that prevailing religion theologically; there is too much of controversy and not enough of history; too much attention is paid to its theory and not enough to its practice.

A BOOK ABOUT PILGRIMAGES AND SHRINES.

In this respect there is no book more instructive than that which has just been published by M. Paul Parfait, a young writer well known by the readers of the *Charivari* and of some of the moderate republican journals. Under the title *Le Dossier des Pélerinages*, the author has endeavored to draw up the balance sheet of clericalism, to relate its industries great and small, to reveal its workings. He denies having intended an anti-Christian work, and even having any evil designs against Catholicism. On the contrary he claims to have wished "to put people of good faith on their guard against that rising tide of superstition which threatens Catholicism itself"; he expects to be supported "by all thoughtful people who desire to separate from a gross fetichism the religion in which they have placed a hope of moral regeneration and of supreme consolation."

Again, these pilgrimages will interest Americans for a special reason. Several inhabitants of the United States, led by the fashion of the day, have been personally to pay their homage and to present their offerings at the sanctuaries of Rome and of Lourdes. No one has yet forgotten the alarm felt by the country when for several weeks there was no news of the steamship which conveyed many pilgrims to Europe from Canada and the United States.

THE OFFICIAL AUTHORITY FOR THE FACTS.

Let not the reader of *Le Dossier des Pélerinages* suppose that M. Paul Parfait has allowed himself the least exaggeration. Under the government of the priest party it would have been far too imprudent to advance against their policy assertions which were not superabundantly proved by facts. Fearing lawsuits, fearing fine and imprisonment—we may say, by the way, that no editor has dared to assume the responsibility of this work,—the author speaks only proof in hand, when provided with documents emanating from the tribunals and the prelacies. It is therefore not here that we must look for the secret history of French Catholicism. No allusion, even distant, is made to many episodes which everybody knows, but which the papers do not mention. But enough is said to enable us to guess at the other side of more than one official account. The author wisely abstains from being wholly explicit, but he lays before us an uncontested, an incontestable record, which is amply sufficient to enable men of good sense to form a reasoned opinion of the intelligence and honesty of the faction which, to the shame and misfortune of France, pretends to represent it altogether.

PAGANISM IN FRANCE.

In the book which lies before us we might study several interesting subjects,—that of miracles, for instance, or that of relics. We have preferred to draw some information on the worship of Virgins, which has received a powerful impulse from the solemn proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. There is no need of long argument to establish the fact that under pretence of religion and of Catholic, apostolic, and Roman Orthodoxy, paganism—true paganism—has been restored through the action of the party of order in the country of Voltaire and of Rabelais. The philosopher and the historian can henceforth seek in the Greek novels, *The Golden Ass* and *The Syrian Goddess*, for notes and commentaries on the mandates of the French bishops and of the primate of the Gauls. It is only too true that the donation of France to the Virgin Mary, by Louis XIII., has been ratified by the last Legislative Assembly. Indeed, it will be remembered that at the pilgrimage of Chartres one hundred and fifty deputies of the Right declared that the Queen of the Angels would throne in Paris, and would reign from Dunkirk to Perpignan. Before instituting the charming MacMahonate, before promulgating its delightful Constitution, the Assembly voted that an immense cathedral, consecrated to the Sacred Heart, should be raised on the summit of Montmartre, overlooking the whole of Paris. It was an official symbol of the triumph of the Jesuits over the Revolution. We possess a small drawing which we found in a service book, and which would deserve to be kept in the national archives. It represents a cock—the Gallic cock—who parades and struts on an eminence; he spreads his tail, pricks up his comb, and sings cock-a-doodle-do; he crows victoriously because a large saltier cross, which dangles upon his crop, has been fastened about his neck. A flag is floating from the top of a steeple, with the device, *Gallia Christiana*.

A MULTIPLICITY OF VIRGINS.

You must know that the "Mothers of God" swarm in France, and multiply as rapidly as the phylloxera. Every year, every month, new sanctuaries spring up, or old sanctuaries are restored or improved. As multiplicity produces variety, we have Virgin Marys of all kinds; as in the song of Malbrook, we have brunettes and blondes, and auburn ones too; we have yellow ones and red ones, and even negresses as black as soot. There are some to suit all tastes. Some are elegant, others are poorly rigged; some are fat, others are lean; there are some aristocratic ones; there are some mere *bourgeoises*, and even some wretched beggars. "Our Lady of Victories," said a devotee to M. Jules Baissac, the author of *Les Origines de la Religion*, "Our Lady of Victories is a great lady; she intimidates me. But Our Lady of Chartres is a good sort of a woman, and I love her much more."

DIVERSITY OF GIFTS.

What one virgin will not do another virgin will; what one virgin cannot do another can. At Bétharram a woman finds relief for her pains in the bowels, for which she has unavailingly implored Our Lady of Lourdes. A young girl afflicted with St. Vitus' Dance obtains from Our Lady of Pontmain the cure that Our Lady of Chêne had refused her. After this there is nothing more natural than to ask oneself whether Our Lady of Lourdes and Our Lady of Bétharram, Our Lady of Pontmain, and Our Lady of Chêne are really the same virgin. . . . "Our Lady of Rodez," we read in a mandate of Monseigneur the Bishop of Rodez, "is about to pay her visit to Our Lady of Lourdes. The virgin of Rouergue wishes to leave her mountains to pay homage to the virgin of the Pyrenees. . . . Nowhere does the idea of plurality of the virgins appear so strikingly as at Chartres, where the cathedral alone possesses two virgins under two different names,—the one, Our Lady of the Pillar, in the nave; the other, Our Lady Underground, in the crypt. The latter is white, the former is black; the black one is crowned, the white one is not."

THE VIRGINS AS LOCAL DIVINITIES.

Among all these virgins the worshippers have only the trouble of choosing; they are all goddesses, and mothers of the same child. Patronesses of sanctuaries, they are above all local divinities, as were the famous Diana of the Ephesians, the Artemisia of Tauris, the Minerva of Athens, the Juno of Argos; like the innumerable gods of the Termini in the campagnas of Greece, Sicily, and Italy. The faithful never mistake them; they know how to distinguish them; they discern differences in their features and physiognomies; they recognize distinct aptitudes and virtues in them. And even, if we are to believe their worshippers, each one of them cares more for her own little specialty than for the whole of heaven; cares more for her own parish than for the vast world. Some have even been known in time of drought to cause it to rain on their district, and on their district alone, taking care that the beneficial rain should stop at the hedge between the two parishes. One is powerful against cholera, a second against jaundice, a third against gout and rheumatism, a fourth exempts from conscription, and so on. This little virgin attempts only easy cases; but that great virgin cares only for difficult things. This one causes Normans to gain their lawsuits, and that one Auvergnats to win theirs. None is more stirring and active than Our Lady of the Sacred Heart of Issoudun. Her commercial house has taken for its device the maxim commended by the Manchester school: small profits, but multitudes of sales. She transacts business to the extent of more than a million francs a year; she receives orders from all parts of the globe; she exports to the interior of China and Thibet, and to the Sandwich Islands. Here is the true Cheap John store; she retails an immense amount of indulgences, rosaries, and remissions to the souls in Purgatory.

GIFTS, PRIZES, CROWNS, AND JEALOUSIES.

But it is with divine virgins as with common servants,—for one who does her work heartily, there are several who are mere lazybones and sluggards. These latter are justly neglected. There are some who, after having been formerly illustrious, are now consigned to the supernumeraries. Those who work best are rewarded. Prizes are awarded them, as in French schools they are given to the young ladies who have distinguished themselves in their classes. A golden crown is placed upon their head in the midst of a congregation of prelates and an efflux of devotees and curiosity-seekers. This distinction, which is equivalent to the patents, medals, and licenses distributed by the government at official examinations, gives rise to violent competitions, to bitter rivalries between the competitors. After our Lady of Lourdes was crowned, the Bishop of Grenoble hastily started off for Rome; in his trunk he carried a crown, on which there were forty-five thousand francs' worth of precious stones, which the Pope was obliged to bless immediately that it might adorn the head of Our Lady of La Salette. But Our Lady of La Salette having become a princess, could Our Lady of Pontmain consent to be a mere plebeian? In their turn Saint Michael, who is only the archangel of the celestial militia, and Anne d'Auray, who is a mere saint, obtained nobiliary crowns as a reward for the miracles which they have wrought.

THE PATRONAGE OF THE VIRGINS.

Better still, some virgin who has made her fortune is adopted as a mother and patroness by several young virgins who are making their first appearances in the world. Thus the grotto of Lourdes has a host of "daughters." The hospital of Sèvres has a grotto which Monseigneur the Bishop of Versailles has himself deigned to open. A pool of stagnant water on some pebbles represents the Gare, a mountain torrent; a few zigzags through the clods of earth laid out upon the pebbles represent the network of the mountain. Porters pour pailfuls of water in the reservoir, and on holidays the faucets of the pseudo grotto give passage to a pseudo *eau de Lourdes*, which works pseudo miracles. In certain localities the reservoir is filled with water which is sent from Lourdes itself in casks or bottles; but this water, whose transportation has cost something, is husbanded. The Holy Father also has caused a little grotto, imitated from that of Lourdes, to be set up in the gardens of the Vatican, and several casks are sent him from the sanctuary itself, and offered him by pilgrims. Of all the "daughters" of Our Lady of Lourdes, the favorite, that one of the little grottos which she must look upon with most satisfaction, is certainly the *fac-simile* of Oostakker, near Gand. Profiting by the material lessons, the young grotto is making her way at a great rate, challenging publicity, reaping offerings, beating the drum on the backs of the subjects of her miracles, and indulging in all the eccentricities which draw attention. Jealous persons even accuse her of disloyal competition. Belgium, you know, has the genius of counterfeiting.

THE POLITICS OF THE VIRGINS.

A curious chapter would be that of the political opinions set forth by all these virgins, their priests and zealots, in the midst of the internal agitations of France. Ex-Empress Eugénie counts several protectresses among them, others favor him who already assumes the title of Napoleon IV.; but the majority are still faithful to the cause of Henri V. But four or five years ago they were unanimous in conspiring with the legitimists to nurse up another civil war, to prepare craftily an expedition against Italy. How many times they had prophesied the restoration of the *Chaste Roy, Prince des Lys Blancs!* We must do them the justice to say that none is republican.

A COMMON CHARACTERISTIC.

Notwithstanding the diversity of their opinions, of their tastes, of their industries, and of their appearance, the attentive observer will notice that all these virgins resemble each other in certain respects; that they have several characteristic traits in common. In general their intelligence is but little developed; they are exceedingly coquettish, jealous, and vain, and they envy one another. But their greatest defect is that they are interested. They cannot resist the attraction of a compliment, or the seduction of a new velvet or rose-colored satin dress; still less can they resist the allurement of a pearl necklace, a river of diamonds, or a great purseful of gold. It is a sad thing to say, but, it must be confessed, all these "Virgin-Mothers of God" are covetous and rapacious.

In conclusion we shall make only one remark, that made by the celebrated theologian, the Lutheran Mosheim, who, after relating the first great triumphs of Catholicism under the Emperor Constantine, asked with a shake of his head: What are we to think? Is it the Christian Church that has converted the pagans, or the pagans who have converted the Christian Church?—*New York Evening Post, Sept.* 4, 1877.

A LITTLE BOY in Springfield, Mass., after his customary evening prayer, a night or two ago, continued, "And bless mamma and Jenny and Uncle Benny," adding, after a moment's pause, the explanatory remark, "his name is Hopkins."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

LINES.

A path obscure; a feeble ray
To guide my steps, to lead me hence
Towards a realm of lustrous day,
Bright promise of an inward sense!

Yet, doubtful of the failing light
That reason holds to feet of clay,
I pause and halt, as one in night
Awaits the fuller light of day.

Then comes to me sweet voice of hope,
As one to take a blind man's hand:
"Step forth with me; thou canst but grope
Along the road towards the strand."

And lo! there gleams, as from a star,
A light that maketh all serene,
My pathway rendering clearer far
Than ever it before had been. A. O.

BROOKLYN.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 22.

W. M. Kennedy, $3.20; M. F. Kultehar, 15 cents; S. L. Bailey, 75 cents; L. F. Gardner, 10 cents; John Curtis, $6.40; Mrs. Mack, $1.60; L. Prang & Co., $3.20; Geo. L. Brownell, $6.40; E. B. McKensie, $3.20; Alex. Foster, $3.20; Jacob Edson, $3.75; C. H. True, 10 cents; M. A. Blanchard, $3.25; C. A. Miller, 50 cents; W. R. Smalley, 10 cents; E. G. Morton, 10 cents; E. Whicher, $3.20; Mrs. E. P. Robeson, $3.20; J. E. Cass, $5; Chas. A. Hardy, $3.75; John D. White, $3; Dr. L. P. Babb, $1; R. C. Fisher, 10 cents; H. Raymond, $3.20; P. F. H. Reid, 10 cents; C. O. Durkee, $3; Frank Lessmann, $7; C. H. Dunbrack, $5; Horace Ingraham, $1.50; W. E. Lukens, 10 cents; L. S. Haskin, $1.60; E. E. P. Clark, $4.50; T. M. Lamb, $3.15; R. R. Bellows, 25 cents; Am. News Co., $13.35; L. G. Hoffman, $2; Nellie Simpson, 10 cents; James Dillaway, $3.20; D. W. Pond, $3.20; J. H. Mason, $3.20.

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The Index.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 27, 1877.

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TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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MR. UNDERWOOD will lecture in this city next Sunday morning, Sept. 30, at Paine Hall, on "The Positive and Constructive Side of Free Thought." The public are invited, and there will probably be a large attendance.

"THERE MUST have been a party victorious and a party vanquished," said General Devens, in his oration at the dedication of the Army and Navy Monument on Boston Common; "but there is no true victory anywhere unless the conclusion is for the interest of each and all." It is in that spirit and with that faith alone that the National Liberal League would create a new party for the establishment of secular government and the perpetuity of universal religious liberty.

AT THE RECENT STATE CONVENTION of the Ohio Republicans, Colonel George G. Minor, of Cleveland, tested his party on the church taxation question in a very straightforward and manly way, as follows:—

The following resolution was read by Colonel G. G. Minor, as a minority report of the committee, the resolution being the one adopted by the Cuyahoga County Convention:—

"*Resolved*, That under the statutes of our State as they now stand there exists a very unjust discrimination against the tax-paying community, and in form of denominational and sectarian institutions and societies, which discrimination should be at once abolished by the legislature, and that we believe all property in the State should be taxed and none be exempt from taxation, except such property as is purchased and held by the public and used solely for public purposes."

Colonel Grosvenor moved that the majority report of the committee be adopted as a whole, and that the previous question be put. The previous question was ordered and carried, and, after a short parley, the motion to adopt the resolutions as a whole was adopted with great applause.

Colonel Minor then moved that the minority resolution be adopted, and that the previous question be ordered.

There was a demand for a second reading of the resolution and it was again read, and there was considerable applause. A report, however, started in the convention that it was a church taxation resolution, and that it would be a weight to the platform.

Finally a motion was made by Major Bickham that the resolution be laid on the table, which was carried almost unanimously.

NOBODY can say that this challenge is not a fair and manly one, and we unhesitatingly comply with Mr. Teed's request to publish it:—

Free Platform Convention to be held in Moravia, Cayuga County, N. Y., commencing October 12, 1877, continuing seven days. The opposers of the Bible and Christianity, as manifest in a variety of phases—the most menacing of which is in anti-Christian Spiritualism,—have defiantly challenged Christianity to contest with them its claims to Divine authority. I accept the challenge, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in behalf of Christian principles, and, therefore, call upon all opposers of the Bible, as given by Divine inspiration, and of Jesus Christ as the Lord God and Creator of heaven and earth, and of Christianity, to send their representative men, or men and women, materialists and spiritualists. This may include the foremost scientists of the world. Speakers who wish to enter the arena in opposition to Christianity, should send in their names as early as October 1. From such names, the parties being present at the opening of the convention, there may be selected twelve men, or men and women, the choice to be made by the anti-Christian element present at the opening of the convention. Three meetings will be held daily. The first four days—twelve meetings—to be occupied by the twelve speakers chosen, who shall confine themselves to one hour each, the remainder of the time, nine meetings, if required, to be occupied in the defence. A full report will be made of the proceedings, and given to the public, who are constituted sole arbiters of the question at issue. Letters of inquiry will be promptly answered. Preparations will be made for the entertainment of strangers, with the least possible expense to them while in attendance. Let it no more be declared that the gauntlet thrown by anti-Christ, finds no ready hand to take it up.

CYRUS R. TEED.

MORAVIA, CAYUGA CO., N. Y.
To whom address all letters.

WANTED—A NEW CONSCIENCE-PARTY.

AN APPEAL TO ALL PATRIOTS AND LIBERALS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

The time has arrived for holding the First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League; and the Directors, in fulfilment of the duty imposed upon them by the Constitution, have issued a public call for the assembling of this convention at Rochester, N. Y., October 26, 27, and 28, 1877. Questions of the gravest import, both to the Liberal League and to the nation, will be submitted to the members of this convention for free discussion and equally free decision.

The first of these questions is this: Shall the consistent advocates of secular government, as represented by the National Liberal League, now boldly take the necessary initial steps towards the formation of a great national party, by adopting an independent political platform and nominating candidates for the Presidential election of 1880?

The second question—provided the first question is answered by the convention in the affirmative—is this: Shall the platform adopted present the following principles and measures?—

"I. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, etc.

"II. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

"III. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education."

These questions must be answered by the convention itself, to which they are simply submitted by the Directors; and it is greatly to be desired that the liberals of the country may send a sufficiently large delegation of their best and wisest representatives to insure a deliberate, intelligent, and patriotic answer. Convinced as I am of the paramount importance to the future welfare of my country of the three great principles above stated, and equally convinced that they can be practically established by nothing short of a further and higher development of the National Constitution, I am urged by a sense of duty to plead their cause at once in these columns—not at all as President of the National Liberal League (for I have no right to speak officially in this matter), but simply as an American citizen whose whole mind and heart and soul are enlisted on their behalf. Bear with me then, fellow-liberals, while I address myself directly to your consciences and your intellects, and set forth as best I can the reasons why you are called upon by true patriotism to take a new, bold, and seemingly audacious step.

Last year, at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, I opposed in advance the idea of the new League's going into politics as a distinct party, with platform and candidates. A few weeks were enough to teach me better. In the Senate of the United States, an amendment to the Constitution was proposed which, if it had passed both houses, would have covertly but effectually recognized the Divine Authority of the Bible as the Word of God in the Constitution itself, and destroyed its secular character as completely, though not as ostentatiously, as if the "God-in-the-Constitution" party had carried out their whole programme. This insidious and infamous measure received in the Senate a vote of 28 in its favor to only 16 against it, and thus barely failed to get the requisite two-thirds majority. Often had I heard it confidently boasted, by liberals who derisively or pityingly smiled at all warnings of danger from the Christian Amendment movement, that the whole country would rise in indignation, if that bigoted scheme were ever seriously broached in Congress; and, not unnaturally, I looked to see some signs of this promised popular rebuke, now that the bigots had almost succeeded in carrying this very scheme through the Senate. But I looked in vain. Nobody seemed to understand what had happened, or what a fatal disaster the cause of religious liberty had so narrowly escaped. Here and there a solitary journal, wiser than the rest, pointed out the rock on which the precious secularity of the Constitution had been so nearly wrecked; but (what filled me with amazement) most liberals themselves appeared just as blind to this threatened shipwreck of their cause as others were indifferent to it, and were unable to see "what harm the amendment would have done." From that time the immediate necessity of a new *conscience-party in politics*—one that should make it a sacred duty to educate their fellow-voters in the alphabet of religious freedom and equal rights—became evident. There is no way to do this, no way to get the attention of the giddy and thoughtless public, except the resolute way of putting the truth into a political platform, nominating worthy candidates to represent it, and refusing to vote for any others. It is not with any expectation of carrying the next Presidential election that I have come now to favor such a course; to success of that sort I confess I am indifferent. But I see the terrible ignorance which pervades this nation respecting equal rights in religion and the only permanent safeguards of religious liberty; I see the terrible peril to which this ignorance exposes us, as revealed with startling plainness in the nation's narrow escape last year from an Orthodox amendment of the Constitution. All possible objections to the contrary notwithstanding, it is in my opinion a solemn duty for the resolute friends of secular government to form now a new conscience-party, invincible by the truth of its ideas and the justice of its measures, willing to risk defeat at the polls rather than to be longer silent or unheard, and inspired by omnipotent moral enthusiasm to raise a standard of principles which shall at last compel the homage of mankind.

So much for the general movement proposed: now for the principles which constitute its life. The first and central of these is the *total separation of Church and State*, which implies that the State exists for itself, not for the Church, and has its foundation in the right of every national community to administer their secular affairs by exclusively secular methods. The second is *national protection for national citizens*, and necessarily follows from the acknowledgment of the reciprocal secular obligations of the nation and the citizen—the nation claiming supreme allegiance from the latter, and being bound in return to afford that personal protection which is the only just warrant for the claim. The third is *universal education the basis of universal suffrage in this secular republic*, and affirms the impossibility of sustaining secular republican government without virtue and intelligence in the people. These three principles are really one and the same; each implies the other two; and no clear or logical mind, having affirmed the first, will long hesitate to affirm the rest.

Now the Constitution of the United States is wholly built on the first of these three principles, that Church and State ought to be totally separated; it totally separates them so far as the government is theoretically concerned, though it fails to give explicit and adequate guarantees for this separation in practice. To seek such guarantees, therefore, and to claim the faithful application of this underlying principle of the entire Constitution, is the high duty of every patriot who understands the true spirit of secular popular government. Surely I need not dwell long on a point so plain and elementary.

But the second principle of the three—that the national citizen is entitled to national protection—is not yet fully recognized in the Constitution. Abroad, in foreign lands, the United States government acknowledges the obligation to protect its own citizens by the whole power of the nation, if necessary; but at home it does nothing of the sort. Here at home it turns over to the separate State governments all responsibility for protecting United States citizens in their fundamental personal rights; and if any State refuses or neglects to afford such protection, the oppressed citizen can get no redress from the national government. Yet the national government claims from every citizen his supreme allegiance—taxes him, conscripts him in war, demands of him the last great sacrifice of life in its own defence! There is here a fatal defect in our political system. If the nation as such claims supreme allegiance from the individual citizen, and forbids him to yield his supreme allegiance to his own particular State, then it is bound, *as a nation*, to protect him in return, and not to evade this sacred duty by turning him over to his State without appeal. We are no nation at all, if this reciprocal obligation of supreme allegiance, on the one hand, and personal protection, on the other, is not acknowledged and discharged. That the American people are inflexibly resolved to be a nation in the true sense of the word, was settled forever by the great civil war; and it is only a question of time how soon they will acknowledge the obligation they have thus assumed towards the individual citizen. Local self-government for local purposes, and national government for national purposes—that

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is the true and accepted theory of free institutions; but the personal protection of the citizens, in their fundamental individual rights, is to-day erroneously classed among the *local purposes* of State government. This is a great and perilous mistake. The towns and counties of each State to-day enjoy local self-government; but it is the State itself, not the towns or counties, that is responsible for the personal protection of the citizen, and that discharges this obligation through its own State courts. All that is needed is to carry out more thoroughly this same system, and, without violating in the least the principle of local self-government, extend the arm of national protection over the individual citizen. Not until this is done shall we become a true nation; not until this is done has the national government any right to demand from its citizens their supreme allegiance. But this *will* be done, and every far-seeing national patriot will seek to hasten the day.

This great principle of national protection for national citizens has immediate and momentous applications to the living questions of the day. Let me point out a few of them.

1. Every friend of EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION should be heartily in favor of this principle; for it will protect him, as he is not now protected, in the enjoyment of these rights. The National Constitution is strictly secular, and gives no shadow of excuse for the violation of equal rights in religion; whereas almost all the State Constitutions, in some of their provisions, more or less deny them. The rights of free conscience and free thought are the most precious of all rights, dearer than life or property to all who cherish a noble self-respect; and for the protection of these rights, above all others, the individual citizen must look at last to the power which claims his supreme allegiance,—that is, the nation, and not the State.

2. Every friend of the FREEDMEN should be heartily in favor of this principle. The Southern question is not yet settled. Thoughtful men have no quarrel with the policy of "pacification and reconciliation" of President Hayes; but this policy does not settle the grave questions involved. From the day when the slaves of the South were emancipated by the national government, the people of the North have recognized and felt the obligation thereby imposed on the nation to protect these poor creatures in their fundamental rights. President Grant tried to discharge this obligation by bolstering up Republican State governments at the South by means of the army. This experiment failed, naturally enough; that is not the way by which a republican nation must protect its citizens. President Hayes has withdrawn the troops, as was right under the circumstances; no other course was in fact open to him. But how is the question left? The nation is utterly unable now to protect the freedmen in their individual rights; yet millions of citizens are vaguely and uneasily conscious of their obligation to do so *as a nation*. Universal handshaking is a very good thing; every true patriot rejoices in the prospect of restored good-feeling between the South and the North. But all this effusive demonstration of amity leaves unanswered the grave question which lurks in the background: how is the nation to protect the freedmen whom it has emancipated? For this question President Hayes has no answer. He can only point to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution, *which do not protect the freedmen as individuals, but only forbid certain kinds of State legislation*. He can only hope that the separate States, to which this duty is now solely entrusted, will faithfully protect the freedmen in their individual rights. In case of any failure, however, to protect these rights, the nation cannot interfere at all, unless the oppression takes the shape of formal State laws. Is this enough? Are the American people willing to leave a question of such magnitude, involving their own moral obligations to the poor and feeble, in such a state as this? They cannot protect the freedmen by the United States army, nor is that the way desired by any large-minded patriot. But they can do it, and ought to do it, by the United States courts; and therefore every friend of the freedmen ought to favor this great principle of national protection for national citizens through the national courts.

3. Every friend of WOMAN SUFFRAGE ought to favor heartily this same great principle; for women have been already recognized by the Supreme Court as citizens of the United States, and, if all such citizens are equally protected by the nation in their equal political rights, women-citizens will enjoy all the political rights of men-citizens, including that of suffrage. Moreover, this platform of the National Liberal League, if successful in the appeal to the people, will *secularize the State* at the same time that it *enfranchises women*, and thereby remove the greatest objection felt by so many liberals to this latter step—the objection that woman suffrage would tend to favor the designs of those who aim to Christianize the State. Is it not a great gain to put the woman suffrage movement into such a shape that it shall command the hearty support of all who believe in secular government? If the friends of the woman suffrage movement comprehend the principles and true practical interests of their own cause, they will be ready, and more than ready, to give their heartiest support to the political platform now proposed, and sustain the movement on its behalf to the utmost extent of their power.

These and other practical consequences which would follow the success of the platform to be submitted to the National Liberal League ought to insure a vast vote in its favor at the polls; and this will be the ultimate result, if the League should now boldly take the field on its behalf. I have not touched on the third principle—that which would make the nation require every State to sustain good public schools, just as some of the States to-day require the towns to do so. This is the only way to solve the educational question at the South efficiently, yet without military force. The nation has the highest right—that of self-preservation—to require that all its own citizens shall be decently educated; and the day is approaching when this abstract right will be intelligently and effectively asserted.

Fellow-liberals, I have briefly and inadequately pointed out the chief bearings of the principles advocated in the platform which is, I hope, to be the subject of your own grave deliberation and action at Rochester. I appeal to you, with a strength of earnestness which I am powerless to express, to step forward bravely and assert these great principles in the hearing of the whole American people. I appeal to you to form a new conscience-party for the maintenance of those high ideas and noble measures which are now indispensable to the national welfare. This is no narrow or crack-brained enterprise; it is nothing but the sober dictate of the purest and most enlightened patriotism. Think for yourselves on the subject here so imperfectly presented; follow no man's whims or dreams, but rather the noblest promptings of your own highest nature; and be sure that, however misjudged or abused, you will enjoy the proud consciousness of having labored unselfishly in your generation for the welfare of your country and your race.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

A WORD ABOUT TAXATION.

In regard to the subjection of women, we have seen how the teachings of Paul have borne sway in the past, and are, in fact, the chief obstacle to a practical recognition of the social and political rights of women at the present time. Paul is still reverenced and scrupulously followed, both in Church and State, where he was wrong, where he accepted and taught the morals of a barbarous age; but where he broke through barbarism and was gloriously right, let us see whether he is reverenced or obeyed. As the great Apostle of the Gentiles, nobly throwing off the prejudices of race, and proclaiming the brotherhood of man, he lays down a principle of justice, which the Church, and the State at the instigation of the Church, utterly disregard in the matter of exempting church property from taxation.

The passage is very pungent. Let us quote the substance of it, merely changing the word Jew to Christian:—

"Behold thou art called a Christian—and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness; thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?"

To exempt church property from taxation is to increase clandestinely the taxes of those who neither belong to the church nor use the property. It is simply stealing so much property which belongs to them and not to the church. It is taken generally without their knowledge, and of course without their consent. The character of the theft does not depend upon the amount taken. Suppose the property exempted from taxation is $10,000,000, and that only one-tenth of the people are without interest in it. Then if the tax is $1 per $1,000, or $10,000 in all, only $1,000, as a matter of average, will be stolen. But the principle of honesty so emphatically taught by St. Paul, is as wickedly violated as if the amount were larger. A well-concealed theft, if of so small an amount, is naturally borne without remark. But should the property exempted amount to $100,000,000, and the rate of taxation rise to $15 per thousand, the theft of $150,000 would become noticeable. When noticed, there is little reason to expect politicians who hold their places by the will of the majority to alter the law of their own motion. But there is reason why every Christian should either vote to discontinue this mode of stealing for the benefit of the Church or reject the authority of St. Paul. Would he who taught, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," have justified his disciples in asking Cæsar to exempt from taxation half their property invested in a church, leaving the burden thus taken off their shoulders to rest upon those of the poor heathen around them? It is quite certain that Christians, being wise as serpents and harmless as doves, did not, till they had gained the political power to enforce it, ask for the exemption from taxation of their consecrated any more than of their unconsecrated property. We now hear great complaint of the increasing numbers of people who never go to church. Did it never occur to the churches that some of this absence may be accounted for by the exemption of church property from taxation? If such exemption is contrary to justice and good morals, what is more natural than to doubt whether any moral benefit can be derived from being present at the services? Suppose in order to promote the multiplication of theatres, they were exempted from taxation, would not that be an additional reason why Christians, not inclined to visit theatres, would stay away? Supposing it to be the duty of every person to attend some church, so long as we admit that there are a good many who never will, is it the right thing to increase their disgust and give them a pretty plausible reason for staying away, by increasing their share of the taxes? This is a pretty serious question for the churches. It is possible that the Church can afford to stick to the teaching of Paul about women, for a good while longer. But, evidently, it cannot afford much longer to disregard Paul's well-expressed sense of the inconsistency of piety and theft.

The actual exemption of ecclesiastical property from taxes which would otherwise be paid by those best able to bear them, is one of the causes of hard times to the poor, both in and out of the churches; and, surely, the liberals in seeking to put an end to such exemption, ought to have and will have the aid of all sincere Christians of every denomination.

E. W.

MR. FROTHINGHAM'S POSITION.

Mr. Frothingham began another year of his arduous work in New York city on September 16. The subject of his discourse, in the Masonic Temple, was "The Rising and the Setting Faith." We find the following epitome of it in the *Tribune*:—

"It may be considered audacious, weak, or idle, to characterize the faith of Christendom as the 'setting faith,' and the beliefs held by a few handfuls of people in the centres of civilization as the 'rising faith' of the world, but such is to speak the truth. Christianity is passing away. It may be a thousand years before its decay is visible to all eyes, but its decline is plainly apparent to thinking minds. What is this setting faith? Christianity, of all phases, holds to the cardinal proposition of the unquestionable authority of the Christ. This implies dependence upon Christ for help, for redemption, for salvation. It means the helplessness and imbecility of man. It leaves him a straw upon the tempest-tossed ocean of existence. The signs which indicate the decline of this system built upon Christ are these: It has lost its hold upon cultivated people, for loss of faith is synonymous with intellect. It has also lost its hold upon the uncultivated classes,—the working-people. The strikers of the summer past had undoubtedly been educated in some system of Christian faith, either Protestant or Catholic; but what effect had religion upon those men when they rebelled against society? Did they take lessons from Christ? Did they make the Sermon on the Mount their *vade mecum*? Another sign is the decline of theology. Nobody preaches theology now. Mr. Beecher tells his congregation that they will hear none from him; and even Mr. Moody, that prince of revivalists, keeps his dogmas in the background, knowing their weakness. Now emotion is put forward. Again, our common life is not run on Christian principles, nor based upon the New Testament. People nowadays are actuated by common wisdom and prudence. People, in fact, never did live out their religion. There is a great gulf fixed between creeds and practice. And the tendency to substitute humanity and kindness for faith is another sign of decay.

"The characteristics of the rising faith are these: The absence of Christ. It has no Savior,—no Redeemer. Yet it reveres all leaders of the race, even some of those whom Christianity condemns. It believes in the possible, essential man—in manhood,—in deep and dear humanity, struggling in sin and sorrow, but which has within itself power to solve all

questions fairly submitted, and to give peace to all. This new faith does not overthrow immortality; it cherishes every hope of it, but it sets the hereafter in new relations with this life. If the believer holds to a hereafter, it is as a completion of this life, and only to give dignity to the present existence. Again, the new faith does not believe in the supernatural. It does not pray, for there is no answer to come. George Müller believes that he sustains a large orphan asylum by prayer alone. We cannot prove that he is wrong, but we do not believe that it is so sustained. Kind friends, knowing of his work, felt impelled by the kindly impulses of their natures to send him aid. By strange coincidences, this aid came just when it was most needed. The new faith does not do the work of the old. It does not claim to satisfy the same needs. It satisfies only the needs of to-day. It lives in to-day. Let us be satisfied with the faith that suits us. 'Tis not the music of angels we listen for, but the sad sweet music of humanity. The salvation we have in view is salvation from doubt, dishonesty, and fear in this present rugged pathway."

These are the words of truth and soberness. They utter what the world, however reluctantly, has got to admit to be such. They utter what is destined to be the commonplace of the future. Christianity certainly rests upon the "cardinal proposition" here set forth; and this "cardinal proposition" (expressed, in New Testament diction, in the Christian Confession that "Jesus is the Christ") is certainly untrue. The ultimate fate of Christianity is decided by this one fact.

Substantially the same position is taken in Mr. Frothingham's instructive volume published last spring, and entitled *The Cradle of the Christ*, of which "the original purpose was to indicate the place of the New Testament in the literature of the Hebrew people, to show in fact how it is comprehended in the scope of that literature," but in which (from the nature of the case) the essential untruth of the Christian Confession was necessarily exposed. Frankly admitting (page 13) that his revision of the New Testament is "fatal to Christianity's claim to be a special revelation," he yet, in the Preface, states that he has "as little purpose or desire to undermine Christianity as to revive Judaism." His attitude to Christianity is thus that of a candid critic, a "disciple of no special school." "All polemic or dogmatical intention he [the author] disavows, all disposition to lower the dignity, impair the validity, or weaken the spiritual supports of Christianity. His aim, truly and soberly speaking, is to set certain literary facts in their just relation to one another." [Page 2.]

While this position as author is substantially the same as that of the present discourse, in which Mr. Frothingham appears rather as the oral teacher, we welcome with special satisfaction the clear and bold declaration now made that "loss of [Christian] faith is synonymous with intellect." That is literally true. We do not deny that many persons of high intellectual ability still retain more or less "Christian faith," since they do not use it freely on Christian tenets. But we do deny that any strong and free intellect can thoroughly study the "cardinal proposition" of Christianity, in the full light of modern criticism and scientific knowledge, without inevitable "loss of faith" in its truth. The time is certainly approaching, and is not very far distant, when the whole system of Christian doctrine, with the unanimous assent of all instructed and cultivated minds, will be put precisely on the level of the old Greek mythology. The ancient religion of Greece and Rome acquired the name of "paganism" because belief in it had died out in the cities, and found refuge only in the *pagi*, or rural districts; and, as we pointed out years ago in THE INDEX, the Christianity of today is inevitably destined to become, in this sense, the "paganism" of the future. It is vitally important to mankind that the natural process of decay now going on should not be artificially arrested, disguised, or in any way hidden from the knowledge of the common people; and it is therefore to be regretted that attempts should be anywhere made to wrest the word Christianity from its original and historical meaning, or to smuggle it into use as synonymous with mere moral goodness. All such attempts are predestined failures, it is true; but they retard the progress of knowledge, galvanize dead beliefs into a semblance of life, and confound all those distinctions by which things that differ ought to be honestly distinguished. It is a good sign, therefore, to see men of Mr. Frothingham's ability and influence setting the example of calling things by their right names—of holding up Christianity to public view as what it really is, the "setting faith" of the past, and pointing out unequivocally wherein it differs from the "rising faith" of the future. Such bold contrasts as this are the only means of making the common mind understand the momentous change resistlessly going on in religious thought, and of guarding it from a distressful and not harmless sense of intellectual bewilderment. The time has come already for enlightened religious teachers to "talk in parables" no longer, but point out simply, clearly, and bravely that Christianity is indeed dying, but only to be replaced by a humanitarian religion infinitely more free, helpful, tender, and *true*.

Communications.

THE INTEREST DOCTRINE.

See INDEX, June 28, July 12, August 2, September 13.

1. How the editor could call "irrelevant," with regard to the morality of interest, the circumstance of mortality or immortality of the creditor, is a cause of wonder to me. Any one who has followed my line of argument from the beginning, or even paid due attention to the three last paragraphs of my last article, must be convinced that it is the only relevant point, and that all treatises, in favor of money interest or against it, which fail to take into consideration this only relevant point, must be re-written, being re-thought first.

2. The editor's memory is at fault when he thinks that it is only "now" that I perceive that the lender, *being mortal*, is entitled to receive interest besides the reimbursement of his capital. I not only said as much in my first article, but even gave the basis on which to calculate the amount of interest due to the creditor. This basis is nothing else than the tables of mortality on which the life-insurance and life-annuity business is founded; and the data are the age of the lender, and the stipulated duration of the loan. If the loan is for a hundred years, it amounts, on the part of the lender, to his parting with his money in favor of his heirs. If he wishes to do this gratuitously, good and right. But if he does it for an adequate consideration, that consideration must consist in his heirs paying to him, as long as he lives, an annuity equal to the capital divided by the number of years he is expected to live, whether he lives that number of years, or more or less. If, instead of being for a hundred years, the loan is for a period beyond which the lender has no hope to live, the annuity he is entitled to must decrease in proportion as that hope increases. The annuity, in either case, has a surrender value, which can be scientifically and precisely determined on insurance principles.

3. What I have just said shows how incorrect it is to say that "the heir gains nothing at all by the loan." *He is the gainer of an estate*, so easily calculable, that any insurance and annuity company, on condition of becoming in his place heir of the lender to the extent of the loan, would undertake to pay the annuity or its surrender value to the lender or to his heirs; namely, to whichever is so possessed of the heirship as to have power to validly transfer it to the company.

4. Nothing, assuredly, can be more emphatic than my admitting, and having admitted from the beginning, that *the lender is entitled to receive interest;* but *this does not "concede the whole point at issue,"* the point at issue being, *"from whom is the lender entitled to receive interest?"* Everything, in what precedes, evidently shows that he is entitled to receive interest from his heirs, who are his continuation, and the same party as himself so far as the debtor is concerned. Nothing has gone to prove that he is entitled to receive anything from the debtor, who will have to repay the principal when due, whether the creditors or his heirs are then alive to receive it, and who, therefore, is in nothing benefited by the circumstance of the creditor's mortality.

5. If, beside the interest from his heirs, the lender is entitled to receive interest from the debtor, it must be on other grounds than those of the mortality of the creditor; and it is here, and here alone, that the circumstance of mortality or immortality is irrelevant. Of grounds for receiving interest from the debtor I have shown that there may be many, insurance against his possible insolvency being the principal one; or there may be none at all, and in that case no interest is due by him. There may even be cases when the interest is due by the lender to the borrower, as when the money is safer with the latter. *When such circumstances exist*, "the interest is a *quid pro quo*, and," whether due by the creditor or debtor, "is due like any other debt." But circumstances which may or may not attend a thing are unessential to it.

6. The editor fails to show the least ground on which, in a loan *per se*, that is, in a loan unattended by accidental circumstances, interest could be due *by the debtor*. "The lender sacrifices *power* by his loan in favor of the borrower, who receives it,—power to gratify his own desires and supply his own wants; he therefore has a right to compensation for this sacrifice from the person who benefits by it; *i.e.*, the borrower." Very well! As a compensation, the borrower, at the stipulated time, repays an equal sum, thereby in his turn sacrificing, in favor of the lender, an equal power to gratify desire and supply wants. It is use for use, power for power, amount for amount. The reciprocal anticipation and postponement of the enjoyment being a benefit to both, and thus far the cause of the contract, but immaterial to its equality; the mortality of the creditor being not the debtor's concern; and accidentals being not essentials: ON A LOAN *per se* NO INTEREST IS DUE BY THE DEBTOR.

The lender who takes interest from his debtor on a loan pure and simple may take no more than belongs to him; but, being ashamed or embarrassed to ask it from those who owe it, takes it from the wrong man. It is as if, having lost a cow, he compensated himself by stealing the first cow he met. This would be as much a theft as if he stole a cow, having lost none; and yet, many men would be able to quiet their consciences in the one case who could not in the other. In some communities such thefts, from being universal and circular, have come to be looked upon as moral. So has, among us, the custom of taking advantage of the helplessness of borrowers.

This might be the place to show that the borrowing of money at all is a mere circumlocution and a farce. Money-lenders never lend any money except to solvent parties, in exchange for solvent paper. These solvent parties might purchase anything they needed through their own solvent paper, quotable in a free market, were they not debarred by legal penalties from issuing it in bills small enough to be convenient. These legal penalties on the use of all but a limited amount of privileged money, are nothing else but a compelling the people either to stop all work and transactions and starve, or to buy, every man, what he already owns, his own credit, from the owners of that privileged money, at such premium, called interest, as they may ask. In other words, all the money yearly paid as interest on public and private debts is nothing else but a yearly public grant annually voted by a few men to themselves through the legislature; *i. e.*, the militia. The recipients of that bounty, far from deserving it by any public or private service that may be considered as a *quid pro quo*, ought to be punished for corrupting the public powers and robbing every individual in the land. But this last consideration belongs to a subject vast and complete in itself, and can, in this connection, only constitute a duplicate line of argument. I mention it, therefore, by way of protection.

Without this last paragraph, I have made this matter as clear as I can, deriving great help, as I thankfully acknowledge, from the courteous interest manifested by the editor in making his objections. Whether I have, as I believe, brought into relief, through new spectral bands, some overlooked but essential elements of the question—or, as I fear he believes, done nothing of the kind,—I am willing, at this point, subject to his permission and to the summing up of the editorial chair, to let the case go to the jury.

JULIUS FERRETTE.

[1. The point at issue we understood to be simply the morality or immorality of charging a "premium for the *use* of money"—that is, interest. By the usage of the whole commercial world, as well as by the science of political economy, the charge of interest *on this ground* is sanctioned as right and proper. The Bishop affirmed, however, that it is "usury" and "extortion"; and the discussion should be narrowed to this one point. We certainly think it "irrelevant" to discuss any other point than this, such as the propriety of charging interest for *other reasons* than the use of the money.

2. So far as this limited discussion is concerned, the "tables of mortality" have nothing to do with the question, and we must decline to consider them at all.

3. A loan is a transaction between lender and borrower, as much as a lease is a transaction between landlord and tenant. The "heirs" have nothing to do with it. The landlord charges rent for the use of his house; the lender charges interest for the use of his money. Shall a landlord look to his own heirs for the rent due from the tenant? It seems to us precisely as absurd (our good friend must pardon the word) to say that the lender should look to his own heirs for the interest due from the borrower.

4. The Bishop has unfortunately forgotten the "point at issue." He himself expressed it tersely in THE INDEX of August 2: "When a loan is divested of all accidentals, so that interest can be charged on it on no other title than for the *use* of the money (that is, for the loan itself), that interest, however small, becomes *usury*, and is an extortion." We must positively decline to discuss further the totally different question—"from whom is the lender entitled to receive interest"?

5. The possibility of insolvency on the debtor's part affects only the *rate* of interest; it has nothing to do with the point at issue.

6. At last the point is reached. The Bishop argues that the lender, by repaying the principal, returns "use for use, power for power, amount for amount." Not so. On Jan. 1, 1877, A lent to B $100; and on Jan. 1, 1878, B repays it, but refuses to pay any interest. Now *during this year* B has had the use of the money, and *during this year* A has lost it. Some $6 (of course we raise no question of rate) are due from B to A for the use of the money during the particular year when he had it; and this year's use he cannot restore to A at all. If A had refused to lend, he would have had the use of the money all the time,—not only from Jan. 1, 1878, but also for the year preceding. B has received from A the use of the money for a *year for nothing;* his restoring the principal does *not* give "use for use," etc., for A can never enjoy the use of the money for the

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particular year during which he relinquished it. Therefore B, if he refuses to pay the interest due on account of the USE of which he has deprived A, will be as much a swindler as the tenant who pretends to have paid his rent for a year by simply vacating the house he has occupied.

We should be quite unwilling that the Bishop, for whose good-nature and politeness in debate we return cordial acknowledgments, should refrain, on account of his own closing words, from offering any rejoinder he might otherwise wish to make. Though unable to share his conclusions, we certainly admire the ingenuity with which he defends them; and we, too, now submit the case to the jury.—ED.]

DEFINITION WANTED.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

You speak almost contemptuously of Mr. Babcock's "Complaint"; and yet I am sure many readers of THE INDEX who, like myself, have often remarked your rare keenness of vision and clearness of statement in definition, would be glad to have you define the act of the Boston tea-party of 1773, *from the stand-point of that year*.

Yours truly, E. R. BROWN.

ELMWOOD, Ill., Sept. 12, 1877.

[The act of the Boston tea-party of 1773, considered "from the stand-point of that year," was an *act of resistance to the tyranny of the British government, with the purpose of securing better government*. Those who participated in the act hoped at the time to secure this better government by revolutionizing the British ministry; they were subsequently obliged to seek it by a more radical revolution. The object of the act was strictly revolutionary, and not riotous, as we explained these terms in our original article on "The Right of Riot," August 2.

The act of the railroad strikers, which Mr. Babcock wildly compared to that of the tea-party, was strictly riotous, and not revolutionary, because it did not aim to revolutionize the government in any sense, but simply to compel certain corporations to pay higher wages, and because it was a *resort to private war for private objects*. In all civilized countries, such a resort to private war is justly regarded as a high crime against all civilization, to be suppressed at once at all hazards as the only way to escape a universal carnival of anarchy, robbery, and murder.

If any one wishes to dispute this broad and clear distinction in a sober manner, his right to do so will be recognized in THE INDEX. But we trust he will begin by giving explicitly his own distinction between riot and revolution.—ED.]

MR. ANDREWS' "ADDRESS."

TIPPECANOE CITY, O., Aug. 12, 1877.

MR. ABBOT:—

Your correspondent, S. P. Andrews, I have been acquainted with for thirty-five or more years,—not personally, but from articles I have seen from his pen. So far as I can see, his mind now is in the same channel it ever was. That there is an inside, outside, and middle to all physical things, I think no one will dispute; and that there is an analogy between all materiality and immateriality (if there is such a thing as immateriality), I am not inclined to dispute; and that such analogy holds good in all the "mentismus" of the universe, I leave undisputed. But I can't see that such admission enables me to understand things any better than I did before making the admission. Mr. Andrews is certainly a man of many thoughts; but from want of capacity, or something else, I can't see their congruity.

My object in writing this article is to make a few observations on his "Address to his Fellow-Citizens on the Situation," published in THE INDEX of August 9. He is right in saying he has prophesied for the last thirty or more years that some dreadful thing is to happen between labor and capital; that capital had always been cheating labor; and that labor would sooner or later take the matter into its own hands and right the wrongs.

He now appears to justify the means labor is using to effect the end. Hear him: "The ballot is his [the laborer's], but he can't wait to use it, and he might be cheated in the use of it as he has been." "The fact is, that the laboring man (and he is the immense majority) gets no justice on the present plan of conducting business, and that he has discovered that fact, and means to right things at all hazards." And more of the same kind. Well, what is the remedy Mr. Andrews proposes? Hear him again: "The poverty of the current talk about 'enforcing the law first' becomes evident. It is then mere babble. The case has gone into the higher court" [the mob court], and this court is to "revolutionize the present manner of doing business." The justice established by the product of the ballot is to be superseded by the justice established by the mob! Now hear the remedy proposed by this advocate of mob *justice*. Nothing but: "A ready acceptance of the situation on the part of the rich and great will tide us safely over this crisis. . . . The execution of the laws as they now stand must all be stopped, and the demands of the laborer [mob] must be complied with and freely discussed. . . . Such extreme and gigantic measures as the *forced transfer* of all railroads, magnetic telegraphs, and great public works to the government, with the laborers paid fixed and equitable prices, as government employés; the organization of great government workshops; or organized government colonization and other similar enterprises, and the honest effort that the government shall become the social providence for the whole people."

Mr. Andrews then tells us that "there are a few dozen of men and some women in the United States, and a handful scattered over the world, who have been trying to tell their contemporaries what was coming, but they could get few to heed"; that he has been one of them, a John the Baptist; and that in consequence of this he now "feels authorized to speak." He has spoken, and told us what *must* be done. It just amounts to this: the ballot must be abandoned, because it is entirely too slow a process [for the mob], and they might be again, as they have been, cheated by it. Now, who but Mr. Andrews would be fit for President of this mob, since for the last thirty years he has seen what was coming, and (unconsciously, I suppose,) has done his best to bring it about?

Our government, as I have understood it, was founded on individuals. They are the units of the government; and, in order to give our institutions a firm basis, every unit should be developed, or have a chance to develop himself into a man. To this end our laws should secure to him his individual rights, and, in order to secure him in such rights, the ballot was given to each and all. Such wrongs as cannot be immediately corrected by the ballot should be patiently endured until they can be. But Mr. Andrews tells us the ballot is not enough; it has been tried and found wanting. Nothing is more common than for minorities to think the decisions of majorities wrong. What then? Should minorities govern? But the working-classes are "largely in the majority"; therefore, our laws are of their own make. Then why refuse to obey them?

Look over the United States, and you will at once see that it is the children of the poor of the last generation who have the property of this.

Now, working-men, whoever you are (I am one of you, but too old to do much), would you now, if you could, have our laws so altered that, if you should wish to hire another, the man you wished to hire should have it in his power to dictate the wages he should receive; and, if you could not give such wages, then he have the right to prevent you hiring any other person? Would you vote for such a measure, if the opportunity were offered? Working-men, we have a large majority of the votes; and, if we want such a law, we can bring it about. I would have no objection to submitting such a proposition to the working-men of this country, and abide their decision. I know the good sense of a very large majority would vote it down. None but the reckless, idle, unthinking, vicious, and visionary would vote for it.

Again, working-men, would you vote that all the property of individuals, such as railroads, telegraphs, workshops, and all other industries, should "*forcibly*" be taken from their owners, and be conducted by employés of government? Think for a moment of such a state of affairs. One-tenth of our population would have to be government officials; this would leave ninety out of a hundred to do the work; and the highest point of independence the ninety could ever reach would be to be laborers for the government! Here would commence a scramble,—who shall be the official, and who the worker? who the master, who the slave? But, you reply, it is or will be all in the hands of the laborers, for they will be ten to one, and they can fix the matter according to their own tastes; they can make a law that the official shall have no more pay than the laborer. But what about the stealings? The officials would have all that chance, and such opportunities would be numerous. Is it contended that this new order of things would make saints of all? But would all hands, good or bad, be willing to take the same pay? Would not the man of superior capacity think he should have superior pay? Who would be willing to confess himself the inferior? No doubt that multitudes would think themselves superior; how could this be settled?

But suppose this is settled by making compensation ample for the superior, and it would be a noble act of charity to help the weak and inferior by giving them equal wages. Let compensation be $5 per day (who would think $5 per day too little for a "fixed and equitable price"?), and eight hours be a day's work. I think this matter could hardly be compromised on a less sum. The officials might agree to it, for their pickings would, no doubt, supply all deficiencies. $5 for every eight hours work done! Now add to this the known fact that it costs governments (for many reasons well understood) double the amount for anything produced that it costs individuals; and it will make an aggregate of ten dollars for every eight hours work,—one dollar and a quarter an hour! So everything produced by government would cost at least five times as much as it does to-day.

Now comes in the important question: "Where would government find profitable sale for articles at such a cost?" There is not more than ten *per cent.* profit on the aggregate productions of the country now. This shows that any business not run by the goverment would be broken down by heavy taxation. If all business were run by government, such government would be bankrupt in less than a year. And what would we laborers do then? A government-promise to pay five dollars would not buy a ten-cent loaf of bread. You should remember that the government could not force sales at any price it would ask; its products would have to come in competition with the products of the world.

It appears to me that neither of the plans proposed by Mr. Andrews is feasible. The laborers themselves, on sober second thought, would not adopt either; but, having the ballot, they will go to work with that, and elect honest, upright men; men not to be swayed from the grand principle of justice to all. All "rich and great men" should do the same. Let the employer and the employed say to all legislative, executive, and judicial officers: "We want no special favors. We are all men, with equal natural rights. All we ask is to have the laws so framed and executed as to secure such rights to us." All incorporations having their franchises from the government should take such franchises as subject to the control of the power giving them, liable to be altered, amended, or annulled, by making suitable compensation for all wrongs done, when the public interests require such alterations or changes. All persons and corporations should act upon the principle that a wrong done to the lowest individual (if such there be in our country) "is an insult to the whole body politic." I now think much of the complaint made by laborers is just, considering the way that *rings* have managed the business of railroads and other companies. I have heard many stockholders in companies complain more bitterly of the management of their officials, than I ever heard from their employés. Stockholders say it is done in this way: "A few will secure a bare majority of the stock. They then have the whole company in their pockets, elect whom they please as officers, pay such salaries as they please, pay favorites for fictitious services, change the rates of freights to favor speculating favorites in their rings, and, in this way, wring many a dollar out of the pockets of its rightful owner." I have heard a good many strikers say that the step taken was injudicious, and that they now regret it; for they now see they were in a position not to be justified. I have the most unbounded confidence in the good sense, on their sober and second thought, of the laborers of this country, in general. But there are societies (and a few individuals, foreign and native,) in this country that have no love for our institutions, or anything else but their own aggrandizement; and they stir up every discontented element they can get hold of. Such need ropes or bullets. 'Tis the only cure.

E. L. CRANE.

UNIVERSOLOGY.

No. 16 of the contributions of Stephen Pearl Andrews on the subject of Universology, published in last number of THE INDEX (September 13), would alone, it seems to me, establish him as the greatest thinker on the planet. No one doubts that Herbert Spencer has a greater intellect than any man in England; but his definition of evolution is so dim, dubious, and wordy as to make it repellant to a mind desiring clear-cut expressions of thought. The world has now a definition of evolution, exact, comprehensive, final. Why is this great man and his great subject so neglected? It is so easy to be one-sided; so consoling to one's pride to think a partial, fractional view all the view there is, because it is *my* view; so easy to argue a flippant, shallow materialism, a vapory, cloud-bestriding idealism; so difficult to see both sides, to be all-sided, to be whole or holy, to be, in short, INTEGRAL. Thousands of grand men are wandering over this globe, intellectually speaking, without hope or shelter. The glib and smirking partialist says: "See with my one eye, walk on my one leg, and be happy." The grand men may do many things; they NEVER can do *that*. To all such, Universology is the haven of rest. As for me, I thank God for the sun, moon, and stars, and for Stephen Pearl Andrews.

E. B. HAZZEN.

MANCHESTER, N. H., Sept. 14, 1877.

"LIVING" WORDS.

Ages ago, a man stood in the market-place of an old city, and spoke words of wisdom. They fell upon the ears of men who marvelled over their mysterious meaning, treasured them in their memories, and, when old, told them to their children. The children held them in honorable recollection till they, in their turn, grew gray and, full of years, repeated them to their children. And so the generations went and came, but the wondrous words lived on. Time at last wrought the ruin of the old city, and grass grew in its market-place. The sea washed up to where its walls once were; fishermen spread their nets where once had towered its temples; and at last its site and its name were lost from human remembrance. But the words of wisdom uttered in its ancient market were spoken in a newer language in other cities by the sea. Some one engraved them with a sharp *stylus* upon a waxen tablet. In the course of time the tablet turned to dust, and the hand that had held the *stylus* became a feast for worms. But the words, now written upon the soft bark of the papyrus, lived on and on through the wrecks of the years. At length they were transcribed upon the dried skins of beasts, and laid away in the great libraries of the world. Men came from the uttermost parts of the earth to read them and to carry copies of them away. The years and the ages glided by, and men learned the miracle of making books and multiplying them in all the myriad dialects of earth. And then those words which came from the wise old man in the market, and which, surviving the ruins of many a realm and splendid dynasty, had lived on through the lapse of the ages, were put upon the printed page; and there in imperishable letters they will live as long as there is a language among men.

"As the beaded bubbles that sparkle on the rim of the cup of immortality,
As wreaths of the rainbow spray from the pure cataracts of truth,
Such, and so precious, are the words which the lips of wisdom utters."

S. H. PRESTON.

141 EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK.

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CALL FOR THE FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

BOSTON, Sept. 25, 1877.

In obedience to the Constitution of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July First to July Fourth, 1876, the Directors hereby issue a call for the FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS of the League, to be held at Rochester, N. Y., October 26, 27, and 28, 1877. The best Hall in the city is engaged for those days. Further particulars, including list of speakers, etc., will be announced hereafter. For information respecting cheap hotel accommodation, reduced fares, etc., apply without delay to Mr. H. L. GREEN, Salamanca, N. Y.

After the hearing of reports and election of officers for the ensuing year, the most important business of the convention will be to decide whether the National Liberal League shall adopt a political platform and nominate candidates for the Presidential election of 1880; and, if so, whether this platform shall advocate the following principles and measures, to wit:—

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, etc.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

In order to give to this First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League the representative character befitting the gravity of the questions which will come before it for decision, the Directors suggest and earnestly recommend to the liberals of the United States that they immediately organize themselves throughout the country in *Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues*, each of which, on receipt of a charter, will be entitled to send its President, Secretary, and three other members as DELEGATES. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay. Charters are indispensable to secure the unity of organization without which efficient coöperation is impossible; but Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues remain absolutely independent, and recognize no authority in the National League to control their action in any particular. The small fee of ten dollars (which will surely be grudged by no one) is only desired in order to help defray the necessary expenses involved in the conventions and other public work of the National League, *which has no salaried officers*. Life-memberships of twenty-five dollars, annual memberships of one dollar, and voluntary donations, will also be gladly received for these public purposes. Time presses; and it is hoped that hundreds of new Local Leagues will be organized forthwith. Any existing Liberal society can be represented in the convention by applying for and receiving a charter in the usual way, and transmitting to the Secretary a certified copy of the following vote:—

"*Voted*, That this society, desiring to coöperate with the National Liberal League in the furtherance of its general and specific objects, hereby declares itself a Local Auxiliary Liberal League, according to the true intent of the Constitution of said National Liberal League, and has duly elected the following persons to represent it at the next Annual Congress of the same; to wit, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——."

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MACMAHON'S manifesto tells the story plainly enough. The issue for France is self-government or "personal government" once more.

PLUTARCH says that Agesilaus, being asked which was better, valor or justice, answered: "We should have no need of valor, if we were all just." The Spartan king saw what so many Christians fail to see, that universal equity is the road to the abolition of all antagonisms—the reign of "peace on earth and good-will to men."

THE *Daily Graphic* says: "The clergymen of Philadelphia make a good point in rejoicing over the downfall of Morton, the embezzler, because he is the man who opened the Permanent Exhibition on Sunday. However, he happens also, unfortunately, to be the man who was converted last winter and had made all arrangements to join the Congregational Church last Sunday."

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE of Denver, Colorado, holds a convention to-day, October 4, at their rooms in that city, No. 338 Larimer Street, for the purpose of organizing a State Liberal League. This society already maintains "Free Library and Reading-Rooms," open to the public; their "Children's Fraternity" is held there every Sunday afternoon, their "Socials" every Friday evening, and their "Regular Meetings" on the first Tuesday evening of each month. That is the kind of Local League that ought to exist in every city, town, and hamlet of this country! We shall be anxious to hear about their convention, of which we hope the best results.

AT THE Annual Convention of the Massachusetts Universalists, held in Worcester on September 26, a report on "Secular Dangers" was adopted in which it was declared that "it does not appear that anything more was meant by the fathers of the Constitution than equal toleration of *all Christian sects*, thereby giving broadest play to all Christian effort, and securing the *largest practicable measure of Christian influence in and upon the government itself*." That is a plump denial of the equal rights of freethinkers as citizens, made a part of the platform of a large denomination. The Christian Amendment party are steadily making headway; shall not the National Liberal League be supported in season?

AFTER MR. UNDERWOOD'S exceedingly fine address at Paine Hall last Sunday, the meeting passed a resolution declaring itself a Local Auxiliary Liberal League, and elected delegates to the Rochester Congress, among whom (we regret not to have a full list) were Messrs. Horace Seaver, B. F. Underwood, and John S. Verity. When Mr. Underwood told the audience that a little money was needed to take out a charter in due form, the people flocked to the platform, and much more than enough was contributed in three minutes. A genuine enthusiasm in the movement was manifested, which augurs a fine success at Rochester. May the liberals everywhere go and do likewise!

ARRANGEMENTS for the First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League at Rochester are not yet completed. But it gives us great pleasure to announce that a telegram from Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll was received last Monday, saying: "I will, if possible, attend the convention at Rochester." This is excellent news. Mr. Horace Seaver, editor of the *Investigator*, Mr. D. M. Bennett, editor of the *Truth Seeker*, Dr. T. L. Brown, President of the Freethinkers' Association of Central and Western New York, Mr. B. F. Underwood, and F. E. Abbot, have already signified their intention of being present as speakers; and others who have been invited remain to be heard from. There is every indication of a large and important convention. Many new Local Leagues are reported as about to be formed, and their number promises to be very encouraging.

THE *Tribune* of September 27 says: "Dr. S. Irenæus Prime has not taken up Col. Robert G. Ingersoll's gauntlet. The original challenge seems to have been an offer of $1,000 to any person who should prove that either Paine or Voltaire recanted his anti-Christian sentiments before he died, or approached his end in fear and trembling. Dr. Prime, in this week's *Observer*, says that he has received a letter from Col. Ingersoll, in which is proposed the establishment of a court of arbitration for the consideration of certain propositions in regard to the deaths of Paine and Voltaire. The Colonel suggests that the religious side shall have ninety days in which to collect and present testimony in the affirmative of these propositions; that the respondent shall then have ninety days to present evidence on the other hand; that the affirmative shall have thirty days to bring forward testimony in rebuttal; and that the decision shall then be argued before the Court of Arbitration. Dr. Prime contends that not one of the propositions mentioned by Col. Ingersoll was contained in the offer which was made in the *Observer*. What he volunteered to do was to produce evidence 'that Tom Paine died a drunken, cowardly, and beastly death.' Without accepting the arbitration plan, he lays this evidence before his readers. One of the strongest links in the chain of testimony is a letter which appeared in the *Tribune* a year ago, containing an extract from Stephen Grellet's *Journal*. Without passing judgment upon the completeness or incompleteness of the proofs, every reader will be relieved to learn that the bottom has fallen out of this absurd scheme for settling this controversy." Col. Ingersoll may possibly have something to say in reply to all this.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

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[For THE INDEX.]

The Orthodox View of Theatrical Entertainments.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

I have read with very great pleasure the article in THE INDEX of Sept. 13, entitled "The Duty of Liberals," by J. L. Stoddard. In that article, the author's desire to make a candid, fair, and just statement of the Orthodox stand-point is no less apparent than his liberality. I am persuaded, therefore, that he will willingly see the suggestion of a view different from his of one of the points in question, a view which may show the Orthodox practice in regard to theatrical entertainments to be less wholly unreasonable than he now deems it. I state this different view with the more confidence, as I feel sure that Mr. Stoddard is not old enough in years to have known anything of those conditions of the theatre which mainly produced the Orthodox sentiment of which he speaks.

The passages in Mr. Stoddard's article where, as I think, the Orthodox idea is inaccurately represented, are the following, just below the middle of the second column. I *italicize* the phrases in which I consider the inaccuracy to lie:—

"Here, in enlightened, cultured Boston, there may be found thousands who deem it a sin to go to the theatre, *there to be ennobled by the witnessing of Shakespeare's tragedies*";—and,

"Is it not pitiable that intelligent men and women can still be so bound hand and foot by Puritan prejudices as neither to enjoy and profit by many inspiring pieces of acting, nor to recognize the great educating and ennobling influence which the drama *is capable of exerting?*"

The point of view under which the Puritan sentiment grew up, was not what the drama and establishments for dramatic exhibition might, could, would, or should be, but what they actually were. Let us see what they were.

Only forty or forty-five years ago, here in Boston (as everywhere else where dramatic entertainments were publicly given), each theatre maintained, within its own premises, and understood to be among the inducements to attend it, a place for the sale of spirituous liquors, and a place to which avowed prostitutes were attracted by gratuitous admission, while special facilities for negotiating with them were given to the male attendants of the theatre. Unexceptionable plays from Shakspeare and other authors were, from time to time, given at those theatres; but, whether the play were good, bad, or indifferent, special opportunities for drinking and meeting with lewd women were invariably given with it; given by the owners of the theatre, as part of the attraction of their establishment.

At a time when every theatre, as a matter of course, had the two departments above mentioned, probably Mr. Stoddard would not have said that the people who conscientiously abstained from attendance there did so because they deemed it a sin to see the performance of Lear or Macbeth. He would see, I think, that the more intelligent Orthodox people of that time probably said to themselves: Since the managers of theatres, without exception, consider systematic incitement of the grosser appetites an appropriate accompaniment of dramatic representation, and a condition essential to its pecuniary success, why should we not assume that they understand their own business? and why should we not conclude that that business naturally tends to immorality, and that no purification of it is to be expected?

These two features of the theatre have now passed away, as far as Boston is concerned. I do not know whether this beginning of purification has yet been reached in New York, London, or Paris. We are now talking of Boston. Has the removal of these special impurities left the stage pure *here?* Let us scrutinize a little further.

There are tragedies and comedies of Shakspeare and other authors, the adequate representation of which would have, *on the whole*, a good moral influence. There are private dramatic representations which have a moral influence unexceptionably good. At the same time, there is probably not one theatre in the world, carried on upon a business basis, and designed to pay a fair profit to its managers, a full half of whose nightly performances do not exercise, *on the whole*, a bad moral influence.

The evening's entertainment in our theatres usually consists of three parts: a tragedy or comedy to begin with, which may be good, bad, or indifferent, in moral character; a farce to end with, which usually contains some objectionable features; and dancing in the interval between, the chief feature of which is its indecency. Ballet-dancing, which, either by itself, or as a feature of one of the dramatic pieces, is one of the things chiefly relied on to draw an audience to the theatre, is the intentional display of the female figure to an extent, and in a manner, which would not only seem, at the first view, impossible to a modest and decent woman, but which would subject any woman to arrest for "indecent exposure" who should practice it with equal publicity elsewhere. Most of the dancing of women on the stage would be accurately defined by calling it an elaborate *system* of indecent exposure, although long custom and the patronage of wealthy and fashionable people have thus far screened it from the operation of penal law.

But, it will be said, since a pruning of some other vicious accompaniments of the theatre has already been effected, why may not this, and such other objectionable features as yet remain, be attacked and expelled in their turn? Why not at least *try* to do this, and make organized effort for such a purifica-

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tion of the stage as to make it really a school of good morals? These are fair questions; let us see what answer experience gives to them.

There have been two practical attempts, in this city, at a very partial and limited measure of theatrical reform. The Boston Theatre, and afterwards the Globe Theatre, were founded for the purpose of illustrating "the legitimate drama," and with the intention of restricting their performances to that. To be sure, the reform thus intended was from the standpoint of art, not at all of morals, for "the legitimate drama" includes a good deal of indelicacy and immorality; still, this restriction, could it have been adhered to, would have excluded a portion of the more vulgar sort of indecency. But it was found, in both cases, that the carrying out of reform, even to this moderate extent, would involve serious pecuniary loss. So the Boston, and afterwards the Globe, yielded to this pressure, gave what would pay best, irrespective of its grade either in art or morality, and sunk fully to the depth of the "Howard," both in the vulgarity and the indecency of their performances. What chance of pecuniary success would there be for an attempt at reform which should insist upon high art and good morals also?

The experience of these two theatres shows us, I think, the insuperable difficulty of radical reform in theatricals. The legitimate drama does not pay. A refined and purified drama would fall very far short of paying. Sensational clap-trap does pay, and if spiced with indecency it pays still better. Those who take up this business as a means of living will certainly try to make it pay, and will use the means to make it pay; and so the objectionable features of theatrical performance are likely to last as long as the theatre itself lasts. I think a conviction of this sort is the true ground of Orthodox objection to the theatre.

It would be a mistake to say, in rejoinder to this view of the case, that since there are good plays, and people competent to perform them, and other people desirous to witness them, therefore a reformed theatre is possible. Until a person shall appear who, with the wealth of a Stewart or a Vanderbilt, is disposed to apply a large part of it to the expenses of such an establishment, we *must* look primarily at the business aspects of the case. And the experience of the Boston and the Globe shows us clearly where the shoe pinches.

It will take a population considerably large, say fifty thousand, to support a theatre which plays five or six nights a week through the year. But, of the people who attend it, not one in ten cares about high art or the legitimate drama, and a still less number are so particular about moral tendency as to stay away on account of infraction of it. Such is the fact about the mass of people whose attendance on the theatre maintains it. Do you expect that those who get their living by managing its concerns, or acting on its boards, or playing in its orchestra, will be more scrupulous? They will prefer what pays, irrespective of all other considerations.

See the attitude of the daily papers towards dramatic establishments, under the influence of the same ruling motive. As advertising for the theatre is profitable, and as that sort of entertainment is established and popular, the editors announce whatever the managers choose to present, and attend the performance, and criticise it from the stand-point of art, mentioning, or not mentioning, the indecencies accompanying it. But, if an individual, without the prestige of custom and establishment, should desire to announce, for his own benefit, an exhibition as indecent as "The Black Crook," or as any one of a dozen specimens of "Opera Bouffe" played in this city for a few years past, the more decent members of the daily press would utterly refuse to advertise for him. Even now, these more decent editors feel obliged to say from time to time, not only that pieces performed at the Boston and the Globe are indecent, and otherwise of immoral tendency, but that certain women and certain men among the players and dancers take pains to exaggerate these vicious characteristics, making the show grosser and viler even than the author intended. Incidents like these have always occurred from time to time in the history of the stage, English and American as well as French. Is it strange that the Puritans assumed such excesses to be natural results of the system of theatrical representation? Were they entirely wrong in making that assumption?

The melancholy fact is, that when a modest young woman sits through an entire theatrical performance for the first time, she will probably see and hear, interspersed among the features of attractiveness and interest, more or fewer things suited to shock and disgust her. If it were possible to withdraw unobserved, she would very often do so. But, feeling obliged to sit still, she observes with amazement that fashionable people, cultured people, decent-looking people, take those things as a matter of course, perhaps laugh at them, perhaps applaud them. Under these circumstances, she tries to conceal her repugnance, especially as any mention of the offences in question would call the hot blood into her cheeks. If she continues to attend the theatre, and through the influence of custom and example comes to tolerate and excuse the things that formerly shocked her, so much the worse for her.

But it is men, not women, who are most injured by the allowed indecencies of the theatre. After subjection to them, the young man who wishes to keep his soul and body pure finds it more difficult to do so; and the man, young or older, who seeks exciting pleasures regardless of their vicious character, finds the broad road made smoother and easier for him at the theatre.

Probably the main support of a theatre comes from young unmarried men, who, seeking the amusement and excitement natural to their age, are frequent in their visits to it. They are at a period of special susceptibility, both to good and to evil influences. If there were no theatre except one conducted with the predominant purpose of combining good moral influence with recreation, that theatre might be an unmixed benefit to them, as it would be to society at large. But if, beside such a dramatic establishment, another existed, conducted as unscrupulously as the theatres in Boston above mentioned, ten young men would choose the latter for every one who would choose the former. The consequence is, that while the latter might prosper financially, the former would certainly become bankrupt unless, as I said before, some philanthropic capitalist would back it up. And, judging from the reference to stage management in this city above referred to, we have no reason to think that the proprietors of the prosperous theatre would care one copper for the fact that their establishment was a corrupter of youth, and a nursery of sensuality. They are following Iago's counsel, to put money in their purse.

These things being so, it seems but just to our Puritan ancestors, and to those of the present day who cherish their traditions and follow their customs, to suppose their objection to the theatre to be founded on its faults, not on its merits; on the corrupting influences that are customary on its stage, not on its occasional exhibitions of unexceptionable character. It is true that excellent men and women have occasionally been found among actors and actresses; but it is also true that Soldene, Aimée, and Lydia Thompson have done ten times more harm to their audiences than Mrs. Siddons and Charlotte Cushman have ever done good to theirs.

If it be said in reply to this—you can select the good performances and stay away from the evil, the further question arises: Is it well for me to assist with my money and my influence an institution the evil of which outweighs the good, and a manager who unscrupulously engages profligate performers, and gives corrupting exhibitions, whenever he thinks it will pay better to do so?

On the whole, I think that, in regard to the theatre, the Puritans have the best of the argument.

Still, there is within the limits of possibility one partial exception to the unfavorable view of the theatrical future stated above, which, being possible, ought in justice to be mentioned. In a city of five hundred thousand inhabitants, there might perhaps be people enough particular about the moral character and tendency of their recreations to support an unexceptionable theatre, after some rare philanthropist had assumed the labor, expense, and risk of establishing such an one. In Boston, with only two hundred and fifty thousand people, and people at their present grade of character and aspiration, such an enterprise would almost certainly fail.

THE BRADLAUGH-BESANT CASE.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

LONDON, July 21, 1877.

On Tuesday evening Alderman Lusk, M.P., presented in the House of Commons a petition from seventy-seven gentlemen, who, last Sunday evening, attended the Hall of Science, praying the House to enact a measure to make more clear the law relating to the question of over-population. These petitioners were, no doubt, moved by the eloquence of Mrs. Annie Besant, which would be sufficient at any time to stir earnest men to action, but which, on Sunday night, acquired thrilling power from the fact that she spoke as one standing on the threshold of a goal into which she is about to enter, having been sentenced to pay £200 and pass six months with felons, with the enemies of society, for publishing a work with intent of saving society, as admitted by Judge and jury. The same sentence was passed on Mr. Bradlaugh. This young lady (who, as I have before had occasion to say in my correspondence, is possessed of many accomplishments, is highly educated as well as beautiful, speaks various European languages) did not bring to bear on her case the high influences which may be assumed to be within the reach of a near relative of Lord Hatherley's to save her from prison. She and her partner in publication, Mr. Bradlaugh, have plainly resolved to fight it out with the law at any and every cost, and the prospect is strange and melancholy. I have said nothing on this subject in my recent letters to the *Commercial*, because, knowing the large circulation which your paper has in Europe, I had reason to fear that anything I might write was liable to be used while the case was pending. The case is, indeed, not yet entirely ended, but it has passed out of the phase in which it can be influenced by expressions of opinion by those known to be acquainted with the parties. With reference to this continuance of the case, I may say that Mrs. Besant, whose legal conduct of her own case, and three days' speech in Court, were declared by eminent lawyers to have never been surpassed for learning and ability in the history of English jurisprudence, moved that the verdict of "guilty" be set aside, on the ground that the indictment charged wicked intent; whereas the Prosecutor (Solicitor-General) gave up that point, and the jury expressly brought in an exoneration of the defendants from evil intent, the verdict "guilty" having been ordered by the Judge on the ground that the verdict that the book published is such as to injure morals amounted to that. Mrs. Besant pleaded that it did not amount to that; that a prosecution has no right to draw her into basing her defence on one line and then desert it. In this she has a good weight of legal opinion on her side; yet the Court in *banco* decided the point against her. Mr. Bradlaugh moved a writ of error on the ground that the indictment did not set forth fully all the portions of the book on which it rested the case. In this Mr. Bradlaugh was opposed by two American decisions (Commonwealth *vs.* Holmes, 17 Mass., and Commonwealth *vs.* Sharples, vol. 2, Sargerton, Penn.), which have caused a good deal of surprise over here. In the American cases it was held, unless the cases were misstated, that in an obscene libel it was not necessary to produce in court all particulars which might further disseminate the evil and obscenity; but the prudery of such sentiments in a court of justice occasioned some contemptuous smiles in court, and the justices refused to be bound by them. While they did not decide that the matter was favorable to the defendants, they have allowed them to appeal.

If they get an arrest of judgment or a new trial, I suspect that the reasons for it will be quite as much political as judicial or legal. The defendants are not morally guilty. The jury has so declared, also the Judge, and there is not a man or woman in England who does not know that the defendants were animated by philanthropic and altogether honorable motives. The pains and penalties of law are not framed for persons of that character, but for the evil-minded. They cannot be successfully inflicted on such. The defendants would have been only too gladly released by Chief-Justice Cockburn—himself a Malthusian, who charged the jury favorably for the defendants,—had they not honestly avowed their intention of disregarding the verdict and selling the book all the same. Such defiance of the Court, and possibly some irritating comments which had been made on the Judge's Malthusianism, led him to inflict the vindictive sentences already recorded. But to the defendants the sentence to six months' imprisonment is of no more importance than if it had been six weeks or six years; for they will decline to give the required sureties for what the Court asks—good conduct,—and the government will have to imprison them for the rest of their lives before they give in, or else it will have to close their publishing premises in Stonecutter Street and mount guard over them,—in which case it will also have to close a good many other premises, and maintain a special police force to suppress the publications of the new Malthusian League, which has grown out of this trial. The authorities have thus a long row to hoe. The defendants might truly say as Bruno did, hearing his death sentence, to his Judges: "Probably you have more terror in passing that sentence than I in hearing it."

But there is a very large portion of the community which has heard the sentence with alarm, and it will be very difficult—I believe impossible—to carry out the sentence. As for the book itself, it contains so much that is trashy, embodies so many of the medical heresies of forty years ago, that many men of scientific position, even though Malthusians, are not willing to stand by it, or to have their names connected with it. Although it be true, as declared by the Judge, that there is nothing in it more obscene than is to be found in other medical books, it contains passages (irrelevant to its main point) of a trashy character, which have induced reserve in many who at the same time freely express their conviction that the prosecution was unwise, and the verdict a disgrace to the jury. The question has now passed out of all connection with the bad style of the special treatise, the prosecution and the jury having stigmatized as immoral and illegal advocacy of the principle which distinguishes it from previous Malthusian works. For a long time many of the ablest men in this country have advocated Malthusianism. The view of the learned clergyman of whom Miss Martineau has given such a pleasant account in her autobiography, was that the increase of population in Great Britain was so much more rapid than the means of support that great suffering and crime must result. Dr. Chalmers, Miss Martineau, Mr. Mill, Professors Cairnes, Bain, Fawcett, and many other eminent economists, have advocated the same opinion, and the truth of their prognostications is abundantly manifest already, as the Chief-Justice said in his charges. But such is not the opinion of the average Briton. He reads in his Bible the command to increase and multiply as he reads the command to remember the Sabbath; and to him any dissuasion from multiplication of offspring is immoral for the same reason as Sabbath work. But this average would not be able to bring in such a verdict as this were it not reënforced by another class, who have been startled at the novelty of the means for preventing population suggested in Knowlton's *Fruits of Philosophy;* namely, physical checks on conception, instead of the moral restraints advocated by the philosophers mentioned. Of these, however, Mr. Mill was an exception. He came to the conclusion that the moral restraint plan was an absurd thing to advocate, and many years ago began circulating a pamphlet of this kind—this very book, I believe, but am not certain,—and narrowly escaped a prosecution. The objectionable point, of course, is, that the checks suggested may tend to diminish the restraints on vice by enabling the vicious to escape some of its most inconvenient results. The subject is too offensive to go into, but it is necessary to sum up the Solicitor-General's case thus far, in order that the very serious situation which this community has to face may be fully understood. Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant claim before the public that they are severely sentenced for advocating the only conceivable remedy of what leading thinkers of the country, including the Chief-Justice, who tried them, admit to be a great evil on the ground that the vicious may abuse what is meant for public benefit. They claim that this is as unjust as it would be to punish a man for manufacturing a pistol, because some people use pistols for murder.

But, as I have intimated, a large portion of the community, including many who are indifferent to Malthusian questions, have been made parties to this

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case because of a ruling which has been made on a point of a law. The ruling is, that the moral intent —the *mens rea*—is not pertinent to the question of punishable illegality.

The danger of this ruling is obvious. In every free country the vulnerable point of liberty of the press lies in the fact that all agree that a restriction shall be placed on publications which infringe on decency and good morals. And because this restriction (including personal libel) is unanimously conceded, it is the one point which, in the interest of truth and science, has to be most jealously guarded. The common-sense of the community has always hitherto claimed that the only safe principle by which this limitation can be imposed is the principle that the *mens rea* is essential. Where decency or good morals are infringed the law must indeed assume that the depraved intent was also present; but if the person so charged proves clearly that the intention was good and pure, that intention clears them so far as any penalty is concerned, though the practice complained of may be prevented in future. Such a case is manifestly different from those *not criminal*, in which the law admits no excuse of ignorance, accident, or motives. Criminal law *does* take cognizance of criminal intent. This was always held in England until two or three years ago, when a miserable book, called *The Confessional Unmasked*, was hawked about the streets until suppressed. It was claimed in that case that the publishers of the filthy book were animated by the good intention of exposing the corruptions of the Romish Confessional. It was ruled that the good motive did not exonerate them, and they were punished. This ruling was foolishly overlooked at the time as to its consequences, because most people regarded the plea in that particular case as a subterfuge, and believed that the real object of *The Confessional Unmasked* was to make money by pandering to both meretricious tastes and sectarian prejudices. But that ruling, so disregarded at the time, now rises with formidable proportions. Solitary as it is, it can now only be reversed or altered by an act of Parliament. Mr. Darwin's *Descent of Man* contains physiological and sexual descriptions much more likely to shock ignorantly prudish minds than the Knowlton pamphlet. If twelve Orthodox simpletons whom Darwin may be unfortunate enough to have for his "peers" in Kent, were anxious to suppress him and his books, and his scientific intent were left out of consideration, he might be sent to prison; so might Dr. Carpenter for his *Physiology*; and so might the majority of the Anthropological Society, who are continually putting out memoirs concerning the manners and customs of savages which might scandalize many a panelled twelve. It is indeed not impossible that the new Malthusian League may be compelled in self-defence to get up a case of such crucial kind in order to reverse this new judge-made law.

But it is not Malthusians who are interested, nor they alone who have already been involved. No sooner had that decision against *The Confessional Unmasked* been made, than the Society for the Prevention of Vice (which has earned the reputation of being nastier than anything it ever suppressed) began to utilize it, and they have compelled publishers to stop the sale of some of the most important historical, biographical, and classical literature, by threatening to visit them with the crass ignorance of twelve men, who might readily be found prepared to expurgate Shakspeare himself, after a few skilfully selected passages were read. No Biblical plainness of language is tolerated by the average *paterfamilias*, outside of his Bible. Already the Grammont Memoirs, Boccaccio, Rabelais, and all of Bohn's extra-volume series have been suppressed, and the process threatens to go on until, by the inevitable reaction and secret trade, the land is flooded with things really indecent. The prosecution of the *Fruits of Philosophy* raised its sale in one month to one hundred and twenty thousand; whereas in all the forty years before its sale had not been ten thousand. At every street-corner throughout the country hawkers offer *Fruits of Philosophy*, which, indeed, is not the real book, but indicates that the venders of cheap literature recognize an awakened demand, which will surely not wait long for its supply.

There are several regards in which I think the defendants have been unwise; mainly in having reprinted a trashy book instead of having got Dr. Drysdale, their most eminent witness, or Professor Bain to expurgate and post it up; or, better still, write a new one detaching the principles they wished to defend from the antiquated stuff connected with it in Knowlton's book. Their motive for not pursuing this course was, as I understand it, because Charles Watts, who was the first charged, pleaded "guilty," and so left, as they considered, an undeserved stigma upon the pioneers of Secularism for having published, and on the present organization for having circulated thus long a book confessed by its latest authorized publisher to be obscene. Indignant at this, Mr. Bradlaugh denounced Watts as a coward, and withdrew from all connection with him; and when Watts (who escaped danger of imprisonment by pleading guilty) challenged Bradlaugh to incur the same danger, the latter could not vindicate the fathers of the secular movement or his own attitude towards Watts without publishing the *ipsissima verba* of the pamphlet. Being an outsider, I will not criticise the course adopted by Mr. Bradlaugh as standard-bearer of an organization which is to him as sacred as any church is to its devotees. He regarded its good name as involved, and chooses to vindicate it at cost to his purse and his personal liberty. It is not for those free from such perils and burdens to carp at his position, while no doubt he understood well enough beforehand that many liberal thinkers unconnected with his organization would be compelled to preserve themselves and their own several societies from all connection with trashy and unscientific literature, even when well meant. He has sacrificed a great deal of the outside coöperation which he would have secured had the book been up to the standard of liberal literature and science; he has endangered the seat in the next Parliament which would almost certainly have fallen to him (and is not yet lost); and in all this, an outsider who fails to see wisdom cannot help respecting courage. The case has, moreover, split the Secular Society into several fragments, a vigorous minority sympathizing with Mr. Watts. But, after all, such matters as these, their wisdom or unwisdom, appear to many persons—and among them several distinguished lawyers with whom I have conversed—to be very small compared with the service which a thick-headed prosecutor and jury may have enabled Mr. Bradlaugh to do. Of course it could not have been done (if it shall be done) without the man's pluck and his ability, but neither could it have been without a silly verdict; but, as it now stands, these sentenced defendants mirror not only flaws in English procedure, but dangerous innovations on the Common Law; and the agitation surrounding them can hardly fall before it ends to establish on a firmer basis some principles of English liberty which have been left in a perilously loose way. Though Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant may not be granted a new trial, the whole subject will have to be gone over again in November, when Truelove, the venerable bookseller, is to be tried for selling the pamphlet of Robert Dale Owen (*Moral Philosophy*) on the same subject. Professor Hunter, of University College, is to defend Mr. Truelove. This prosecution is undertaken by the Vice Society, and I have good reason to believe that it is much to the disgust of the Home Secretary, who has taken good care to let the public know that, though legal usage required the Solicitor-General to prosecute in the Bradlaugh case, the prosecution was not instituted by the government. Who did institute it remains a mystery. No doubt the Vice Society is behind it, and a severe snub administered to its chief and lawyer (Collette) by the Magistrate who heard the first presentation of the Truelove case, shows what the official feeling is towards those who are stirring up all this mephitic malaria.—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON "LABOR AND CAPITAL."

Touching this quarrel between the employer and employed, there are one or two things to be specially noted. In the first place, the law is to be obeyed and enforced in any event and at any cost. There are wrongs which demand and justify revolution. This is not a case of that kind; and, in present circumstances, every resort to violence is crime. No man has a right to prevent any other man from working when, where, and for what wages he sees fit. No man has a right to destroy public or private property, or to derange business by sudden refusal to work, or plot to effect such derangement. All these acts are grave offences against the public welfare, and do only harm. They are to be prevented or punished at all hazards. While this is said to labor, capital is bound to remember that labor has been heavily and unnecessarily burdened by the recklessness, worse than childish quarrels, incapacity, and mismanagement of capital, and capital has no right to complain or be surprised that labor is impatient or discontented under these heavy and unnecessary burdens.

In America we boast of the practical and executive ability of our business men. So far as mines, factories, and railways are concerned, the nation has not produced ability or integrity enough to manage these large-moneyed interests. In regard to railways, the so-called managers of them, judged by results, have shown themselves a set of incapables. Trusted with vast interests, heralded to the world as men of marvellous ability, and with all the means of success in their hands, one-half of them has landed the stockholders in bankruptcy, and the other half has helped to plunder them to an enormous extent. Express companies and Pullman car companies and other cliques, made up from the so-called managers of the roads, have been allowed to take the cream of the business and eat up the earnings of the road. This fraud or incapacity has lessened the fund out of which the ordinary employés of the roads were to be paid. Hence one source of distress to labor. Enormous salaries have been paid—from $5000 to $50,000 —to the higher class of officers; and in some cases large dividends have been declared, while the ground tier of employés have had their wages reduced to starvation point. Twenty-five cents a day is a great loss to them, which, by such reduction, the company does not save as much, perhaps, as it would by dispensing with two comparatively useless vice-presidents. Who wonders that labor frets under such unfair and unequal arrangements? Recklessness in running into debt has added another burden to labor by mortgaging the fund out of which its wages were to come.

THESE DEBTS

were incurred on the Micawber principle, that "something would turn up"; that a large and sudden increase of business would soon lift the load. There is no reasonable expectation or probability of any such increase of business during the next twenty years. Hence very few of the railways will ever be able to pay their debts if managed as they are now. Legislatures have almost unlimited authority over the corporations which they have created. If honest dealing and the protection of property be objects sought for by legislation, then every railway and every similar money corporation which is in debt should be obliged by law to lay by at least one *per cent.* of its net earnings as a sinking fund to pay its debt. In no other way will the present generation or the next ever see these immense railway debts paid. Labor and capital are the tools civilization needs and uses. Both are to be protected. But labor, as it is human life, has the first claim. Out of the gross earnings of any business the first expense to be considered and met is wages. Such wages as men can comfortably live on are first to be paid; then a safety fund is to be provided for burdensome debts, in order that capital may be secured against risk or loss; what is left may be divided as dividend or profits to stockholders. Appropriate legislation should secure such arrangements for the protection of labor and capital. We demand legislation because experience has shown that so-called business men are either too blind or too wicked to provide such protection. If such a rule of apportioning wages and dividends should result in these last being so small that some capital would be withdrawn from the business it would leave the business healthier, and less competition would soon give to the remaining capital employed larger returns.

BUT THE MAIN CONSIDERATION

is still another point. What constitutes "such wages as men can comfortably live on"? Who shall settle and define the amount of these? This is the ground of the present quarrel, and peace will never come till this is settled. The employed have something to sell: it is labor. Men who have coal, metal, or corn to sell, do not let the buyer fix the price. The price is settled after mutual conference. The employed claim the same right of settling the price of what they have to sell (that is, labor) in the same way: that is, by mutual conference.

Corporations that employ a large number of working-men should, from time to time, appoint a committee to meet a committee of working-men. Before such joint committee should be laid open all the details of the business. The price of raw material, loss of interest in process of manufacture, interest on dead capital, repairs to keep the stock good, etc., and the price at which the goods are finally sold and in what quantity; all the facts necessary to make up an opinion as to what rate of wages the company can afford to pay,—of course only such facts. After mutual consultation, such committee should decide the amount of wages to be paid. If they cannot agree, an umpire should be chosen to make the final decision. Such a method has been occasionally resorted to in New England, and with good results. But to secure content and harmony this should be the regular, established, and recognized method. Such a course has been followed in England in a very large number of its manufactories; and wherever it has been adopted strikes have been for twenty years unknown. Thomas Hughes, well known in literature, has been frequently chosen as an umpire. Christianity dictates and sound political economy indorses such a procedure. How broad and sound must be, in years, the education gained by

WORKING-MEN ACTING ON SUCH COMMITTEES,

and brought to the close, practical consideration of such large interests,—acting, too, under such grave responsibilites! The effect has been very marked in England. Mr. Mundella, member of the House of Commons, assured me he had known instances where the workmen on such committees proposed even a greater reduction of wages than that named by the employers; declaring as the result of their examination, that the corporation could not safely pay as large wages as it offered. This shows how acting under grave responsibility educates men, both morally and intellectually. Weak and embarrassed companies would never be obliged to make such an exhibit of their affairs. Half a dozen firms or corporations doing so would fix the rate. The rest would follow, and those companies unable to pay it must show cause why they do not, or go to the wall. And such a result would be no harm to sound business concerns.

We have more than enough of the babble and chaff of "supply and demand." That is a political economy which forgets God, abolishes hearts, stomachs, and hot blood, and builds its world as children do, out of tin soldiers and blocks of wood. Here every man reads, votes, and carries arms. The physical force, the voting majority, and a large share of the intellectual ability, are in the possession of the employed. Hence such questions are far more complicated than in countries where despotism holds iron sway over disfranchised ignorance. Equally out of place and absurd is the argument that capital will only pay what it pleases, and labor must submit. That is slavery. The millions employed in mines, factories, and on railroads have usually that one trade and no other. They cannot easily shift into other employments. Very few families of working-men have means, when turned out of work, to travel hundreds of miles in search of other employers. Hence the majority of the employed are chained to one place and to one trade. Saying to such men, "You shall have no voice in fixing your own wages, and you shall take what is offered to you or starve," is slavery. No American will submit to that.

NO AMERICAN OUGHT TO SUBMIT TO THAT.

If the day ever comes when, by any means, Americans are obliged to submit permanently to that, a republic here will be impossible. A class of such workmen will do well for the footstool of a despot; they can never serve as the sturdy bedplate for the heavy working of republican institutions. The capitalists of the country do not, as a class, contemplate or desire such degradation or enslavement of labor. Supply and demand is a true rule rightly interpreted and applied. This ignorant prattle about it, and the equally idle threat that labor must take what is offered it or starve, is the mischievous talk of men who have the use of types and words but no brains. One of the gravest misfortunes of our time is that thousands can talk and write, while only a few can think. Of course there are many plans suggested to

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help us out of our present trouble. Some propose that the government assume all lands and property; others that the government own all the workshops, factories, and railways. Some seek financial changes, and others industrial ones. Some of these plans may be in the course of time adopted as discussion or experiment bids. But preliminary to all these, and immediately, if possible, labor and capital must make peace. This quarrel must be settled, and nothing is in any true sense settled until it is settled right. The only just, safe, and lasting basis of peace is that which calls labor into conference and allows it a full share in setting the rate of wages.

I ABHOR AND DENOUNCE ALL VIOLENCE,

every assault on private right or property, on the liberty of the individual working-man, and, above all, on life. But these outbreaks are transient and exceptional. In spite of them every thoughtful man must rejoice that the laboring men are awake, intelligent, and independent. Lord Chatham said he rejoiced that America had resisted British injustice. Submission to it would have shown the Americans to be slaves and ready to make other men slaves. I rejoice in the clear judgment which enables the workingman to discover the danger which threatens him, and in the wide-spread and unconquerable determination to avert it. I rejoice in his readiness to resist a state of affairs that degrades him, threatens to undermine republican institutions, and to condemn his children to want, ignorance, and dependence. It is one of the chief benefits of education, civilization, and progress that they make, and are intended to make, such violations of right, such injustice and oppression dangerous and almost impossible. The inevitable dangers (and there are inevitable dangers) which attend such injustice are enough to rouse the keenest anxiety of capitalists. That is spur enough to quicken their consent to do justice. I counsel working-men to frown on resorts to violence. It can only delay the remedy they seek. Let them rely on agitation, discussion, and on associations for mutual help and protection; but only such as discountenance violence and abstain from all interference with the rights and free action of individual workmen. Voters under a representative government, let them unite in political action and appeal to the moral forces of the age. The necessities which underlie free institutions and the soundest maxims of political economy are their strong allies, and the conscience of mankind is on their side. Yours, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

SEPT. 13, 1877.

ARE "LABORERS" THE MAJORITY?

Mr. Wendell Phillips, . . . in a recent letter about the strikers to the *Herald*, says: "Here every man reads, votes, and carries arms. The physical force, the voting majority, and a large share of the intellectual ability, are in the possession of the employés."

It is not true, in any proper sense, that the numerical or voting majority in this country is "in the possession of the employés." Mr. Phillips really refers to those who are not identified by their interests with the capital by which wages are paid, but with those who earn wages. The sons of farmers, working with them on their farms, may be employed, but their interests are with the owner. There were 2,659,985 farms in the United States, and, exclusive of those enrolled as "farm laborers," only 2,653,305 persons between sixteen and sixty years of age employed in all agricultural occupations, whence it is certain that a large proportion of those enrolled as farm-laborers are, in fact, the sons of farm-owners. If only one-half are of this class, the number of persons directly identified with capital, as farm-owners or their sons, is about 3,650,000. But there are also of the professions, and engaged in other employments in which they do not receive, but pay wages, about 330,000; there are also merchants and traders in number about 383,000; there are 352,000 manufacturing establishments, and each must have at least one person in the capacity of an owner or employer of labor. Already the number of persons not employed, in any sense within the purpose of Mr. Phillips, exceeds 4,600,000, out of 9,486,734 persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty engaged in all gainful occupations, according to the census. And yet there are very many more, such as teachers, clerks in banks, railways and stores, agents and commercial travellers, who are in some sense employed, but whose interests are wholly diverse from the interests of those to whom Mr. Phillips appeals, who would neither vote with the foes of capital, nor fight with them. These number about 270,000 more. And there still remains the large class of persons who are no longer in any active occupation, but are living upon the fruits of former labor by themselves or others. Thus it is plain that persons who are in any proper sense employed, with respect to any struggle between capital and labor, do not form the numerical majority in the country, of persons of the fighting age, and still less are they a majority of persons of the voting age.

It is a fact that a great proportion of the workers in this country look forward to become at no distant day employers of labor, and are already capitalists. The savings banks hold the earnings of more than 2,300,000 of them; many more are stockholders in railways, and nearly 200,000 in banks; and an army of young men laboring on the farms, have already begun to accumulate in order to buy or rent a farm, and hire labor themselves. It is this broad distinction in the condition of labor here and in other countries which gives ground for hope that no professional agitator, nor reckless demagogue, will ever be able to array in this country the more intelligent and enterprising workmen in a crusade against capital. The more ignorant, and especially those whose habits or lack of capacity forbid them to rise to more independent positions, may be misled here as in other countries. But those who have intelligence enough to lift themselves above the position of wage-earners, also have enough to know that in this land the door is open for every man who desires independence. There will never be one-half of the wage-earners in this country who will consent to condemn themselves by trades-unionism to a life without hope or individual ambition, or by listening to agitators to embroil themselves in lawless violence. There are enough to make mischief, but not enough to rule this country by ballots or "physical force."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

THE GREEN FIELDS OF THE MOON.

When the moon is at the full, the unassisted eye readily distinguishes on her face certain dark gray spots more or less sharply separated from the brighter portions. Through the telescope these spots appear as broad level spaces resembling terrestrial seas. Indeed, the earlier observers mistook them for seas, and by that name (Latin, *mare*) they are known to this day. They are not seas, however, but ancient sea-beds, now probably nearly, if not quite, destitute of water; vast arid basins like the Sahara, or the great interior Utah Basin of our own continent.

Examined more closely these dried-up sea-beds—to which Nelson applies the irregular but convenient plura *mares*—are seen to have a rolling surface like some of our Western prairies, or to be traversed by numerous long ridges, resembling the wave-like sand-hills which give so marked and particular an appearance to the deserts of Western Australia, the leveller portions being dotted with low mounds interspersed with small crater pits. In many places formations of an apparently alluvial character abound, while the ancient coast-lines show distinct traces of water action. Two of these lunar plains—*Mare Humorum* and *Mare Chrisium*—are walled in completely by lofty mountains, presenting stupendous precipices to the vanished sea. The larger *mares* are more like ocean beds. They run together as terrestrial oceans do, and sometimes merge into the brighter continental regions, without a distinct line of demarcation. In other places they show a rugged coast-line, rising into cliffs and peaks, and pierced at times by valleys and ravines.

One of the most conspicuous of these lunar ocean beds, also one of the deepest, is known as the *Mare Serenitatis*. Its area is nearly one hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles. Within its dark, gray border, from thirty to eighty miles wide, is an extensive inner plain which at times presents a fine, clear, light green tint, with a central streak of pure white, the green area lying lower apparently than the gray exterior. The green tint is difficult to catch, except under favorable conditions, and is much weakened by the effect of numerous small white round spots and gray ridges.

Another of the moon's green plains was discovered by Mädler in the *Mare Humorum*, already mentioned. This is one of the smallest as well as most distinctly bordered of the dark gray plains. Its area is fifty thousand square miles. The greater portion of its interior is distinctly tinged a dusky green, sometimes very marked, affording a strong contrast with the pure gray of the borders and high enclosing ridges. On the west the green area extends nearly to the edge of the *mare*, but elsewhere, as in the *Mare Serenitatis*, it is separated from the border by a narrow, darker gray fringe, except on the northwest, where the gray and green areas merge insensibly into each other.

Still another area of green is observed in the *Mare Chrisium*, one of the most conspicuous of the moon's dark plains. It is completely enclosed, and is, perhaps, the deepest of the lunar *mares*. Its area is seventy-eight thousand square miles. Its general tint is a gray mixed with an unmistakable tinge of green, especially under high illumination. This verdant hue is seen to best advantage for several days before and after the moon is full.

These and other color-changes on the face of the moon—as, for instance, the darkening of the great ring plain of Plato with increasing light, and like changes in certain long, winding lunar valleys—led Beer and Mädler to suggest that they would indicate vegetation, were vegetation possible on the surface of the moon. But having accepted Bessel's conclusion that there could be neither air nor water on the lunar surface, and consequently no life, those much-respected selenographers could not entertain the hypothesis of lunar vegetation, however strong the evidence might seem.

But Bessel's opinion, as our readers already know, is inconsistent not only with the conditions on which he based his calculations, but also with the results of more recent studies of the state of the moon's surface. So far from being an airless, waterless, unalterable desert, a changeless mass of dead matter, like so much volcanic scoria, the moon is now known to have an atmosphere of considerable volume and density, to present abundant evidence of physical activity and change, and to have in all probability water enough to make life easily possible on its surface.

The moon is dying, but very far from dead. Being so much smaller than the earth, it has run its course more rapidly, but is still a good way off from that goal of ultimate deadness to which so many astronomers have theoretically assigned it. There is not the slightest adequate evidence, Nelson says, of the popular view, and "its truth would be admitted by no astronomer who had devoted sufficient attention to selenography to enable him to thoroughly realize the probable present condition of the moon."

Such being the case, the hypothesis that the moon's green plains derive their color from vegetation ceases to be impossible or absurd. The evidence is not of a character to justify a positive assertion that the mythical man in the moon may have abundant pasturage for his cattle; but his case ceases to be absolutely hopeless when a thorough-going selenographer can say, as Nelson does, that the moon may possess an atmosphere that must be regarded as fully capable of sustaining various forms of vegetation of even an advanced type; that it does not appear how it can justly be questioned that the lunar surface in favorable positions may yet retain a sufficiency of moisture to support vegetation of many kinds; and that in a very considerable portion of the entire surface of the moon, the temperature would not vary sufficiently to materially affect the existence of vegetable life.

Who can tell but that the aforementioned man in the moon may not follow the plan of the African tribe which Livingstone tells of, and keep himself and his cattle in extensive lunar caverns, where the temperature is uniform and water abundant; driving them forth upon these green fields for a fortnightly feed when the sun is up for its long days and the grass in good condition? Jules Verne ought not to neglect so inviting a field of exploration.—*Scientific American.*

NOUNS OF MULTITUDE.—A little girl was near the picture of a number of ships, when she exclaimed, "See what a flock of ships!" We corrected her by saying that a flock of ships was called a fleet, and a fleet of sheep was called a flock. And here we may add, for the benefit of the foreigner who is mastering the intricacies of our language in respect to the nouns of multitude, that a flock of wolves is called a pack, and a pack of thieves is called a gang, and a gang of angels is called a host, and a host of porpoises is called a shoal, and a shoal of buffaloes is called a troop, and a troop of partridges is called a covey, and a covey of beauties is called a galaxy, and a galaxy of ruffians is called a horde, and a horde of rubbish is called a heap, and a heap of oxen is called a drove, and a drove of blackguards is called a mob, and a mob of worshippers is called a congregation, and a congregation of engineers is called a corps, and a corps of robbers is called a band, and a band of locusts is called a swarm, and a swarm of people is called a crowd, and a crowd of gentlefolk is called the *élite*, and a miscellaneous crowd of city folk is called the community or the public.

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE MARCH OF LIBERTY.

BY HARVEY HOWARD.

My heart leaps up with rapture at the coming of a maid,
Whose swift advancing footsteps make the tyrant's soul afraid;
For she stoops to lift the down-cast and to comfort the dismayed,
As she goes marching on.

Her neck is clothed in thunder, and her eye the lightning seems;
Her smile is like a maiden's in a raptured lover's dreams;
Her cheek can answer back with fire the sun's devouring beams,
As she goes marching on

She carries in her hand a sword to smite the prisoner's chain,
But no shield to parry any blow of those who smite again.
Her limbs are like some pillars tall that deck the Eastern plain,
And she is marching on.

Her bearing is as regal as a goddess's may be,
For on her brow and in her breast sits throned majesty.
God gave dominion unto her; she rules as wide as he,
While she is marching on.

I have seen her lift her hand and break the fierce oppressor's rod;
And where her smile has fallen, blood has crimson-stained the sod;
And prejudice's victims were the chosen ones of God,
Where she is marching on.

The throbbing of her bosom is the heaving of the sea,
And the trailing of her garments is the music of the free.
Her step awakes the nations; for her name is LIBERTY,
And she is marching on.

At her coming every vestige of the olden night must flee,
And passion's reign surrender to the reign of purity.
We stand and face the dawning of the era of the free
For she is marching on.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 29.

Chas. Hamilton, $5; Dr. John N. Lyman, $3.20; J. W. Truesdell, $6.20; W. A. Dutton, 75 cents; Wiley Britton, $3; Benj. Breed, $2.14; Jas. S. Bailey, $5; Mrs. David Joy, $4; J. M. P. Bachelder, $1; Dr. Jno. Winslow, $3.20; J. F. Ruggles, $3.20; Chester A. Greenleaf, $3.20; Peter Leetin, $5.60; Edw. A. Spring, $6.40; Richard Russell, $3.20; C. W. Story, $3.20; J. C. Kearns, $2.10; W. W. Baker, $3.25; J. Heistland, $1.50; D. B. Morton, 35 cents; A. W. Kelsey, 70 cents; M. B. Linton, $1.50; L. Kingma, $1; Dr. M. E. Zakrzewska, $3.20; Wm. Beyrer, $3.25; Geo. D. Haworth, $3.20; Mrs. J. W. Scammell, $3.20; Dr. J. D. Buck, $11.50; Rob't Davis, $1; Mrs. H. S. Mason, $1.20; G. M. Smith, 20 cents; Cash, $1; H. L. Higginson, $3.20; L. H. Stockbridge, $3.20; Mrs. H. Colt, $6.40; Ernst Prussing, $4.40; A. B. Brown, $3.20; J. L. Stoddard, $1; J. Henry Buffum, $3.20; A. W. Austin, $6; F. Fradley, $3.25; R. J. Rogers, $1; Sidney McCloud, $3.50; D. B. Morton, $4.50; A. McVean, $1.20; John H. Titcomb, $3.20.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

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The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 4, 1877.

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A WORD IN SEASON.

Just as we go to press, Mr. Green sends us this excellent note, which we most heartily second:—

Local Liberal Leagues. How to Organize Them.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Many Local Liberal Leagues are being organized these days in Central and Western New York, preparatory to sending delegates to the Rochester Congress, October 26, 27, and 28. Some of them are being organized in this way: ten, fifteen, or more liberal persons are invited to some private house, and there, without trouble or expense, an organization is perfected—a charter ordered, delegates elected, and, as the saying is, "the child is born" with very little "labor." Any earnest freethinker in any town where there are a few liberals can organize a League in this manner. If some one of your readers in every town will try this experiment *immediately* after reading this notice, we can have three thousand delegates at the Rochester Congress. Reader, will *you* try it?

H. L. GREEN.

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER LOOS, of Germantown, Pa., died at his home on the fifteenth of September. One of the best educated and most self-sacrificing liberals in the country, and a gentleman whose personal character was universally respected, his services as a member of the General Centennial Committee, to which was intrusted the responsibility of making all arrangements for the Centennial Congress of Liberals, were very valuable and highly appreciated. An obituary notice of his career was received at this office too late for insertion in the present issue, but will appear next week.

BENJAMIN HALLOWELL, of Sandy Spring, Maryland, one of the earliest friends of this journal and a stockholder in the Index Association, has just died at an advanced age. He was one of the sweetest and noblest spirits of this time, and won the affectionate regard and profound respect of all who came into relation with him. A Quaker or "Friend" of the most liberal school, his sympathies were with all that is good and true; and though we never had the privilege of meeting him in person, we shall always retain the most grateful remembrance of his beautiful letters. The world is poorer to-day by his departure from it.

A NEW *Freethought Journal* has been started in Canada by the Toronto Liberal Association. The first number, dated September 14, has just been received, and is a very promising one, being very well printed and very well filled. Among its contents we notice Mr. Stoddard's translation from Renan on "Prayer," and Mr. Ball's poem on "The Gods,"—both honorably credited to THE INDEX. B. F. Underwood, William McDonnell, Allen Pringle, Edward Meek, William Sisson, J. Ick Evans, R. B. Butland, W. B. Cooke, and W. J. R. Hargrave are editorial contributors. Address Cooke & Hargrave, Managing Editors, 18½ King Street East, Toronto. Subscription per year, $2.00.

THERE IS as much mystery how Dean Swift, who made no pretence of a special inspiration, could write this astonishing passage on the moons of Mars, as shrouds the alleged revelations of Swedenborg:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE:

Sir,—I have found something in *Gulliver's Travels* which I think is quite curious. In *A Voyage to Laputa*, chapter iii., p. 284, of Lippincott's Edition of 1876, I find the following in relation to the astronomers of Laputa:—

"They have likewise discovered two lesser stars, or satellites, which revolve about Mars; whereof the innermost is distant from the centre of the primary planet exactly three of his diameters, and the outermost five; the former revolves in the space of ten hours, and the latter in twenty-one and a half; so that the squares of their periodical times are very near in the same proportion with the cubes of their distance from the centre of Mars."

Gulliver's Travels appeared in 1726, one hundred and fifty years ago; and these two satellites were discovered on August 16 of this year. Although the distances and times are not quite true, yet they will be found to be in proportion to the actual figures. E. H.

MT. UNION, STARK CO., O., Sept. 11, 1877.

"NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS."

"Equality under the laws of all citizens," said President Hayes, in reply to an address of welcome by Colonel Charles S. Venable, at Charlottesville, Va., on September 25 (the date of the call for the First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League),—"Equality under the laws of all citizens is the corner-stone of the structure of restored harmony, from which the ancient friendship is to rise. In this pathway I am going, the pathway where your illustrious men led—your Jefferson, your Madison, your Monroe, your Washington." If in this statement President Hayes is thoroughly sincere and in earnest,—if he is indeed resolved to "go in this pathway," and not pause half-heartedly before the goal is attained,—then he will not hesitate to approve emphatically the principle of NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, proposed in the call which was sent forth to the American people on the very day when he uttered the above most excellent words. He will see that nothing is contemplated by it inconsistent with the complete reconciliation of the North and the South, or the most unfeigned and cordial amity between them; he will see that the protection of all national citizens in all their equal rights, civil, political, and religious, not by the muskets of United States troops, but by the peaceable authority of United States courts, is not a principle which applies to a single section of the country, but to all sections alike; he will see that the incorporation of such a principle into the Constitution cannot be regarded as a measure of force imposed upon the vanquished, since it would be law alike to the vanquished and the victor; in short, he will see that there is no other sufficient guarantee of that "equality of all citizens" which he well declares to be the "corner-stone of the structure of restored harmony." If President Hayes sincerely aims to build the temple of assured and stable peace, he will be the last man in the country to oppose the placing of the finishing stone on this august edifice.

Let no sanguine soul delude itself with the dream that a Presidential tour, how redolent soever of handshakings, compliments, and applauses, is enough to achieve this consummation. Contrasting the former and present conditions of the freedmen very favorably to the latter, Hon. George F. Hoar, President of the recent Massachusetts Republican Convention at Worcester, nevertheless said: "I do not doubt that there is still grave and serious danger. There are men, able and numerous at the South, who mean, having first driven out from their States all white men who differ from them, to deprive the negro of the political and legal rights" [*imperfectly*] "conferred on him by the amendments to the Constitution, and to reduce him to such a condition of political and personal dependence upon the whites that the will of the latter shall be the law which determines his personal rights, and fixes the price and condition of his labor. This is partly a conscious purpose, and partly the effect of that curious mental hallucination which, while persuading itself of a desire to treat the colored man with justice, seems to lose unconsciously all understanding of what justice and equality really are wherever he is concerned." (We may add—just as Christians lose all understanding of what justice and equality really are wherever freethinkers are concerned.)

Still stronger testimony to this state of facts was borne by the New York *Tribune* of May 21, after a somewhat similar contrast, as follows: "This is the pleasant side of the prospect. On the other hand is the certainty that though the negro may be safe in his person and property, yet for some time to come he will not be recognized as the political equal of the whites, and will not be permitted under any circumstances to regain political power. He may be fairly treated in the courts and the schools; he will not be fairly treated at the polls. Probably we shall hear little more of shot-gun campaigns and masked riders; but the negro majorities will melt away; the colored people will be "discouraged" from voting; they will be strongly confirmed in the belief, already gaining ground with them, that politics for black folks will not pay, and that they will find it easier to get work and make friends if they let the affairs of government alone. Ways enough will be found to nullify the provisions of the enforcement acts without infringing upon the boundaries indicated in the recent decisions of the Supreme Court. The State election laws will be unassailable by Federal authority; and yet it will be found that negro suffrage is to all intents and purposes abolished whenever it threatens to lead to the restoration of a negro and carpet-bag administration. If the whites cannot keep in power by fair means, they will not hesitate to secure themselves by fraud."

So shrewd an observer as the New York *Nation*, in its issue of Sept. 27, as if in confirmation of Senator Hoar's testimony, declares (the italics are ours): "Our belief is that at present the Southern whites are determined to accept him [the negro] as a voter *under white guidance*, and, *as long as he chooses to accept this guidance*, to protect him in the fullest manner in the security of person and property." In plain English, the negro shall *not* be secure in person and property, if he will not vote exactly as the whites dictate! We regret to say that, notwithstanding the *Nation's* anticipation that the negro may achieve political independence in the future, it apparently sanctions his political serfdom in the present, by speaking of "the delight which Governor Wade Hampton feels at seeing his State once more in the hands of *those who own it*"! As if, forsooth, the State of South Carolina *belonged* to the white citizens exclusively, and not to the colored citizens as well!

Is any one so fatuous as to suppose that the Southern question can be eliminated from politics by any such settlement as this? Or that the shouts and huzzas of Southern crowds, jubilant over a fraternization which puts the colored people under their feet, are loud enough to drown the voice of the Northern conscience which declares: "You have made these people citizens of your own Republic—now protect them by the power of its laws!" Friendship is good, but not such as made Pilate and Herod friends.

This demand of national protection for national citizens is fated to grow louder every day. The government of the United States is powerless to give a just equivalent for the supreme allegiance it claims.

Said the Boston *Journal* of July 19: "It is an unspeakable disgrace to the authorities of the State of Mississippi that they have not taken measures to punish the perpetrators of the De Kalb murders; but if they fail to do so, we cannot see in what manner the federal government can interfere. There are cases where it seems as if the Constitution should empower the federal government to step in and protect the citizen in the State when the local authorities are in league with the assassins; but as it now reads no such provision exists. That the Constitution does not make such provision is not the fault of the President. If it is the result of oversight on the part of any parties, it must be attributed to leading Republicans, who had it in their power once to change the Constitution so as to give the most ample powers to the general government."

When Attorney-General Devens was charged last May with negligence in not prosecuting the parties accused of the Mountain Meadow Massacre, his defence was that this horrible crime was not against the United States, but against the Territory of Utah. Yet it was a great company of industrious, honest, unoffending United States citizens who were foully and brutally murdered in cold blood!

When Chief-Justice Waite gave his charge to the jury in the Ellenton conspiracy cases at Charleston, S. C., on the first of last June, he said: "That a number of citizens of the United States have been killed, there can be no question; but that is not enough to enable the government of the United States to interfere for their protection. Under the Constitution, that duty belongs to the State alone. But when an unlawful combination is made to interfere with any of the rights of national citizenship secured to citizens of the United States by the national Constitution, then an offence is committed against the laws of the United States; and it is not only the right, but the absolute duty of the national government to interfere and afford to the citizen that protection which every good government is bound to give." Should not such protection as "every good government is bound to give" extend to all the civil, political, and religious rights of citizenship?

"General Hawley, in his recent college address," said the Boston *Journal* of May 14, "gives a very pertinent answer to a complaint sometimes heard. Why, it is asked, does our government permit outrages in a State which it would exert all its authority to redress, even at the risk of war, if they were perpetrated under a foreign government? Are the rights of American citizens more sacred on the soil of Great Britain or France than on the soil of one of our own States, like Mississippi or Louisiana? Not at all, it might be replied; but the government of the United States is clothed with power to act with imperial sovereignty in the one case, while in the other its authority is limited, to the degree of utter im-

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potency in certain circumstances. The State sovereignty excludes the federal over most matters of dealing between man and man; and if the State laws are properly enforced there is not likely to be any ground of complaint; but if not, the federal government, unless specially called in according to the terms of the Constitution, is helpless. As General Hawley states it: 'Citizen A B, grievously wronged, beaten, and robbed, lynched within a hair's breadth of death, may apply utterly in vain to any and all prosecuting officers of the State. The forms of law that might give him redress are all there; the prosecuting officers, judges, and sheriffs that might act are there; but, under an oppressive and tyrannical public sentiment, they refuse to move.' In such an exigency the government of the United States can do no more than the government of any neighboring State,—that is, unless the State concerned calls for aid, or unless the offence rises to the dignity of insurrection or rebellion. The reason is that the framers of our governmental system left to the several States the sole guardianship of the personal and relative private rights of the people. The United States government has passed no laws against murder, mayhem, rape, robbery, theft, and the whole range of crimes against person and property, save only when committed in ports, arsenals, dock-yards, or other places 'under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States,' or on the high seas or elsewhere within admirality and marine jurisdiction. A few other exceptions, as in the case of treason and specified crimes against the government, do not militate against the general principle that to the States are reserved the protection of life and property, and the punishment of all crimes ordinarily committed within their borders."

Such is the imperfect development of our nationality in this respect that we have really no right as yet to call ourselves a nation in the true sense of the word, nor shall we have while this state of things continues. Thousands have begun to feel this keenly, of which a few illustrations must suffice.

A communication to the *Tribune* of June 9, signed "Merchant," was as follows: "Before getting into a quarrel, and perhaps a war, with Mexico about the treatment of our flag and citizens, would it not be as well, think you, for the government to try and make the flag a protection to our citizens on our own soil? That is what it never has been since the foundation of our government in a large portion of our common country. The kind of government the people of this country expect and intend to have, State rights or no State rights, no matter how much blood and treasure it may cost, is a government able to protect the humblest citizen in the exercise of all political, civil, and religious rights. When the rebellion of the South against the government began, one of the most noted secessionists of Baltimore asked one of the regular army officers what the government expected to gain by making war on the South. 'Well,' the officer replied, laying his hand on the cannon by which he was standing, 'we intend to use these until it is as safe for a Northern man to express his political opinions in the South as it is for a Southern man to express his in the North.' That has not been accomplished, notwithstanding the good use the gallant officer made of his guns (and he used them well, and it was not his fault that the war closed before it was accomplished). We shall not have a government to be proud of until it is accomplished."

Hon. James G. Blaine declared at the Robeson banquet in Trenton, N. J., July 2, that "a government which did not offer protection to every citizen in every State had no right to demand allegiance."

Ex-Senator Wade, of Ohio, in a letter to the Washington *National Republican* of July 16, said of the "President's policy": "I greatly fear this policy, under color of what is called 'local self-government,' is but an ignominious surrender of the principles of nationality, for which our armies fought, and for which thousands upon thousands of brave men died, and without which the war was a failure, and our boasted government a myth." For our own part, we believe that there is no reason to quarrel with this "President's policy" so far as it goes, provided it is followed up by such a practical recognition of the "principles of nationality" as shall give national protection in return for national allegiance. General Devens, in his oration of September 17 at the dedication of the new monument on Boston Common, perhaps unconsciously implied this, when he said: "We strive to render the Republic one whose firm and genial sway shall protect with just and equal laws each citizen who yields obedience to her power." The Republic can never become such as this until it guarantees and affords protection to the individual citizen in its own name and by its own immediate power, and no longer delegates this high responsibility to local authorities which may or may not discharge it. We believe in "local self-government" as firmly as any one possibly can; but we deny emphatically that the protection of national citizens in their fundamental equality of personal rights ought to be left to the separate States any more than it ought to be left to the separate towns—or the separate wards of a city. That is a function which *every nation as such* must exercise, or it is unworthy of the title.

The truth and justice of this position are so clear that it needs only a bold and persistent public affirmation of it to command thousands and millions of votes. It is on this principle, and on this alone, that liberals should claim protection for themselves against the too long endured encroachments and oppressions of the Church; and it is on this principle that the National Liberal League should now fearlessly take its stand as the advance-guard of a vast national party. Let its voice be now raised with dignity in defence of this precious principle, and it will be immortalized by the gratitude of posterity. The Rochester Congress will have it in its power to render such a service to public liberty as shall instantaneously arrest the attention of the whole people and command the enthusiastic support of multitudes of voters. Do not delay, then, liberal friends, in assembling, taking out charters, sending delegates to Rochester, and ensuring such a convention as shall lift into instant prominence and power the great cause of NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS.

AUTHORITY OF CHARACTER.

There is one kind of authority in religious matters as in all others that is very vital and genuine. It is the natural power which truth and right carry with them when uttered by word or deed as living personal conviction. It makes all the difference in the world whether a word or deed stands by itself in its own strength, or whether it has the support of strong character behind it, vitalizing it, as it were, with personal life. In one sense, it is true, it can make no difference to the force or weight of a proposition whether it be uttered by saint or sinner, by a wise man or a fool, by one who believes it or one who does not. A moral precept no more than a geometrical theorem is *logically* altered by the character of the person who teaches it. But the immediate influence which intellectual or moral truth may have upon the world greatly depends on the quality of the personality throughout which it flows. There are great words that fall dead and are void of any immediate result, because no magnetism of personal conviction is felt behind them. And, on the other hand, there are quite ordinary words that are sometimes spoken with such fresh and earnest energy of belief, and are so penetrated and vitalized with genuine experience, that they arouse enthusiasm in the hearers, and so kindle thought and feeling and purpose as to become a genuine life-giving inspiration in the community.

And any man who so speaks as to awaken or to deepen the mental and moral life of those who hear, speaks with authority, whatever the truth he utters, whether it be old or new. That earnestness of belief which shows itself in strong personal character always commands, always leads. It has an authority inherent in itself, which does not rest on any outward credentials or official insignia. The test of its authority is its actual success in rousing the energies, satisfying the thought, developing into active beneficent life the moral nature of those with whom it comes in contact. Let the thought be high and noble and fresh, and the words a fit embodiment of it, and a true and strong personality be felt behind the words and thought, and we have the authority possessed by the genuine moral and religious teacher,—the reformer's and prophet's power.

We have no need to look for credentials of miracle in order to find those who "speak as having authority." It is a power that carries its own evidence with it. Jesus, Socrates, Zoroaster, Sakya Muni, all had it. It is a power found in all religious faiths, and is not yet extinct. It is a power that is specially dominant in any great moral and religious movement. Liberals sometimes complain of the slowness with which their ideas advance, and of the indifference of fellow-liberals with regard to the adoption of the requisite outward means of success. But perhaps one secret of the indifference and the slowness is that liberal ideas are not yet grasped with sufficient enthusiasm. They are perceived mentally by large numbers of people, are accepted logically; but it is only a comparatively few who so feel their pressure upon the conscience and heart as to become their devoted and consecrated servants. It is of the first importance, of course, that truth be perceived by the mind; and vast mischief has been wrought in the history of mankind by conscience and emotion acting without the authority of rational thought. But, again, rational thought needs the attracting power of heart and the impelling power of conscience to set it in its full authority before the world. In other words, it needs the power of a complete personality behind it to give it full vigor and vitality. W. J. P.

THE INTEREST QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—It seems to me that a pertinent question to ask in connection with this controversy is: "How do capitalists or those who have money to lend succeed in getting interest for their money? The answer is because there is competition for it. Those who can profitably make use of it are prepared to bid against one another up to a certain point; and naturally the money goes to the one who can, upon the whole, offer the best terms; which means that it goes to the one who is prepared to pay the usual rate of interest while offering the best security. On what grounds should money be loaned without interest, or at one or two *per cent.*, when very worthy people are not only willing but anxious to obtain it at a higher rate? The sole grounds could be those of private friendship, which would not be a very satisfactory regulator in matters of business.

Secondly, what advantage would accrue from the abolition of interest? Does not the existing system work in favor of a great many poor as well as in favor of the few rich? When a poor man invests his savings in a savings-bank, or in a house which he intends to let, does not he reap an advantage from interest? Why compel such a man to be always consuming his capital?

Lastly, what steps could possibly be taken for doing away with interest; or, in other words, for preventing people paying for what they want and what *it pays them to pay for*? Are not men accumulating money every day through the use of borrowed capital? It seems to me that interest is a very necessary reminder that the borrowed money is not yours, and a useful spur to help you to get rid of the debt.

At the same time, like yourself, I am open to conviction. Ever faithfully yours,

WM. D. LE SUEUR.

OTTAWA, Sept. 23, 1877.

FREETHOUGHT NOTES.

The first number of a freethought paper has appeared at Toronto.

The Liberal Association of Toronto has steadily grown since its formation three years ago, till it has become a large and flourishing organization.

The Boston *Investigator* is in its forty-seventh year

The first volume of Lange's *History of Materialism* has been published by Osgood & Co. It is a profound and comprehensive work.

Lewes' *Physical Basis of Mind* is a valuable contribution to scientific and philosophic literature. The "Reasoned Realism" of "Problems of Life and Mind," of which the above named work is the third volume, is a sort of compromise between the materialism of Häckel, Vogt, Moleschott, and Büchner, and the philosophy of Herbert Spencer. Spencer, in his *Principles of Sociology*, leaves but little foundation for the theories of Max Müller and other "mythologists" in regard to the origin of religious beliefs.

"What are you then by nature?" "I am an enemy of God, a child of Satan, and an heir of hell?" "What will the wicked do in hell?" "They will roar, curse, and blaspheme God." These are questions and answers taken from a catechism published in 1864, and used in the Sunday-school of a prominent Congregational Church in Eastern Massachusetts. So says the *Gospel Banner*.

The subject of State secularization is receiving considerable attention in Oregon.

Liberalism is making rapid strides in Canada, especially in Ontario, where at the book-stores works are displayed the sale of which a few years ago would have been punished by imprisonment and fine.

Mr. Peebles, a prominent Spiritualist, takes the ground that Darwinism is utterly inconsistent with the facts and philosophy of modern Spiritualism.

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It is fortunate for Spiritualism that Mr. Wallace and other Spiritualists quite as well qualified to judge as Mr. Peebles take a different view.

Charles Brádlaugh says that the Knowlton pamphlet has reached, since the prosecution of Mrs. Besant and himself, a sale of one hundred and thirty thousand copies. The usual sale before was about a hundred a year.

The Toronto *National* says of the clergy of Canada: "They are not content even with what they legally keep back from the public treasury. It is with them a game of grab, in which the 'dead hand' of the Church takes all it can snatch from the State, and gives nothing in return. It is time the whole system was swept away. . . . If people can afford to build churches costing thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars, they can afford to pay for the roads, sidewalks, gas, and sewerage they are not slow in clamoring for. These buildings spring up in Toronto week after week like mushrooms, and th e creation of every one of them means the deduction of so much from the ratable property of the city." There is quite a strong sentiment in Ontario in favor of taxation of church property and complete State secularization. B. F. U.

Communications.

REPLY TO MRS. ELIZABETH THOMPSON'S "HUMANE APPEAL."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Inspired by the earnest appeal from a noble soul in behalf of human suffering which appeared in THE INDEX, the writer offers a few suggestions concerning causes that have brought about prevailing misery to the greater portion of this nation. More especially is this observable among the producing and industrious classes; while, however, thousands of people, unseen and unsuspected, suffer atonement for wrong-doers' sinful acts and for omission on the part of the strong to do their duty to the weakened in these days of trials.

In connection with the exposition of causes that have brought about the present state of affairs, it is proper to suggest remedies which, when applied in practice, will alleviate the distress and prevent its repetition in the future.

The prominent cause of the people's financial distress, the nation's apparently bankrupt state, and the many *out of place* crimes committed by unprofessional criminals, are plainly traceable to culpable national mismanagement.

The mismanagement has chiefly consisted in the protection given, through corrupt law-making, to usurers, stock and estate gamblers, bondholders, and monopolists generally, while unjust neutrality has been observed on the part of government in the uneven struggle of necessity against luxury. Persecution, even, has been extended to upright-thinking philanthropists and honest laborers, when either of these had exhausted their resources and become poor in pocket through charitable disposition and fair dealings.

Back of these causes, however, a primary and principal one can be found which is the more important, because it constitutes the root of the evil, and suggests itself the remedy for preventing repetition; namely, to root it out and plant a new.

When we look to the characteristic narrow-mindedness and Orthodox pedantry exhibited (with exceptions) by the class of officials entrusted with the control of public schools; when we observe, on the one hand, the severe constraint put upon competent but independent progressive tutors by these despotic trustees; when we observe, on the other, the servility with which incompetent, ignorant persons lend themselves to teach what is dictated them by their unscrupulous overseers, because it is *their interest*; when we notice how one text-book is thrown out and another accepted, not for its merit or demerit, nor for the good or bad effect its teachings may have on the mind of the scholar, but on account of the dollars and cents involved,—can we then wonder that the educational system is deficient and ineffective in performing what reasonably might be expected from so important an institution?

As long as public education is limited to memorizing and *mouthing* over and over again doctrines prepared and suited to the *past*, so long can we not reasonably expect to raise wise and judicious legislators fit to frame laws suited to the present. For that kind of learning the present generation has outgrown through intellectual progress and scientific discoveries.

Is it consistent with reason or common-sense to study "man" as he *was*, and measure present human nature of a higher type with the lower "beings" of the past? Why not study "man" as he *is*, that we may learn our own nature what we *can* do, and what *must be done*, if we desire to prepare a happy future for our own posterity?

We have learned from Nature around us how by cultivation we can change the nature of a sour orange-tree so that it may bear sweet fruit; why not learn from school how by discipline and moral culture we may change our own natures and the nature of our children, so we and they shall think more righteously, and so that in deeds and dealings we shall act more honorably?

Why should we study sun, moon, and stars in their true relationship to each other, and not study the true relationship of individuals to society and society to individuals? Is it wise to give all our attention to the physical sciences and sharpen the carnal appetite of our minds to know all about the body, how to clothe and feed it well, and then totally ignore and omit to teach the metaphysical sister-science, so necessary to practical moral culture, when by this neglect we cause minds to famish or grow corrupt for want of knowledge about the soul?

As long as we have this one-sided kind of education *in the* school, and instruct our children *out of* school how to obtain the most money in the shortest time by *compound interest* or fraudulent acts, demonstrated in every-day-life, so long shall we rear our children up in ignorance and debar them from the higher and nobler attainments in life, attainable only through knowledge of using ourselves rightly as providing instrumentalities; so long shall we perpetuate our degradation in the scale of humanity, and more and more become a nation of unscrupulous money-mongers; and so long will the noblest of institutions—the public school—prove a failure.

We wonder, under such educational management, our legislators and senators have proven themselves inadequate to the trust imposed upon them. What do they know of first principles in ethics, or of sound economy based on natural law? In school it is not taught, and out of school they have no time to study it, nor have they ambition to understand that which would tie them with bands of honor.

Once we had a species of ethics clothed in ecclesiastical garments, which, under the name of religion, held in check for a while the inordinate appetite for public plunder and oppressive acts. Now and then a timid knave would be conscience-stricken from fear of a coming hell; now even this bridle has snapped, and to the intelligent rogue it is but a relic of the past, with neither smoke nor smell to rouse the fear of fire.

But what is worse, while we have outgrown the old admonitor, we have not yet fairly begun to grow, in the new order of things, and slaves to evil have no conscientious restraint put upon them that will modify their brutal passions.

When we consider this fact, well may we feel alarmed about the consequences; for whoever knows anything about social economy and national polity understands that no system, social or political, is sound, or can be safe without some ethical foundation.

The ethics to be taught in our public schools should be pure, and simplified so that every voter, however limited in intellect, or however much superfluous learning he might possess, could not find an excuse for misunderstanding, nor find learning enough to prevent it by sophistication.

No one should be considered fit to hold an office of trust under the people who could not remember the first lesson in ethics, taught in school, defining "equitable" relationship when applied to social economy, to mean, "that every member of a social or national body should be *to the whole* what the whole body should be to *each individual* member." Neither should anyone be eligible as representative of the people, who was not willing voluntarily to contribute a proportionate share of property accumulated in excess of the needful, whenever the nation's life was jeopardized for want of resources.

Each member of the national body should learn in the public school that the *omission* to do justice to fellow-members of the same body is equally guilty with *commission* of offences against the law. The relation of money to *products* and *labor* should be taught in the public school. It should be shown that *money* in itself is of no life-giving value, but mere representatives of the *commonwealth*, the same as letters written and spoken are merely representatives of "sense," or as congressmen are merely representatives for the people. A *commonwealth* should be defined in school to mean the yearly produce and products of the whole country raised by labor and expenditure of vitality,—which products and produce, when utilized by the nation's members, would give life and vigor back again. It should be taught that, when a monetary system was based upon an exact ratio of collateral commonwealth, when no more money was issued than corresponded to the raising of this commonwealth, such an amount of money properly and freely circulated effectually replaced the more inconvenient barter-system. But it should also emphatically be explained that every dollar raised by *interest*, without any corresponding collateral equivalent that could be converted into *life*, was of fictitious value, a constant drag on free labor, and invariably leads to depreciation of the capital circulated.

Is this not natural law, and is natural law not supreme? Do we not find this order of things throughout the universe and in every healthily organized *body*? Why should we not teach in schools how to organize our national body in conformity to natural law? If we know and understand what is needed to keep the animal individual body in a healthy condition, why not apply the same knowledge to keep healthy and thriving the national body? Both are associated organizations. The nation is a vast organism of many lesser organs, each of which has specific functions to perform, yet all aiming at the sustenance of the whole,—*while in a healthy state*. So with the individual human body, made up of many cells and groups of cells, which severally and unitedly combine to sustain the whole. One is the *giant* with the spacious senate chamber in which is done the nation's thinking and reasoning; one is the Liliputian, with the tiny skull in which the constituent's thinking and reasoning is done.

If the Liliputian thinks and reasons wrongly,—aye, perhaps by temptation driven commits a crime,—though weak he be, must he not suffer the penalty? How, then, if the giant who is so strong reasons falsely and thinks wrongly? Suppose he by wilful neglect *omits* to do what is just and right, and by this omission becomes the indirect cause of offence, shall there be no law to punish him as well, giant though he be,—or shall might be right before we have drifted into anarchy?

When we look to the general make-up of these bodies, we find a striking resemblance in the organism. In the human animal economy we find a circulating medium called *blood*. By fitting avenues it ramifies throughout the body and flows uniformly and freely. In its course it distributes itself *equitably* (not equally) to every working organ, feeding it with suitable nourishment and clothing it with new tissue as the old one wears out; never overtasking any nor denying any its just share. By this fair dealing in return, the working organs of a healthy body perform their functions with will and vigor. In the national system we find a similarly related circulating medicine called *money* intended to perform precisely the same office as the *blood* in the animal body. By properly directed channels it could be made to flow as freely, to nourish and clothe as well, and be made to convey in return a constant addition to the actual commonwealth, which then would naturally increase the circulation without appreciating its value by adulterous inflation.

But has capital of late done its duty to laboring organs? No; it has been waylaid in its course and absorbed in *monopoly* by mercenary drunkards, far more dangerous to society than the liquor-tipplers; and yet, while so much has been said and done to reform the common drunkard, not a word of reproach has been raised publicly against that kind of intoxication, the fearful consequences of which we now see around us in the wide-spread human wreck and ruin. These unscrupulous debauchees have, under protection of unjust laws, used the vitalizing resources to inflame and corrupt one portion of the nation, while another portion of that same body is famishing for want of necessities. It does not require much leavening to see the analogy between the national and the individual body. Suppose we tie a string tightly around a limb—say an arm or a leg; will not that blood thus cut off from general circulation inflame and swell up the monopolizing limb? And will not the whole body suffer and its constitution be impaired? This the monopolists have done; they have most successfully tried to break down the national Constitution. Should a surgeon be consulted in such a case, where a leg or an arm was mortifying, would he not be likely to advise *bleeding* or *amputation*? And would any reasonable being thus affected not prefer such a course rather than death? We for our part would sooner die than be eaten up of foul ulcers, or consuming cancers.

Had the men who for the last half century have filled the offices of trust assigned by the people been educated in the public school to understand this simple relationship of the two bodies,—had they learned to value the producing worker's life *at least as much* as the idle consumer's property,—had they been instructed to aim at honor rather than wealth, how different would our law-makers and laws have been to-day! Prosperity would have crowned the nation, and peace, happiness, and harmony would have reigned supreme in this once glorious land.

Is it possible that a nation so great can be so utterly devoid of independent manhood among its influential men, that a woman must take up the cause and spur them on to do their duty? Is there not one in the land whose voice can be heard that has courage enough to speak the truth, say boldly?—

"Gentlemen bondholders and capitalists, you have with a margin of profit received in full the amount advanced as a loan to the government some years ago, when the nation's life was threatened by dissolution; you still hold, under protection of law, the *principal* as a claimable debt against your less favored fellow-citizens. Again the nation is visited with calamities, and *decline* jeopardizes its life. Now, as then, the nation appeals to the stewards entrusted with the commonwealth to come to the rescue, to save the country from further distress, and to enable the government *now*, as *then*, to protect your lives and property. Give up your bonds as patriotically as did the brave defenders of the Union give up their *lives* on the battle-field. Once more lend the United States your property, say for twenty-five years, take mortgage bonds bearing three *per cent.* interest from the government, and on this property the government will found a new issue of bills bearing one *per cent.* interest, which will be instituted legal tender for all debts and dues excepting customs. Do this, or adopt some other practicable measure, and you will crown yourselves with glory; continue your stubborn resistance to the country's need and surely will follow the penalty of your shameful inhumanity."

CHARLES DE MEDICI.

BOSTON, Sept. 24.

REPLY TO MR. CRANE.

In THE INDEX of Sept. 27, Mr. E. L. Crane, of Tippecanoe City, attempts a restatement of my "Address to the Country on the Strikes." I do not wish to be led into any discussion on that class of subjects. I am not *mainly* interested either in politics or political economy, and the address in question was merely an episode in the current of my ordinary pursuits. My main interest and labor in life is to elaborate the integral and in a sense final form of philosophy, and especially as a philosophy of the sciences, culminating in sociology, or the true and typical order of human life. *Practically*, my main interest is, then, as I have said, not in politics or political economy, but in something higher and farther on than either; namely in social reconstruction, pantarchally, or on the large planetary scale, and upon the basis, type, and model of the pure science

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of the subject, and of its high art; as replacing the spontaneous, sporadic, chaotic; in a word, the merely naturismal societies and naturalities which have always hitherto covered and cumbered the earth. What I believe in and labor for is, therefore, a quasi-millennial state of society of which only a handful of people as yet have any distinct conception. I live, ideally, in that future world, which many might concede to be probable enough for one thousand, five hundred, or, even in these fast times, one hundred years ahead; but which I also believe in as very near,—as liable to come suddenly (as slavery was abolished in these States) and at almost any day. I regard all the past savageries, barbarisms, and civilizations, which have existed and do exist, as merely so many stages of preparation for a true human, and truly human state of society, which could not exist until science and religion culminated and embraced each other.

Of course, residing habitually in this high visionary and attenuated atmosphere, I am, so far as the actual world around me is concerned, "among it, but not of it"; and of course, again, when I come down from my heights to talk about matters and events here, I am very likely not to make myself quite well understood by those who have no conception of my habitual standing-point of observation. But, still, I can hardly think that I ever presented such an incongruous jumble of ideas as Mr. Crane attributes to me. In the address he refers to, I said nothing about justifying any thing that had been done by the strikers, except as we justify earthquakes and cyclones, by noting the facts and accounting for their meaning. I did not recommend that government should take possession of railroads, establish industrial colonies, or any thing of the kind. I noted the fact, again, that these and a thousand other extreme and gigantic changes were about to be proposed and forced on the attention of the world during the transition from an old to a new form of civilization, many of them perhaps to be tried and prove better or worse. By an attentive reading of my address no one can tell whether I favor any one of those measures or not. My purpose was to emphasize the fact that we are in, or approaching, a great social transition, which will amount, before it ceases, to the greatest social revolution that the world has ever witnessed. Just this I had in mind, and nothing more. It is my object to keep out of rather than to involve myself in the detail of special measures incident to this transition, and to concentrate my efforts upon the preparation for and the organizing of the germ of the new and higher civilization which I anticipate. If Mr. Crane had read my former writings as attentively as he says, and if his memory were good, he would know that I have never prophesied that "some dreadful thing is to happen between labor and capital," except as the opening door to some vastly better thing beyond it; and he would know that I have stood stanchly and in an extreme sense upon precisely his doctrine of individuality, and hands off on the part of government. But I have shown that individuality and free competition can only work well along with equity. For what I mean by commercial equity or equity in trade the reader is referred to an article entitled "The Labor Dollar," in the second number of the *Radical Review*. But as the capitalists and the world at large are not prepared to adopt equity merely because it is just, as the slave-holders were not prepared to adopt abolition, they will have to be driven into it, probably, by a series of intermediate measures of government interference, as distasteful to me as to Mr. Crane. For the further treatment of this point the reader is referred to a book-notice of Mr. Larned's book in the first number of the *Radical Review*,—having my initials. Mr. Emory E. Barnum, a new but an original and logical writer upon this class of subjects, in the New York *Republic* expresses this whole train of thought, in a couple of sentences, as follows: "There is great danger of our oscillating from the present system of ownership and monopoly of wealth by a few to the extreme system of communism. The present order of things, however, will change, and *higher laws*, based upon moral intuitions, must [ulteriorly] take the place of a system where might makes right."

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

AN INSTANCE OF ORTHODOX CANDOR.

The proposition made by Col. R. G. Ingersoll to the clergymen of the country, in the last INDEX, reminds me of a circumstance I am tempted to relate, which shows how extremely anxious clergymen are to seize upon the slightest pretext to disparage those whom they term "infidel."

About thirty or thirty-five years ago, Orson S. Murray, who had been a Baptist minister, and editor of the *Vermont Telegraph*, started with his press and fixtures to Ohio, intending there to publish a radical paper called the *Regenerator*. When he reached Buffalo, N. Y., he took passage in a vessel (name forgotten) for Sandusky. They had not been long out when they encountered a strong gale, so severe that without the most powerful exertion of the passengers and crew all must have been lost. But they finally succeeded in getting their wrecked vessel to the Pennsylvania shore. They made out to get up a fire to warm and dry themselves and talk over their narrow escape. Mr. Murray took this occasion to convince them that in such emergencies, work was much more effective than prayer. He found part of his press injured, and had to send it back for repairs. He then went to the Allegheny River, purchased a skiff, and he rowed himself down to Cincinnati. Shortly after he reached there, he was surprised to read in a religious paper of Brandon, Vermont, an article under the heading, "An Infidel in a Gale," stating that there was an infidel on board this vessel going West with his press, types, and fixtures to establish an infidel paper. When the storm became violent and the vessel became unmanageable, he was the first man to fall upon his knees to pray; but the next surge swept him overboard! Mr. Murray wrote immediately to the editor of this paper, telling him he was not swept overboard, and did not fall on his knees nor pray, but relied on work alone for safety; that frequently, during their struggle to save the ship, he found others whose hope had failed on their knees in prayer. He assured these that there was yet hope, if all would work; and invariably they sprang to their feet and worked like men to save the ship. He requested the editor of that paper to publish these statements, that his friends might know he still lived. This he neglected or refused to do. As soon as Murray could get his shattered fixtures from Sandusky, and put them in running order, he sent out the first number of the *Regenerator* printed in Ohio, containing a full account of the shipwreck, and a denial of the statement that he had prayed, and was drowned. This number he not only sent to Brandon, but to numerous other editors of religious journals who had copied the "Infidel in a Gale," requesting each to correct this misstatement of the matter, that his friends everywhere might know he was not dead, but at his post again. This reasonable request was not granted by one; but the "Infidel in the Gale" was published in the religious papers all over the country for years, notwithstanding the infidel who was swept overboard was sending out his weekly rebukes of superstition and bigotry in his *Regenerator*.

Ministers of many denominations took it up, and made it a text to warn their hearers of the terrible results of "infidelity." Fifteen or twenty years after the transaction, the same awful story of the praying infidel being swept into eternity was told in a sermon preached here in Sterling, Ill. Even to this day it is told by preachers as a solemn truth. Like Beecher's dog, they cannot stop barking at that hole.

Mr. Murray had all his Bibles and theological works in one box, and his "infidel" works in another. The religious works were sunk in the lake, but his "infidel" works were saved. If it had been the other way, how clearly they would have said it proved a special providence!

Can it be possible that preachers who resort to such mendacious means to sustain their cause are honest? W. E. L.

ROCK FALLS, Ill.

LIBERAL SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.

CANASTOTA, N. Y., Sept. 13, 1877.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I am glad to see you have taken up the subject of Liberal Sunday-schools, a subject which has been too long delayed, and to the detriment of our children. While we have been arguing against superstition, and casting right and left for something or somebody to help us in our wholesale iconoclasm, our children have been fed upon what is nothing but dry husks to them, and they have wandered away to other churches, and grown up in utter indifference to any belief whatever. I do not object to meat for men and women who are strong enough to digest it; but let us have milk for babes. Tell a child about a Father who loves the world; a dear, manful Friend who took little children in his arms,—and its affections are engaged and its interest excited; but talk to it about the great "Unknowable," the "fact behind all facts," the Spirit pervading space and the eternities, and he brings out a long sigh of weariness, and fumbles a pocket handkerchief, or bites his fingers. Poor little ill-used monster, with heart full of tender affection and a thimble-full of reason,—who would delight in the story of Joseph and his brethren, but does not care whether we were born of a monkey, or dropped down bodily, full-made babies from heaven, which is most probable to him, because rainbows and stars are there!

The Liberal Church has absolutely nothing for the child,—nothing to satisfy its undeveloped understanding or its more restless imagination. In our terror of creeds, we leave them like the little boy who was admitted to the dinner-table on condition that he asked for no fruit, etc., and was found crying, and gave for a reason, "he had asked for nothing and he got it."

Most of us of the Liberal Church were fully indoctrinated in original sin, atonement, hell-fire, and armies of devils, and we are none the worse for it, for we all had an inward dissent, which grew upon us, as it grows upon all minds sufficiently developed by heredity to receive anything more clear and more elevating; and the benefit to us of Bible study, intellectually, and its natural aid in aspiration, cannot be over-calculated. The truest characters and best cultured minds have been fed more or less upon this pabulum. Take the Bible out of Shakespeare and Milton, and what would remain? The best writers in THE INDEX show whence grew the fervor, no less than the mental grasp, of the authors.

F. A. Hinckley, in THE INDEX of August 9, would have us suppress the Lord's Prayer, and substitute for it "a simple aspiration." Now no child, unless he is a precocious creature of dry intellect, will ever go along with this. The child prays to an intensely personal God—a heavenly Father,—and he finds something in his little heart elevated and comforted by drawing near to this divine Father. He may outgrow all this and be the worse for it; but the child-life must have appropriate ailment. Either let him grow up utterly without spiritual culture, or, while he is learning to take hold of life, give him something mentally proportionate to his development.

A great deal can be trusted to the natural evolvement of the child-life. Children allow much of their reading to roll over them without holding a thought. It is the play of the faculties,—dew upon the lion's mane; they are not predisposed to creeds; they like the *Arabian Nights* and *Robinson Crusoe* better, and grow wise upon them.

I am not wishing or expecting to say what will be instructive; I see an evil—a hiatus—in our liberal ideas, which some of your writers are trying to supply, and I speak to ask enlightenment. Let us not be such inveterate Gradgrinds that, while we are casting about for scientific facts, and are endeavoring to digest strong meat, our children be not left mentally, morally, and spiritually unkempt, and unsupplied.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH,
Pastor Independent Church, Canastota.

FREETHOUGHT AND LIBERAL LEAGUE COUNTY COMMITTEES.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The following ten counties of our Freethinkers' Association have perfected their "Freethought and Liberal League Committees," which I herewith send you for insertion in THE INDEX. They are as follows:—

Allegany County.
Samuel Latta, Friendship, N.Y.
J. H. Clark, Scio, N.Y.
M. M. Tousey, Cuba, N.Y.

Broome County.
E. E. Guild, Binghamton, N.Y.
Joseph P. Brown, Binghamton, N.Y.
Abraham Van Cleve, Binghamton, N.Y.

Cattaraugus County.
A. L. Brainard, Salamanca, N.Y.
Frederick Larken, Randolph, N.Y.
J. M. Mathewson, Perrysburgh, N.Y.

Erie County.
Geo. W. Taylor, Lawton Station, N.Y.
Edwin H. Stickney, Sardinia, N.Y.
Samuel C. Dailey, Marilla, N.Y.

Genesee County.
J. D. Richards, Batavia, N.Y.
A. A. Waldo, Alexander, N.Y.
J. W. Seaver, South Byron, N.Y.

Herkimer County.
W. J. Lewis, Ilion, N.Y.
Geo. A. Kenyan, Frankfort, N.Y.
Benjamin Haverland, Ilion, N.Y.

Orleans County.
Henry Reynolds, Albion, N.Y.
Dr. Thomas Cushing, Barre Centre, N.Y.
C. E. Colburne, Albion, N.Y.

Tioga County.
O. H. P. Kinney, Waverly, N.Y.
Gilbert Newell, Owego, N.Y.
Amasa S. Mott, Waverly, N.Y.

Wayne County.
Samuel Cosad, Wolcott, N.Y.
Chauncey Museiman, Lyons, N.Y.
Joseph Fretts, Macedon, N.Y.

Yates County.
S. S. Ball, Penn Yan, N.Y.
A. R. Cowing, Italy Hill, N.Y.
C. B. Shaw, Penn Yan, N.Y.

I hope to be able to announce the names of the committees in the other twenty-one counties soon.

H. L. GREEN,
C. S. of the F. A. of C. and W. N. Y.
SALAMANCA, Sept. 28, 1877.

SHORT CUTS TO THE "WILL OF GOD."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I am reminded by Mr. Neville's excellent letter, and your excellent comments thereon, of my frequent attempts at studying up a creed for liberals. The utmost limit, however, of my effort was always just one short article: namely, "No authority other than that of reason shall be invoked in the discussion of any question that may come before the church for settlement."

We might have a by-law in relation to this article somewhat as follows: "Any liberal pretending to know of some cross-road or shorter cut to the 'will of God' than the way of reason and experience (such, for instance, as revelation, emotion, intuition, etc.), in regard to whatever subject the human mind can be interested in, not excepting that of morals or religion, shall be church-mauled." Perhaps the above article would be a suitable formula of your "faith in liberty." It is to be hoped that many of those who shall be saved will soon declare their acceptance of this creed. I will add, however, that the church-mauling of heretics will continue to be done mainly through THE INDEX. J. N. C.

KING DAVID'S DOCTRINE.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I attended church recently, and, among other things, the minister repeated the text, that "children were conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity."

I want to hear from you on this subject, whether there is any reason outside of theology for such a monstrous idea. Respectfully,

A. A. B.

MADISON, Ga.

[We think "theology," as taught by King David, is entitled to the exclusive credit for such an absurdity. If there is any "reason" for it, somebody else must furnish it.—ED.]

TALMAGE performed, last Sunday, down at Pittston, and when he concluded his discourse, wiped his perspiring brow, and sat down, the local clergyman arose and, with a wholesome snarl, remarked: "We will now begin the service of God by singing the 84th hymn!"—*Graphic.*

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of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns. No cuts will be admitted.

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On all advertisements for which cash is paid in advance, a further discount of 25 per cent. on the total, as above calculated, will be made. FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *Editor.*

TO ADVERTISERS.

The following states the experience of a successful Bookseller who has advertised in THE INDEX:—

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1872.

TO THE INDEX ASSO., Toledo, O.:

Gentlemen,—Having had occasion to advertise in your paper during the past two years quite largely, I take pleasure in stating that I have always obtained very satisfactory returns—better in fact than from book advertisements in any other paper I have advertised in. Not only have I obtained immediate results, but orders have frequently been received *months* after the insertion of the advertisement, showing that your paper is kept on file and referred to by your readers.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1877. WHOLE NO. 407.

CALL FOR THE FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

BOSTON, Sept. 25, 1877.

In obedience to the Constitution of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July First to July Fourth, 1876, the Directors hereby issue a call for the FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS of the League, to be held at Rochester, N. Y., October 26, 27, and 28, 1877. The best Hall in the city is engaged for those days. Further particulars, including list of speakers, etc., will be announced hereafter. For information respecting cheap hotel accommodation, reduced fares, etc., apply without delay to Mr. H. L. GREEN, Salamanca, N. Y.

After the hearing of reports and election of officers for the ensuing year, the most important business of the convention will be to decide whether the National Liberal League shall adopt a political platform and nominate candidates for the Presidential election of 1880; and, if so, whether this platform shall advocate the following principles and measures, to wit:—

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, etc.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

In order to give to this First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League the representative character befitting the gravity of the questions which will come before it for decision, the Directors suggest and earnestly recommend to the liberals of the United States that they immediately organize themselves throughout the country in *Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues*, each of which, on receipt of a charter, will be entitled to send its President, Secretary, and three other members as DELEGATES. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay. Charters are indispensable to secure the unity of organization without which efficient coöperation is impossible; but Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues remain absolutely independent, and recognize no authority in the National League to control their action in any particular. The small fee of ten dollars (which will surely be grudged by no one) is only desired in order to help defray the necessary expenses involved in the conventions and other public work of the National League, *which has no salaried officers*. Life-memberships of twenty-five dollars, annual memberships of one dollar, and voluntary donations, will also be gladly received for these public purposes. Time presses; and it is hoped that hundreds of new Local Leagues will be organized forthwith. Any existing Liberal society can be represented in the convention by applying for and receiving a charter in the usual way, and transmitting to the Secretary a certified copy of the following vote:—

"*Voted*, That this society, desiring to coöperate with the National Liberal League in the furtherance of its general and specific objects, hereby declares itself a Local Auxiliary Liberal League, according to the true intent of the Constitution of said National Liberal League, and has duly elected the following persons to represent it at the next Annual Congress of the same; to wit, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——."

Persons desiring full information respecting the history, principles, and objects of the National Liberal League, in the shape of a closely printed book of 190 octavo pages, can obtain it by sending for *Equal Rights in Religion: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals*. Price (reduced), in advance, paper covers, 75 cents; handsomely bound in cloth, $1.00.

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GLIMPSES.

MR. EDWIN P. WHIPPLE, in his new memoir of Thomas Starr King, remarks: "To many of our present young students, 'exegesis' practically means 'exit Jesus.'"

THE SPRINGFIELD *Republican*, announcing the proposed platform of the Rochester Congress, says: "They are very much mistaken if this platform will not some time need attention."

A MEETING of the Boston Liberal League will be held Friday evening, Oct. 12, at 7½ o'clock, at No. 383 Washington Street, Room 9 (opposite Franklin Street), to elect delegates to the Rochester Congress.

A CHARTER has just been issued to another new Local Auxiliary Liberal League, at Palmyra, N.Y. The officers are J. M. Jones, President; C. C. Everson, Secretary; Henry M. North, Treasurer. The following persons have been elected as delegates to the Rochester convention: John M. Jones, Joseph Fritts, Samuel Cosad, Lewis B. Keeler, and A. R. Sherman. Numerous other Leagues are reported as about to organize.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition of the National Liberal League have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Miss M. Augusta Kellogg and others, Hyde Park, Mass., 139; from Mr. Walter Walker, P. M., Farmington, Utah, 42; from Mr. C. A. Seckler, Perry, Iowa (in addition to 53 formerly reported), 13; from Mrs. Almira L. Tracy, Peterboro, N. Y., 120. Total thus far acknowledged—8,366.

INFORMATION is sent from Rochester that delegates to the approaching convention of the National Liberal League will be entertained at the hotels in that city at the reduced price of two dollars a day. Negotiations with the railroad companies are also making for excursion tickets from New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Cleveland; and the arrangements, when completed, will be announced. Mr. Green writes: "All things look well. We shall have a very large Congress—you can be sure of that."

DELANCEY CRITTENDEN, Esq., of Rochester, N.Y., informs us that a local Committee of Reception has been appointed by the friends of the National Liberal League in that city. He writes: "I would refer all you can to the Brackett House,—one of the best and most centrally located." A letter from the managers of the Brackett House puts the rates for members of the Congress down to $2.00 a day. Mr. Green also writes: "There is no doubt that good boarding-houses will take people at $1.00 a day, and many liberals will open their houses free." The thanks of the Directors are due for the hearty and efficient coöperation of the local friends of the Congress.

A RECENT ISSUE of the New York *Times* says: "The ministers of the gospel, who held a meeting to-day, so far forgot their calling as to gloat over the downfall of Morton, because he opened the gates of the Exhibition on Sunday. The Rev. Dr. E. H. Nevin said that when he heard the intelligence he felt a joy somewhat like the children of Israel, who, after they passed through the Red Sea, looked back on Pharaoh who did not get through. The Rev. Dr. W. O. Johnstone said that although one man had fallen by the hand of God, the Ministerial Union would show themselves very recreant if they took no further steps in the matter. The Rev. George W. McLaughlin said this was the time for those who believe in Jesus Christ to stand up fairly on the question. Suppose one man falls and another occupies his place, does that change the purpose of the corporation? This is about a fair sample of the manner in which the ministers of Philadelphia demeaned themselves to-day, instead of taking the fallen brother by the hand."

IN ADDITION to the speakers mentioned last week, we are now encouraged to hope that Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mr. William J. Potter may be present at the Rochester Congress. Mrs. Stanton writes: "Most gladly would I be with you to take part in the discussion of those vital principles of republican government announced in your 'Call,' if my regular lyceum engagements do not interfere. From the first of October to the last of May, I cannot promise any day with certainty; but I may be near Rochester the last of this month, and, if I can, I will attend the Congress." Mr. Potter writes, after mentioning private reasons that may possibly prevent his attendance: "I want to go very much. The proposed political platform, whether adopted or not (and I am by no means sure that the time is not ripe for it), brings up very important principles which must ensure interesting and serious discussion—a discussion I should like to hear, if not take part in. The point of national protection for national citizens is especially attractive. It has long seemed to me an outrage and a shame that the federal government cannot protect by the Constitution its citizens from gross injustice and abuse." Hon. Elizur Wright, of Boston, if unable to be present, promises to send a paper on "Republican Taxation," especially with reference to the taxation of church property; and Mr. Theron C. Leland, of New York city, will read a paper on "Organization." Many others who have been invited still remain to be heard from. *P. S.*—Hon. Geo. W. Julian, of Indiana, writes: "I *may* be able to arrange matters so as to attend, but it will be uncertain." Rabbi Max Landsberg, of Rochester, will give an address.

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES

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JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS.—[Officers not reported.]
Issued to A. W. Cadman, Mrs. D. M. Cadman, S. W. Sample, David Prince, R. A. Nance, C. H. Dunbrack, W. Hackman, Jennie W. Meek, Emma Meek, Hattie E. Hammond, and others.

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Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Philadelphia Liberal League.

MENOMONEE, WISCONSIN.—President, Lauriston Damon; Secretary, Anton Braasch.
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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

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[See alphabetical list of 170 Charter-Members, in *Equal Rights in Religion; Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals*, pages 181–183.]

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God is King.

EXTRACTS FROM A SERMON BY REV. HUNTINGDON LYMAN, OF TRIANGLE, N.Y.

TEXT.—The Lord is our Judge; the Lord is our Law-giver; the Lord is our King.—Isaiah xxxiii., 22.

I have in hand a theme which comes to you less in your character of parishioners than in that of patriots. . . .

The hour of achievement was the fit hour for grateful acknowledgment. Was it possible, then, when the grace was so fresh, to forget God, whose hand had wrought for us on both sides of the sea? Alas! so it was. Forgetfulness was the plea. When Dr. Rodgers expressed his grief, on meeting Hamilton, that the name of God was not in the Constitution, he replied, "Indeed, Doctor, we forgot it." The guilt of forgetfulness is not so flagrant as would have been design prepense; yet in view of the doom impending over "all the nations that forget God" the substitution affords very imperfect relief. If ingratitude be mitigated, danger remains. Still, the anomalous fact meets us,—God has no standing in our Constitution.

We have good citizens who, upon the whole, regret the omission, yet are blind to the consequences which now, like meteoric disturbances forecasting the earthquake, are looming and flashing around. The rude shock is at hand which must open all eyes to see the excellent service which a few words inserted in our supreme law, acknowledging Jesus in the dignity which our text asserts for him, would have rendered. At what disadvantage would those few words have placed all that nefandous array, who are conventing and resolving and vociferating, intent by hue and cry to eject God and all tradition of his agency and authority from the political domain.

If the plea of forgetfulness may extenuate the omission of God from the *Constitution*, credulity is burdened beyond its strength when asked to accept that plea for the omission of God from the *oath*. The most elementary idea of an oath makes it an appeal to something higher and holier than the heart from which it issues. But the oath prescribed for our highest officers springs from themselves and returns to themselves, and there ends. Like Noah's dove, it goes forth, but finding nothing upon which to alight, comes back to the ark. It is virtually this: *I swear to support the Constitution; I will upon honor.* He who believes that this nullity was enacted without a clear perception of its character, has an inadequate idea of the astuteness of the men of the time. It is not necessary to suppose that the chief part of the Congress were cognizant of the chicane. An engineer may as readily be supposed to project a bridge into the air, forgetting to provide an abutment for the other end.

The jugglers of India astonish the spectators in the arena by throwing one end of a rope high in the air while they hold fast the other end. Presently an elephant appears walking slowly down the sloping rope, then another, then another. The great interests of our country are elephants that pass over a way of equal peril on like equivocal support. This is blasphemy, for it is a mockery of that solemn rite instituted by the command, "Thou shalt swear by his name."

Still, well-meaning men will say "our land is Christian if it be not so nominated in the bond," and it will be no more Christian if the oath be recovered from its absurdity, or if Jesus be named in the capacity of Supreme Ruler, while a move to mend the law will arouse all Jewry and all Pandemonium to battle array.

Dear conservators of peace! The news of last year has not reached you yet. Your caution does credit neither to your courage nor your intelligence. While you are practising a velvet tread lest you disquiet the sleepers, Jewry and Pandemonium are alert and rampant. Strong bulls have beset your camp. Listen, and you shall hear them roar out of Bashan and thunder from Edom.

I have before me the proceedings of the "Liberal League" which was in session on the fourth of July, 1876, at Philadelphia. It seems you did not know that you are upon the defensive. Read the papers. Our failure to acknowledge God in our organic law returns upon us this day in alarming reaction in the shape of assaulting Philistines, and in the loom of indefinite evil impending. That sad omission first made a pretext for the retraction of our Christianity in a public transaction with Tripoli, a Mohammedan power in 1797. "*We are not a Christian nation*," said Mr. Morris in a deprecating tone. That chicane secured for us a treaty! Peter denied his Christianity from *fear*,—we from *policy*.

The President of the League is a man who gives special prominence to the position that he is not a Christian in fact or in sympathy. The Vice-Presidents are Atheists, Jews, Spiritists, with a mingling of Reverends. The proceedings are given with a manly frankness as follows, all witnessing that Christianity has no confessors in that fraternity:—

EXTRACTS FROM THE RESOLUTIONS.

"All American citizens possess an equal right to enjoy for seven days of the week all public libraries, art galleries, museums, parks, gardens, thoroughfares, or other institutions or facilities for the support of which they are taxed.

"The State secularization question can never be got out of politics until it is settled forever by being settled right.

"Other things being equal, we will vote for such candidates as favor this object and withhold our votes from such as oppose it.

"All religious exercises should be prohibited in the

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public schools; . . . and to allow in these schools the present practice of Bible-reading, prayer, and singing of religious hymns, or the use of text-books which are so written as to inculcate religious dogmas of any kind, is a great moral wrong to large classes of citizens.

"We deny emphatically the right of the President to issue a civil proclamation of any religious fast or festival; . . . and we protest against the recent proclamation of President Grant inviting the people to celebrate the fourth of July by religious observances.

"The closing of the International Exhibition on Sunday is a fresh usurpation of political power by the Church, . . . and a monstrous denial of the religious equality of all citizens who disbelieve in the alleged sacred character of Sunday.

"The conversion of the United States government into a missionary society by the present administration which has made it an avowed object to 'Christianize the Indians' is another encroachment on the principle of secular government.

"The stamping of the inscription 'In God we trust' on the national coinage is analogous to striking the stars from the national flag and inserting the cross in their stead, or throwing down the statue of Liberty from the national capitol and setting up that of the Virgin Mary in its place, and such encroachments on the secular character of the government should call forth the loud and swift rebuke of an outraged people."

The League receives from the Michigan State Association of Spiritists its "able and earnest statement, and tenders thanks for its assurance of coöperation."

It resolves that "we regard the bust of Thomas Paine, now on our platform, executed in marble by Sidney H. Morse for presentation to the city, as a noble and fit testimonial of his heroic and patriotic public career." The sentiments that I shall further quote are those of the President and editor of the League, and are constructively theirs since with full knowledge of his views they elected him to the chief dignity in their gift. [The preacher quoted at length the Demands of Liberalism which are familiar to our readers.]

It is pretty easy to understand these Demands in the main. The churches must be taxed. This they could well afford, if a fair return were made to them for the education imparted by them in which the rich and the poor participate. A school is maintained in every church. It has been thought decorous to acknowledge God daily in the halls of legislation, and chaplains have been invited to lead in the observance. Chaplains have been sent out with our armies, charged with the duty of ministering to the dying and of caring for the living. It has been thought good for the welfare of society to shut chaplains in with our prisoners, that they may be reformed and saved. It has been thought that the oath appealing to God was conservative of the rights of property, life, and justice. All this is obnoxious to the liberals, and they demand that the oath be abolished, the reference to God found on our coins be erased, thankagivings be suppressed, the hymns which the little ones sing in our schools be silenced, chaplains be discharged from prisons, navies, and legislative halls, and that "our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis, and that whatever changes shall be found necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made." While these Demands are frank and plain, a shadow of ambiguity rests upon the single phrase that makes against "*Christian morality*," and require that "all laws be conformed to the requirements of *natural* morality." Who knows precisely what *natural* morality is? The Fejee people, when in their natural condition, might have afforded examples. But *Christian* morality has latterly made such inroads even among them, that it would be difficult to find natural morality in virgin inadmixture even in Fejee. According to the scheme, natural morality is by-and-by to be brought into law, when doubtless it will be defined. It is no idle pruriency that makes the demand for a definition; it might savor of cynicism, therefore, to discourage it.

A scrutiny of the proceedings, has, I think, been rewarded by a discovery of the thing as it presents itself to the President of the League. An episode in their proceedings, please remember, afforded an opportunity for laudation, evoked by the bust of Thomas Paine which stood before them. Call to mind the terms of panegyric in which they recalled his excellent qualities. Here is our clew. Those who have had access to an ampler biography of this remarkable man, have observed that while practising a broad morality, no tinge of *Christian* morality obtrudes. We follow him from his home in England, through all his toils in this country,—in his transactions with the Congress of that day, and with the men of Revolutionary times in scenes of social and domestic life (for he maintained what, for lack of a graphic word, we call domestic); and then we follow him to France, admiring the unbroken consistency of his entire course. He realizes what in geologic science is known "a prophetic specimen" prefiguring the mode that is to be. Indeed, not the President himself, nor any member of the League, can excel him as a model of *natural* morality, nor need they desire it. And this it is that has secured to him his post-mortuary fame.

Christian morality has much in common with the Ten Commandments. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not bear false witness,—or covet. The President of the League is on record against morality of this sort, and the life of this hero comes up to his ideal. Here, then, in the life of Paine, we have an object-lesson defining this occult phrase *natural* morality. His morality sums up his whole conspicuity. No instructed man is so fond, certainly, as to suppose that if Paine had been a devotee of *Christian* morality, that anything in his history would have attracted to him any favor from the body who have indorsed him. When the qualities of "patriotism" and "heroism" are attributed to Paine, nothing in his life corresponds to the significance which those terms define when applied to Adams or Henry, and those who knew him think they must start off to find some cabalistic or pickwickian sense in which the history of the subject and the eulogy of the League may harmonize. They need not search so far. The same adjective that qualifies his morality will solve all questions. *Natural* heroism, *natural* patriotism, and *natural* morality were the distinctive features of Thomas Paine.

To say that success to the League is impossible, is to contradict facts that have already passed into history. In several seats of influence—great cities—partial success alights upon their banners. . . . All this presents the surface-aspect only. The scope of operation is far deeper than yet appears. A few pregnant words cover a meaning that reaches down to the deepest foundations of society, and if carried out will destroy it. Look at these words:—

"Our entire political system shall be founded upon a purely secular basis, and whatever changes shall be found necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made."

No civilized community has ever stood upon such a basis as is here proposed; nor can it. I pronounce that that theory put in practice, not only destroys all religion but all science. Every advanced study in our schools must be cancelled when that rule obtains. But the writer of these words meant all that they mean, as is witnessed by the acrimony with which he strikes at any phrase in which the name of God occurs. Upon some of our coins is stamped the legend, "In God we trust." What a spasm and what an outflow of virus did that little phrase provoke in the League!

The decree quoted above will require that every sentence found in our school-books that suggests the being or agency of God shall be expunged. Indeed, the work is begun and advanced. The Bible is interdicted in the schools of New York, Chicago, Rochester, and I know not how many other cities; and while I preach, the following action has been taken in Chicago: the physical geography of Guyot, which stands in the first rank of school-books, has been proscribed by the Board of Education in Chicago, because it teaches this "sectarian dogma," that the Creator organized this world upon a plan. These are the objectionable words: "The conclusion is irresistible,—that the entire globe is a grand organism, every feature of which is the outgrowth of a definite plan of the all-wise Creator," etc. Let it be carefully noted that the theory against which the Chicago censors of expurgation level their artillery, is not a *religious* dogma but a scientific result. Mr. Guyot had gone over every latitude of the earth's surface for his data, and in the end he states his conclusion. His result is sectarian in the same sense as Mr. Tyndall's, who, after laborious experiments, concludes by saying, "Heat is a mode of motion," thereby contradicting the ancient *dictum*, "Heat is latent caloric brought out," or Hulton's plutonic theory against the neptunian, concerning the origin of rocks. The action at Chicago then goes to this absurd extent, that no scientific result must be stated in schools if it happens to coincide with theistic belief.

But we have not reached bottom yet. When the new statutes shall appear that enforce this scheme, we shall read

"*Be it enacted*, it shall not be lawful for teacher or pupils in anatomy while studying the eye to talk about *wisdom* and *contrivance*, because by implication the idea of a *person* who is wise and contriving is suggested thereby.

"It shall be unlawful for any teacher to affirm that the ultimate condition of matter is atomic, and that the atoms are uniform in shape and size, because the pupils will be led to think that this could not have happened without personal agency. It shall be unlawful to teach or to say that milk was *designed* to nourish the calf. In history it shall be unlawful to say that such a man was *raised up* for the occasion; or, that one event *prepared the way* for a succeeding one, on account of the dangerous implication hidden under the word *prepared*. Nor shall it be taught that one event in history is *intelligently* related to any other event. For obvious reasons it shall be unlawful to teach the class in geology that there were beginnings to the various races of vegetable or animal life, or that there were any such things as 'prophetic species,' as geologists profanely teach, etc. Do not teach that salt, marble, coal, gold, or anything else was *stored up* in the earth for future use. Do not teach that the breaking up of the earth's crust was *intended* to make the deposits accessible."

The teacher may affirm "things are as they are"; or, that "it so happened." Yes, my hearers, these changes in the schools are to be "consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made."

I trust that it is seen that education, as the term is popularly understood, is impossible under this regimen. . . . Let it be understood that no wisdom, power, intent, design, nor adaptation is to be found in chemistry, anatomy, geology, or in any work above human achievement, and the human mind is so constituted that it will revolt against application. It cannot be drawn to those studies. For my own part I would as soon study Radford's *Annals of the Silurian Oyster-beds*, in seven quarto volumes, with copious foot-notes, wood-cuts, and appendix, as to study history under these conditions.

The Lord, because we have forgotten him, has allowed this murky menace to confront us. What shall we do? Put in our Constitution the words of our text, "THE LORD IS OUR JUDGE; THE LORD IS OUR LAW-GIVER; THE LORD IS OUR KING."—*Philadelphia Christian Statesman, Sept. 6.*

RENAN'S GOSPELS.

PARIS, Aug. 22, 1877.

M. Ernest Renan has added a fifth volume to his *History of the Origins of Christianity*. After the *Life of Jesus*, the *Apostles*, *Saint Paul*, the *Antichrist*, he gives us the *Evangiles*,* and informs his readers that, as he could not exhaust the difficult subject of the authorship of the Gospels in one volume, the series will therefore include a sixth volume. There is something truly admirable in the serenity of Renan; he continues his researches and his studies as quietly as a Benedictine monk: *impavidum ferient ruinæ*. Not that he is indifferent to the misfortunes of his time and of his country; he has shown in his *Réforme Intellectuelle et Morale de la France* that he can feel as well as think; but Nature has given him a sweet and calm disposition, a great simplicity of heart and an almost childlike faculty of curiosity, which preserves him from melancholy and sadness. He, besides, discovered long ago that intellectual labor is the great, perhaps the only, remedy against acute mental sufferings. The astronomer who studies the movements of a double star is, for a while, far away from the present; so are the historian and the critic. The traveller, says Boileau, cannot escape his own thoughts:

"Le chagrin monte en croupe et galope avec lui."

Travelling is too easy. The same can hardly be said of Renan's favorite science of exegesis. To all the difficulties of positive science, of grammar, of philology, of history, you must add the peculiar difficulties of what I can only call the science of religions,—a science which is almost new, and which tends to discover the laws of the development of religious ideas, of the creation of dogmas, of the embryogeny of myths and their transformations, of the relations between the characters of the various human races and the spontaneous growth of the religious instinct in different directions.

Renan has always been guided, since his earliest studies, by this fundamental idea; *viz.*, that the Semitic races had a peculiar fitness for religion. His study of the Semitic languages is the corner-stone of all his work. He likes the society of naturalists and of scientific men generally, and it is probably in the society of such men that he has learned to classify everything; he has tried, at any rate, to classify the human races, in point of their religious dispositions and, if I may say so, of their religious affinities. Nothing, in this respect, is more admirable than the contrast which he draws in this new volume between the Roman world, still in possession of the political supremacy, and the embryonic Christian world, still unknown and merged in the despised Jewish community. Let us consider a moment the situation of the Jews after the destruction of the Temple. Nothing was left of their institutions; Pharisaism alone survived the Temple; but Pharisaism had no life,—it was the blindest form of obedience to the law. Israel became more exclusive than ever. Jerusalem was a heap of stones. The Jews spread themselves in the towns and villages which were between the mountains of Judea and the sea. The Christians had been as much surprised as the Jews when the Temple was destroyed; they looked upon this misfortune as the chastisement for the condemnation of Christ. They expected that Christ would soon reappear, and kept faithfully the tradition of his teachings. The nearest disciples called themselves *ebionim*, or Ebionites. Christ had said: "Happy are the *ebionim*." There are many passages in the Old Testament where *ebion* represents the saints of Israel, the humble, despised of men, beloved of God. This chosen congregation of the *ebionim* lived in Bashan; their neighbors called them Nazarenes, as it was known that Christ and his family were from Nazareth. All over the East the Christians have to this day been known under this name. These early Christians were not the enemies of the old law; they celebrated the Sabbath as well as Sunday, and followed all the prescriptions of the law. Jesus was considered by them as the chosen of God, but as a man; their churches were called synagogues. These churches of Bashan and of Galilee (for the *ebionim* were allowed to return even to Jerusalem after a while) were in constant relations with the Jews. These Nazarenes did not give Christianity its final character; but they had one privilege,—they had the true tradition of the words of Christ; and the Gospel was born among them in its definitive form.

This question of the Gospels is the great problem of exegesis:—

"While the origin of the fourth Gospel," says Renan, "attributed to St. John, remains enveloped in mystery, in a corresponding degree the hypotheses on the mode of composition of the so-called synoptic Gospels have attained a high degree of probability. There have been, in reality, three sorts of Gospels: 1st, the original or first-hand Gospels, composed solely from oral tradition, and without any anterior text before the author's eyes (in my opinion there were two of this kind: one written in Hebrew, or rather in Syriac, now lost, but many fragments of which have been kept, translated in Greek or in Latin by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, St. Jerome, etc.; the other in Greek, written by St. Mark); 2d, the Gospels which are partly original, partly second-hand, made by combining anterior texts and oral traditions (like the Gospel falsely attributed to the Apostle Matthew, and the Gospel composed by Luke); 3d, the Gospels of second or third-hand, coolly composed by the aid of written documents, and whose authors drew by no living root upon tradition (such was the Gospel of Marcion, and such the Gospels called apocryphal, taken from the canonic Gospels and amplified)."

I have given here the condensed form of Renan's

*Les Evangiles et la Seconde Génération Chrétienne. Par Ernest Renan. Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern.

opinion, based on the most complex and elaborate criticism.

The life of Jesus had not been written in his lifetime; his sayings were confided to the memory of his disciples, and it was only after a while that some of them were written. Many collections of the words of Jesus were made, and these collections became the framework of the Gospels. The biographies came afterwards; they were made up partly of these sayings, transmitted by tradition and confided to memory, partly of the Messianic prophecies which had to be satisfied. They had something solid and something elastic at the same time; this pliability explains partly the differences of the various Gospels. The tissue of the life of Christ was composed of all the facts which were in accordance with ancient texts. Such a work was neither personal nor conscious; the Gospels became, in one sense, the unconscious work of the believers; they existed before they were written; they were preserved in the heart before they were painted on parchment.

According to M. Renan, the first attempt to delineate completely the life of Jesus was made in Bashan, and the first Gospel was written there in Syro-Chaldaic. The Gospel, though first conceived in a Semitic language, found its perfect form in the Greek language. Only such a language could hold the proper proportion of materialism and spiritualism, could give the proper mould to a purely ideal doctrine:—

"The Epistles of St. Paul would not have won for Jesus a hundred disciples. What conquered the hearts was the Gospel; that delicious mixture of poetry and of moral sense, that narrative which floats between fantasy and reality, in a paradise where time is not measured. Some allowance must be made in the success of the Gospel for the astonishment caused among our stolid (*lourdes*) races by the strange charm of the Semitic narration, by those clever arrangements of sentences and of speeches, by those conclusions (*chutes*) so happy, so serene, so full of cadence. More was needed, however, in order that the Gospel should become among all nations what it is, the old family book whose worn leaves have been wet with tears and marked with the finger of many generations. The literary fortune of Jesus is explained by Jesus himself. He was, so to speak, the author of his own biography."

The proto-Gospel, written in Syro-Chaldaic, was preserved until the fifth century among the Nazarenes of Syria; it was translated into Greek. All the Fathers of the Church were struck with the resemblance of this Hebraic Gospel to the Gospel of St. Matthew. The Hebraic text disappeared with the destruction of the Judeo-Christians of Syria. The translations were equally lost, and we know it now only by the numerous citations of the Fathers. The characteristic traits of this proto-Gospel were as follows: the virginal birth of Christ was not a part of it; the supernatural element was, however, very prominent. In this respect especially does it resemble the Gospel of St. Mark. The apparitions of Jesus after the resurrection all take place in Jerusalem; the Apostle James, of Jerusalem, plays a more important part than in the following Gospels. Jesus makes his first apparition in the house of his brother and for him alone.

The Greek churches received their Gospel from Mark, the disciple of Peter. Mark knew some of the men who saw the drama of the last days of Jesus. He accompanied Peter to Rome, and it was probably in that city that he wrote the pages which became the first Greek Gospel. Peter hardly knew the Greek language, and the Gospel of Mark was written after his death; still, Peter may be looked upon as the inspirer of this Gospel. As an historical document this Gospel stands first. Peter was dry, narrow, and hard, but realistic and exact.

"It can hardly be denied," says Renan, "that Jesus appears in this Gospel, not as the delicious moralist whom we love but as a terrible magician. The sentiment which he chiefly inspires in those about him is fear; the terror inspired by his prodigies is such that people beg him to leave their frontiers. It must not be concluded from this that the Gospel of Mark is less historical than the others; on the contrary, things which shock us exceedingly were to Christ and his immediate disciples of the first importance. The Roman world was, even more than the Jewish world, the dupe of these illusions. . . . The Gospel of Mark is less a legend than a biography written by a credulous man."

As the Gospels of Matthew and Luke arose from a mere revision of the Gospel of Mark, this last assumes an extraordinary importance. Its characteristic trait is the absence of any genealogy of Christ and of any details regarding his infancy. It was, in all probability, written during the first years of calm which followed the war of Judea, when Mark was hardly more than fifty-five years old. Rome was then, after Syria, the most important centre of Christianity. Renan believes that Peter went to Rome; the church of this great capital became, so to speak, heir to the Church of Jerusalem. The spirit of traditional authority, of hierarchy, what may be called Judeo-Christianity, soon became dominant in the Church of Rome. Alexandria, Ephesus, Antioch, were not yet great Christian centres.

Vespasian had done his best to repair the evils of the reign of Nero. After him came Titus; under his mild rule the Christians of Rome lived in peace. Under the Flavian family the Christian communities became almost free; the relations between the disciples of Christ and the Gentiles were easy, and often friendly. In many cities there were two *episcopi*, one for the Christians of Jewish extraction, the other for the Christians of pagan origin. It was supposed that the second had been instituted by St. Paul, the first by some apostle of Jerusalem. Egypt received the germs of Christianity under the Flavians. A tradition will have it that Mark went to Alexandria; but the life of Mark is now better known; he went, as we said before, to Rome, and not to Alexandria.

The great defect of the Gospel of Mark is the abbreviation of the beautiful speeches of Christ. The men who had some knowledge of these speeches from the translations of the Hebraic Gospel naturally were inclined to introduce them into the Greek Gospel. The Gospel of Mark was thus completed and corrected. The author of the Gospel according to St. Matthew took for his basis the Gospel of Mark, followed it, and made interpolations. He introduced the long speeches which gave so much charm to the Hebraic Gospel, and he added also some traditions which were the creations of the times. The Sermon on the Mount was thus added, as well as the reproaches addressed at various times to the Pharisees, and many parables. This work of interpolation was done without much art, and many repetitions are the consequence of this carelessness. The legends which found their way into the new gospel were the genealogy; the supernatural birth; the visit of the Magi; the flight into Egypt; the massacre at Bethlehem; Peter walking on the waters; his prerogatives; the suicide of Judas; Pilate's washing his hands; the prodigies at the death of Christ; and a few others. The new Gospel was exquisite, in a literary point of view. "It is," says Renan, "the master-piece of popular literature, and in one sense the most ancient popular work ever written."—*Nation.*

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATION.

THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN MORALITY TO OUR HIGHER SOCIAL AND PUBLIC LIFE.

The following report, drawn by the Rev. Dr. Miner on the preamble and resolutions presented by him to the Massachusetts Convention of Universalists one year ago, was made to the body September 26 at its session in the city of Worcester, and after a protracted discussion was adopted by a large vote:—

The undersigned were made a committee at the session in 1876 to consider and report upon the following preamble and resolutions:—

WHEREAS, The character and continued prosperity of a nation depends in a large measure upon the pervading presence and power of Christianity; and whereas the influence of Christianity upon our social and civil institutions is threatened from manifold sources,—from Romish bigotry, assaulting our public school system and laboring to advance the dominion of the Pope; from irrational scepticism and secularism in government, seeking to abrogate Sunday laws, abolish chaplaincies from every department of the civil service, and eliminate Christian morality from our statute books; from the ignorant greed and inconsiderate good nature that would tax our churches and our educational and charitable institutions for the support of government, at the same time sanctioning those criminal enterprises that flood a commonwealth with every form of woe, thus in two ways repressing its noblest life; from the ever-swelling tides of incongruous immigrants, threatening to become millions, especially from the distant East, where heretofore they have been but thousands; and from the time-serving policy of our political parties,—therefore,

Resolved, That every Christian patriot is most imperatively called upon to do everything in his power to conserve our higher social life, to assimilate to the genius of our institutions all classes of our population, and to perpetuate and intensify the power of Christianity in the usages, the morality, and the laws, both civil and criminal, of our governments.

Resolved, That since the silence of our fundamental law is being construed as a rejection of Christianity as a source of national strength and prosperity, giving countenance to the claims that our government should be made entirely secular, we heartily sympathize with the aims of the National Reform Association in seeking a legal recognition of God and his government.

Resolved, That we deeply regret the disposition of our governments to sanction the drink traffic by law, and the demand from certain sources that our church, educational and charitable institutions shall be taxed to relieve our communities of the burden.

Your committee have carefully considered the subject presented to them, and submit the following report:—

1. Christianity is the pervading life of a healthy State. All civilized nations have derived their strength from it, and have found themselves, in any emergency, weak in proportion as its principles were absent.

2. Convinced of this truth, the various States and kingdoms of Christendom have commonly allied themselves with some particular Church, seeing no other way of allying themselves to Christianity itself.

3. States and nations which have not maintained government churches, especially the States of our own Union, have commonly recognized, in the most explicit manner, the truth of Christianity in their respective constitutions. They have also extended impartial encouragement to all churches by exempting their property from taxation. Wherever systems of public schools have been established, instruction in Christian morality, excluding all sectarianism, has been emphatically enjoined.

4. Born of this conviction of the dependence of the State upon the principles of Christianity is the whole body of Sunday laws, arresting the world of traffic which by the laws of business must in every community be continued or suspended in gross, and not a little else of what goes to make up the criminal code of our several commonwealths.

5. The foregoing facts taken in connection with the usages of our several State and national governments, from the beginning, in appointing Fast and Thanksgiving days, and establishing chaplaincies by law in all our legislative bodies and penal institutions, show that ours is, and was intended to be, a Christian nation.

6. This method of reaching the result is a wholesome mean between two extremes; *viz.*, a union of the State with some particular church on one hand, and an elimination of all the principles of Christianity from our government and laws on the other hand. By the means above referred to and the like of them, the State seeks, not to patronize the Christian religion, but to preserve to itself its life-giving power. It gives a general welcome to all Christian endeavor, presuming that all sincere Christian effort contributes directly to the general stock of morality in the community, and indirectly to the permanence and purity of our civil institutions.

7. As related to this subject our general government presents one glaring inconsistency; namely, utter silence in our fundamental law touching the claims of that religion, the truth of which we assume and legislate upon in various subordinate domains of law. On this silence rests the assumption that the fathers intended to make the government purely secular, and those who so interpret their design claim that every element of Christianity in our government, whether in law or usage, should be removed. State constitutions should be altered to conform to the national Constitution. Chaplaincies in every department of the government should be abolished. All Sunday laws should be repealed. Criminal statutes punishing departures from Christian morality should be no longer maintained, and the State should be content to rest on mere natural morality, whatever that may prove to be. The Bible, they claim, should be rejected from the public schools.

The "Liberal League," at its session in Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, adopted among their resolutions the following:—

"All religious exercises should be prohibited in the public schools, . . . and to allow in these schools the present practice of Bible-reading, prayer, and singing of religious hymns, or the use of text-books, which are so written as to inculcate religious dogmas of any kind, is a great moral wrong to a large class of citizens."

It will hence appear that all scientific works which recognize design in creation, or hint at the being of a God, are a "great moral wrong." If anything more were requisite to show the radical and consistent character of the anti-Christian demand, it will be found in the denunciation of President Grant for his recommendation that the 4th of July be religiously observed and his attempt to Christianize the Indians, and of the "fresh usurpation of political power by the Church in closing the International Exhibition on Sunday."

It is also claimed that churches should be taxed like all other property, and Paganism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, Mormonism, Atheism, and Christianity should be placed on precisely the same level.

8. These several positions are deduced from the fundamental assumption that our fathers intended to establish, and that we ought to complete the establishment of, a purely secular government. On the contrary, it does not appear that anything more was meant by the fathers than equal toleration of all Christian sects, thereby giving broadest play to all Christian effort, and securing the largest practicable measure of Christian influence in and upon the government itself. It is not denied that freethinking was rife with some of the leading men of Congress when the Constitution was adopted. It is not necessary to assume anything touching the purpose of those who *drew* that instrument. But it is inconceivable, in the light of the facts, that in adopting the instrument thus drawn, or however drawn, Congress and the several States understood themselves thereby to reject every vestige of Christianity from our organic life, or to put Christianity itself in any measure under ban as a life-giving function of the State. The known opinions of the country a hundred years ago; the current usages of the governments in appointing Fast and Thanksgiving days continued ever since; the current maintenance of chaplaincies in legislatures and prisons, and, especially the universality, then and now, of Sunday laws, as well as laws punishing unchastity and infidelity to the marriage vow, particularly characterizing the influence of Christianity upon our social state, all show that the adoption of our Constitution could not have been understood to be a declaration of mere secularism in government. A suspicion that such was the meaning of the instrument would have filled the land with controversy and led to the indignant rejection of the proffered Constitution.

9. Starting with this mistaken premise, the secularist reasons that if the United States Constitution is silent touching God and Christianity, the several State constitutions should likewise be silent; and if our fundamental law, both State and national, should be silent, all laws made subordinate to these should be silent; hence all laws born of Christianity should be swept away.

10. It will now be seen that by recognizing God and Christianity in our fundamental law we remove the major premise of the secularist's reasoning, justify the Christian elements of our civil organisms, and preserve to the State the leavening and diffusive influence of Christian truth. Not a few of those who object to such recognition claim that we should continue the influence of Christian legislation and usage as at present existing. Can it be inexpedient to do confessedly and openly whatever it is wise to do at all? And who can say what value may not attach to the discussions requisite to secure this result?

11. Besides: the very problem to be resolved is, can we long perpetuate the influence of Christianity in our government and laws, if we allow the basis of the secularist's argument permanently to

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remain? If the attacks upon Christianity were broadly made and the fight were always an open one, and especially if the whole country, or an entire State even, were summoned to a simultaneous discussion, the issue would hardly be doubtful. But the attack is usually covertly made, upon some single element of the problem, touching its application in some city where adverse influences give hope of success; and when success is attained, it is pleaded as a precedent for like changes in other quarters. Our peculiar civil polity is specially favorable to this piecemeal destruction of what is most valuable in our organic life. The rivalries of political parties furnish the utmost facilities for success to the sinister and the intriguing; and the Roman Catholic Church, joining hands with Jews, Atheists, Rationalists, and the indifferent, has already carried some points and is vigorously assailing others. To meet these assaults intelligently we need to observe their family likeness, and that they are all attacks upon the Christian elements of the State.

12. One of the more recent developments is the demand for the taxation of educational, charitable, and religious institutions, against which every consideration of State policy earnestly pleads. The work begun by the State, providing by taxation for the support of the poor and unfortunate and for the intellectual and moral training of the young, is carried forward by the voluntary sacrifices of Christian philanthropists in establishing higher institutions of learning, special instrumentalities of charity, and the various Christian churches as means of moral and religious culture. These voluntary contributions are in aid of the very ends which the State taxes its citizens to support. Strike these away, and increased taxation to supply the deficiency would become inevitable.

13. This is apparent on the face of the problem so far as respects education and charity. It is no less certain as respects morality and religion. There can be no abiding morality that is not born of Christian truth; and, without a high moral tone and the general prevalence of virtue in the community, there can be no success under free institutions. Sweep away these voluntary contributions and the State would necessarily replace them; to tax these voluntary contributions is so far to repress them; and to repress them is to overthrow the State. Such a policy is, to say the least, short-sighted and suicidal; and the extent to which the proposition has been entertained is one of the marvels of the age.

Were the policy of taxing such institutions determined on, there is no standard by which their valuation for the purpose could be estimated. Would you assess them at their cost? Such a rule applies to no other property in the State. Would you assess them according to the annual income or net profits they produce, as you do most other property? But they produce no net profits. They are neither established nor administered with any view to return in money. Would you assess them at what they would bring under a forced sale in the market-place? But under a forced sale in the market-place, conditioned to be maintained in their own proper character and at the same time pay a tax to the government, they would bring absolutely nothing. What rule of assessment would you adopt? The truth is, these institutions are established and maintained by citizens who voluntarily tax themselves therefor, with no aim at, or hope for, profitable returns, but from purely philanthropic motives, not less toward the State than toward individuals. To tax them is therefore to the last degree absurd.

14. Let it not be overlooked, however, that the maintenance of such institutions is not only conducive to public order, but is an enrichment of the State. Not only is property located in their immediate neighborhood enhanced in value, but the State in which they abound is the richer for their presence. But the enrichment accrues not to those who voluntarily tax themselves in their establishment and maintenance, but to the general public, placing in yet another light the folly of repressing them by taxation.

15. There is one objection to the perpetuity of the Christian character of our government much urged and worthy our consideration; *viz.*, that it is an infringement of the rights of conscience of all those who reject Christianity. But what institution or proposition is there to which some conscience may not object? Reject Christianity, and the Jew is satisfied; but what of the atheist? Reject the being of a God, and the atheist is satisfied; but what of the Jew? Reject Christian morality, and the Mormon is satisfied; but what of the Christian? Reject any given scheme of philosophy, and all its opposers are satisfied; but what of its defenders? The truth is, neither we nor our fathers have entered on the insane policy of rejecting everything to which any conscience stands opposed. There are some consciences which need to be disciplined rather than pampered. The atheist should remember that it is as far from his house to ours as it is from ours to his.

16. The objection that the proposed amendment to the Constitution would render necessary a definition of Christianity and further legislation to secure the anticipated good is already answered by facts. Most of our States now have, and we think all of them originally had, constitutions equivalent in character to what is proposed for the United States; and not one of them has felt constrained either to define Christianity or to proceed to legislate toward any sectarian end. Until recently, Christianity has been held by all the courts to be a part of the common law of the land, with no adverse sectarian results; and the late counter-decisions, with the action of some States in striking such recognition of Christianity from their fundamental law, well illustrate the drift of the hour and the subtle mode of procedure. In concluding a treaty with Tripoli, a Mohammedan power, in 1797, the representative of our government said: *"We are not a Christian nation."* The people of the country generally think we are. Which of these opinions shall be sustained is the problem in hand.

The need of special Christian and patriotic effort to assimilate the "swelling tides of immigrants" to the genius of our institutions, is too apparent to require discussion; and the folly of repressing our better life by tolerating the drink traffic and other criminal enterprises has already so far arrested public attention as to justify a mere passing allusion to the matter in this connection.

Without protracting this report by the mention of many other appropriate considerations, your committee deem the foregoing sufficient to warrant them in recommending the adoption of both the preamble and resolutions.

G. H. VIBBERT.
A. A. MINER.
E. H. CAPEN.
E. TRASK.
DANIEL SEAGRAVE.

—*Boston Advertiser, Oct. 2.*

BENJAMIN HALLOWELL.

A TRIBUTE TO HIS MEMORY—WORK AND CHARACTER OF THE PROFESSOR—HIS CONNECTION WITH THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Several years ago, when Benjamin Hallowell was only a name to me, I was a guest at a beautiful home near Sandy Spring, the seat of the Montgomery Friends. My host, a prominent Marylander, was o the community, and I accompanied him one Sunday to the Quaker meeting-house,—a rude, old-time, brick structure, in the margin of a primitive forest of considerable extent. Most of the congregation were in their places when we entered. I had hardly taken my seat when my attention was arrested by one of the most striking-looking men I have ever seen. Almost in front, facing me, on the raised platform against the wall with the elders, sat a man of seventy, of just less than gigantic mould, with a grand, massive head, scantily crowned with longish white hair, a lofty brow, and noble features bowed in reverential reverie, with closed eyes, with his shoulders above the heads of the common men about him, dwarfed to pygmies by his presence. I was not familiar with the leading names of the Friends, but knew I was looking at an extraordinary man. I glanced from him over the silent assembly of serene, silent men and women, and back at the noble form before me, in moulding which Nature had reverted to the great primitive type, which she now so rarely produces. The spirit and presence of the silent worship stole upon me.

It was a June morning, and the notes of thrushes and robins came to me from the surrounding forest. Suddenly little twittering sounds, like the first notes of a bird's song, fell on my ear, and I turned just as the form I so admired was rising. He rested his trembling hands on the back of the seat before him, with a little stoop in his shoulders, and a bending of the head, revealing deep-set, but very fine blue eyes. The voice was sweet, tender, and flute-like,—a little monotonous, but could never have wearied. The sermon, if such it might be called, was a sort of lofty and beautiful chant. It was an expression of the depth, purity, and peace of that holiness of heart and life to which man may attain, and its outer manifestation of love, benevolence, and widest charity. The language was nervous, happily chosen, simple and pure, and beyond the power of the mere rhetorician. The matter was so arranged that its clear statement was a great and beautiful argument, while a trill of the voice rendered it touching. The delivery of this rare homily may have occupied fifteen minutes. As the preacher was sitting down, another train of thought opened to him, when, with the same little murmur, he arose to his full height, and spoke, perhaps, five minutes longer,—not in continuance of the first discourse, but of a germane topic, which illustrated and supplemented it. He sat down, observed a moment's silence, turned and shook hands with the man next to him,—a signal that the service had closed.

That was Benjamin Hallowell. As he passed out, men and boys, matrons and maidens gathered about him, followed him out to his carriage, and did not part with him till he drove away. He was of them, lived their daily life, went in and out before them, ministering, beautifying, and elevating their lives; helping to improve and adorn their homes and fortunes, lighting and conducting them along the upper paths of virtue, culture, and beneficence; yet so natural and common, that, in a way, they lost the power of appreciating the more striking of his remarkable qualities and powers.

I came to know him well, all these years since I first saw him. He was a man rarely endowed, and doubtless in his philosophy of life, he secured as much of real value from the world as it is capable of yielding. Nature had given him most of the striking qualities of intellect, will-power, and the rudiments of the strongest human passions, and clothed them with a form of dignity, beauty, and grace. Seemingly he had but to choose his career, and will his own fortune. Among his gifts the religious element was large, and this, with his early training and surroundings, determined his course. In history there was but one model. The spirit of Mary's Son he made his own. It restrained his ambition, opened his pathway, enlightened his studies, formed his manners, and informed his life. Politics and the government of the nation, all great enterprises, were very much, and he kept well informed of them. The unfolding and fashioning the minds, the frame and structure of the character of the chosen young men of the land, were to him much more. To that he dedicated himself with a devotion and unreserve which marked his appreciation of its importance. No youth was ever under his care who did not carry with him through life something of the bent and bias imparted by his hand, as none approached him without reverence or left him without love.

His work was that which lay nearest his hand. Emphatically he loved his neighbor. His neighborhood was the universe, and all living things were the objects of his care. As his manners were the manifestation of his heart and spirit, he was naturally the most graceful and polished of cultured men. The servants, the coachmen who drove him to the railroad station, always remembered his consideration for them. If a man may apply the term "lovable" to a man, that was eminently his due. Nothing bearing life ever came under his care that did not love him as it was capable. It was beautiful to see him break from a clinging group of lads and maidens and hear him say: "Farewell; now I must go to my Margaret," toward whom he manifested the same ardor of love, and tender observance at seventy-five as in the first day of wedded bliss.

If his life was lovely beyond the usual, his last illness and death were beautiful and touching beyond earth. His Margaret passed away nearly two years before his own exit, and it was a sore trial of his faith that he must remain longer. That the example of his life might lack no perfection, that illness was a protracted bodily torture, gradually growing more intense, till the sources of life were exhausted, yet such were the strength and fortitude of the spirit, that all was endured with a serene smile, calling forth assurances of the mercy and goodness of God. Sometimes when the anguish was at its greatest, he said to his attendant: "Thee must allow me to groan a little." He refused anodynes and anæsthetics, saying, "if permitted, he would retain his faculties unclouded." He wished to note the shades of on-coming death, which were, also, to be the opening dawn of immortality. Such an intellect could never be shattered. Once it seemed to wander, making a luminous track. As if his great sufferings might disquiet the faith of a favorite daughter in the mercy of Providence, with clearness and energy he demonstrated two or three great mathematical problems; concluding with: "So thee sees, daughter, that it is all clear and right." His method of clarifying and refreshing his mind, even in this illness, was by the solution of a problem. As the end approached, the glow of the perfect faith became a luminous nimbus, on the almost transfigured countenance,—instances of which many have read of, but few ever witnessed. His last words were assurances that the way was clear, the light broad and steady, and the glory serene.

A. G. RIDDLE.

WASHINGTON, September, 1877.

—*N. Y. Tribune, Sept. 29.*

A SUNDAY-SCHOOL teacher asked a bright little four-year-old, "Who made you?" "Dod," replied the cherub. "What did He make you out of?" continued the teacher. "Yoses ond vi'lets," lisped the little sunbeam. The teacher said, "O no, little girl; He made you of the dust of the earth." The innocent meditated one moment, then looked up, said, "I des don't be'leve you; tause when I get in my baf tub why don't I tome to pieces den?"

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

ON GUIDO'S AURORA.

O Guido, never did thy master hand
A nobler work achieve than is portrayed
In Rospigliosi's art-embellished hall,
Where radiant Morn awakes the wave-washed land
To dimpled smiles of varying light and shade,
As o'er earth's reddening cheek the sprinkled rosebuds fall.

Embodiments of beauty, life and grace,
How deftly glide the rainbow-mantled Hours,
A glittering garland round Apo'lo's car!
While robed in light, their leader in the race,
Floats fair Aurora scattering fragrant flowers,
And o'er the bounding steeds fast fades the morning star.

Loved symbol of a faith outworn, e'en now
Thy gods their coronal of beauty wear,
Though but the fabled fancies of Earth's youth;
As wisdom's wrinkles gather on her brow,
Those graceful myths dissolve like mist in air!
We mourn,—yet hold more dear our disillusioned Truth!

J. L. STODDARD.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 6.

Sara J. Derby, $1; J. G. Richardson, $3.15; W. C. Kelley, $1.20; Mrs. L. B. Atwill, $3.20; Geo. Wardner, 20 cents; J. W. Heylman, 10 cents; H. R. Plimpton, $3.20; E. H. Jackson, $1; Louis Belrose, $20; Chas. Ochs, $3.20; J. H. Rollens, 75 cents; Col. Chas. D. Miller, $3.20; W. P. Wilson, $3.75; A. S. Howard, 10 cents; Jas. K. Applebee, $3.25; Dr. E. Wigglesworth, $3.20; Benj. Berdsall, $3.20; S. C. Mason, $3.20; Rev. F. O. Nilsson, 80 cents; Dr. C. W. Fillmore, $3; H. W. Brown, $3.20; Thos. Tibbotts, $2.20; Rob't Davis, $1; K. Schememann, $3.20; Hon. J. C. Bills, $3.20; L. R. Robinson, $2; Fred'k Loeser, $3.20; N. P. Ames, $3.20; New England Aid Society, $6; R. B. Whyte, $1.70.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 11, 1877.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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MR. GILES B. STEBBINS, of Detroit, is lecturing in Central and Western New York on Buddha, Confucius, and Mohammed. The local papers speak very well of these lectures.

A. B. BROWN, Esq., of Worcester, Mass., will lecture in Paine Hall next Sunday, at half-past ten o'clock, A.M., to which the public are invited. Subject: "Progressive Life."

WE ACKNOWLEDGE with thanks the receipt of a donation of ten dollars, to "promote the objects of the Liberal League," from Mr. William Green, of Orange, N. J., the veteran abolitionist whose sympathies for human freedom never grow cold.

THIS WEEK we invite attention to the extraordinary sermon which we copy from the Philadelphia *Christian Statesman*, the organ of the "National Reform Association." It is a kind of reasoning not profitable in itself, but very necessary to be understood by those not aware of the insidious advances now rapidly making by that nefarious project.

IT MAY AMUSE some of our readers to know that an "Anti-Death Convention" is to be held in this city at 176 Tremont Street, Oct. 14 and 15, three sessions each day. Probably an indignation meeting will be held by the sextons, undertakers, and coffin-makers, at this barefaced attempt to deprive them of a living; for success of the "Anti-Death" reform would be sure death to them.

IT IS NOW stated that "the Bible which Father Grogan, of St. Bridget's Church, Chicago, tossed out of a window of a railroad car, has been found near Kankakee, and placed in the hands of the conductor who procured his arrest. The scandalous illustrations and obscene interlineations which shocked the reverend gentleman cannot be found in the book. The conductor has turned the pages from Genesis to Revelation, and the only pencil mark is a slight tracing opposite a verse in the first chapter of Samuel."

THIS GEM is from the *Sunday School Times*, which reports the incident of "a faithful Christian lawyer" in Pittsburgh: "A cloth band had been stretched across the bed, a little above him, by holding on to which he could turn himself more easily. As he reached toward it one day, he said, 'I have somewhere read of Eastern herdsmen, who, when dying, grasp the tail of a cow, superstitiously expecting thus to be dragged over the river of death. I do not need that. I shall cross the dark river clinging to the garments of the Lord Jesus.'" Of the two, the tail warranted the stronger confidence.

THE NEW YORK *Nation* says very pertinently: "Morton's fall has had the extraordinary result of eliciting from some of the Philadelphia clergy and one or two religious papers the opinion that the revelation of his villainy is the judgment of God on him for consenting to or promoting the opening of the Exhibition on Sunday. If this be true, we are bound to believe that God Almighty would have connived at Morton's frauds by assisting him in covering them up, and have allowed him to go on cheating innocent people, if he had only kept his show closed on the Sabbath day. We hope the rational portion of the religious world is alive to the effect which this blasphemous nonsense has on the influence of the pulpit and of religious teachers generally."

REV. J. Z. TAYLOR having delivered some lectures on the "Evidences of Christianity" at Oskaloosa, Iowa, Mr. R. G. Eccles, one of the audience, rose and stated that, though he had never read "infidel" books, but had read his Bible for the purpose of knowing how to refute "infidels," he had become an "infidel" by reading the Bible itself! He then offered to debate the matter publicly with some competent clergyman. Instead of accepting his challenge, the local press and clergy abused him roundly. A Rev. G. T. Carpenter intimated pretty broadly that he only refrained from taking up the gauntlet himself because "there are those brave enough to meet a lion who would shun another animal no larger than a cat"! Verily, Christian courtesy is beautiful to contemplate.

AN EMINENT LAWYER'S OPINION.

E. W. Meddaugh, Esq., of Detroit, confessedly one of the ablest members of the bar in that city, and one of the Commission a year or two ago appointed by Governor Bagley to revise the Constitution of the State of Michigan, though declining on account of imperative professional engagements to read a paper at the Rochester Congress, writes so warmly in favor of its proposed work that we think it no sin to quote a telling passage from his letter: "I need not assure you of my hearty sympathy in your movement and plan of action. I believe your several propositions entirely sound, and that they are certain to become popular in the future and to find a permanent place in the National organic law. The second one [national protection for national citizens] is my hobby, and, if I felt equal to the task and could spare the time, it would be a pure labor of love for me to undertake to demonstrate its soundness and great practical importance. It is the logical sequence of the idea—settled, I hope forever, by the result of the civil war—that the United States is a NATION, and not a league or confederation of States merely. A nation without the power of affording to its citizens, or subjects, full protection in all their civil or political rights is an anomaly in the civilized world. The United States stands among the nations of the earth in unamiable distinction in this respect. Its position is a burning disgrace to us. Demanding and insisting that each of its citizens shall yield to it primary allegiance and duty, even as against the State in which he resides, the United States still denies to him its protection from the consequences visited upon him by his State, or supposed to be, as a penalty for loyalty to the National demand."

A UNIVERSALIST STATE CONVENTION VOTING FOR "GOD IN THE CONSTITUTION."

The Massachusetts State Convention of the Universalist denomination, at their annual session in the city of Worcester, September 26, adopted by a large vote the report of a special committee, appointed last year, in favor of a so-called "Religious Amendment" of the United States Constitution by which the Divine truth of Christianity may be recognized in the fundamental law. The report of this committee, made through Rev. Dr. Miner, will be found in full on a preceding page of this issue, and we recommend a careful reading of it to all who take the slightest interest in watching the drift of opinion and the course of events on this superlatively important question. Nothing could be more explicit than the following resolution, adopted by the convention as a part of the committee's report:—

"*Resolved*, That, since the silence of our fundamental law is being construed as a rejection of Christianity as a source of national strength and prosperity, giving countenance to the claims that our government should be made entirely secular, we heartily sympathize with the aims of the National Reform Association in seeking a legal recognition of God and his government."

The Universalists are always classed among the so-called "Liberal Christian" sects. Their action suggests queries which no thoughtful man will disregard:—

1. If "Liberal Christianity," uttering itself through a State convention of one of its most important bodies, already casts its vote in this public manner in favor of a project which is the very quintessence of bigotry, arrogance, and persecution, what is to be expected from the far stricter Evangelical denominations, when it comes their turn to speak?

2. If the representative bodies of all the leading Christian sects come to unite in demanding that the general creed of Christianity shall be incorporated in the Constitution, what can prevent their success, in the present dumb and unorganized condition of the great mass of religious liberals? *Remember the Philadelphia Exposition of* 1876.

3. Is there not already abundant warning for the friends of secular government to assert their own positive and beneficent principles within the hearing of the whole people, unless indeed they are willing to let their sacred cause go by default, and to add one more to the melancholy list of nations which have lost their liberties because they were too sluggish to defend them? Is it not time to lay down these principles as a conscience-platform in national politics, to be toiled for, sacrificed for, and fought for against all odds, as men defend that which is as the apple of their eyes?

It is one of the cunning tricks of the advocates of this Christian Amendment to represent it as *only a defensive measure* against the wicked innovations of "infidels" who are seeking to destroy the system of Christian government handed down to us from our forefathers. They attempt to disguise, by this artful device, the fact that they themselves are plotting to change totally the whole spirit and tenor of the Federal Constitution by injecting into it the poison of persecution. They even have the effrontery at times to represent the "National Reform" movement as originating in a reaction against the Liberal League—diplomatically oblivious of the fact that, by their own account, the "National Reform" movement started in 1863, while the Liberal League was not so much as mentioned till 1873! As a matter of fact, the Liberal League, though aiming to carry out more fully and thoroughly the principle of secular government, and not merely to keep things as they are, was called into being in consequence of the existence of the National Reform Association. But it is ten years younger than the latter; and to insinuate that the attempt to Christianize the Constitution is either directly or indirectly a result of the Liberal League movement is neither more nor less than a "pious fraud." The true origin of this attempt is nothing but that sometimes unconscious lust of domination which makes every believer in a bigoted and exclusive creed eager to cram it down the throat of every one he can lay his hands on; and the true origin of the Liberal League was a determination to defend, if possible, the equal rights of believer and unbeliever, as entitled equally to enjoy their several opinions.

When we see how insatiate is this thirst for empire which marks all types of Christianity in greater or less degree,—how it betrays itself even in those milder forms of it which attempt to make peace with civilization by labelling themselves "Liberal Christian,"—the grand words of Bryant are brought so forcibly to our recollection that we cannot forbear to quote them here:—

> O FREEDOM! Thou art not, as poets dream,
> A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,
> And wavy tresses gushing from the cap
> With which the Roman master crowned his slave,
> When he took off the gyves. A bearded man,
> Armed to the teeth, art thou; one mailed hand
> Grasps the broad shield, and one the sword; thy brow,
> Glorious in beauty though it be, is scarred
> With tokens of old wars; thy massive limbs
> Are strong with struggling. . . .
> . . . . Tyranny himself,
> Thy enemy, although of reverend look,
> Hoary with many years, and far obeyed,
> Is later born than thou; and as he meets
> The grave defiance of thine elder eye,
> The usurper trembles in his fastnesses.
>
> Thou shalt wax stronger with the lapse of years,
> But he shall fade into a feebler age—
> Feebler, yet subtler. He shall weave his snares,
> And spring them on thy careless steps, and clap
> His withered hands, and from their ambush call
> His hordes to fall upon thee. He shall send
> Quaint maskers, wearing fair and gallant forms
> To catch thy gaze, and, uttering graceful words,
> To charm thy ear; while his sly imps, by stealth,
> Twine round thee threads of steel, light thread on thread
> That grow to fetters,—or bind down thy arms
> With chains contained in chaplets. Oh, not yet
> May'st thou unbrace thy corslet, nor lay by
> Thy sword—not yet, O FREEDOM! close thy lids
> In slumber; for thine enemy never sleeps,
> And thou must watch and combat till the day
> Of the new earth and heaven!

Verily, these words were inspired, if ever inspiration visited mortal breast. Are our ears so deaf and our spirits so dull as neither to hear nor comprehend them?

DO INFANTS GROW IN THE SPIRIT-WORLD?

I clip the following from the Message Department of the *Banner of Light*:—

CONTROLLING SPIRIT.—We are ready for suitable questions, Mr. Chairman.

QUESTION.—[By R. M. Adams, Vineland, New Jersey.] I notice in the *Philosophy of Creation*, by Thomas Paine, these sentences, on page eighty-six: "When the infant dies, its little spirit is transported hither and ushered into the presence of its friends, who attend upon it with affectionate care, and aid and assist in the development of its intellectual and moral powers, though in stature, form, and size it will ever be an infant. Infants, though ever infants in stature, may yet progress intellectually. They may unfold and develop the powers given them, but can never attain remarkable intellectual power." If that is the true state of infants in the spirit-world, must all infants going there remain infants in size in that world, or go to some other to receive the size they have lost by dying prematurely?

ANSWER.—Your correspondent has presented us with a question filled with thought. We can only give you ideas experience has taught us. We do not believe, in fact we know that infants do not remain infants in the spirit life. They are received there as little infants, as children, and are placed under the kindest care. All that is necessary for their development is given to them. They are brought to earth and carried into the homes of individuals where they may receive material experience; they are also taught

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to control mediums. An infant does not remain an infant all through eternity, but each year, each month, each week, each day it unfolds and advances higher. The little rose-bud which comes to us is not a rose-bud twenty years from now, but every petal is unfolded, as every influence is brought to bear to make that bud a beautiful rose in the spiritual world. Standing on your platform beside me are spirits of those who were children and infants when they went away, but are now grown to the stature of men and women, developed and unfolded intellectually far beyond what would have been possible had they lived here in your world. There is no curtailing the influences which unfold a spiritual being in the spirit-world. Many times children are not unfolded as they should and would be, simply because parents do not understand them, or try to study their natures; but spirits and spirit-teachers comprehend at a glance the wants of each infant, and it is carried where it can receive what it needs to unfold it. You who have lost infants regret it not, for you will meet them developed far beyond what they would have been had they remained in this earth-life.

Who is right, Thomas Paine or the "controlling spirit"? When the *Philosophy of Creation* was written, its alleged author had been—if Spiritualism be true—in the spirit-world half a century. Paine was a keen observer and a truthful man. If after fifty years' experience in the land of spirits he comes back to earth and deliberately and solemnly declares that a person who dies in infancy "*in stature, form, and size will ever be an infant*," what must be thought of the equally emphatic statement of the *Banner's* "controlling spirit" that "*we know that spirits do not remain infants in the spirit-life*,—that each year, each month, each week, it unfolds and advances higher"?

Here are two statements diametrically opposite, made by two spirits who attempt to enlighten the inhabitants of earth in regard to the spirit-world. Their statements are not about some speculative question, in regard to which even spirits might not agree, but relate to a *matter of fact*, concerning which, if spirits retain the power of observation and the disposition to tell the truth, any *essential* difference of statement seems utterly inexplicable.

There appears to be the same disagreement among spirits in regard to everything pertaining to the spirit-world. For instance, whether food is required in the land of spirits; whether beast, bird, and reptile exist there; and whether reproduction and birth are among the conditions of spirit-life,—are but a few of the many questions on which the testimony of the "immortal" is just as conflicting, yet quite as positive, as the statement above quoted in regard to those who die in infancy. Difference in the conclusions arrived at by spirits on subjects of a philosophical nature would not be urged by me as a difficulty in the way of accepting Spiritualism; but such various and contradictory statements, made, too, with so much positiveness, and given as the result of observation or experience and as a matter of knowledge—as in the case quoted from the *Banner of Light*,—are sufficient to incline one to the view that these "messages from the spirit-world" are simply from the minds of those who write or utter them.

B. F. Underwood.

OUR CHILDREN.

In regard to the education of their children, "Liberals" are under a very heavy responsibility; and, I may add, are being watched by very jealous eyes. To be sure, looking at the average of attainment in Orthodox families they have no need to be very apprehensive of comparisons; but still they are in this position, that any conspicuous failures they may make in training up their children to honesty and virtue will be made far more of by the community than similar failures on the part of the Orthodox. We should, however, not only not be apprehensive of comparisons, we should be prepared to invite them; for if our principles are true we ought to be better fitted than our Orthodox neighbors for conducting the moral education of children of any age. We say their doctrines are, many of them, immoral; and so they are. We say that others, like that of total depravity, are false; and so they are. Well, having shaken ourselves free from these, and not being required to recommend them in any shape to the young minds under our control, but being at full liberty to bring before them our own highest and best conceptions of natural and moral truth, do we not possess an advantage of which we should be prepared to yield a satisfactory account? I think we do.

It is needless to say that all Liberals are not satisfactory educators of their own children. I have cases before my mind's eye at this moment where young people, the children of "Liberal" parents, have developed very unhappily,—even betaken themselves to crime. On the one hand, perhaps, we have a young girl starved for want of moral sympathy, and of some interpretation of the universe which shall not rob it of all glory and life of all meaning, and whose mind has consequently become a prey to apathy alternating with feverish and disordered fancies. On the other hand we have youths who have heard at home that all that is taught in the churches is rubbish, but who have never had their affections drawn out, or their higher faculties cultivated in any other way. Here again we have a "Liberal" father who seems half afraid, half ashamed of his liberalism, and whose children, without any effort on his part to prevent it, lapse back into orthodoxy, and take up with creeds which divide infants into "elect" and "non-elect."

Of course I have instances of a very different kind equally or even more prominently before my eye. I see whole families growing up strong in every good principle,—families made one, as Mr. Chadwick beautifully expresses it,

> "in hatred of all wrong,
> One in the love of all things sweet and fair,"

and who manifestly owe this to the rectitude and high sense of duty of Liberal parents. Examples such as these give one an earnest of what may be accomplished, and show conclusively that whatever the older forms of religion may have done to nourish high sentiment, the human soul is not dependent on them for its growth in the future. Education consists, above all, in the influence of personal character. Give us Liberals of the right stamp, and we need not fear for the next generation; but if liberalism should come to mean mere contempt for the Christian creed, unaccompanied by any high ideal of life or duty, then the salt of the earth will still be found among those who, with whatever intellectual darkness, recognize a rule of life that summons them to moral effort,—that sets before them, as the highest object of endeavor, purity of heart.

But, in regard to our children, let me set down here a few thoughts that seem to me of special importance to Liberals who have children to educate.

1. Inasmuch as the ordinary means of cultivating a child's faculty of reverence are lacking, we should do our utmost to draw out that faculty by other means,—as for example by an habitual tone of respect or solemnity (according to circumstances) in regard to all great truths, and all the more important aspects and incidents of life. The tone of mockery is one a child should seldom, if ever, hear; and constant levity on the part of its elders is to a child one of the most sterilizing of influences. If we want our children to grow up noble men and women we must train them betimes to dignity and seriousness of thought; we must cultivate their sense of moral proportion; we must make them feel that to treat a serious subject with levity is a fault of the same nature as to treat an elderly person with disrespect. It is true that the literature of the day abounds with this very fault, some of our leading humorists making death an inexhaustible subject of merriment. We must not, however, plead a passing fashion, and one so demonstrably false to Nature, as any excuse for similar injurious trifling on our part. We who have young souls committed to our care should see that the unfolding blossoms are neither nipped by a frosty cynicism nor blighted by any perverted sentiment. Let them expand under the genial sun and amid all the healthful influences of Nature, and rise up to whatever fulness of beauty, grace, and strength is possible for them. I am strongly of opinion that the more *distinctions* we introduce into the life of our children, the more sharply we mark off hours of play, hours of study, and hours of work, and the more sharply we separate the subjects that may properly give rise to mirth from those which ought to excite graver feelings, the happier the child will be, the less he will suffer from that too frequent bane of childhood, listlessness.

2. The next point I would urge is, that we should be careful not to repress imagination in our children, but rather to give it free and natural scope. A great many Liberals do not understand, cannot be made to understand, that imagination is aught else than a misleading play of the mind. Professor Tyndall himself might teach them otherwise, but they are slow to learn. They know that two and two make four, and do not want to lose hold of that saving truth, which they think they would be in danger of doing if they gave a moment's heed to imagination. They want their children to grow up *practical;* and therefore they would guard them against all reading that takes them out of the realm of the actual. All this is the result, however, of a narrow way of thinking. Imagination is nothing else than the faculty which comes in, after observation has done its work, to sum up and shape into theory the results of observation. There are many plodding observers who have not the least idea what to do with the facts they have collected; their minds lack the divine the crowning faculty of imagination. If I am asked for any further definition of this faculty, I say that it is a rapid motion of the mind causing it to traverse a thousand associations in the same space of time that a person destitute of the faculty would take in passing from one point to another. It is intensified mental vision; it is a light-begetting vibration of the intellect. It is essentially the same faculty with wit; it is that which adds lustre to style by the constant invention of happy turns, allusions, and illustrations. Yet this is the very faculty which so many Liberals set themselves sternly to repress, in the interest of the multiplication table; as if the multiplication table were not well able to take care of itself. There is something worth considering, I think, in the following words of Sir Henry Taylor: "Those who are much conversant with intellectual men will observe, I think, that the particular action by which their minds are most frequently warped from wisdom is that which belongs to a pride and pleasure taken in the exercise of the argumentative faculty; whence it arises that faculty is enabled to assert a predominance over its betters. With such men the elements of a question which will make effect in argument—those which are, so far as they go, demonstrative—will be rated above their value; and those which are matter of proportion and degree, not palpable, ponderable, or easily or shortly producible in words, or which are matters of moral estimation and optional opinion, will go for less than they are worth, because they are not available to insure the victory or grace the triumph of a disputant." Let us be Liberals without being Gradgrinds; let us realize that we are heirs of the past, and that, while the multiplication table and the syllogistic form of argument are inestimably precious, they constitute no measure or index of the moral and intellectual treasures to which we may lay claim.

3. The last point on which I shall dwell to-day—for I am exceeding my limits—is, that we should guard against placing our children at too early an age in a position of conscious antagonism to society at large. We should be careful not to teach them contempt for the opinions of others wiser than themselves, and, to all appearance, quite as wise as *ourselves*. A child who prides himself on the fact that he does not believe what so many others believe is not a pleasant spectacle. I think a child should be taught to regret that opinions are current in the world which his parents are unable to share; and should be told that when he is older he will be able to judge of these things for himself. He should be encouraged to exercise his observing and reasoning faculties to the utmost, but not to express confident opinions. Let him understand—without, however, in any way impairing his self-respect—the littleness of his own grasp in all intellectual matters; but particularly in such as still divide the opinions of able men. Do not foster the thought that difference of opinion in regard to theology should so need alienate men from one another or prevent their coöperation for social objects. Teach him to regard any difficulties that may spring from this cause as superable by patience and kindliness; and incline him to meet his fellow-men at all times in a spirit of confidence and good-will. It is easy to give the youthful nature a permanently anti-social bent by constant unfavorable criticism of one's neighbors and society generally; and this, I fear, is an error into which some Liberals fall. Its result, when the child has attained to manhood, is most unhappy: some of the best sources of happiness have for him been dried up, and a great many things present themselves to his mind in a distorted shape; distrusting others, he begins to feel that he is himself distrusted, and instead of a genial play of social sympathies he displays through life little else than the tone and temper of a soured secessionist. The future either belongs to us Liberals or it does not. If it does, and if we feel that it does, the sooner we drop sectarian habits and begin to be catholic—that is, widely-human—in our sympathies and aims the better. And in educating our children let us see to it that they do not imbibe less, but rather more, of this spirit than we have done ourselves.

Wm. D. Le S.

A PRIZE was once offered to the person who could find a rhyme to the word "window." The prize was awarded to the following effort:—

> "A cruel man a beetle caught,
> And to the wall him pinned, oh!
> Then said the beetle to the crowd,
> 'Though I'm *stuck up*, I am not proud;'
> And his soul went out of the window."

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Communications.

"USE" AND "SACRIFICE": A DIFFERENCE.

DEAR ABBOT:—

Your response to my note calls for a few words more.

I. I think you have been entirely right in regarding interest as properly "based on the ascertained value of the *use* of money." That is what interest has always been held to be by the authorities and by custom. It is the premium paid for the *use* of money. I trust, therefore, that you will allow me to make the distinct issue that compensation on the ground of "use" alone is interest, while compensation on the ground of "sacrifice" is not interest. It can thus be more clearly shown what those who are opposed to *interest* really mean.

II. By your saying "at least in the opinion of Mr. Morse," you seem to imply a suspicion that my statement of the ground of the opponents of interest may be in some sort a conjecture of my own. If so, you are mistaken. I have given the subject as discussed by others some attention, and have nowhere met with any extended argument which did not turn on the point I have emphasized. Indeed, if I mistake not, a like presentation has several times been made in the columns of THE INDEX. It was for that reason I was led to say it seemed to me you turned aside (of course I did not mean to infer you did so intentionally) from what I esteemed to be the main issue.

III. I agree with you now when you say "the only real question worth discussing is this: when a man borrows $100 and repays it a year later, shall he in equity pay only $100, or $106?" That is, shall he pay any additional sum whatever, be it more or less. On the ground of *use*, supposing that to be right, the answer would always be "yes." On the ground of "sacrifice," the answer would sometimes be "yes," but oftener "no." Your question is, Shall he in *equity* pay, etc. It is agreed on all sides that the transaction ought to be an *equitable* one. So I regard your further statement—"if equity requires," etc., "it is *practically* of no consequence on what ground," etc.—as hardly a thoughtful one. As you will see there would be little sober sense in saying, if equity requires $6 more than is borrowed, it is practically of no consequence that it is demanded on the ground that the lender has an uncle very sick, or that he wishes to make the purchase of a horse. Yet you seem to imply that the "reason" for which compensation is conceded or denied by the opponents of interest is about as flimsy and inconsequential as this. You say, too, if *equity* requires, which is the very point of the discussion.

IV. Your line of argument appears to be somewhat as follows: you seem to say,

1. I will call it *interest*, no matter whether it be for "use" or "sacrifice."

2. To be sure I am astonished to hear that it is the *reason* for which interest is asked, and not the asking of it, that constitutes the justice or injustice of the transaction.

3. Nevertheless, looking at the question theoretically, whether interest ought to be charged on account of the borrower's "use" or the lender's "sacrifice" of the money, I say it makes no difference. Whenever the borrower wants money, the lender wants it too; they both want it for the *use* they can make of it; what the lender "sacrifices" is this "use," and what the borrower receives is nothing else. Lender's "sacrifice" and borrower's "use" go together. The loan is simply a "sacrifice" of the "use" by the lender, and a gain of the "use" by the borrower. Hence, interest is still only a just compensation for this use.

4. It is, therefore, best to have a fixed rate of interest based on the ascertained value of the use of the money, and approved as just by the experience and consent of the community, instead of the lender's capricious estimate of the "sacrifice" he makes by lending, as the rule of justice.

V. Now, if you were to continue your meditations over these points, I do not see why you should refuse to consider them somewhat in this way. Passing by the first and second, you would be likely to dwell on the third and fourth as follows:—

1. As to any third proposition, let me see. "Use," of course, as interest is defined by Webster, and as I have usually regarded it, refers to the borrower. He is to pay a "premium" for using money that belongs to another. Why? Simply because he uses it? Of course he cannot use it without the other's consent. Now on what ground may that other be supposed to consent? I see he must do so either on the ground that he does not wish to use his money himself, or because, if he does, the borrower offers to make up to him any loss he will suffer by lending it. It is plain, then, that in the latter case he would sacrifice the use he would make of it, and the borrower would pay for that sacrifice. In the former case, if the borrower paid any premium, it would clearly *not* be paid for sacrifice, since none was made. Hence I am led to see that "use" and "sacrifice" to be identical, must always go together. They do not always go together, since where there is no "sacrifice," "use" must go alone. It is precisely this distinction that interest, as I have hitherto viewed it, does not regard. It bases itself on the borrower's *use*, and does not raise the question of *sacrifice* at all. There may, and there may *not*, be sacrifice; *interest* neither knows nor cares. It says to the borrower, "You use the money; it is of advantage to you; you shall pay for it." To the lender it has nothing to say, unless it be, "The rate is fixed; take it." But, hold a moment. What I said was, the cases are exceptional where the lender does not want to use his money himself. Hence, practically, it is *use*—the lender's sacrifice of use—that is paid for. But, wait again. I don't see, after all, that I get rid of the fact that it is the lender's "sacrifice," and not his "use" of the money that is compensated. It appears now that *borrower's* "use" and *lender's* "use" are not exactly the same thing. What the lender sacrifices is the *opportunity* to use the money he lends. His opportunity! what is there to say about that? What opportunity has he? I cannot of course argue that it is his opportunity to lend money to some one else at six *per cent.* If it is wrong in the one case, it is wrong in the other. Sacrificing a chance to *do wrong* is no sacrifice *I* can defend. If I say he sacrifices the opportunity to put his capital into his own business, there at once arises one or two, if not more, apparently decisive answers. The number of those who *need* their money in their own business and will lend it at six *per cent.* must be exceedingly small. Besides, there might arise a question as to the principle on which business is done. If the money was needed in any way to conduct a business calculated to defraud mankind, then again, the sacrifice of opportunity would not count. I do not see but I must reconsider my proposition that, practically, all who lend money want it for the use they can make of it. They may *want* it; but have they a *right* to want it for the use they make of it? After all, I see that my proposition is reduced to this. Interest defended on the ground of the lender's sacrifice of use, in the great majority of cases, is simply saying: *The lender charges one man interest because he sacrifices his opportunity to get interest from another man*;—which won't do. It sounds much like saying, Interest is right because it is right. *Quod erat demonstrandum.* It appears, then, instead of those who can and should lend money without interest forming the exceptional cases, the exceptional cases are those where *bona fide* sacrifice can be shown. If interest, then, is based only on a sacrifice of the opportunity to do right, I do not see why, *practically*, interest ought not to be abolished.

2. I observe now, in looking at my fourth proposition, that a *fixed rate* of interest is, on any *equitable* ground, a sheer impossibility. The rate must always vary with the degree of sacrifice. To base it on the *ascertained value* of *the use* of money, is to confess that, whatever people will pay for the use of money to carry on whatever nefarious business, is the measure of equitable price. *That* I cannot defend. The old question of what constitutes true sacrifice cannot thus be disposed of. I see also that the lender's capricious estimate of which I spoke is not likely to be so capricious after all. He cannot force his money on other people. If he wants to use it himself, he will not want to. If he does not, he will ask nothing. The one wishing to borrow may not in one sense *revise* the lender's estimate, but he may *call it in question*, and be *may* go elsewhere. And so my fears of *usurious oppression* vanish.

VI. Pardon me for thus putting words into your mouth. It was by mere accident I have been led to do so. But I think I will let them stand. For I confess I am curious to know whether you also are willing to let them stand, or will proceed to erase them. You see I have ventured putting it the way *I* would think if I were *you*.

VII. I have made this letter so long already, I suppose you won't mind if I make it a little longer. There are one or two things I would like further to refer to,—indeed, there are a number; but I desire to be moderate in claiming your space.

The subject of interest or no-interest covers a good deal of ground, and is likely to have, in my judgment a growing importance in the discussions of this country. By the practice of interest capital is piling up in few hands and reducing the large producing class to a state of vassalage. It stimulates non-producers who claim a privilege without further effort to live off the production of others. This is not my individual conviction alone,—nor that of a few others who have taken up the discussion. It is, I find a very serious consideration which is working its way in the minds of many people who have, as yet, said nothing publicly. Certainly no earnest person can have a desire merely to make out a case one way or the other. If interest is right, be it proclaimed so, come vassalage or whatsoever else. If it be wrong, then, let that be known. We of this country hope to see things that have not been started right, made right by intelligent conviction, and kept so. I wish, therefore, the subject might be thoroughly sifted. I do not pretend to the ability myself. I think I can see the direction the argument lies, but can only speak of it in the most general way. I should be interested if persons competent to do so, could from time to time occupy the columns of THE INDEX, presenting, within reasonable space, both sides. In this connection I will say that the discussion between Proudhon and Bastiat which obtained a remarkable European reputation, so to speak, was, a few years since, translated into English by Mr. Benjamin R. Tucker. It has not been published, and it is possible you might, if you desire, arrange with him another year, for its appearance in your journal. I feel sure it would attract marked attention.

I begin to realize the length of my letter, and know I ought to ask pardon. I will forego the rest I had to say. In lieu thereof, let me close by offering the following sentiment:—

Capital in itself is not a power. It may be made so. He who uses it makes it so. Shall he pay for the privilege of making it so? Only when *he deprives its owner of the like opportunity. He shall then make good the owner's sacrifice. But unless the opportunity sacrificed be the opportunity for honest increase, the lender makes no sacrifice entitling him to name a price.* Very truly yours, S. H. MORSE.

[We are very glad to print the above, but have no time to comment on it; although we must candidly say it has not changed our opinion.—ED.]

THE ROCHESTER PLATFORM.

NEW YORK, Oct. 2, 1877.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, ESQ., PRESIDENT LIBERAL LEAGUE:

Dear Sir,—I am very glad to see the call for the First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League. I am also glad of the proposition to adopt a political platform and enter upon a course of political action. It is high time the Liberal forces were organized and resolved to make their power felt in some demonstrative, efficient way.

The three "principles and measures," as published, are all to the point and admirable. For the work that THE INDEX and the League have taken in hand to do, these principles are all sufficient. But when we come to organize a political party, I would like to suggest something more. Such an organization should be a widely extended, all-embracing affair, and we should make friends and allies of as many correlated parties as possible. A "conscience party" is good, provided we enlist about all the conscience there is going; then the party, while it is growing and not yet electing its candidates, will, at least, make itself respected. But a conscience vote of only those who convene and resolve and nominate, will be too much like descending into one's own inner consciousness and hoping thence to evolve a political party.

A little log-rolling will be but the part of strategy, diplomacy, and fairness in war, in any political action the League may take. I should say, then, add at least a Labor plank and a Woman's Rights plank, and perhaps a radical expression of some kind about money. This would inevitably multiply adherents; and, if ably advocated and judiciously managed, might capture and absorb those parties altogether. They all sadly need organization; and one might almost say that the party that is best organized is best, and would gather in all other radical movements.

At all events, vastly important as are the three planks which you propose, and politically good as they are as far as they go, yet I fear they would be generally deemed, even by Liberal voters, as touching only religious questions, and not urgent enough to detach them from the more concrete, pressing, and immediate questions of the ordinary political parties. But, with *five* loaves and two small fiscal planks, I think we could feed the whole Liberal multitude and have some basketsful left over for the scared and wounded of the defeated party. Men of ever so much conscience like to vote where there is a fair prospect that some time or other the vote will tell. The laws of gravitation apply to political as well as to planetary bodies. The larger they are, the more they attract aerolite meteors, free particles, and whatever is afloat; and, unless a body is large enough to properly apply the word magnitude to it, it might turn out a mere wandering comet, with not tail enough to wag anything,—certainly not the star. The ballot-box will all the more attract votes if, like Pandora's, it has hope in the bottom of it. So let us go in for a conscience party, indeed; but, whatever happens, let us go in for success. The wisdom of the serpent is never so important as when you are dealing with snakes.

Very sincerely yours, THERON C. LELAND.

[The Rochester Congress will have the whole subject of a platform in its own control, and will act according to such wisdom as it shall prove to possess. For our own part, if it aims to lay the foundation of a national party, we believe it must confine itself to strictly national issues and treat them with directness, candor, and due consideration for conflicting opinions on other issues. The second of the principles proposed in the Call guarantees the rights of all national citizens, and therefore of the freedmen and of women, as it stands; and it would not be wise in our judgment, after laying down a broad principle, to cumber it with a specification of all its particular applications. If the Congress should choose to add strong planks in favor of a sincere and thorough reform of the civil service, a gold standard and a currency convertible into gold, and honorable resumption of specie payments in 1879 according to the existing law, it would express our own convictions; but these issues, we hope, will be settled before 1880, and the platform ought to be framed with reference to the Presidential campaign of that year. As to the labor question, that cannot be settled by legislation, and we should be mortified to see the Congress adopt any plank merely for the sake of catching votes. The three principles (really one) of the Call *ought* to rouse the conscience of the nation; and we hope to see both conscience and true political sagacity in the action of the Congress.—ED.]

COMMON-SENSE vs. COMMUNISM.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Civilization is only the result of the labors of countless generations. It could never have been attained but for the abstinence of the many for the benefit of a few. Material prosperity is simply the direct effect of mental speculation; as any invention is but the result of the application of an idea to the production of its working reality. But the leisure essential to the better cultivation of the intellectual powers, (which must always *precede* any improvement in the general condition of humanity) is only to be obtained by the previous accumulation of wealth; in other words, modern civilization is based upon the *inequality* of the distribution of the productions of labor.

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It follows that all attempts to subvert this natural law governing the process of human and social evolution are as impotent to effect their purpose, as if a man should persist in throwing a stone into the air, hoping that it would remain there in spite of the law of gravitation.

But, precisely as the currents of wind serve to keep up the healthful activity of the atmosphere, purifying the pestilential regions of this earth, and dissipating the stagnant vapors—or as the great tidal currents perform the same duty for the mighty ocean,—exactly in the same way is the equilibrium of society maintained by the perpetual infusion of "new blood" from the "proletarians" into the effete families of the wealthier classes. Especially is this the case in our modern societies, formed under the impulse of a greater or less tendency to diffusion of governmental powers in the hands of the people at large; nor does it much matter whether the established government be known as a "Republic," as in the United States, France, and Switzerland; a "Constitutional Monarchy," as in Great Britain; or an "Empire," as in Germany. In either case, opportunity is still afforded to superior minds to force their way by diligent pressure into the superior social strata. But the point to be insisted upon most strenuously, in these days of threatened civil and religious revolutions, is, that quality of mind and energy of body are always and everywhere appreciated at their proper value *in the long run*.

That the great mass of humanity will continue to be in the future what they have been in the past, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," is not to be denied by any candid thinker; and this need not preclude their perpetual, although inevitably gradual, improvement. But such improvement will always be based upon existing inequalities of social and material conditions, just as these last find their foundation to rest upon the intrinsic differences of minds and bodies. The shrewd and self-denying individuals will always distance the stupid and self-indulgent; the industrious will count up larger gains than the indolent; the thrifty and provident classes will leave more money to their children than the careless and extravagant. The divergence in the legitimate results of these various traits of character can no more be overcome by artificial restraints or governmental legislation than oak-trees can be made to produce cabbages by act of Congress. Therefore, unless the working-men are willing to give up all the benefits of modern civilization, and take their places upon the same plane as the Apachees of Arizona, the Zulus of South Africa, or the Australian Aborigines, the sooner they disabuse their minds of the prevalent "socialistic" delusions, the better for themselves and for their descendants, as well as for their friends and neighbors, "the educated classes,"—for future generations, and for humanity as a whole!

ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, *of St. Louis.*
Sept. 25, 1877.

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER LOOS.

Alexander Loos was born in 1821, in Jauer, in the province of Silesia, Prussia. After having received the usual preparatory training, he was matriculated in the University of Breslau in his twentieth year. His original intention was to enter the ministry; but, after spending between two and three years in the study of theology, and after a severe mental struggle, he became convinced that he could not conscientiously remain in the Church. During the remainder of his University course he devoted himself to the study of philology and literature. After leaving the University, he was engaged for a number of years as private tutor in a baronial family near his native place. From that time he identified himself with the reactionary movement in religion which resulted in 1850 in the organization of the "Freie Gemeinden," or Union of Free Congregations, "on the basis of absolute independence from any restraint in religious matters." In 1850 he was married, and in the same year received a call as speaker to one of the newly-formed free congregations in Jauer. The government, seeing in these congregations the germ of a freedom of thought which could not but be fatal to its own selfish ends, resorted to the most extreme means to suppress them. Their members were branded as "republicans," and their meetings broken up on the most trivial pretexts. Finding it impossible to continue the meetings in Jauer, he accepted a similar position in Striegau, but was obliged, as before, to give up his charge. He next was called to take charge of one of the largest of the new congregations in Bavaria. He had, however, been already marked by the government of that kingdom, and was not only denied a residence there, but was not even permitted to address the congregation. Finding that it would be impossible to obtain a foothold in his own country, he yielded to the advice of his friends and came to America in 1852. After teaching languages and music in a number of schools in New York, he removed to Hudson in that State, where he remained for eight years, until the close of the rebellion. During his residence in that city his first wife, by whom he had two sons, died. In 1865 he married again and moved to Petersburg, Va., where he taught for a year. He then accepted a call as professor of music in the University of Lewisburg, Pa. In 1868 he removed to Philadelphia to establish himself as a private teacher. There he remained until his death on the fifteenth of this month.

During all these years, Professor Loos' devotion to the cause of free religion never wearied. He was a constant contributor to the various liberal German newspapers of this country. He also translated a number of pamphlets and essays into English; among these were Dr. Büchner's *Lecture on Materialism*, and portions of Feuerbach's *Essence of Religion*. He also translated for the private use of a gentleman of Philadelphia a voluminous theological work of Schleiermacher's, and many scientific essays from both French and German for the *American Exchange and Review*, of Philadelphia. In 1872 he accepted an invitation from the Freie Gemeinden of North America to represent them at the annual meeting of the Free Religious Association in Boston. At this meeting he delivered an address, setting forth the views of the Freie Gemeinden, which was published in the *Report* of the Free Religious Association for that year. In 1873 he sent his two eldest sons to Cornell University, to which he was attracted by its non-sectarian character and its liberal course of study. During the whole course of his residence in Philadelphia he was a constant and active worker in the local German Free Congregation, filling the place of the speaker whenever temporarily vacant, and furthering its interests in every way. Last July he was exceedingly active in representing the Germans in the Centennial Congress of Liberals, held in Philadelphia. It was partly in consequence of over-exertion at this time that he incurred the nervous disorder which proved fatal. During the past year, in addition to the regular duties and cares which a large family necessitated, he was engaged in preparing a work on ethics for the use of the German schools of the Freie Gemeinden. He gradually grew weaker, and, notwithstanding a journey to the sea-shore for his health, was obliged to resign himself to medical treatment and the tender care of his family. In spite of everything that could be done, he rapidly sank. During the last week of his illness he was generally unconscious; but in the brief moments when he knew his surroundings he seemed perfectly hopeful and at peace.

Professor Loos has left two sons by his first wife, both of whom have been educated at Cornell University; also two sons and two daughters by his second wife. His fidelity to liberal thought and a scientific religion rendered his labors doubly severe in securing that remunerative employment which the necessities of his family required, notwithstanding his unrivalled excellence as a classical instructor.

His funeral took place in Germantown, on Monday, September 17. Addresses were delivered by Charles Borm, Esq., Damon Y. Kilgore, Esq., and Rev. Charles G. Ames. The German Society of Philadelphia attended the funeral in a body. The widow and children are weighed down with profound sorrow. Liberalism, as well as science, especially in the department of philology, has lost a faithful and earnest advocate, and humanity a noble and consistent friend. D. Y. K.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 27, 1877.

LEGAL RECREATIONS.

In a review of Rogers' *Law of the Road, or, Rights and Wrongs of a Traveller*, we find the general criticism made that "it is gratifying to find good law and good humor combined in the same book."

This comes as reminder of a telling illustration by the clergyman who, in the evening discourse at Oak Bluffs last Sunday, from Revelations, twentieth chapter, twelfth and thirteenth verses, created a startling effect upon his three thousand auditors by recital of the experience of a personal friend. Incident to the dramatic effect of this earthly transaction the parallel was drawn from the following alleged facts:—

A man died in Massachusetts, leaving a widow. By hard toil he had accumulated the purchase-price of a homestead upon a corner lot, which was retained after his decease as the family home,—a deed having been executed to the deceased, and, by inheritance, concededly vesting title free from incumbrance.

Here enters upon the scene a worldly, self-seeking, avaricious man of wealth, proprietor of the lot next adjoining that of the widow, whose covetous spirit had fixed his resolution "to lay field to field," at whatever cost. He called upon the widow, stating that he wished to complement his premises by purchase of the corner. She declines any proposition for sale, giving as a reason her strong attachment to the home. This covetous man again calls, giving the result of an appraisal, and offers the widow a sum in excess of the full value, so fixed and requesting her execution of the conveyance to him. Again reiterating her attachment to the home, she declined absolutely to convey.

After a time the man of wealth, from a hill-top views his own and the adjoining corner lot, so much desired, and the passion to possess became so impelling as to lead him (the preacher stated in substance) to commence an action to dispossess this poor widow and *compel her to convey*. Notwithstanding her defence, and the incidental fact given in this graphic recital, that the title had been undisturbed for "two generations," judgment was directed against her by reason of some technical flaw in the deed. Able counsel were retained at the trial-term, and upon an appeal taken to the Supreme Court; but all proved unavailing, and the judgment below was affirmed.

At this crisis in the transaction, the plaintiff again calls, reviewing his previous offers, the adjudication, its affirmance, and makes an offer to this defeated widow that she shall still convey, he paying the sum offered prior to suit brought.

Now follows the scene intended to fix the mind of the eager three thousand upon the text. The widow's reply, most calmly given, and with a step towards the posture of prayer, follows: "I have taken another appeal, where my counsel has never lost a case."

Naturally the query follows: "To what court? You certainly can take no further appeal. The Supreme Court has decided against you."

With assurance and a calm which the great faith alone of this widow could give, she points the text, and closes the *minister's anecdote*:—

"I have appealed to the court of heaven; Jesus Christ is my counsel; and I shall not fail. Every man is judged there according to his works."

We admit the gift of the preacher in invocation, well-timed experiences, and illustrations; but "to lead men to Christ" by adoption of false logic, based upon poor law, is not only a reflection upon the Massachusetts statutes and decisions, but leads to the inference that there has crept into this oft-recited tale some falsity of *fact*; as, upon the premises, any legal mind would have ingrafted three phases of construction, either of which was sufficient to sustain the widow's title:—

1st. A stranger to the grant could not avail of "a flaw in the title," nor breach of condition subsequent. Such objections could be taken advantage of only by the grantor or his heirs, no one of whom is brought into view in the case stated.

2d. Right by prescription, use, and occupation for the period of two generations in the husband and his grantors, without any element or adverse possession.

3d. An entire legal disability by an individual to appropriate private property upon the *maximum* of compensation, such privilege being reserved to public uses.

Not a critical listener to other personal experiences of the sermonizer on this grand closing of the "big Sunday" at the Vineyard, it seemed to create distrust thus to ingraft upon the text such false law, taking every element of faith from the other stories told.

This is a sad commentary upon the license of the popular pulpit, dealing with God's judgment-records by invoking this revelation as a text, followed by questionable statements in illustration of both fact and law. A WORLDLY LAWYER.

ROCHESTER, N.Y., Oct. 1, 1877.

A CORRECTION.

COLUMBIA, Texas, Sept. 16, 1877.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I notice in "Glimpses," under date of September 6, where you acknowledge receipt of signers to the petition of the National Liberal League, you locate M. L. Weems at "Columbus, Ohio." It should be Columbia, Texas. I should be pleased to see this corrected; for I believe there is more liberalism among our people than is to be found in any other part of the Union.

Only five, of all to whom I presented the petition, refused to sign it. And *all* these were adherents of the Calvinistic formula. To illustrate further that our people are not much formulated, but as free as the biting sea-breezes they breathe, I will state that, being interrogated, not a great while ago, by a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church as to the religious and moral status of my town and vicinity, I truthfully replied: "I think, sir, our town and vicinity are improving. A few years ago we kept two churches in good repair, and three or four preachers well-fed and salaried; whereas to-day our churches are going to decay, being frequented mostly by our distant relatives, the bats. And our preachers have either deserted us for better pay, or gone to work to support their families, as honest men should."

M. L. WEEMS, M.D.

CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, N. Y.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The Freethought and Liberal League Committee of this county met in this village to-day, October 1, and appointed a County Convention to be held at Randolph, October 13, at two o'clock, P.M., for the purpose of organizing a Liberal League for the county, and to appoint delegates to the Rochester Congress. They invited your correspondent to address the convention in the evening. In the other counties of the Freethinkers' Association of Central and Western New York where Leagues are not already organized, I recommend the same action as to organization *immediately*. H. L. GREEN.

THE VERDICT.

I suppose, as the editor and Bishop have referred their case to the jury, they would like to know the verdict. For one I shall have to place the laurel wreath on the Bishop's brow, not because he has maintained his point, but because of his skill and tact in avoiding it. E. L. CRANE.

TIPPECANOE CITY, Oct. 1, 1877.

THE FOLLOWING amusing story appears in the Liverpool *Mercury*. It is either original, or the *Mercury* has forgotten to quote its authority: Long ages ago, in times so remote that history does not fix the epoch, a dreadful war was waged between the King of Cornwall and the King of Scotland. Scottish valor prevailed, and the King of Cornwall was defeated. The Scottish monarch, elated by success, sent for his Prime Minister, Lord Alexander. "Weel, Sandy," said he, "is there ne'er a king we canna conquer the noo?" "An' it please your Majesty, I ken but o' ae king that your Majesty canna vanquish." "An' whaur is he, Sandy?" Lord Alexander, reverently looking up, said, "The King of Heeven." The Scottish king did not understand, but was unwilling to exhibit any ignorance. "Just gang yer ways, Sandy, and tell the King o' Heeven to gi'e up his dominions, or I'll come mysel' and ding him oot o' them; and mind, Sandy, ye do not come back till us ontil ye ha'e done oor bidding." Lord Alexander retired much perplexed, but met a priest, and, reassured, returned and presented himself. "Weel, Sandy," said the king, "ha'e yae seen the King o' Heeven, and what says he to oor bidden?" "An' it please your Majesty, I ha'e no seen the King himself, but I ha'e seen ane o' his accredited ministers." "Weel, an' what says he?" "He says your Majesty may e'en ha'e his kingdom for the asking o' it." "Was he sae ceevil?" said the king, warmed to magnanimity. "Just gang yer ways back, Sandy, and tell the King o' Heeven that for his ceevility the de'il a Scotchman shall e'er set foot in his kingdom."

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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WM. J. POTTER, *Sec. F. R. A.*

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1877.

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PUBLISHED BY THE

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AT

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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BOSTON, Sept. 25, 1877.

In obedience to the Constitution of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July First to July Fourth, 1876, the Directors hereby issue a call for the FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS of the League, to be held at Rochester, N. Y., October 26, 27, and 28, 1877. The best Hall in the city is engaged for those days. Further particulars, including list of speakers, etc., will be announced hereafter. For information respecting cheap hotel accommodation, reduced fares, etc., apply without delay to Mr. H. L. GREEN, Salamanca, N. Y.

After the hearing of reports and election of officers for the ensuing year, the most important business of the convention will be to decide whether the National Liberal League shall adopt a political platform and nominate candidates for the Presidential election of 1880; and, if so, whether this platform shall advocate the following principles and measures, to wit:—

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, etc.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

In order to give to this First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League the representative character befitting the gravity of the questions which will come before it for decision, the Directors suggest and earnestly recommend to the liberals of the United States that they immediately organize themselves throughout the country in *Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues*, each of which, on receipt of a charter, will be entitled to send its President, Secretary, and three other members as DELEGATES. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay. Charters are indispensable to secure the unity of organization without which efficient coöperation is impossible; but Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues remain absolutely independent, and recognize no authority in the National League to control their action in any particular. The small fee of ten dollars (which will surely be grudged by no one) is only desired in order to help defray the necessary expenses involved in the conventions and other public work of the National League, *which has no salaried officers*. Life-memberships of twenty-five dollars, annual memberships of one dollar, and voluntary donations, will also be gladly received for these public purposes. Time presses; and it is hoped that hundreds of new Local Leagues will be organized forthwith. Any existing Liberal society can be represented in the convention by applying for and receiving a charter in the usual way, and transmitting to the Secretary a certified copy of the following vote:—

"*Voted*, That this society, desiring to coöperate with the National Liberal League in the furtherance of its general and specific objects, hereby declares itself a Local Auxiliary Liberal League, according to the true intent of the Constitution of said National Liberal League, and has duly elected the following persons to represent it at the next Annual Congress of the same; to wit, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——."

Persons desiring full information respecting the history, principles, and objects of the National Liberal League, in the shape of a closely printed book of 190 octavo pages, can obtain it by sending for *Equal Rights in Religion: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals*. Price (reduced), in advance, paper covers, 75 cents; handsomely bound in cloth, $1.00.

Address the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

By order of the Directors of the National Liberal League:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President*.
WILLIAM H. HAMLEN, *Secretary*.

GLIMPSES.

A NEW Local Auxiliary Liberal League was organized at New Philadelphia, Ohio, October 10, and has received its charter. President, George Riker; Secretary, C. M. Rittenhouse; Treasurer, Jacob Miller. Mr. Riker was appointed delegate to Rochester.

THE CHELSEA (Massachusetts) Liberal League held a meeting in that city, October 11, and elected D. G. Crandon (President), Professor J. H. W. Toohey (Secretary), W. H. Hamlen, Russell Marston, and Captain D. E. Mayo, as delegates to the Rochester Congress.

THE BOSTON Liberal League, at the meeting which was announced in last week's issue, voted to declare itself a Local Auxiliary Liberal League, took out a charter, and elected as delegates to the Rochester Congress the following persons: Francis E. Abbot (President), Miss J. P. Titcomb (Secretary), George H. Foster, Mrs. J. W. Smith, and Mrs. S. B. Otis.

A NEW Local Auxiliary Liberal League was organized at Titusville, Pa., Oct. 10, to which a charter has been sent. The officers are as follows: President, William Barnsdall; Secretary, C. M. Hayes; Treasurer, N. Grossmayer; Councillors, R. W. Saver, Morris Einstein, Mrs. J. Barnsdall, M. J. McDonald. The delegates elected for the Rochester Congress were Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Barnsdall, William Barnsdall, and Morris Einstein.

DELEGATES at Rochester can find board for $2.00 a day at the Brackett House, and for $1.50 a day at Ayer's Hotel and the Chapman House. Mr. Green writes: "Persons attending the Congress from the West, coming over the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad, can procure excursion tickets from Salamanca to Rochester and return for $5.00. Those coming from the east of Corning, N.Y., can procure excursion tickets from Corning to Rochester and return for $3.65. I hope to be able to announce other reduced rates soon."

GENERAL BARTLETT, of Massachusetts, was one of the bravest soldiers and noblest spirits of the great civil war. Repeated and terrible wounds so shattered his health and constitution that, with a proud magnanimity, he wrote to the lady he loved, releasing her from her engagement of marriage on the ground that he had become a mere wreck. What could be more exquisitely touching than her reply? She wrote: "I'll marry you if there's enough left of your body to hold your soul." And she did. There was not enough left of his body to hold his soul many years; it is months now since he sank to his long rest. But those words will be stored up in the treasury of the world's noblest traditions, along with the grandest utterances of Sparta, or Rome, or the America of 1776.

THE TURKS, it would seem from a story told by the London *Globe*, are capable of a toleration that sets a noble example to many of their self-supposed superiors: "A Roman Catholic funeral procession, followed by an immense crowd, was wending its way through the crowded streets of Pera to the Church of St. Antoine. In front were the priests and choristers, with banners, crosses, and candles. On turning a corner into the Grande Rue, the priests suddenly came face to face with a body of recruits who had just arrived from Smyrna, and were on the march to join their camp in the suburbs. Not a few among the followers dreaded that some insult was about to be offered to the cross, the hated emblem of an alien faith, which was borne in front of the procession. No idea, however, of disrespect apparently dwelt in the minds of the Mussulman rediffs. With common accord they one and all reverently drew aside to let the funeral pass, and as the coffin went by them these rugged and untutored sons of Islam raised their hands in military salute."

THE LIST OF SPEAKERS at the Rochester Congress, so far as completed at present, is as follows: Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, of Peoria, Ill.; Mr. B. F. Underwood, of Thorndike, Mass.; Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton, N. Y., President of the Freethinkers' Association of Central and Western New York; Mr. Horace Seaver, editor of the Boston *Investigator*; Mr. D. M. Bennett, editor of the New York *Truth Seeker*; Mr. F. E. Abbot, editor of the Boston INDEX; Rabbi Max Landsberg, of Rochester, N. Y.; Rev. W. S. Bell, of New Bedford, Mass.; Mr. Theron C. Leland, of New York City. There is also some reason to expect Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of Tenafly, N. J.; Mr. William J. Potter, Secretary of the Free Religious Association; Hon. George W. Julian, of Irvington, Ind.; Hon. Ingersoll Lockwood, of New York City; E. W. Meddaugh, Esq., of Detroit, Mich.; and many others. The list of subjects, so far as known, is as follows: opening address on "A New Conscience Party," by F. E. Abbot; "Total Separation of Church and State," by Mr. Underwood; "Total Separation of Church and State, as practically demonstrated in the history of the Jews," by Rabbi Landsberg; "The Ethics of Secular Education," by Dr. Brown; "The Bible in the Common Schools," by Mr. Bennett; "Organization," by Mr. Leland; a contributed paper on "Republican Taxation," by Hon. Elizur Wright, of Boston. The day sessions of Friday and Saturday, Oct. 26 and 27, will be devoted to business and free debate on the political platform submitted to the Congress in the "Call" of the Directors; the evenings of these two days, and the whole of Sunday, will be devoted to addresses, short speeches, etc. The Congress will convene at Corinthian Hall, at 10 A.M., Friday Oct. 26.

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NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

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[The remaining States and Territories are to be represented on this Committee by future appointment, as provided in the Constitution.]

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N.B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES

To which Charters have been issued by the National Liberal League.

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA.—President, D. A. Cline; Secretary, Dr. A. S. von Mansfelde.
Issued to L. W. Billingsley, D. A. Cline, A. S. von Mansfelde, Julius Phisterer, Joseph Wittman, W. E. Copeland, Benj. F. Fisher, Sidney Lyons, L. Meyer, G. E. Church, and others.

JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS.—[Officers not reported.]
Issued to A. W. Cadman, Mrs. D. M. Cadman, S. W. Sample, David Prince, E. A. Nance, C. H. Dunbrack, W. Hackman, Jennie W. Meek, Emma Meek, Hattie E. Hammond, and others.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.—President, Carrie B. Kilgore; Secretary, Joseph Bohrer.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Philadelphia Liberal League.

MISHICOTT, WISCONSIN.—President, Lauriston Damon; Secretary, Anton Braasch.
Issued to Anton Braasch, Fred. Claussen, J. Runge, Jr., Louis Zander, S. Damon, Ferd. Heyroth, Louis Heyroth, Fred. Zander, Fred. Halberg, Ernst Clusen, and Fred. Braasch.

CHELSEA, MASSACHUSETTS.—President, D. Goddard Crandon; Secretary, J. H. W. Toohey.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Chelsea Liberal League.

STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA.—[Officers not reported.]
Issued to Chas. Haas, G. C. Hyatt, F. C. Lawrence, A. T. Hudson, Chas. Williams, W. F. Freeman, J. Grundike, J. Harrison, T. C. Mallon, A. F. Lochead, and others.

DENVER, COLORADO.—President, Orson Brooks; Secretary, J. H. Cotton.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Liberal League of Denver.

PAINE HALL, BOSTON.—[Officers not yet reported.]
Issued to Horace Seaver, J. P. Mendum, Elizur Wright, B. F. Underwood, David Kirkwood, James Harris, G. H. Foster, H. P. Hyde, Robert Cooper, S. R. Urbino, John S. Verity.

PALMYRA, NEW YORK.—President, J. M. Jones; Secretary, C. C. Everson.
Issued to J. M. Jones, C. C. Everson, Henry M. North, A. B. Sherman, Joseph Fritts, L. B. Keeler, J. J. White, R. H. Sherman, Henry Gardner, Samuel Cosad, and others.

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Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the First Liberal League of Boston, Mass.

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Issued to C. M. Rittenhouse, George Riker, J. C. Price, Daniel Korns, P. W. Himes, John Arn, Philip Gintz, A. H. Brown, Jacob Miller, L. A. Cornet.

TITUSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA.—President, William Barnsdall; Secretary, C. M. Hayes.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Titusville Liberal League.

[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

CHARTER MEMBERS
Of the National Liberal League.

[See alphabetical list of 170 Charter-Members, in *Equal Rights in Religion; Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals*, pages 181–183.]

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Christianity and Freethought.

BY REV. GEORGE S. MERRIAM.

The Christian Church is often accused of being hostile to freethought. The charge is commonly supported by a reference to the many instances in which the authority of the Church or the influence of theological teachers has been arrayed against new opinions which have been ultimately established as solid advances in human knowledge. But on behalf of the Church a spirited defence is made against the accusation. It is asserted that Christianity has been one of the chief influences in stimulating the mind of men to activity; that it has not only been the teacher of the most important truth known to man, but has in modern times harmonized with the utmost freedom of research and speculation; and that it is as unfair to load existing Christianity with the opprobrium of mediæval inquisitions as it would be to hold modern science responsible for the absurdities of alchemy and osteology. It is further said that if the Christian religion fosters an intensity of conviction which is unfavorable to light or easy change of belief, and which in its exaggeration may become bigotry, this belongs to that deepening of the moral lights and shadows which marks the truth and grandeur of religion. By as much as the destiny of man is seen in its real greatness as involving transcendent issues, by so much must the gravest importance rightfully attach to the beliefs and principles by which his course is guided; and a just sense of the consequences of error must have a sobering and conservative influence on inquiry into truth. This wholesome conservatism, it will be said by the champions of the Church, is the only check which Christianity imposes on the progress of thought; and this is a beneficent influence, akin to these deep conservative instincts which in the Teutonic races restrain rash innovations in society and politics, and are a guarantee and aid to safe progress.

We are thus brought to recognize a principle which may perhaps be accepted in its general statement alike by assailants and defenders in the controversy. So far as Christianity asserts certain truths as essential to personal salvation, it practically restricts free inquiry on the part of its adherents in the direction of those assertions of truth. This consequence is inevitable. If, for example, the Church, or any branch of the Church, affixes to the metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, contained in the "Athanasian Creed," this sentence, "which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly," it necessarily discourages anything like a sincere and searching inquiry as to whether those definitions really express matter of human knowledge. So of any other doctrine; the voice that tells men they will be eternally lost if they do not believe it, cannot and ought not really encourage them to examine fearlessly its foundations; for any genuine inquiry implies uncertainty and the possibility of a negative decision, to which there has been affixed in advance a penalty so fearful that intellectual curiosity can supply no motive to justify the risk.

The real nature and effect of this limitation can only be appreciated by a glance at the history of Christianity. The feature in the new religion which at first took strongest hold of the woes of mankind was its confident announcement of a future life. To appreciate the power of that announcement, we must remember that Christianity gained its first successes among the poor and unfortunate, for whom the attractions of the present life were small. Paul wrote with unflattering frankness to his Corinthian converts: "Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, and the weak things, and base things." So rare were converts among the higher classes that for a very long time scarcely any attention was paid to the new religion by the literary men of the heathen world whose writings have come down to us. Now, it was just this class of the weak and poor, whom the haughty classic civilization made of far less account than even our own society, and whose life was extremely bare and hard, to whom the confident assurance of an eternity of bliss or woe beyond the grave would come home with the greatest force. And when Christianity was at last extending its conquests through the highest classes, the Roman Empire was encountering disasters that appalled the stoutest hearts, and made inexpressibly welcome the refuge offered beyond the reach of plague and famine, of imperial tyranny and barbarian invader. The greatest theological work of the early Church, Augustine's *City of God*, was written under the influence of the profound shock which went through the empire when Rome itself fell into the hands of Alaric; the book is a solemn and jubilant acceptance of the transfer of earthly hopes and affections to the invisible city whose builder and maker is God. It was this slow, long, darkening that gradually fell upon the Greek and Roman world, once so full of intense life and boundless expectation, which fixed the minds and hearts of men on the future life with an intensity that can hardly be conceived by us to whom the present is so full and vital. Christianity, which as taught by Christ had been preëminently an ideal of conduct and character, with eternity set as a background to give energy and emphasis to the present life,—speedily became, and was more and more so regarded, a prescribed and definite means of attaining a consummation which began at death. Eternity was now made the foreground of the picture; the present life had no interest or significance save as an instrumentality to something beyond. To escape hell and win heaven became the one absorbing passion in which all the energies of the new re-

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ligion were concentrated. This was the end sought; what was the means employed?

At an earlier day, even under the ceremonial system of Judaism, the greatest teachers of religion had presented with wonderful clearness and force the idea that the only service required by God is that of right living and spiritual aspiration. Such was David's answer to the great question: "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly and worketh righteousness and speaketh the truth in his heart. He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbor, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbor. . . . He that sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not. . . . He that doeth these things shall never be moved." This passage is the key-note to the religion of the Psalms. The inadequacy of a ceremonial religion, and the true approach to the Deity through pure spiritual emotion, are brought out with unsurpassable distinctness. "Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it; thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; and a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." The prophet Micah gives this striking summary of religion: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" When from the older Judaism we pass to the life and teaching of Christ, we find the conception of religion as simply right-doing in the broadest and loftiest sense, set forth with a force and fulness, a familiarity and vividness of illustration, and a power of personal example, to which it is impossible to do any justice in a passing allusion. The typical instances of his doctrine are such passages as the blessings pronounced on the pure in spirit, the merciful, the peace-makers, them that hunger and thirst after righteousness; the summing up of all moral obligation in love to God and love to man; the promise that they who forgive shall be forgiven; the sublime representation of a great day of award, in which the sole test and condition of divine favor is to have fed the hungry and clothed the naked, and comforted the sick and sorrowful. But to complete the enumeration would be to summarize the greater part of the entire Gospel narrative.

When from this teaching of Jesus we turn to the sentiment and practice of the Christian Church in the second or third century, we find that in men's thought the test of man's acceptance with God and hope for the future had altered not a little from the simple and grand ideal which the Church's founder had set up. The conception of character is still a high one, and the sense of moral obligation is strong. But we find established at a very early day, and insisted on with constantly growing emphasis, the belief that membership in the visible Church, with due reception of its sacraments and firm belief in all its doctrinal teachings, constituted an indispensable condition of escape from everlasting misery and of entrance on endless bliss. To the purely moral and spiritual requirements of Jesus, there had very early been superadded a set of external conditions. And it is the sorrowful task of the candid Christian historian to show that with amazing rapidity the external requirements overshadowed and dwarfed the moral and spiritual elements of Christianity. Church membership and the sacraments and doctrinal agreement with the majority, from being subordinate and incidental accompaniments of a life of moral order and brotherly love, received more and more the first place, until they came to constitute the most prominent elements of religion, and the chief, if not the sole, conditions of present salvation.

But this great change, so amazing and incomprehensible when we look only at the first and last stages of the process, becomes intelligible as we scrutinize its successive steps. It was natural and inevitable that, for the early Christians, a formal union with the main body of believers should be the immediate consequence of a genuine adherence to their religion. Christianity, in its early purity, was in direct contrast and conflict with the ordinary practice of mankind, at innumerable points. The contrast between "the Church" and "the world" was, in the earliest centuries, such as our society has no parallel or analogy for; it is by an utter perversion of language that the terms denoting the mutual hostility of that period are sometimes applied to the thin and almost invisible distinction which church-membership implies in our modern society. The Christians differed from their neighbors not only in creed but in practices and sentiments interwoven with the whole fabric of daily life; public amusements, personal indulgences, household relations, the offices of state, presented a thousand occasions of difference or sharp collision. Not only in such details, but in the great animating purposes and hopes of his life, the Christian convert found himself at once sundered widely from his old associates, and in imperative need of the closest alliance with those who shared his new life. The Christian Church, as an external organization, with the incidents of formal though simple initiation, and observances that gave expression to its inward fellowship, was an indispensable condition of the survival of Christianity as a spiritual religion. Membership in this visible Church was at the outset no arbitrary or unnecessary requirement; it was a privilege, spontaneously and eagerly sought by whoever had an earnest purpose to follow the religion of Christ. A similar remark may be made of the "belief" which was at first inseparably connected with the Christian life; it was no arbitrary exaction, but something necessarily implied in the very idea of turning from heathenism or Judaism to Christianity. The whole appeal of the new religion lay in its presenting a new set of facts by which life was to be shaped; to "believe" those facts, to accept one living and true God, and Jesus Christ the founder and inspirer of the new society, and the future life which he had promised, as realities,—this lay of necessity in the very act and process of becoming a Christian. Here again we go on using language which has lost its meaning with the change of times. From the pulpit we constantly hear the exhortation, "Only believe!" with a metaphysical and mystical definition of belief, which too often stultifies, or bewilders, or repels the hearer. But "belief" had a very simple and profound meaning when it implied the mind's exchange of the dim, unlovely, immoral deities of Olympus for a spiritual and holy God; the view of life no longer as a transient enjoyment or endurance, beginning and ending in the unknown, but as a heroic service, superintended and rewarded by a beneficent Providence.

The primitive exhortation to believe and be baptized was thus the simple, appropriate, and necessary requirement of the earliest Christianity: belief,—such an acceptance by the soul of the great spiritual realities as should supply internal motives to the new life; baptism,—the simple initiation into that brotherhood which was to supply the indispensable social aid.

But, one by one, came additions of requirement and regulation,—some helpful, some inevitable, many injurious. The great besetting end of religion—the substitution of some externality for the arduous, unsparing demands of right living—throve and grew in the early Church with a rapidity equal to that of its external conquests. Even during its first three centuries—illustrious though they were with a new nobility of life, with the joyful spread of "good tidings" to the poor and the sorrowful, and with the heroism of martyrs,—the Church was yet a hot-bed of superstitions. Its original simple rites were already in the second century invested with a magical potency. The sacraments were channels of supernatural grace. The external elements more and more predominated over the internal. In the third century, the great Cyprian declares that "no man has God for his father who has not the Church for his mother." He banishes the heretic—the dissenter from the growingly elaborate creed of orthodoxy,—from all hope in the world to come, even though he give his body to the flames for the faith which he holds in an imperfect form. Cyprian, though in sterner language than was yet usual, spoke truly the growing sentiment of the Church. With every succeeding age the ritual assumes higher importance; baptism is the washing away of sins, and the unbaptized infant is lost; without the sacraments there can be no reception of Christ; the priest's absolution clears the soul before God; the Church's ministers hold and freely use the keys of heaven and hell. The growing minuteness of the creed, and insistence on its unqualified acceptance, keep pace with the development of ritualism. The passion for speculative theology and for enforced orthodoxy, burst into full flower at about the very moment when, under Constantine, the Church passed from subjection and occasional persecution into the religion of the State. The subtle Greek intellect—its old freshness and originality gone—plunged into abstruse metaphysics concerning the nature of the Godhead. The first universal council was called to decide a controversy—whose terms are so subtle that the mind can scarcely attach any real meaning to them, and whose subject is alike remote from human knowledge and from the conduct of human life; and the Christian world was divided for centuries by a schism that involved persecutions, wars, and unmeasured consignment to perdition of each party by its adversary—on the question whether the Son is of *one* substance with the Father, or only of *like* substance with the Father. A long series of similar controversies succeeded, and the verdict of the majority upon each was duly recorded as infallible divine truth, with an anathema upon dissenters. The controversies which, during the same period, took their rise in the western portion of Christendom related originally to more practical subjects, such as the nature of sin, man's dependence relatively on his own will and divine grace, and the like; but they resulted in the most minute and positive dogmatism on the deepest mysteries of human nature, and in the proscription as heretical and damning of views which, to some minds, unquestionably afford a moral consolation and incentive which are not found in Augustinianism. In a word, the whole Church, East and West, having first stimulated the minds of men to great speculative activity, and sincerely believing that on the apprehension of truth in these dim realms depended the attainment of eternal salvation, directed its sternest energies no longer against immorality of life, but against speculative error. The woes which the early Christian teachers had denounced against adultery, drunkenness, murder, hatred, and such like, were now proclaimed against Arianism, Pelagianism, Nestorianism. The Church still made protest and struggle, more or less successful, against the lusts of the flesh; still sought to cultivate that fruit of the Spirit which is love, joy, peace; but above and before all things she fought and conquered heresy of opinion, and, however she might succeed or fail in promoting morality, triumphantly enforced her creed and her ritual.

One can hardly avoid pausing to ask, Is this the history of Christianity? Must it not be the gross caricature of an enemy? But it is from Christian authorities that the material is drawn. It is Athanasius and Eusebius and Augustine and Jerome—names most highly venerated by the Church—that supply to modern compilers the evidence which makes the friendliest narrative of early Christianity a story of swift degeneracy. Dean Milman, eminent in the Church of England for character and attainments, not merely an impartial but a sympathetic historian, says expressly that the one sin against which the Church came to throw its whole strength was heresy; that toward all other offences it was by comparison tolerant. Moral evils eluded and baffled it; but speculative error raised its head only to be crushed. Indeed the briefest glance at what are called the Dark and the Middle Ages—which followed the time we have here especially had in view—is enough amply to confirm Milman's statement. Through these ages the Church was the dominant power in Christendom; every child received her baptism; her membership embraced the whole population. We know well how often cruelty and lust and rapine ran their dark course almost unchecked; we know how deeply at times they infected the priesthood itself; we know that while the Church often made a brave and not ineffectual struggle against these evils, it often connived at them, and continually gave parting assurance of sure salvation to men reeking with impurity and branded with cruelty, if only by rite or offering they made their peace with this hierarchy. And we know that through this same period no man ever uttered a dissent from the established theology, except at dire peril of his life and the Church's eternal curse.

This historical review is necessary to any full understanding of our subject. The present of Christianity can never be thoroughly understood without looking also at its past. Christianity is not merely a system of abstract truths, it is a vast series of facts. It is an historical religion, by no means fixed and unalterable, though including within it some changeless truths; but, as a whole, possessing an extraordinary capacity for development, both in the line of degeneracy and of reformation. Its present condition as a living religion among men is the resultant of forces of which we can partially trace the historic development; it has long and strong roots, running back for thousands of years. One of these roots we have been following in this article, and these are the facts we have reached: that at a very early period, long before the Papacy, and very soon after the New Testament period, Christians came to believe that among the essential conditions of eternal salvation were membership in the visible Church, and acceptance of its rites, and also an implicit belief of all the doctrines set forth by authority of that body; that these ideas grew until they overshadowed the ideas of moral rectitude; and that the controlling and intensely sincere belief of mediæval Christianity was, that to be outside of the one Catholic Church, or to reject a single one of her many dogmas, was to incur eternal damnation. The mind of Europe was bound by the twofold and closely linked chain of ecclesiastical subjection and doctrinal orthodoxy.

The effect of the Reformation was to break one strand of this twofold cord, and to leave the other as strong as ever. It freed its adherents from subjection to the Church's government, but it enforced, by the whole weight of its authority, a dogmatic creed no less minute and strict than the old one. Luther's great work was to break down completely the rule of the Roman hierarchy over Northern Europe. The impulse that inspired him to this achievement, and enabled him to perform it, was essentially a moral impulse. He was not actuated by any abstract love of liberty or reverence for freethought; such feelings were uncongenial to the age, and wholly foreign to Luther. Nor was it a dissent from the doctrinal theology of the Catholic Church that first or chiefly moved him; his theological dissent was less the cause than the consequence of his revolt. Luther, along with many other of the best qualities of the Germanic race, had very strongly that profound regard for practical morality which seems especially to belong to it. It was the shameful traffic in indulgences, with its direct license and encouragement of all manner of vice, that drew him from his peaceful professor's chair into battle. It was in the cause of purity of life, the cause of religion, not as a shield for immorality, but as its unrelenting foe, that the great Saxon put on his armor. Only when he found that the head of the Church persistently gave protection and countenance to moral corruption, did he at last deny the rightfulness of his rule. Once engaged in that daring revolt—as full of danger and difficulty as man ever undertook,—he threw his whole strength into the fight, and took, without faltering, every step to which his denial of the Pope's sovereignty led him,—a new organization, a modified creed, a line of cleavage running from top to bottom of religious life. But, throughout, the motive that upheld him, and that rallied to his side the best forces of his time, was that desire for moral reformation which had for centuries broken defeated against the walls of Church authority, until now, at last, it broke down those walls. Even the alterations in theology on which Luther laid most stress had their real inspiration in this underlying assertion of freedom from an immoral tyranny. Luther's great theological watchword was "justification by faith." Partly, that doctrine was an outgrowth from his own religious experience, and the expression in a somewhat dogmatic form of the soul's priceless right of immediate personal access to the divine Goodness. But it took definite shape, and was put in the forefront chiefly because it was the completest denial of the dependence of the soul on sacramental grace, which had put in the hands of the priesthood its most irresistible weapon.

Luther, then, and the reformers in general, denied and overthrew the authority of the Catholic Church, having for their strongest and best motive a regard for that Christian morality which the Church had betrayed. But nothing was further from the thoughts and wishes of the reformers than to liberate men from the obligation of Orthodox belief, under the most awful penalties. That inheritance from the mediæval Church they found no occasion to part with. They altered somewhat the definitions of orthodoxy, retaining, however, the larger part of the traditional creed, and they enforced it with all the greater vehemence because they dreaded the possible extent of the unsettling which they had themselves begun. They were extremely intolerant toward the differ-

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ences which very soon rose among themselves. Catholicism has always reproached Protestantism with the multitude of its sects, and the Protestant defence has been that these minor differences were the legitimate fruits of the fertile human intellect working in its proper freedom. But, unfortunately, the founders of the Reformation, while they lacked the power to suppress these differences, frowned upon them as heretical, and freely affixed the old spiritual anathemas to those who went a little beyond them in their own path.

There is a scene in the early history of the Reformation, not without pathos in itself, but deeply tragical to us who understand its ominous significance. The Swiss leader, Zwingle—himself an originator in the Reformation, a man of noble character and thoroughly Christian faith,—differed from Luther in his view of the Lord's Supper, he esteeming it only a commemorative ordinance, while Luther gave it a mystical character somewhat approaching the Catholic idea. Their friends brought about a conference between them, and from the largeness of Luther's nature and Zwingle's liberality and kindliness of temper, a good result might well have been hoped. On opposite sides of a table, surrounded by their friends, they argued the matter long, till Luther, taking a piece of chalk, wrote on the table, "*Hoc est meum corpus*," and refused to yield one iota of what he held to be the plain declaration of Scripture. Any doctrinal compromise being impossible, Zwingle, with tears in his eyes, offered to Luther the hand of brotherly fellowship, but Luther refused to take it, and so they parted. Doubtless the refusal cost a sharp pang to the great and kindly heart that yet was bound by loyalty to what seemed to it vital matter of Christian faith and human salvation. The real tragedy of the scene lies in the fact that, to so good and great a man as Luther, man's acceptance with God should seem to depend on the right construction of a metaphysical dogma, and an upright and faithful life appear exposed to endless ruin for misconstruing a text of Scripture. And Luther stood not alone in this, but as one in a long line of men who have been influential in human affairs, many of them distinguished by noble and even lovable characters, who have verily thought they were doing God service in insisting upon the acceptance of a particular creed as necessary to an escape from his eternal wrath.

We need not dwell upon the period of the Reformation. Its principal leaders—Luthur, Calvin, Knox, and their associates—set up and imposed upon the Protestant churches, by the most solemn sanctions, schemes of doctrine even more minute and elaborate than the Catholic Church had enforced. The heroic age of the Reformation very speedily passed; and the conflict between the two great hostile parties, though sometimes involving moral elements, became to a great extent a warfare in part of temporal interests and in part of metaphysical systems. Protestantism, in its various branches, upon the whole insisted even more strenuously on soundness of orthodoxy than did Catholicism, for the latter made acceptance of its government and ritual the chief requirement. We have not space here, nor is it necessary to our purpose, to trace the general wave of ecclesiastical power, the growth of secular interests, the partial reconcilement with one another of most of the minor Protestant sects. We have followed, in a very general survey, the historic development of the disposition to consider the acceptance of certain beliefs as indispensable to Christian life and to salvation beyond the grave. It remains only to glance at a very few indications of the influence of this attitude of mind in our own day.

A candid comparison of the present state of religious feeling with that which existed three hundred years ago can hardly fail to disclose among its first results a very great mitigation of the severe exclusiveness of orthodoxy. Even the Catholic Church, though still in its corporate capacity adhering to its anathema on those who deny its claims, shows in the mass of its members an unmistakable disposition to soften or evade the rigor of its sentence. Very few good Catholics in our day, it is safe to assert, look for the final damnation of their Protestant neighbors in any such confident and vivid way as once was common. Among Protestants, there is no such inexorable insistence on the finer minutiæ of their various creeds as characterized their ecclesiastical ancestors. The modern representatives of Lutheranism would not deny the character of Christians to the followers of Zwingle. The Calvinist and the Arminian, the Baptist and his opponent, the Churchman and Quaker, however firmly each may hold to his own peculiarity, would very rarely deny that divine grace and eternal salvation were amply possible to those who rejected it.

And yet, a very little examination will show that even in our modern Protestant churches an immense influence is exerted by the idea—held either as a definite belief or a vague but powerful sentiment—that well-founded hope of future salvation is possible only to those who substantially acquiesce in the body of doctrine set forth by the Church. This statement hardly needs proof. We may take two illustrations of it, from the opposite extremes of the Protestant body. One of the most interesting religious autobiographies ever written is the *Apologia pro Vita Sua* of John Henry Newman. The writer's exquisite literary skill is not more noteworthy than the attractive and admirable qualities of his mind and heart. In purity of purpose, in painful and patient search for truth, and in sacrifice of the dearest earthly interests to his religious convictions, he is a man whom the Anglican Church may alike be proud to have bred, and the Roman Church to have won. Now, at the very crisis of his long struggle between the two faiths, we find him writing thus to one who was in a position resembling his own: "The simple question is, can *I* (it is personal, not whether another, but can *I*) be saved in the English Church? am *I* in safety, were I to die to-night? Is it a mortal sin in *me*, not joining another communion?" Here we have a man of the finest culture and the most ardent aspiration toward truth, weighed down by the apparently unquestioned conviction that on the right solution of a most complicated and perplexing problem might hang his soul's eternal welfare. What idea could possibly be more prejudicial to that calm, dispassionate atmosphere in which truth is sought for its own sake solely, and with instinctive confidence that the soul's best safety lies in fearlessly following the truth? And what could throw more rational doubt on the soundness of Newman's final decision between the two alternatives, than the circumstance of the tremendous bribe to choose the *safer* course to which his preconceptions exposed him?

At the very antipodes from Dr. Newman's type of character is that of Mr. Moody. He is without scholarly taste or training, supremely indifferent to abstractions, intensely practical, bound by the closest ties of sympathy and mutual understanding to the common people. And Mr. Moody (in this not unlike Dr. Newman) shows not a single trace of the bitter and malign qualities by which the *odium theologicum* is fed. The whole stress of his preaching is in the line of the cheerful, buoyant, and hopeful sentiments. Yet Mr. Moody teaches plainly and constantly that the only way to be saved is through belief in the doctrine of substitutional atonement. It is impossible to find fault with him personally for narrowness or uncharitableness. Not only is he wholly kind and helpful in his spirit, but to his mind the scheme of theology in which he has been trained represents a definite, positive, unalterable set of facts; and these "facts" have to him a literal unquestionable reality which is not only unattainable but almost inconceivable to minds of a more speculative and philosophical cast. He honestly presents his view of the moral universe, and to his mind it is as clearly impossible to escape endless ruin except by faith in the literal shedding of Christ's blood for human transgressions, as to walk across the North River dry-shod. Beyond doubt, this intensely literal and absolutely unquestioning belief—which in its fulness is simply impossible to most men who have received as much education as the average minister—is one source of Mr. Moody's power over a very large class. It is equally clear that it must be wholly unfavorable to any genuine and searching inquiry into the truth of the doctrines taught; for it is idle to tell a man he may freely examine the truth of a statement, but if he concludes it is not true he will be damned. And, while Mr. Moody undoubtedly does great good—much more good than his imitators are likely to do,—it must be recognized that along with this goes a steady, quiet repulsion of a large class of minds from the Christianity which is thus presented. Thoughtful people are not any better necessarily than unthoughtful; but in the long run it is the thoughtful class that draws into its wake the entire community. It seems worth the consideration of those clergymen who are accepting Mr. Moody's style of work not merely as good in its place, but as the sole or main work of the Church,—whether they are not endangering the future and permanent success of their cause for the sake of visible present results.

To recur from these special instances to general facts, we have apparent at this time on the one side, a strange disposition to turn the intensely active thought and the vast disclosure of new facts which characterize this age in the direction of earnest, serious scrutiny into religious truth. Such questions as these regarding the nature and authority of the Scriptural writings, the cosmogony which has heretofore been a corner-stone of theology, the traditional teaching of a literal eternity of future punishment; questions yet more fundamental than these; inquiries as to the existence and essential nature of the deity; whether there is a moral governor of the universe; whether there is possible to man any sure knowledge of his Maker, or any spiritual communion with a heavenly Father; whether there is a life beyond the grave; whether, in a word, the faiths which have been the dearest treasure of suffering humanity are outworn and mischievous delusions, or the expression of eternal truths which are to take on new glory with advancing knowledge,—these and similar questions are pressing upon thoughtful and earnest men with an irresistible demand for fearless consideration and candid answer. And over against this class of facts we have this other: the great body of professional teachers of religion are under the powerful influence of an inherited feeling that to disbelieve a certain general system of doctrine is to incur the risk of perdition; and are bound in conscience by that belief to give no countenance to any inquiry which is not pledged in advance to lead to the old conclusions. This statement by no means exhausts the grounds of theological conservatism; its force is strengthened by broader and by narrower considerations: by a natural recoil from the temporary weakening of straightforward moral energy that is inevitable when the mind is in a questioning and transitional state; and also by that less disinterested dread of change which inheres in all great "vested interests" like the Church. But under all such considerations, giving heaviest weight and sharpest edge to the Church's opposition to unlimited freedom of inquiry, lies this ancient, deep-rooted belief or feeling—seen most distinctly in a man like Mr. Moody,—that certain doctrinal statements are a divinely constructed bridge which offers the only way across a fiery gulf to a heavenly refuge.

We need not further describe the two coöperating forces; nor need we dwell on the peril which their opposition implies—the danger of a religion afraid to examine its own foundations, drifting toward insincerity, cowardice, self-seeking, and the loss of the noblest religious qualities; and, on the other side, the danger of a philosophy chilled and deadened by want of the devout and reverential spirit which the Church fosters, and becoming meagre and unspiritual by severance from the great historical embodiment and representative of Christian faith and hope and love. The danger is evident enough: where lies the prospect of escape?

It lies, apparently, in the growing development within the Church of that conception of religion in which character is central and supreme. The difficulty disappears when the Church accepts its Master's definitions of religion. Humility, purity, hunger and thirst for righteousness; love to God and love to man; absolute trust in the Power that rules the universe; the spirit of brotherhood toward all mankind,—these ideals are in perfect consonance with the spirit of the most fearless truth-seeking; they supply to it the firmest basis and the noblest motives.

Such a conception of religion will not ignore the fact that intellectual beliefs have a direct bearing on character. But it will find in that fact the incentive to earnest and fearless essays toward true belief; not thinking of the divine Ruler as watchful to smite even barest error with eternal wrath, but heartily accepting the word that they who seek shall find.

The question of how far and how fast the Church is actually coming to this conception of a religion of character is one to which it is best not to give a too sweeping or confident answer. But it is to be noted, first, that the radical renovation and purification of an historical religious system is by no means impossible. Other religions than Christianity have experienced some degree of such a regeneration; but this capacity peculiarly belongs to the genius of Christianity, and is one secret of its strength. The Protestant Reformation, with all its limitations and drawbacks, was a notable instance of the self-purifying power of Christianity; the moral and spiritual renovation of the Catholic Church, which was the counter-stroke to the Protestant revolt, supplied another instance, though with a larger infusion of unworthy elements; and both before and since that period there have been not a few cases where either the whole Church, or an important branch, has roused from corruption and lethargy to purer life and fresh conquests. It seems not over-sanguine to find in the signs of our times many indications yielding hope of another and a profound regeneration of the religious spirit. These indications point to the identification of religion with personal character, character at once in its simplest and largest sense; as right-doing,—the faithful, patient pursuit of all moral excellence; as aspiration and toil toward a perfect manhood, a manhood firmly planted in fidelity to all human and earthly relationships, and bound by conscious and vital kinship to the spiritual power of the universe. This religion, when fully developed, will recognize goodness as the one thing needful; it will find the noblest employment for all lofty and spiritual faiths in applying them to produce integrity, purity, love, joy, peace, in the lives of men; it will find in such fruit the best approval of the faiths that nurtured it; it will, let us hope, by making men morally better, and purifying their minds of the animalism, bitterness, and selfishness that dim the moral vision, enable them to discern as by intuition the great spiritual realities about which we question, thus making good the promise that the pure in heart shall *see* God. While a religion of character will thus be in the strongest sympathy with spiritual faith, it will not condemn any man, whatever his belief, who in his life is pure and benevolent; it will not be afraid to accept the teaching of Jesus, that the supreme test-question is whether we have ministered to the hungry, the naked, the sorrowful, and the sinning. It will affirm without reservation that the only real heresy is wrong-doing.

It may be asked on what grounds there can be based any hope that the Church at large is likely to accept such a conception of religion. We would by no means be understood as giving an altogether confident or positive expression to such a hope. The elements of ceremonialism and dogmatism are very strong; they often display a fresh vitality that might astonish us, did we not reflect, first, that these elements have for many centuries been worked deep into the blood and bone of Christendom; and, next, that they have a powerful ally in human nature, which finds great ease and attractiveness in a religion that says, "Don't try to reform yourself; don't labor painfully to be good; you have only to *believe* and be safe." It is not impossible that such conceptions of religion, and the kindred conception which makes ritual and sacrament; rather than belief, the substitute for character, may for a long time predominate in the Christian Church. Such a result would indicate a future that is painful to contemplate, but is not therefore impossible. But, on the other hand, there is a tendency in the Church—a tendency broader and deeper than the surface shows—more and more to give to character the first and supreme place. This tendency exists even in denominations which are in their organization most highly ecclesiastical and dogmatic. In these denominations there are a great many religious teachers who, occupying various attitudes toward the theological systems of their churches, agree in making it the grand aim of their work to promote right living in their hearers. The best and most influential of these workers are not polemic; they have seen the unfruitfulness of doctrinal controversies; they have no desire to break with the churches to which they are bound by habit not only, but by affection and usefulness. They make far less noise than the champions of tradition, to whose voices anxiety and apprehension give a kind of shrill vociferousness. They constitute no party or sect; they have no shibboleths; they differ widely among themselves on questions of theology. But they are working in an almost unrecognized frater-

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nity, whose common object is to make Christianity a living power in the hearts and lives of men. They are open-minded to all new light; they look to science as a friend rather than a foe; they accept it as their business to use all truth old or new in making stronger, sweeter, better men and women. We can take no census of these workers, nor can we weigh and estimate the influence of their spirit among the conflicting forces of the time. But we may remember that "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation," and in the very quietness of this work we may see a hopeful omen.

Further, it is to be remembered that "Christianity" and "the Church" are no longer convertible terms. The Church, as an organization, has immense moral power; in the very principle of organization it builds on the social element which is among the strongest forces of human nature; and among its instrumentalities there are many which are most admirably adapted to move and control men. It includes measureless influences of sympathy, memory, association; no comprehensive outlook toward the future of religion can fail to take large account of the organized church. But, after all, we shall find at the present day some of the purest and most beneficent aspects of Christianity outside of the pale of any church. The imposition of a creed at the church-door seems to shut out some of the sincerest and most spiritual men and women; and though the Church loses them, they are not lost to the community. Of the great moral reforms of our day, some, like the temperance movement, have been taken under the care of the Church; but others, like the anti-slavery cause and the present effort for political reform, have had to find leaderships elsewhere. Some of the greatest achievements of the practical Christian spirit, in thought and life, have been wrought under the indifference or hostility of the Church. It must be said that toward these dangers in our commercial and political society which gives most concern to thoughtful men, the Church, as an organization, fails to display any such sensitive apprehension and energetic opposition as she shows toward church innovations in philosophy. Not unnaturally or illogically, from her traditional stand-point, she is far more enthusiastic in the work of "saving souls" than in that of purifying the government, or raising the standard of public and private morals. It would not be unjust to add that those denominations and those churchmen who are most serviceable in these directions are to a great extent—by no means exclusively—those who are under the open ban, or at least the marked suspicion of the ecclesiastical majority, as of unsound or doubtful orthodoxy. Many times before now the "heretics" have been the salt that kept life in the Church, and it may be so again.

But, after all, the Church is not Christianity. Even if the Church should fail to recognize the supremacy of character, and thus wed faith to freethought, we may still look with hope to that large and vital Christianity which is nobly expressed in literature, and more nobly expressed in countless humble lives, to meet the emergency. As Abraham left the land of his fathers, as the children of Israel marched through the wilderness to the promised land, as the Pilgrim Fathers turned their backs on the Harlem Meer and the Zuyder Zee to build a new nation in the free West, so man still leaves behind him the old abodes that he has outgrown, to find a home larger, fairer, nearer to God.—*Scribner's Monthly for October*, 1877.

A CARD TO THE DONORS AND FRIENDS OF PAINE MEMORIAL BUILDING.

There was a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Paine Memorial Building, Aug. 31, 1877. The following minutes of that meeting show what action was then taken:—

Minutes of a Meeting of the Board.

Aug. 31, 1877, met as per agreement, Mr. Seaver in the Chair. Mr. Mendum, as Secretary, read the minutes of the last meeting, which were approved.

Mr. Mendum stated that the taxes for 1876 were due, and the interest on the first mortgage, amounting to $1750, would be due on the 15th of September, and asked advice of the Board what should be done to raise the means to meet these demands.

Mr. B. F. Underwood moved that inasmuch as we have no funds to meet the taxes and interest on the first mortgage, we consider it advisable to let the first mortgagee advertise and sell the property, and that Mr. Mendum or some friend bid it in, to be retained in the cause of freethought. That if Mr. Mendum does not choose to permit the sale of the same, and can raise the money to meet the present demands and will do so, such a course will meet the approval of the Board of Trustees, provided the other members are not held personally liable for the money thus raised.

J. P. Mendum agreed to relieve the other members of the Board of Trustees, in writing, of all liabilities in regard to the second mortgage, or costs incidental thereto.

After the meeting of the Board, of which the records are given above, Mr. Mendum paid the taxes, amounting to $1096.74, for which the building was advertised to be sold the 10th day of September, 1877; and on the 15th of September he also paid interest on the first mortgage, amounting to $1750. A few days ago a bill for taxes now due, $907.83, was received by the trustees, with the usual notification that the property would be advertised for sale if the amount were not paid within thirty days.

October 1 the Board again met, and what was done will be seen from the following record of its proceedings:—

Minutes of a Meeting of the Board, Oct. 1, 1877.

The trustees met pursuant to notice,—Horace Seaver in the Chair, B. F. Underwood, Secretary. Minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

After a statement of the financial condition of the building by Mr. Mendum, and consideration of the same by the trustees, it was voted: That, whereas the call upon the liberal public for contributions to save the Paine Memorial Building, of date June 18, 1877, has failed to elicit anything like a sufficient sum to meet even the immediate expenses of the building, and seeing no prospect of success in the future, and unwilling to solicit further donations for the building when there seems to be no way to hold it with the contributions we are likely to obtain, therefore we consider it advisable for the interest of all parties concerned, that the building be sold by the mortgagee. This was moved by B. F. Underwood, seconded by Thomas Robinson, and was unanimously passed by the Board.

Moved by Mr. Robinson, and seconded by Mr. Mendum, that, whereas we have recommended the sale of Paine Memorial Building under foreclosure of mortgage, we decide to revoke all calls for further contributions, and to notify the liberal public that no scrip will be issued by the trustees as a means of obtaining a loan. Passed unanimously.

Moved by B. F. Underwood, and seconded by Thomas Robinson, that if any liberal shall bid in the building, to be retained for liberal purposes, we will regard such action as deserving the thanks of the liberal public; and any effort to obtain contributions or loans by issuing scrip on his personal responsibility would, in our opinion, be worthy of encouragement. Passed unanimously.

The trustees have given much time and attention to the interest of the Paine Memorial, and made every reasonable effort to obtain money for the building. But the amount received by contributions since we have had control of the building has been small, considering the money needed to pay taxes and interest and meet the necessary expenses. We have been able to hold the property up to the present time only because Mr. Mendum has generously seen fit to advance the money for the taxes and interest, and thus has postponed the sale of the building.

The course which the trustees now advise—they can only *advise*, owing to the heavy indebtedness which puts the building virtually in the hands and subject to the control of the mortgagees—is simply a *necessity*. Further efforts to hold the property are useless, and we are unwilling to take contributions for the building when we see clearly that even if we were able to meet the present demands, there would be no prospect of preventing its sale at a later date.

HORACE SEAVER,
JOSIAH P. MENDUM,
B. F. UNDERWOOD,
OSMORE JENKINS,
THOMAS ROBINSON,
} *Trustees.*

BOSTON, Oct. 1, 1877.

—*Investigator.*

RAPID ADVANCE OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

The English people are working out the problem of common-school education with great vigor. If late in beginning, they are making up for their tardiness by extraordinary efficiency. In seven years the accommodations for pupils, in schools to which annual grants are made, have risen from 1,878,584 to 3,426,718 places. Of the number of children between three and thirteen years of age, and likely to require elementary schools—4,606,544,—nearly all are provided for. The cost of this rapid advance, as will be readily supposed, has been very great. Forty millions of dollars have been spent since 1870 on the "Board Schools" alone; at the same time, the supporters of "Church Schools" have taxed themselves freely to sustain their system. The Church schools have also State help, so that by voluntary subscriptions, local sales, and National grants the English are spending enormous sums for the better education of the masses of people.

The same signs of rapid development appear in the teaching supply. In seven years the number of teachers holding certificates of competency for their work has nearly doubled,—rising from 12,027 to 23,328; the number of pupil-teachers has advanced from 12,842 to 30,626. The number of new candidates for this vocation is estimated at 1,500 yearly. Already it is said that their chances of adequate remuneration are better than those of the average clergy of the State Church. The compulsory loan of 1876 is now applied to nearly half of the population. No demur is made to its operation, and it is evident that compulsion will be sustained by public opinion.

Two facts in the direction now given to English elementary education are of interest to Americans,—the triumphs of the undenominational and the Church school system, and the method of religious instruction in the schools of the former class. The Board Schools won a victory over their State Church antagonists in the London elections last fall; the report on education for 1876–77 shows the additional fact that over 600 schools, most of them denominational, were during the year transferred to School Boards. An illustration of the English idea of undenominational religious instruction appears in a recent distribution in London of 4,000 Bibles as prizes to Board School children for proficiency in biblical scholarship. Lord Sandon, who distributed the prizes, stated that they were awarded after examination, and that the number of competitors was 82,000. Of the 150,000 children of the London Board Schools only fifty had during the year been withdrawn from religious instruction. It would appear, therefore, that after their long discussion of the "religious difficulty," as they termed it, the Londoners have settled it with an approach to unanimity. Taking into consideration all the facts, it may be predicted that England will not long lag behind other nations of Europe in provision for the universal education of the people.—*Tribune.*

OPENING OF READING-ROOMS ON SUNDAY.—A discussion took place among the members of the Benalla Mechanics' Institute on a proposal to open the reading-room for a certain time on Sundays. The subscribers who spoke in favor of the opening, brought forward sensible articles in support of their case, while the speakers on the other side of course had no arguments whatever, and simply repeated the innate parrot-cry about "the thin end of the wedge," which seems to be the favorite watchword of the Sabbatarians. But the subscribers to the Benalla Institute saw through the hollowness and profanity of the Sabbatarians talk, and decided by an overwhelming majority of forty-two votes to eighteen, that the reading-room should be opened on Sundays during the hours proposed.—*North Eastern Ensign (Australia).*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

A CONTRAST.

Two faces in my mind I see,
Two faces of Humanity;
One that is haggard, sad, and pale,
One that is smiling, callous, hale.

The sad face looks, with purest eye,
Up to the ever beauteous sky,
And in it finds, whate'er beneath,
A solace for all human grief.

The sad face has the power to lift—
If Fortune ne'er has given a gift,—
To soothe and keep a genius-brain,
The fruits of fair sweet Nature's reign.

The smiling face turns e'er to view
An eye of cold, repelling hue;
Lov'd golden dross has stamped this face
A curse, not blessing, to the race.

One face is saddened by the sight
Of darkened, wasted, precious light;
One face is only clouded o'er
When not so rich in dross as yore.

Which of these faces, drawn from ye,
Prefer ye, O Humanity!
The smiling one, well nursed by gold?
The saddened, though the noblest-souled?

EMILY S. JUDGE.

PROBUS, Cornwall, England.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE BURNING SHIPS.

Heed ye the voice the fathers heard,
Bearing to them a magic word?
Ah, well it is if ye do heed,
And well if ye are all agreed
To be as true and brave as they
Who heard, nor dared to disobey.

Commanding word! one and the same
From age to age, whate'er the name
We call: "Thy bark trust to the wave,
Nor let old loves your lives enslave.
Forsake them all if need there be
To sail with Truth the open sea."

Far from the shore where ye were born,
With joy ye greet a brighter morn
Than rose to cheer your pilgrim sires.
What wait ye now? Go, light the fires
Will burn the ships that still do give
A pathway where ye once did live.

The old homes leave with the dead years,
Nor think that ye have cause for tears.
Ah! he who would remain a child,
Yet build as man on desert wild
The newer homestead, love's new dower,
Must thrive with love's creative power.

What! know ye not the earth is one,
Gets light and heat from self-same sun?
Fear not to trust the goodly globe
To weave alway a royal robe!
Upward, then, rear with cheer and song
The home of love where ye belong!

Ply the new task. Come, each and all,—
For o'er your ships heaven's fire doth fall,
And they are burning to the sea:
Their duty's done, and they are free.
Let Freedom be your own! glow bright
Her rays, dispel old error's night!

SIDNEY H. MORSE.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 13.

Geo. Ellis, $2; Henrietta Hyde, $1.60; Hon. A. P. Pritchard, $3.20; Hyman Hess, 20 cents; Wm. Dudgeon, $25; John S. Onem, $6.40; Doerflenger & Co., $1.30; Wm. P. Barr, $5; Cash, $1.50; Miss C. Gerrish, $3.20; M. M. Pratt, $1; Mrs. S. S. Pierce, $2; Mrs. M. E. Adams, $1; Prof. W. C. Russell, $20; Capt. Gilman Colson, $1.45; James Davison, $5; Mrs. Helen A. Rich, $3; A. G. Wheelock, $3.20; Gusto A. Shane, $1; Dr. E. Wigglesworth, $4.45; W. P. Wilson, 68 cents; B. A. Cleveland, $3.20; Kant Heogh, $3.20; O. W. Newton, $5; Jas. Warbasse, $3.20; Dr. Mewburn, 75 cents; J. C. Ramsey, 10 cents; J. D. Cauzet, 75 cents; Mrs. H. B. Bird, $13.20; Geo. Chamberlain, $3.20; B. Gerrish, Jr., $4.04; American News Co., $5.90; Mrs. P. Phillips, 80 cents; Mrs. Mary Westphal, 47 cents; Thos. Martin, $3.20; Mrs. L. F. Johnson, $1.60; Clayton F. Wood, $2.45; F. J. Mead, $3.20; A. W. Withington, $3.20; H. F. Marshall, $3.20.

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The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 18, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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MR. W. G. H. SMART is editor of a new paper in this city, called the *Workingman's Ballot*. It is devoted to Social Democracy and the Workingmen's party.

MR. UNDERWOOD'S lecture engagements, prior to the meeting of the Rochester Congress, at which he will be present, are as follows: Toronto, Oct. 14; Cincinnati, Oct. 16 and 17; and La Rue, Ohio, Oct. 19, 20, and 21.

MR. W. HITFIELD, of West Philadelphia, has just published this communication in the New York *Tribune*, addressed to the editor: "*Sir*,—Several times in your columns have appeared the utterances of the scholarly lecturer, the Rev. Joseph Cook, touching the question of rationalism and its decline in the world, especially in Germany. Being unable in my own investigations to reach such a result, making the basis of my examination the aggregate of statements of travellers, statisticians, essayists, and reviewers, authors and historians of recognized impartiality, I beg leave to ask for conceded authorities covering the territory of this question. Let us have facts, statistics, and statements from official sources—for such there are,—and references to written documents, that the reader may verify for himself the weight of evidence one way or the other. There must be some reason why Orthodox theologians of great prominence in their several denominations are writing as they now do of the decline of what has been called Evangelical doctrines on the one side, and the increase of rationalism and Romanism on the other." The publication of such statistics would be extremely interesting, and we should be more than glad to publish them.

A RESOLUTION was introduced at the Episcopal General Convention in this city, Oct. 9, "requesting the House of Bishops to set forth a form of service to be used on the Fourth of July, as long as that day should continue to be observed as a legal holiday." In proportion as the churches grow stronger, they manifest more and more a disposition to intrude themselves into the secular life of the nation, and seek to stifle or pervert all secular observances in the interest of Christianity. New Year's Day as a festival is perishing in this manner under the Church's fostering care of Christmas as a rival festival; and now it is evident that the Fourth of July, so long sacred to strictly national traditions and honest secular jubilation, is to be quietly captured for "Christ and him crucified." Among the resolutions of the Centennial Congress of Liberals was one of protest against the proclamation by President Grant which invited the people to celebrate the Centennial Fourth of July by religious observances, as a most unwarrantable assumption of a "strictly ecclesiastical function." Now one sees a further step in this direction contemplated by the great Episcopal body, in adopting a special form of religious service for the nation's holiday. Like a true anaconda, the Church, having captured its victim, proceeds to cover it with saliva before finally swallowing it. Says the *Nation*, which has a happy faculty of stating truths possessing a broader application than it intends: "What we need in the commercial [and religio-political] world is not so much lecturers and preachers to tell us after we have broken our heads that it was all due to our fast driving, as somebody to tell us while driving that at that pace our heads are in danger. Somehow these people do not appear at the right time." O yes, they appear,—but only, like THE INDEX, to be ridiculed and disregarded till the mischief is done. Perhaps the Rochester Congress may succeed in making its warning heard. We hope it may.

FROM DAY TO DAY.

The world is full of men and women who secretly live on the hope of some great stroke of fortune in the time to come—some vision of love, riches, social standing, professional success, political position, or a lasting name. They set their hearts on the winning of this future prize, and endure with fortitude the pressure of present ills because they bask in the light and warmth of this imagined bliss that awaits them. Religion itself, as mankind have hitherto conceived it, pledges to him of the meanest lot, on cheap conditions, a future of dazzling and interminable delight; it kindles in his bosom a devouring and consuming expectation of happiness which shall come to him, not at all by any exertion of his own, but by the gratuitous condescension and favor of a supernatural Power.

Whether the prize that thus fascinates the soul's gaze be one of earth or of heaven, it matters little, if the attainment of this prize depends on any power outside the soul itself; the effect is all the same in eating away that strength of moral life, that formidable vigor of character, which is the crown of self-sovereignty. That man makes himself a slave to Fate who once stoops to behold in foreign hands, human or divine, the object of his own supreme ambition. The law by which he lives must be henceforth beyond himself, an arbitrary rule which enchains him with his own self-made fetters. Narrow as may be the field of man's autonomy, it is the reality of realities to him who refuses to part with it, or to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage; it is the inviolable kingdom which can never be wrested from him by any force without his own consent, and which, royally maintained, makes its master one who is

> "Lord of himself, though not of lands,
> And, having nothing, yet hath all."

Few there are, it must be owned, who vindicate their royalty in this kingdom of the soul. History tells of some of these,—Socrates, Confucius, Sakyamuni, Spinoza, Emerson,—but makes no mention of the more who lived and died unknown. The greatness of such spirits lies in one thing: they refuse to find their supreme good in anything beyond their own control. He who lives for the future can never make this refusal. The future is no man's. Causes man cannot master enter among the forces which shape it. To set your heart irrevocably on that which lies beyond your reach, whether in space or time, binds you with hooks of steel to the chariot of a Power you can neither scrutinize nor guide; it will drag you whithersoever it will, on unexpected and unwelcome paths, and you will struggle with it in vain. The price of your independence is that self-restraint in aim and wish which enables you to compel all forces to do your bidding—that wise forbearance to seek or to covet more than you hold it in your own actual and present power to possess. It is the present, not the future or the past, which will obey you; here is the limit of your empire, the boundary of the little State in which you are at once king, priest, and population. Seek your *summum bonum* in your own dominion, and it is yours; seek it elsewhere, and you have taken on your neck the yoke and the foot of a foreign lord.

What, then, is this *summum bonum*, this object of supreme ambition, which is alone compatible with either freedom or dignity of spiritual being? In one word, DUTY: that is, conformity of your whole life, outer and inner, with the moral order of the universe. No man was ever yet placed in circumstances in which he had no power to do his duty. For his duty never extends beyond his power; they are coterminous. No matter how difficult or dark, duty is always the possible, the present, the supreme. It is everlastingly at hand; it cannot be escaped; it fits closer than the shirt of Nessus, and, if disregarded, is a deadlier poison to the soul. In a thousand relations every man stands involved—relations to family, friends, acquaintances, fellow-citizens, fellow-men, in ever-widening circles; and in each relation, at each moment, he *owes* somewhat, and this *ought* is his duty. There is no power that can abolish the soul's sovereignty in the realm of duty while life endures, for duty and life are one. He who in the largest sense surrenders himself to duty makes destiny his slave; he alone succeeds, though the world may imagine he is overwhelmed with failure; he alone can with infallible certainty command success, for all its conditions are in his own control. The prize for which he lives is not in the future, but at every instant lies like a captured bird in the fowler's hand. There are other things which he too may prize and desire—things which he may rejoice to win or grieve to lose; but it remains true, if there is any such thing as truth, that whoever makes duty his supreme aim lives simply in the present from day to day, carries in his own bosom that self-respect which is the consciousness of perpetual victory, and endures with ease the outward defeats which crush a meaner soul. It is no mere dream, this lofty life of duty that puts away with indifference or contempt all the prizes that dazzle the vulgar eye. Men and women walk the streets to-day who are content to live it in quiet obscurity, seeking nothing that the crowds pursue, but finding every day in commonest and humblest duty the fountain of immeasurable peace. They are not many who thus dismiss the world's pet motives in disgrace—but they are the best. They live from day to day, satisfied with that which they can command, and spurning the slavery of ambitions that must forever obey. In the grand moral order of the universe, they behold their own little lives expand into infinite relationships with all that is pure and venerable; and, knowing that they have deserved well of the cosmos by playing well the atom's part, they ask no future favors, but float peacefully on the mighty stream of the present. Concede their future Heaven to the impoverished souls that must feed on bestowed rewards; but let the free soul create its own heaven of duty from day to day.

ORTHODOXY AND THEATRES.

With Mr. Whipple's courteous criticism of that portion of my article on the "Duty of Liberals," which refers to the Orthodox view of the theatre, I have much in sympathy. The passage which seems to him an inaccurate expression of the Orthodox idea is the following: "Here, in enlightened, cultured Boston there may be found thousands who deem it a sin to go to the theatre, *there to be ennobled by the witnessing of Shakspeare's tragedies*. Is it not pitiable that intelligent men and women can still be so bound hand and foot by Puritan prejudices as neither to enjoy and profit by many inspiring pieces of acting, nor to recognize the great educating and ennobling influence which the drama *is capable of exerting?*" The italicized phrases are those in which Mr. Whipple considers the inaccuracy to lie. Thus the fact that there are thousands who deem it a sin to go to the theatre is not disputed, but the points apparently called in question are the statements: First, that Christians regard as sinful the witnessing of even Shakspeare's plays; and second, that the drama is capable of exerting a great educating and inspiring influence.

In advocating his opinion, Mr. Whipple presents a very gloomy picture of the theatres "here in Boston and everywhere else" forty or forty-five years ago, claiming that not only were open bars regularly maintained then upon the premises, but that abandoned women were gratuitously admitted thither, as an extra inducement for the attendance of the male sex. Whether this be true or not, it is impossible for me to say; but I am so much accustomed to regard all Mr. Whipple's statements as correct, that I believe the gentleman must have the best ground for his assertion. If such indeed was the invariable management of the theatres of this country at that time, I should have highly respected any one who for this reason conscientiously abstained then from attendance.

But Mr. Whipple allows that (at least as far as Boston is concerned) these two features of the theatre have passed away. We have, then, to deal now with the stage of to-day. In regard to this, Mr. Whipple claims that "there is probably not one theatre in the world," run at a profit to its managers, *a full half* of whose nightly performances do not exercise on the whole a bad moral influence." (The italics are mine.) This seems to me a much stronger statement than facts would warrant; but as the mere expression of opinion amounts to but little, let us see what reason Mr. Whipple offers for this assertion. It is claimed by him that "the evening's entertainment in our theatres usually consists of three parts: a tragedy or comedy to begin with, which may be good, bad, or indifferent in moral character; a farce to end with, which usually contains some objectionable features; and dancing in the interval between, the chief feature of which is its indecency." The main evils, then, in our theatrical performances consist, according to Mr. Whipple, in the farce and the ballet. But with the exception of the Museum, the giving of a farce in our first-class theatres is a very rare occurrence in Boston; while the ballet, save in some exceptional spectacular piece or the vulgarities of a troop like that of Soldene, is almost never introduced. Moreover, in the farces given at the Museum, I believe the introduction of "objectionable features" to be very unusual. That a broad jest

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should occasionally intrude there is possible; but I myself have never witnessed such an intrusion, nor have I ever heard from others that such was the case.

If, then, these statements are correct (and I think statistics and the testimony of theatre-goers generally will confirm them), we have to deal chiefly with the standard plays produced here. I cordially agree with Mr. Whipple in his keen regret that it is not at present a pecuniary possibility for one of our theatres (not subsidized) to rigidly maintain upon its stage only the purest and noblest dramas. Alas, indeed, that it is so! But we have reason to lament thus in many other departments of art, as well as in regard to the drama. The masses flock to hear a Morgan or a Moody, and leave the scholar and philosopher to speak to empty benches. The immense amount of literary garbage greedily devoured by these same masses is far in excess of the world's substantial books. A negro-minstrel entertainment will in most places draw a fuller house than a classical concert; and even in Boston Madame Essipoff played to scanty audiences. Now in precisely the same way, trashy and even vulgar plays usually prove more attractive than pure and intellectual ones, save when these are rendered by extraordinary artists.

But just here, although bewailing equally with Mr. Whipple this lamentable fact, I take a different and more hopeful view. Instead of concluding (as I understand him to do) that on account of this pecuniary necessity of theatre managers to cater to the low taste of the public, it would be better for decent people to stay away from the theatre altogether, I would advocate most warmly the exerting of all our influence in elevating this general taste, especially by patronizing those dramas which are unexceptionable and well put "on the boards." I would say, let us here exercise our discrimination between *use* and *abuse*. Just as in the sphere of fiction we would reject *Red-haired Dick* or *The Ghastly Bride*, but would, nevertheless, delight in the study of *Romola* or *The Newcomes*, so let us choose between low plays and noble ones, Chilperic and Hamlet. Because our theatres have faults, why should we regard them as totally and hopelessly depraved? Theatre managers would doubtless gladly offer superior plays, if these were cordially met and supported by the best classes.

But if we stay away from the theatre altogether because at sometime during the season Soldene's troop will visit the stage, we shall in effect make it more and more impossible for those managers to represent there even that proportion of fine dramas which are at present given.

> If we tarry till they're better,
> We shall never go at all.

I shall never forget the audiences which gathered in the "Boston" a few years ago to witness the superb acting of the great Salvini. There were represented there our illustrious men of letters and ladies and gentlemen of the best social standing. Even many strict church-members, at other times opposed to the theatre, ventured thither, trusting perhaps to special absolution because the language used was Italian! I remember to have thought, in witnessing that assembly, what a glorious effect might be produced for the elevation of the drama, if such plays and such acting always met with the overwhelming support of our best citizens!

Now recalling the frequent engagements here of our first dramatic artists, and considering the generally very commendable course of the Museum company, I think it is not too much to claim that a *fair* proportion of the plays produced in our city have a decidedly good moral influence; and that a *very large* proportion, without being especially remarkable for this, have no *im*moral effect, but afford a pleasant and innocent evening's entertainment. At the same time, it is also true that a *small* proportion of them are more or less degrading and positively immoral. Such seems to me a fair statement of the state of the stage in the first-class theatres of Boston. The true remedy for its evils, in my opinion, lies first in the improvement, by all the means in our power, of the public taste and morals; and secondly, in the support of all good dramas by the appreciative and the art-loving. Surely there is abundant encouragement for us to do this, if in forty years, as Mr. Whipple allows, such remarkable progress has already been made.

And now a word again about the Orthodox, around whom this discussion in reality turns. I should be very sorry indeed to misrepresent them, and I feel sure that I am not doing so, when I say that there are thousands in this city who would not set foot in the Boston Theatre to see Edwin Booth impersonate Hamlet or Brutus,—or to enjoy the operas of Lohengrin or Fidelio, *even though there were to be nothing but Shakspeare's plays and the best operas to be given there henceforth and forever*. They are afraid (I hope those unacquainted with "blue" Orthodoxy will take my word for this) that after such an entertainment they could not enjoy their nightly devotions; that, on the whole, Jesus would not like it; that they might thereby become spiritually "cold," and acquire a "taste for the theatre," which is one of that species of mysterious appetites ready to overmaster the Christian, which, as some ministers declare, lurk especially in the auditorium of a theatre, a pack of cards, the cushions of a billiard table, and a waxed floor. Because these amusements are *abused*, many Christians would not have them *used*. But the folly of such a sweeping prohibition, as opposed to a judicial selection of pleasures, guided by wise government and self-control, is becoming daily more apparent. Our theatres are not what they should be. True enough. But what sphere of art is not open to the criticism that it still nourishes a host of inferior productions? Nay, more; in what one may not the poison of impurity be found? Shall we then utterly condemn the stage because it is susceptible of abuse? I hope to see the time when the drama will be free from the grave faults which still attend it; but, in common with all things human, its advance is slow. Let us nevertheless try hopefully to aid that advance!

J. L. S.

REV. JOSEPH COOK'S POSITIONS CRITICISED.

In one of Rev. Joseph Cook's lectures, published in the Boston *Advertiser*, the champion of theology endeavors to annihilate the school of experience in philosophy by the following statements, which he calls "incontrovertible propositions":—

1. The plan of the physical organism is not in the food by which the organism is sustained.
2. The mechanism by which the assimilation of food is effected exists before the food is received.
3. But, until the food is received, that mechanism does not come into operation.
4. The plan of the spiritual organism is not in the impressions received through sensation and association.
5. The fundamental laws of thought exist in the plan of the soul anterior to all sensation or association.
6. But they are brought into operation only by experience through sensation and association.
7. It is absurd to say that the plan of the body is produced by its food.
8. It is equally absurd to say that the plan or fundamental intuitive beliefs of the soul are produced by sensation and association.
9. Therefore, as the plan of the body does not have its origin in the food of the body, so the plan of the mind does not have its origin in the food of the mind.

The lecturer adds:—

You receive food, and a certain plan in your physical organism distributes it after it is received; assimilates it, and you are entirely sure that the mechanism involved in this process exists before the food. It may be that every part of my physical system is made up of food and drink which I have taken, or of air which I have breathed; and yet there is one thing in me that the food did not give me or the air, and that is the plan of my physical organism. [Much applause.] We have within us laws, fundamental, organic, and if not innate, at least connate. They came into the world with us. They are a part of the plan on which we are made. When we touch the external world with the outer senses, and the inner world with the inner senses, no doubt food is coming to our souls; but that plan is the law according to which all our experiences through sensation and association are distributed.

Think of the difference between the "physical organism" of Mr. Cook and that of a Hottentot or of an Australian savage. Think, too, of the difference between the mind of Mr. Cook and that of the savage. Yet the Orthodox view is that they both have a common origin; the difference in size, form, color, degree of intellect, etc., being the result of modifications that have taken place from the time of Adam. Mr. Cook believes, I presume, that all the modifications giving rise to the differences between the varieties of the human race have been produced by natural causes; for it is not likely that he holds to the view that God has performed a succession of miracles in order to make men "the degenerate sons of an illustrious ancestry."

Whatever, then, there is in the structure or mind of man, or the "plan" thereof, that is peculiar to any variety, has been *acquired*, not by the individual, but by that variety of the human species. These bodily and mental peculiarities are the condensed result of individual modifications, due to various causes, and extending back to the cradle of the race.

According to the theory of evolution, all animals, man included, are the result of modifications of pre-existing animals, these changes reaching back to time when there were only the lowest conceivable organic forms which, indeed, were but the results of modifications of matter in a still more simple, homogeneous condition. According to this view, man did not originally appear fully developed with all the faculties and aptitudes that he now possesses. There was no more a "first man" than there was a first Roman or a first Englishman, no more than there was a first Fuegian, such as is now seen in Patagonia, where the natives are supplied with a thick undergarment of non-conducting fat like the layer of blubber under the skin of the whale in the same latitude, and where women, naked and with their babes strapped to their backs, dive into a sea in which any of us would perish in a few minutes.

According to the theory of evolution, the heritage of every human being is an organized structure, with certain definite tendencies, which precede all experiences of the individual, but nevertheless represent *ancestral* experiences and adaptations. These constitutional tendencies of the organism determine how the individual shall think: that is, that he shall think in images and symbols according to definite relations and sequences.

An ideal representation of all the conditions of human thought constitutes what is meant by the "plan" of the human mind. The sum total of all mental phenomena is the "mind." It is by an "illusion," says Lewes, "that we come to regard the process [of thinking] apart from the product [thought], and, generalizing the process, we call it mind or intellect, which then means no longer the mental phenomena condensed into a term, but the source of the phenomena." The assumption of some other basis of thought than the physical structure I believe to be without the slightest foundation; but whether it has or not is unimportant, so far as the criticism of Mr. Cook's position is concerned.

The body is sustained and built up from day to day, by the elements, taken as food, which admit of being assimilated, or made like, and incorporated into the body. What kind of food shall be assimilated, and how it shall be assimilated, are determined by the properties of the elements in their relation to the organism, and by the properties of the tissues which assimilate the elements furnished in the food. The physical structure, having been evolved by countless modifications of preëxisting organisms, whose experiences and adaptations have been organized in their descendants, embodies conditions of eating, digestion, and assimilation which precede the action and operation of the organism; that is, thus born with these conditions and tendencies.

So also the mind is built up by registered and assimilated experiences. What these experiences shall be, and how they shall build up the mind, are determined by the nature of the external world with which we are in contact, and the conditions and tendencies of the organism that receives sensitive impressions. Now because the conditions and tendencies of the mind precede the experiences of the individual, it does not follow that they are anterior to all experience ancestral and individual alike, and imply ideas independent of experience, together with a "plan" hat must have preceded the organism and in accordance with which the organism must have been made teleologically.

"The fundamental laws of thought,"—in other words, the mental tendencies which determine the form and products of our thinking,—are anterior to all sensations or associations of the individual, to whose experience they certainly cannot be reduced; and in this sense they are *à priori*. But, according to the theory of evolution, these "laws of thought" have, in the course of ages, been acquired in the evolution of the organism through a succession of modifications due to its adaptations to the environment, and in this sense they are *à posteriori*.

Mr. Cook argues as though the experientialist held that the mind at birth is like a blank sheet of paper. Directed against such an absurd position, his propositions would have great force; but when the thinkers of to-day who accept the philosophy of experience recognize the so-called "laws of thought" as connate aptitudes, and parts of human experience, transmitted from ancestors so that—

> "All experience past became,
> Consolidate in mind and frame,"

the reasoning of our theological lecturer has no force whatever, nor is it even pertinent.

The views here presented are based, of course, on the theory of evolution, of the truth of which there is much proof; while the creative hypothesis, of which Mr. Cook is champion in Boston, is without proof, and is losing ground in proportion as the empire of science and knowledge is, by man's observation and experience, made larger. Said Professor Thomp-

son, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in an address delivered Aug. 15, 1877:—

"I consider it impossible, therefore, for any one to be a faithful student of embryology, in the present state of science, without at the same time becoming an evolutionist."

With this statement accords the remark of Huxley in one of his New York lectures:—

"The doctrine of evolution at the present time rests upon exactly as secure a foundation as the Copernican theory of the motions of the heavenly bodies. Its basis is precisely of the same character,—the coincidence of the observed facts with theoretical requirements."

If, as Mr. Cook and other theologians maintain, the "plan of the physical organism" and "the plan of the mind" existed before any experience, individual or ancestral, whence came they? The answer is of course "from God." Then they either had an origin in the mind of God, or they had no beginning. If they had an origin, they must have been an addition to God's knowledge; for a plan, idea, or thought that did not exist until a certain time could not have been a part of God's knowedge previous to that time. If there were an addition to God's knowledge, he must have been limited in knowledge before the addition was made. But if these plans never had a beginning, but existed in the mind of God through the past eternity, they cannot be the result of design, because they were not produced; but, being eternal like God himself, must be independent of design. But the plan of a thing is as much evidence of design as the thing itself in which the plan is embodied; and since (according to our supposition) the "plan of the physical organism" and the "plan of the mind" are no evidence of design whatever, it follows that the "physical organism" and the "human mind" are no evidence of design. Thus we see that the ascribing of "plan" to God necessitates the conclusion either that God receives addition to his knowledge from time to time, or that "plans" exist which are, and organisms exist which at least may be, utterly independent of design. Mr. Cook will be slow to avow his acceptance of either of these conclusions. With his premises he cannot avoid accepting one or the other.

The "incontrovertible propositions," the weakness of which I have endeavored to point out in this article, are a sample of the intellectual food that "His Lectureship" dealt out last winter in Tremont Temple to his Orthodox audiences, and for which he received not only large pay, but "great applause"!

B. F. U.

Communications.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XVII.

The last article brought us up to the verge of the consideration of the most important of practical subjects, alike for the scientist and the philosopher; namely, the classification of the sciences. The classifiers are a branch of scientists, standing apart; and when successful in furnishing any new key to the interrelations of the sciences themselves, they are entitled to take the highest rank among scientists. Specialty must always stand in a certain subordination of rank to generality, since the true generalizer must have a comprehensive understanding of numerous specialties. The classification of the sciences rests on the underlying philosophy of the sciences; and is, therefore, intimately allied with sciento-philosophy, and is, indeed, a great part of what is meant by that term. The number of men, who have attempted even, to arrange the whole field of science is not large. Aristotle, and after him, Bacon, rank first in the order of time; and, of course, their efforts are inferior, viewed from the vantage of the increased intelligence of our day. In our day, Comte, a Frenchman, Spencer, an Englishman, and Haeckel, a German, are the great names. It is they who have established a valid basis upon which all future classification must in a sense rest; although universology supplies a wholly new factor which will disturb and readjust even the foundation itself.

But, apart from this last consideration, the leading classifications of Comte and Spencer are becoming already, not, indeed, antiquated or superseded, but so improved upon, enlarged, and modified by the labors of more recent investigators, that no student can be considered as up with the current of learning in this department of it, who is acquainted with their systems alone. Of these more recent classifiers the three most conspicuous, and whose work in this sphere is most elaborate, are all Americans. They are Prof. P. H. Vander Weyde, Prof. Louis Elsberg, and Thaddeus B. Wakeman. Unfortunately, Prof. Vander Weyde's work on this subject, though much advanced, has remained uncompleted, and is nowhere accessible in book form. All of these writers have been readers, and, to some extent, students, of *The Basic Outline of Universology*. Prof. Elsberg's classification, which for depth of insight into fundamental principles on the one hand, and for extent of detailed elaboration in a given direction on the other hand, surpasses any other, bears an impress of universological influence which he would probably not decline to avow, which, however, does not in the least detract from his own essential originality. Mr. Wakeman has, on the other hand, followed in the main the lead of Comte, greatly modified by Spencer, and, as I shall have occasion to show, by a leaning towards the distinctive feature of universology, and the new factor of classification contributed by it; namely, scientific analogy. He, however, does not avow this latter tendency, is probably not really aware of it, as affecting him, and has made a somewhat valiant warfare against it. Wakeman, also, has exhibited an exuberant wealth of originality, in this lofty realm of scientific achievement. The little pamphlet expositions—they are hardly more than that—of these men showing the relations of the sciences, place them, by my scale of relative values and method of assigning rank, among the magnates of the scientific world. They are, in other words, scienti-philosophers, and not merely scientists.

Every distinct science covers a distinct domain of the universe. To classify the sciences rightly is, therefore, rightly to distribute the universe. Every classifier of the sciences is of necessity, in a sense, a universologist. The question whether he is that technically and precisely, rests upon the question whether he has the true key to classification. Wakeman quotes John Fiske to the effect that: All knowledge is classification. *A fortiori*, all science is classification; and, inversely, all classification is science, and universal classification is universal science; which is, again, universology. Universology is nothing other than the science of classification in universals and particulars, whence it is both the science of the sciences, and of all the details and particulars within the sciences.

A point, indeed *the* point, in which I accord a deeper universological value to Elsberg's classification than to that of Comte or Spencer or Wakeman, is one already alluded to, in that he practically recognizes the existence of *different planes* from which *the lines* of classification take their departure; as when he discriminates the aspectual (or ingrediential sciences) from the departmental sciences, the comparative from the descriptive, etc. Universology demonstrates that we naturally and necessarily conceive the universe as having a definite shape or form; that that form is *globular;* and that then, our first natural *divisions* of that great globe of existence (the bases of *special* classes) accord with the cut-up of a globe, by the three geometrical planes, cutting each other at right angles at the centre. To aid this conception, cut an apple through the centre, in three different ways, so as to produce eight equal parts. Each cut-through of the knife will represent one of these three planes; and, in a modified sense, the *face* presented by each hemisphere of the apple after the first cut (for example) is also a plane. (Two *faces* are revealed by each of the two subsequent cuts; but to realize them properly we must neglect in thought the prior cuts.) The Latin word for *face* is *species* (what one *looks at*, from *specto, spect-are*, whence English *spectacle*). From this word *species* we derive *special;* and it is *just here*, from the physical act of cutting through the centre of an object (our supposed apple, for instance) and revealing *planes* or *faces*, before hidden, but now capable of being *looked* at or *seen* (compare *scene* and *scenery* in this sense), that we have, analogically, the origin of the distribution of the *special* sciences. Apart from the corruptions of language they would be called the *face* sciences, and we should be continually reminded to inquire what they are faces of, or how they came to bear that name; and we should have been forced back to the original answer, now forgotten, which is that they name *hemispheres* of knowledge, in the first instance, and afterwards minor cuts and facings of the *great globe* of *general* or *universal* conception.

Mr. Spencer has, at a single point, shown that he has arrived also at this fundamental *aperçu* of the origin and guide to all true scientific classification, how obscurely or how clearly we cannot know, as he has not in the least elaborated the idea. Upon the twenty-sixth page of his pamphlet entitled *The Classification of the Sciences, to which are added reasons for dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte, by Herbert Spencer, D. Appleton & Co., New York*, 1864 (I am thus particular, as but few, so far as I have observed, of the students of Spencer are acquainted with this work), the distinguished author says: "I will only further remark, that the relations of the sciences as thus represented [referring to his own tabular exhibits] are still but imperfectly represented; their relations cannot be truly shown on a plane [the level page] but ONLY IN SPACE OF THREE DIMENSIONS [that is to say, upon three planes, cutting each other at right angles.] The three groups cannot be rightly put in linear order as they have been [by Comte, and now by Wakeman and others]."

Spencer is here down at hard pan, in finding the true basis for all classification; but he is in error in the use, as yet the only use, which he makes of it. He is contesting the possibility of a correct single-line scale, ascending and descending, for the arrangement of the sciences, such as Comte and Wakeman employ. In this he is wrong, and they are right. *Both methods are true*, and each has its scientific justification, when all the analogies are understood; and each its special superiority, as from the theoretical and the practical point of view, respectively. The three-plane distribution gives the philosophy of the subject; bases classification scientifically; is the *scientism* of things, as "harmony," "thorough-base," or "counterpoint" in music are so. The one-line or cord-like distribution, like the musical scale or gamut, is the simple *abstract* from, or epitome of, *all the resultants* of the three-plane distribution. This is the secret of the musical scale which Fourier rightly says is the *measure of all harmonies*. The globe cut by its *three planes* yields *eight* solid parts or domains; hence *the octave*, as the measuring number. Let it be a cube which is cut into eight cubules, and the illustration will be clearer (the globe is naturismal, the cube is, *per se*, scientismal). Of the eight cubules, one is occulted or hid from sight, in whatsoever way the segmented cube is inspected. The octave is therefore in a sense reduced to seven, while in a sense it remains eight. This *half-seven, half-eight "octave"* is the riddle of the gods; or, less poetically speaking, it is the toggle-joint of the universe. All *music*, all *skilled performance*, all *operatic exertion* or effort at *high harmony*, in the whole sphere of the labors *of Nature*, OR *of man* is the continuous, ever-repeated endeavor to resolve this inherent contradiction between the merely sensible and practical view of things and the underlying analytical exactitude; between the practical and the theoretical; between naturism and scientism. The proximate solution of the inexpugnable dissidiency between Nature in its crudity and Science in its precision is Artism or Art; and *it* breaks into the shimmer of those millions of tunes which are the *répertoire* of the world-full of music.

In the next following article I will show more fully why and how the one-line system of the classification of the sciences is after all practically preferable.

A PILGRIMAGE TO WEST ROXBURY.

West Roxbury is now one of the suburbs and a part of Boston. On entering it from the country, one can easily discover the vicinity of the American Athens. The multitude of carts, the proportionally large number of pedestrians, the absence of fruit-trees near the roads, the frequent houses, serve as pointers. One thing only is needed to complete the chain of evidence,—the blue coat. This product of metropolitan civilization, for reasons known only to those initiated in the mysteries of police regulations, is not to be seen. But forty years ago it was different. Then the shrill groan of the iron horse did not constantly remind the inhabitants that they live in the nineteenth century; it was a true "country" town. The inhabitants could be found in the assessor's list, in the directory, in the fields, but not on the roads. As an offset sometimes appeared a four-legged member of the horned family making his grass-studies, and announcing to the world its undeniable existence with an emphatic *moo*. Into this town Theodore Parker entered in the year 1837, to spend some of the happiest hours of his life. "The dear old place," he used to call it. But now it is all different. The old generation has died out and a new one grown up. The little town has been swallowed up by the big one, and with it also, it seems, the remembrance of the great preacher.

The Jews have their Jerusalem, whither they pilgrimage; the greater part of Christianity wander to Rome and Worms; the worshipper of Allah and his "true" prophet journey to Mecca; the admirer of a modern hero leads his steps to West Roxbury. Here Theodore Parker lived five years; here he preached; here he prepared himself for his large field of activity.

With the image of the "parsonage" before my spiritual eyes, I entered West Roxbury to visit the house where the great transcendentalist once meditated, wrote, lived. With difficulty I found the house. Several inquiries were unsuccessfully made, since "a man with the name of Theodore Parker has never lived in the place," as a "knowing" informant told me. At last I came to the spot where his residence is supposed to have been. It is situated a few minutes' walk from the Spring Street depot of the Boston & Providence Railroad. The neat little house which was of so much interest to me, is so disfigured by improvements, additions, and changes, that it can justly be said it does not exist for the admirer of Theodore Parker. The present homestead is a huge *mixtum compositum* of styles with bay-windows, and a still huger barn, which has been compelled to undertake an involuntary journey some one hundred feet from its old place. For fear the Orthodox horses may not be infected by the heretical air of this barn, it has been whitewashed from its sins. The beautiful tree, with its large, round bench, on which Parker loved to sit when on a visit to his old parish, was cut down. Not a trace was left of the old structures. The only thing remaining is the space with the air filling it, which latter even is now breathed by Orthodox lungs.

When I rang the door-bell I was informed that the present occupants knew nothing of Mr. Parker. The self-reliant daughter of the Green Isle, who opened the door, and who introduced herself by the very significant "I manages the house," asked me naïvely whether I was a relative of Mr. Parker.

With sadness I bade the disfigured place adieu. About a mile from the former residence of the preacher-reformer stands in the middle of a large lawn the church, where the strong, masculine voice of Theodore Parker used to be heard every Sunday. The church has undergone no alterations. A Unitarian minister reads now the text from the same two folio-volumes of the Bible, printed in 1798, from which Mr. Parker used to choose his. The building is heated now by a furnace, while in the good old time two big stoves used to guard the victims against the embraces of cold frost. Through the kindness of a friend, I obtained the key to the holy place. We entered. I made an involuntary motion towards the upper regions of my poor self, and my head was deprived of its cover. For awhile I stood overawed on the same spot where *his* feet once touched. So from this pulpit Mr. Parker thundered forth his eloquence! Here before me was, in the front row of pews, the seat of Mrs. Parker; a little to the left,

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that of Miss Hannah E. Stevenson, who sometimes walked ten miles to go and hear the great preacher. Here lay the old venerable book, which was exactly twelve years older than the one who so reverently read from it. Just opposite the pulpit, back of the pews, is a large clock, which now, amid the deepest silence, ticked its merciless "forever, never" in the same way as it did when the shining eyes of the hero rested on it. There was something mysterious in its ticking. I listened. . . . It became clearer and clearer. The tickings became sounds, the sounds were made into words:—

"Theodore Parker is dead. His remains lie far away, beyond the ocean, in the sunny South. The house is gone; this very meeting-house may soon disappear. When even I myself shall have stopped my ticking, when the palace-like memorial on Berkeley Street shall have vanished, when on the streets of proud Boston will be seen the destructive traces of time, then the spirit of Theodore Parker will yet live; his words, his works, his deeds will live, and live forever." IVAN PANIN.

NATIONAL CITIZENSHIP.

NEW YORK, Sept. 30, 1877.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I have read your appeal upon the subject of the Declaration of Principles of the National Liberal League. You did well in selecting the condition of the freedmen as a salient example of citizenship. You state that the amendments do not protect them as individuals, but deny adverse legislation to the State; and you recommend that this class should be protected by the United States courts. Congress has already passed certain acts known as the enforcement laws, which attempt to punish the violation of the amendments, and more particularly to shield the right to vote on national questions. But what are the facts? Political rights have been destroyed by force in some parts of the South. The equal rights amendment existed; the law against conspiracy (which strange to say makes assassination and murder mere incidents) was on the statute book but could not be enforced for the reason that the grand and petty juries, the court, the sheriff, and the *posse* were all either principals or *particeps* in the commission of the crime. For example, witness the Ku Klux trials in South Carolina and the Chisholm affair in Mississippi. These are illustrations of the fact of the impossibility of directing a cause of action by written laws. According to our system the trial has to take place in the vicinage where the alleged crime was committed; and, as in the cases referred to, a mistaken politico-moral sense precludes the administration of the law. Thus we perceive that by the failure to enforce the laws, and the tendency of the United States courts to find against the constitutionalty of the same, all that has been done to establish a free national citizenship by amendment and by legislation is put in imminent peril. In my opinion the remedy lies in the method upon which you place little reliance. The Constitution provides that "The United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government." Let us first establish full national citizenship by constitutional declaration. Then let Congress, whenever a State as a matter of fact or of record violates this law, be punished even by seclusion from representation, or relegated to a territorial condition. The people must be educated to the idea of sending members to Congress who will do this. Probably, after all, the whole subject will have to depend upon education and enlightenment. What this country wants above all things is an assimilation of habits, customs, and thought, in order that liberty and government may not have entirely different meaning in different sections. The freedman must acquire wealth and intelligence like his neighbor; and, last not least, the ability to maintain his rights by force, if necessary, which is the strong point of his enemy.

The "Call" is a watch-fire upon the causeway of humanity, and directs how to avoid the precipice of theology, State rights, and ignorance.

Respectfully, H. C. LOCKWOOD.

THE PROBABLE FUTURE

OF THE LIBERAL LEAGUE AND OF THE NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I have to-day the pleasure to report to you and the Secretary of the National Liberal League, Mr. W. H. Hamlen, the effected organization of a Liberal League here last night, at which a resolution to apply for a charter was passed (names are given in my report to the Secretary). Please find enclosed P. O. order for $15,—$10 of which are to pay for a charter, and $5 to renew the subscription of Mr. William Barnsdall for his two copies of THE INDEX.

The greatest obstacle to the formation of the Liberal Leagues, and the most formidable enemy we have to contend with, are by no means the National Reform Association and Orthodox Christians in general, but the blindness, indifference, and the unbelief of even liberal Christians respecting the threatening dangers to religious liberty from the projects, aims, and agitations of the "Evangelicals." In soliciting names for the petitions, or to join our League, I am frequently laughed at, and told that there exists no such danger, and that "they cannot do it." This being the prevailing opinion even among liberal, or at least not bigoted, fanatical or Orthodox Christians, I believe that the "Evangelicals" will eventually succeed in realizing their nefarious schemes. But such momentary success will, I also believe, be but the beginning of their final ruin. For when by the practical application of their "reformed Constitution" and kindred measures the American people will become aware of their workings, and of the rights and liberties of which they have been robbed, it will not take long before a *reaction* will take place against the National Reform Association, the Evangelicals, their "reformed Constitution," and "Christian State," which will sweep them away and bring about real and greater reforms, much greater than people in general are prepared for and willing to support now. So out of this evil great good will come.

This probable success of our opponents ought, therefore, neither to discourage liberals, nor lessen their opposition to the schemes of the "Evangelicals," nor less to cool their zeal for Liberal Leagues and their objects, but the more to unite them in an organized body. For that reason and to that end, I act in harmony with the Spiritualists here. They are very numerous here, and, I add with pleasure, are quite, some even very, liberal. Most of the thirty members of the Liberal League, excepting, perhaps, half-a-dozen, are Spiritualists. In this connection, I must, in justice to Mr. O. B. Kellogg, their regular lecturer, not omit to mention his eminent services to the liberal cause. He is not only a spiritual lecturer, but a very liberal one as well; for he is a thoroughgoing, bold, and outspoken liberal, and contributed very much by his frequent lectures here and throughout a considerable section of country to liberalize his Spiritualistic audiences. I have often heard him with much pleasure and profit. And though I am myself far—you know how immeasurable far—from accepting and believing in their peculiar doctrines and "spiritual philosophy," yet I am in sympathy with at least the Titusville Spiritualists. For they are generally liberal, and you know how dear liberalism and the cause of liberalism are to me.

Yours for success at Rochester,

MORRIS EINSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, Oct. 11, 1877.

FURTHER APPOINTMENTS IN NEW YORK.

SALAMANCA, N.Y., Oct. 11, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The Executive Sub-committee of the National Liberal League for the State of New York has been appointed as follows, in accordance with the Constitution: H. L. Green, Chairman; D. M. Bennett, of New York city, De Lancey Crittenden, of Rochester, John W. Truesdell, of Syracuse, and Edgar M. Sellen, of Castile. Additional "Free Thought and Liberal League County Committees," according to the Constitution of the Freethinkers Association of Central and Western New York, have also been appointed as follows:—

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY.

E. Mitchell, Jamestown.
O. G. Chase, Jamestown.
Alex. C. Douthitt, Jamestown.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY.

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Truly yours, H. L. GREEN.

REV. M. J. SAVAGE ON "WHO ARE INFIDELS?"

After reading the discourse here referred unto, as it stands recorded in the Boston INDEX, I (who hold the honor of an Elder in the Church of Jesus Christ, the initials of whose name is J. S. C.) would respectfully make a request of those gentlemen editors of the Boston INDEX, that they grant me the privilege of speaking for myself through their organ concerning the crime, or charge of infidelity, which that "discourse" alleges to my religious belief, or faith, in connection with Moses and the prophets, together with Jesus and the holy ministry of all ages.

Now, gentlemen, I design to be as concise and comprehensive as possible, and by no means less candid or honest in what I now say in defending the citadel of truth, which you have either vilely attacked or ignorantly passed by, unnoticed, in giving your definition of the word "infidel."

I am aware of the fact that it will by no means do to credit all that those men say who have the honorable title of "Rev." affixed to their names; simply because it is common to assume divine honors.

But you know undoubtedly that there could be no honor attached to prophets and reverends if there never had been any in the world but impostors, such as this generation is now flooded with.

Please grant me the privilege of giving to you a far better definition of the word "Infidel" than that by the *assumed* "*Rev.*" M. J. Savage.

But, first, before giving my definition, let me say to you, "Fair play, boys." Those who have nothing to do but to make a plaything of every kind of Bible religion would do better to engage in some other gambling.

2d. Let me say I have no objection to your pulling down of all false churches and false titles of divine honors. In all this I agree with you. But when you say that Moses and the prophets denied the priesthood, and were infidel unto it, here I say unto you, "Fair play"; for you know it was *Korah*, and not *Moses*, who denied the priesthood! You make no difference between the real holy priesthood and such as Korah and his crew assumed, and for that assumption went down alive into hell! And I fear that's where you and yours soon will be.

For why do you take a text from holy inspiration and then deny the holy priesthood of God Almighty by which your text was written?

Your readers, many of them, are deceived by your false constructions.

My definition of "infidel" is not the man who denies the man-made priesthood of King Jeroboam, who made to himself priests after the manner of Gentile nations, and which priesthood the prophets of God all denied, just as I also do. But your definition makes Moses and the prophets alike infidels with Korah, and you send them all to hell together, or else how do you separate yourself from such logic?

You are an infidel to the holy priesthood of God by which the holy Scriptures were written; whereas I am not.

Your faith is the substance of the things you hope for; and that is the general prevalence of false faith and the worship of what you know nothing about. I pray you be honest! J. S. C.

PARMA, Mich.

INTEREST.

DEAR INDEX:—

Here are some questions, with such answers as my present light enables me to give:—

Does not a man own his own labor? Yes.

Should not a man be compensated for his labor? Yes.

May he not therefore properly hire out his labor at fair remuneration? Yes.

If he work just enough to provide equitably shelter, food, and clothes, are not these shelter, food, and clothes his to use, wear out, and eat up? Yes.

If he work enough to create values over and above shelter, food, and clothes, does he not own these values? Yes.

Are not these stored-up values so much labor stored-up? Yes.

May not a man hire out his past labor stored-up, as reasonably and rightfully as he may hire out his present labor *in transitu*? Yes.

Is this interest? Yes.

If equitable pay should be based *exclusively* on the damage or sacrifice involved in the labor, does it not seem to follow that success and skill have nothing to do with the value of work? Yes.

Is it not certain that poor work may involve as much damage to the laborer as good work? Yes.

If a man by incredible labor and sacrifice produce a book which nobody can read, or a poor machine which nobody can use, or a toy which does not strike the fancy of any children, and if he be paid according to his damage or sacrifice of himself, will he not be paid for the production of useless things? Yes.

Is not this absurd? Yes.

Is it not then plain that a man must not only work, but work usefully in order equitably to expect to receive pay? Yes.

Is not this the same as to say that not merely sacrifice to the laborer but utility to society must enter into the determination of price? Yes.

Then if the greater the sacrifice the greater the price, so the greater the utility the greater the price, in equity? Yes.

Is not stored-up labor, or value over and above necessary consumption, of very great utility? Yes.

Is it not what furnishes the means and opportunity for all the higher arts, educations, and adornments of life? Yes.

Is it not, then, possible that the steadily reproductive power accorded to stored-up labor may be the price set on its high utility? Yes.

Is this interest? Yes. J. VILA BLAKE.

QUINCY, Ill., Sept. 27, 1877.

OBSCURE PASSAGES.—A good story, no doubt mythical, is told of Jacob Bœhme, the cobbler, famous for his profound philosophical works. On his death-bed, his disciples came to him, eager to obtain explanations of obscure passages in his writings, before he was taken away. He relieved their difficulties, with a single exception. One passage puzzled him, and he said: "My children, when I wrote this, I understood the meaning, and no doubt the omniscient God did. He may still remember it, but I have forgotten." A similar incident is told of the German poet Klopstock, which has the advantage of being true. Some of his admirers made a journey from Gottenberg to Hamburg to see him in his old age, and ask him to explain a difficult passage in his works. They were young students, and running over with enthusiasm. Klopstock received them graciously, read the passage, and then said: "I cannot recollect what I meant when I wrote it; but I remember it was the finest thing I ever wrote, and you cannot do better than devote your lives to the discovery of its meaning."

SCEPTICISM is making great ravages among the non-Catholic young men of the country. In the Harvard College graduating class of the past scholastic year the number of infidels equalled the highest total of any one religious denomination. There were nineteen of them, and six others were undecided as to their religious opinions. Every man exerts some influence for good or bad upon those with whom he comes in contact, and the character of the influence of these unbelievers is easily inferred. To counteract their influence and the materialistic tendencies of our age, of which they are the sufferers, we need men strongly grounded in their faith, whose religious convictions will be solidly built; and who, besides, will be able to meet and defeat these unhappy graduates of Harvard in the realms of science. To produce such men a Catholic university is necessary. When will our prelates begin the work?—*Mirror*.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1877. WHOLE NO. 409.

CALL FOR THE FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS
OF THE
NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

BOSTON, Sept. 25, 1877.

In obedience to the Constitution of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July First to July Fourth, 1876, the Directors hereby issue a call for the FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS of the League, to be held at Rochester, N. Y., October 26, 27, and 28, 1877.

After the hearing of reports and election of officers for the ensuing year, the most important business of the convention will be to decide whether the National Liberal League shall adopt a political platform and nominate candidates for the Presidential election of 1880; and, if so, whether this platform shall advocate the following principles and measures, to wit:—

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, etc.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

In order to give to this First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League the representative character befitting the gravity of the questions which will come before it for decision, the Directors suggest and earnestly recommend to the liberals of the United States that they immediately organize themselves throughout the country in *Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues*, each of which, on receipt of a charter, will be entitled to send its President, Secretary, and three other members as DELEGATES. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay. Charters are indispensable to secure the unity of organization without which efficient coöperation is impossible; but Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues remain absolutely independent, and recognize no authority in the National League to control their action in any particular. The small fee of ten dollars (which will surely be grudged by no one) is only desired in order to help defray the necessary expenses involved in the conventions and other public work of the National League, *which has no salaried officers*. Life-memberships of twenty-five dollars, annual memberships of one dollar, and voluntary donations, will also be gladly received for these public purposes. Time presses; and it is hoped that hundreds of new Local Leagues will be organized forthwith. Any existing Liberal society can be represented in the convention by applying for and receiving a charter in the usual way, and transmitting to the Secretary a certified copy of the following vote:—

"*Voted*, That this society, desiring to coöperate with the National Liberal League in the furtherance of its general and specific objects, hereby declares itself a Local Auxiliary Liberal League, according to the true intent of the Constitution of said National Liberal League, and has duly elected the following persons to represent it at the next Annual Congress of the same; to wit, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——."

Persons desiring full information respecting the history, principles, and objects of the National Liberal League, in the shape of a closely printed book of 190 octavo pages, can obtain it by sending for *Equal Rights in Religion: Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals*. Price (reduced), in advance, paper covers, 75 cents; handsomely bound in cloth, $1.00.

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By order of the Directors of the National Liberal League:

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GLIMPSES.

MR. CRITTENDEN, of Rochester, announces that the best accommodations for delegates to the Congress can be had at the Clinton Hotel for $1.50 a day.

A NEW Local Auxiliary Liberal League was organized at Rochester, N. Y., on October 21. The officers are—President, Mrs. Amy Post; Secretary, Willet E. Post; Treasurer, Emily G. Beebe.

PROFESSOR A. L. RAWSON, of New York city, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Manhattan Liberal Club, is expected to attend the Rochester Congress and speak on "Compulsory Education, State and National."

A NEW Local Auxiliary Liberal League was organized at New Haven, Connecticut, by members of the Free Lecture Association, on October 21. Messrs. F. A. Hermance and E. R. Whiting were appointed delegates to the Rochester Congress.

THE NEW YORK Society of Humanity voted on October 16 to declare itself auxiliary to the National Liberal League, take out a charter, and send as delegates to Rochester the following gentlemen: Hugh B. Brown, G. L. Henderson, and A. L. Rawson.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Rev. A. A. Roberts, Baraboo, Wis., 174; from Mr. Daniel Dutton, Dallas, Mich., 29; from Mr. Thomas Dugan, Albany, N.Y., 51. Total thus far received—8,621.

HON. R. S. MCCORMICK, of Franklin, Pa., writes that he shall probably attend the Rochester Congress and take part in the proceedings, though unable to prepare a written lecture. Judge McCormick is one of the most influential liberals in his State, and heartily sympathizes with the objects of the National Liberal League.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE, auxiliary to the National League, has been organized at Hudson, Michigan. President, Mr. L. R. Peirson; Secretary, Dr. F. O. Baker. Mr. James S. Bedel, to whose exertions the formation of the new League is largely due, writes that it will be represented at Rochester by delegates or by letter.

THE ST. JOSEPH (Missouri) Liberal League, at a meeting held in that city on October 14, voted to declare itself auxiliary to the National Liberal League and to take out a charter. The officers are P. V. Wise, President; H. W. Kastor, Vice-President; H. Brunsing, Secretary; Wm. Kneer, Treasurer. Messrs. H. W. Kastor, Jacob Sprinkel, and P. V. Wise were elected delegates to the Rochester Congress.

A "CATTARAUGUS COUNTY" Liberal League has been formed, auxiliary to the National League, at Randolph, N.Y. The officers are—President, H. L. Green; Corresponding Secretary, John Hammond; Recording Secretary, A. L. Brainard; Treasurer, Dr. Frederic Larkin. The following delegates were elected to represent the new League at Rochester: Hon. J. E. Weeden, Dr. Frederic Larkin, A. L. Brainard, John Hammond, and H. L. Green.

MR. JOHN G. JENKINS writes from Denver, Colorado: "Very fortunately Mr. Charles Roth is going East on business, and he was elected to represent the Denver Liberal League at Rochester. We have organized a State League, somewhat after the plan of Central New York. Mr. Roth will represent it at the convention along with Mr. B. F. Underwood. Dr. York, of California, will deliver a course of lectures here under the auspices of the Denver Liberal League; he is on his way East, and intends visiting Rochester at the convention."

ELDER F. W. EVANS, the famous Shaker preacher and editor, writes in response to an invitation to speak at the Rochester Congress: "The points in Nos. 1, 2, and 3 [of the Call] I fully concur in. I should come as a Shaker, not as a politician. We, as a religious body, want an entire separation of Church and State. Our Order cannot exist in any other nation to-day. If the sectarians succeed in getting theology into our Constitution, Shakers would be martyred. A secular government would be good for all parties who do not seek to force their theology upon others. Of all others, Shakers are in dead earnest about this matter of a government that shall confine its functions and powers to the protection of all citizens, male and female. Let the Materialist, Deist, Atheist, non-professors of Christianity, Mohammedans, and 'Heathen Chinee' be perfectly free. Then the sects cannot injure each other."

AT THE Episcopal General Convention in this city, on October 16, Rev. Edward Livermore, of Minnesota, offered the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That the house of deputies, believing that union of Church and State in the present condition of the world is prejudicial to the best interests of religion, hereby expresses its sympathy with the efforts now being made for the severance of that union in England." This resolution, according to the *Advertiser's* report, "was received with expressions of disapproval, and was promptly laid on the table by an almost unanimous vote." Could there be a more significant indication of opinion, on the part of this supreme representative assembly of one of the largest and most influential denominations in the country, that *Church and State ought to be united?* Such a construction may be disavowed by some; but the public peril of such thought and feeling as led to so emphatic a rebuke of the secular theory of government is overwhelmingly evident to the clear-eyed. The whole tendency of the Christian Church is to de-Americanize America. It betrays itself conspicuously in the recent vote of the Universalists to favor the "God-in-the-Constitution" movement, and quite as plainly in this refusal of the Episcopalians to sympathize with the efforts of England to rid herself of the curse of an Established Church. It is absolute "judicial blindness" not to see the meaning of such things as these, and almost criminal negligence to slight the warning they give. The Rochester Congress will not be held a day too soon.

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RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

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The Scepticism of Believers.

BY LESLIE STEPHEN.

Not long ago an interesting question was discussed by a respectable and presumably competent meeting. Why, it was asked, does not the spiritual warfare against the unbeliever meet with greater success? A "materialistic atheism," as a high authority assured us, is "in the air"; and the malign contagion spreads in spite of Bampton lecturers, Christian Evidence Societies, and other apologetic machinery. At all which it is hard not to exclaim, *Sancta simplicitas!* Can you really not guess this very open secret? Men die of many diseases; creeds of one,—the disease of being found out. Do you ever remember that David Hume died a century ago, and that the matter which absorbs the intellects of the most zealous part of the clergy at the present day is the "eastward position"? When such a spectacle as the Folkestone case is presented to gods and men, what wonder that unbelief spreads? If a more articulate reply were requested, one might perhaps say that the old belief is perishing chiefly for two reasons: first, because it has become a sham belief; secondly, because it is a negative belief. No man can make converts who does not believe what he says; nor will he, as a general rule, make them rapidly, when his creed consists chiefly in denying the strongest and most fruitful convictions of his neighbors. I shall not here inquire into the first of these explanations; but it may be worth while briefly to defend the other, which, indeed, is, at first sight, in greater need of defence.

It sounds paradoxical to declare that the Orthodox belief is essentially sceptical. The infidel is popularly identified with the Mephistopheles, whose essence it is to deny. He denies, it is said, a hereafter and a divine element in the present. That denial implies the abandonment of the most cheering hopes and highest aspirations of mankind. To bring the charge of scepticism against those who are fighting against materialism and atheism is at best to indulge in a frivolous *tu quoque*. A parallel phrase, however, is common on the lips of the Orthodox. It is a commonplace to taunt sceptics with credulity; nor is the taunt without foundation. So long as men of science continue to dabble in the filth of "Spiritualism" it will have a meaning. A confessor is, after all, better than a medium; and I would rather revere the miracles of Lourdes than grovel before the trickery of a Yankee conjurer. Moreover, to leave a disgusting subject, the remark is really significant. To speak brutally (as is sometimes pleasant and healthy), one might say that faith is often used to signify belief in my nonsense; credulity, belief in somebody else's nonsense. Now, it is unfortunately true that the rejection of one kind of nonsense is not a sufficient security for the rejection of all nonsense; it follows that scepticism and credulity may mean the very same thing: the acceptance, that is, of a doctrine which is sceptical so far as it contradicts my opinion, and credulous so far as it falls in with yours. It is worth while, however, to look at the matter a little more closely.

Scepticism, in the most absolute sense of the word—a rejection of belief as belief,—is, if not a rigidly unthinkable, at least a practically impossible state of mind. Metaphysicians may play with such a doctrine; as they may urge that it is a legitimate consequence of their opponents' theories. Nobody doubts, however, that if they succeed in fastening that imputation upon any system, they have established a legitimate *reductio ad absurdum*. As a matter of fact, absolute scepticism does not exist. It is rather impossible than erroneous. There is a vast body of truth in regard to which the thinkers generally known as sceptical are fully as confident as their opponents. Mr. Mill, for example, was just as certain as Descartes in any given case that two and two made four, whatever doubts he may have suggested as to the ultimate ground of belief. Indeed, the same thinkers who are charged with scepticism are equally charged with an excessive belief in the invariability and certainty of the so-called "laws of Nature." They are reviled equally for being sceptical and for being dogmatic; for having too few convictions and for having too many. No man, of any

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school, really denies the possibility of attaining certainty in regard to all such propositions as admit of verification by experience. The real problem discussed is not,—ought we to believe, but *why* ought we to believe that two and two make four, or that Rome exists, or that the planets obey the laws of gravitation? The believer in necessary truths asserts by the very form of his argument that his adversaries do in fact believe, and cannot help believing, the truths which he alleges to be necessary, though they may deny the propriety of that epithet. The thorough-going empiricist may suggest that in some sense the most evident truths would cease to be valid under some other conditions; but he does not deny them to be valid within the whole sphere of possible experience. By attacking the supposed distinction between different classes of belief, he really elevates the claims of empirical knowledge as much as he depresses that of *à priori* knowledge. We can no more alter the absolute intensity of belief in general than we can change our centre of gravity without some external point of support. One set of thinkers holds that we must pierce to the absolute in order to provide foundation for the whole edifice of belief. Their antagonists declare that such a foundation can never be discovered, but they add that it is not needed. As the universe no longer requires the proverbial world-sustaining tortoise, so the world of belief requires no reference to anything outside of experience.

The point is obscured by the habit of speaking of "belief" absolutely, without describing its particular contents, and of proceeding to describe it as in some sense a creditable, whereas unbelief is taken to be a discreditable, state of mind. The inaccuracy of the assumption follows from the obvious simple consideration that belief *is* unbelief. It is the very same thing seen from the other side. It is a mere question of accidental convenience whether a belief shall be expressed positively or negatively; whether I shall say, man is mortal, or man is not immortal. The believer at Rome is, by virtue of his belief, the sceptic at Mecca, and inversely. The believer in the Ptolemaic system has neither more nor fewer beliefs than the believer in the Copernican system; he has simply a different set of beliefs. To say, therefore, that belief *qua* belief is better or worse than unbelief involves a contradiction in terms. In the very act of asserting we deny; and it is a transparent fallacy, though an example of a very common class of fallacy, to give an absolute and universal character to a proposition which by its very nature can be only true in a particular relation. Belief and unbelief being identical in nature, either is good just so far as it is reasonable or logical; that is to say, so far as it conforms to the rules which secure a conformity between the world of thought and the world of fact. In spite of all the slipshod rhetoric about faith and reason, no other test is admissible, or can even be put into coherent and articulate shape. If we still speak of scepticism as a mental vice, we must mean a reluctance, not to believe in general, but to believe what is reasonable; and in this sense the most sceptical man is he who prefers the least weight of evidence to the greatest.

The popular line of distinction corresponds, indeed, to a very important divergence of thought; though not, in any strict use of language, to a distinction between belief and unbelief. That man is generally called a believer (and I shall use the word in that sense) who asserts, while the unbeliever denies, the possibility of rising to a transcendental world. The sphere of the believer's creed is therefore wider, it may be said, than that of the unbeliever. His world transcends or envelops that of his opponent, and he accepts a whole category of propositions in regard to which the unbeliever maintains the neutral attitude of absolute doubt. But this statement is at least inadequate. As a so-called disbelief is simply a belief differently stated, so a belief about the other world, so far as it can be called a belief at all, and certainly so far as it can have any influence, is of necessity a belief about this. Beliefs belonging to the transcendental sphere may be of the highest importance so far as they modify or so far as they give strength and coherence to beliefs about the ordinary world of experience. They give the adjective which modifies the meaning of the substantive. But, except as influencing our conduct, belief about heaven and hell would be of no more importance than a belief about the inhabitants of Sirius; and, so far as it influences our conduct, it is capable of translation into terms of ordinary experience. That other world upon which the believer gazes is either a superfluity or is essentially a new light cast upon this world. You may, for various reasons, talk about the light abstractedly from the thing lighted, but it might as well be darkness except as revealing some new aspect of concrete objects. The dogmas of the believer may extend farther or pierce deeper than those of the unbeliever, but their vitality is entirely within the region to which both have access. The creed about the beyond, when not a set of words, is but another mode of stating a belief about the present. The vulgar epicurean infers from the shortness of life that eating and drinking are the only pleasures worth enjoyment. The ascetic infers from the same fact that sensual pleasures are worthless. Each has as definite a creed as his rival, and as capable of expression in peremptory terms. Whether we express doubts as to the reality of future or of present pleasures, or beliefs as to the reality of their evils, we may equally have a dogmatic creed capable of serving for a rule of conduct. Every genuine belief, in short, which refers to the transcendental world, carries with it a reference to this, which may be accepted or denied by those who would in terms most narrow the sphere of belief.

This illustration, however, suggests the really important distinction. Some creeds do, in fact, supply motives for consistent and vigorous action, while others produce a paralysis of the will. This is not because one creed expresses an absolutely greater quantity of belief—if one may say so—than its rivals. Creeds which once prompted to the most energetic action have become simply obstructive, like Mohammedanism; and some of the most intense beliefs in the world, as some forms of fatalism, are more depressing than any doubts. But, as a general rule, creeds must lose their stimulating power when they tend to produce doubt in presence of the great emergencies of life. If one creed gives a definite precept when its opposite leaves the mind undecided between conflicting precepts, the first will be best adapted for energetic persons. Such a creed, moreover, can be most simply expressed in terms of affirmation when its opposite most easily takes the negative form. It is more natural, that is, to give the positive form to the rule which prescribes one out of a dozen courses of action than to the rule which asserts them to be all equally promising. And, in this sense, the positive is more likely to be stimulating than the negative form, or, if we choose so to speak, belief than scepticism. We might infer that, as a creed ceases to possess its old power, the negations which have always been latent in its affirmations will tend to assume greater prominence. They must, in fact, become more distinctly operative. The creed is depressing when it restrains more frequently than it impels. But the tendency is obscured by the habit of using the old forms; and the creed which is most sceptical in this sense—most incapable, that is, of suggesting powerful motives and efficient restraints—may still express itself in the positive language. We must decide upon its real tendency, not by simply examining the form of its utterance, nor by asking how many beliefs it expresses, but by inquiring, as well as we can, which side of the creed is most important in relation to the conditions of the sense. Such an inquiry will be facilitated by bringing into distinct light those implicit denials which are overlooked in the ordinary statements. If we thus ask what it is that the Christian faith, as now existing, actually denies, we may possibly find some explanation of its failure to meet the unbeliever.

One or two familiar arguments from the evidence-writers may give a clew to the inquiry. A man believes in the immaculate conception. He denies, then, that a certain event took place in accordance with laws exemplified in all similar cases. He impugns in this instance the validity of that inductive process upon which he counts at every step in daily life. He is a scientific sceptic in the strictest sense, for he is throwing doubt upon the trustworthiness of one of the primary ratiocinative processes. The same is true, whenever an event, admitted by all parties to have occurred, is ascribed by one party to supernatural interference. An amiable apologist expressed his surprise the other day that men of science should take into account such trifles as the existence of flint implements, and refuse to take into account the existence of the Bible and of Christianity. Surely he never heard of the men of science who denied the existence of the Bible and of Christianity. Which man really declines "to take a fact into account,"—the man who declares it to be altogether exceptional and supernatural, or the man who regards it as a result of the normal operation of recognized forces? Which implies the greatest "scepticism,"—the assertion that somebody wrote the book of Genesis by faculties similar to those which enabled another to write Homer, or the assertion that it is utterly impossible that anybody would have written down the legends of the Garden of Eden and the Ark, without the direct assistance of God Almighty? If it is sceptical to deny one agency, it is equally sceptical to deny the other. What is given to Jehovah is taken from Moses.

In the more common case of miracles, the fact is denied as well as the explanation. The "sceptic" refuses to believe the myth of the Magi, because the story involves impossibilities and rests upon no evidence. Somebody—we know not who—wrote—we know not when—on some authority—we know not what—a story which involves a belief in doctrines shown to be false, and showed, by ignoring all difficulties, his entire innocence of critical principles. To disbelieve the story is called sceptical. Why? The disbelief implies the assumption that evidence is fallible; and that, in particular, unfounded stories may obtain currency in a sect when they tend to honor its founder. Does any human being deny those assumptions? Nay, does not every one who asserts the truth of this particular legend implicitly assert them in regard to every other creed but his own? The so-called sceptic does not differ from the believer in regard to any general principles of evidence. He merely asserts the evidence to be non-existent in this particular case, and refuses to believe without evidence. The phenomenon, admitted on all hands, is the existence of a certain narrative. One thinker classes it with authentic history; the other classes it with a well-known variety of popular legend. Neither denies the existence of much authentic history or of much groundless legend. If we accept as the measure of the "scepticism" involved the weight of evidence resisted, he is most sceptical who is most illogical; and it is as sceptical in one man to deny the capacity of the human imagination as in the other to deny the intervention of a supernatural agent.

It is, of course, open to the believer to show that the rejection of this particular story involves the rejection of a whole narrative resting upon sufficient evidence. The argument is of the less importance, because miracles in this sense are now seldom alleged as evidence. People have become sensitive to the inconsistency involved in basing a theory of the universe upon the alleged exceptions to the general order. But another argument, now put forward with more confidence, illustrates in a more important case the scepticism of believers. The character of Christ, we are told, is absolutely perfect. The moral code which he preached is equally perfect. The spiritual force which he revealed is the only one capable of swaying human nature. The appearance of such a teacher, the promulgation of such a code, and the revelation of such truths, constitute an event in history so unique that it can be explained by nothing short of a divine intervention. Nay, the discontinuity implied is of so vast an order that nothing can explain the facts short of the stupendous miracle of the incarnation of the Ruler of the universe. If the unbeliever grants substantially the facts alleged, he has still to discuss the real problem. Grant Christ to be perfect,—is the difference between him and the best of his race such that it must correspond to the difference between man and infinity? Grant his teaching to be of flawless purity and unrivalled power,—are we to infer that nothing but the inconceivable catastrophe suggested can explain the knowledge and the power displayed by the founder of Christianity?

The question is, briefly, whether the facts thus assumed are exceptional or miraculous. Every fact that ever did or will exist is in some sense exceptional; that is to say, it exemplifies the working of certain invariable laws under conditions not elsewhere precisely realized. Given the necessary conditions, we must always obtain extreme cases, which do not contradict, but confirm, the general law. One comet has the most eccentric orbit; one man the most gigantic stature; one artist the loftiest and finest genius. But the comet obeys the laws of gravitation as rigorously as the most domestic planet; the giant is a physiological curiosity, but does not imply any exception to physiological rules; and we admit that the genius of a Phidias implies, not the incarnation of a god, but the occurrence of a special set of social and other conditions. A giant one thousand feet in height, made of ordinary flesh and blood, would be an impossibility; or, in other words, his existence would be miraculous; but giants of eight or nine feet have existed, and may therefore exist, without implying any breach of natural law. The question of their possibility must be decided by our knowledge, derived by ordinary scientific processes, of the nature of flesh and blood and the limits of the variability of the species. Similarly, to prove the divinity of Christ by such reasoning, we must prove the superiority of Christ and of Christian morality to be not simply unmistakable, but to be so great that it is beyond the reach of the most exceptional nature placed under the most exceptional circumstances; and, further, if the divinity of the teacher is to be established, this superiority must be so great as to be fairly called infinite. Briefly, then, the believer denies, while the unbeliever asserts, that under appropriate conditions human nature may produce a Christ without any breach of the ordinary laws, though it may be that we are in presence of an extreme case of those laws. The test by which the validity of either conclusion must be established is the correspondence of the rival theories with our independent knowledge of mankind. Hence it is easy to note the assumptions involved. The unbeliever, basing his judgment upon experience, has formed his estimate of human nature from the facts before him. He sees that the race has produced many great religious teachers, among whom he may (or may not) reckon Christ to be the foremost. He believes that his creed can produce a Christ, because it has produced a Christ. It might conceivably appear that the classification of Christ as a man was erroneous, and that there was an insuperable gulf between him and all who externally resembled him. The unbeliever denies the existence of this discrepancy, and holds that, though Christ may exceed the ordinary stature even more distinctly than Phidias exceeded the average sculptor, or Shakspeare the average poet, the excess does not exceed the recognized limits of variability of the race, as inferred from observation. Genius exists, and Christ was (on this hypothesis) the greatest of moral geniuses. The procedure of the believer is different. He has assumed, more or less explicitly, that all virtue is supernatural; that Christianity and Judaism represent the true light which comes from God, of which a few scattered beams alone have fallen upon other creeds. Human nature, then, is merely the residuum left, when all good impulses are assumed to come from without. Our nature, in this pure phrase, is corrupt; our heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. From ourselves comes nothing but lust, hatred, and the love of darkness. It is only consistent to infer, when this has been assumed, that human nature cannot produce a Christ. But, when this has been assumed, the question has been begged. Instead of framing our theory from instances actually observed, including Christ, it has been framed by summarily excluding all great teachers as either the direct or indirect channels of a supernatural impulse. Christ must be God, because all men are devils.

The scepticism involved in such "belief" is obvious. It implies a denial of the natural goodness of man,—a refusal to believe that purity, love, and heroism, of a certain order, can spring spontaneously in the soil of human nature. Where such growths are to be found, they must be taken to have been transplanted from a supernatural paradise. They are the sporadic plants which have strayed beyond the guarded walls of Eden, and can only struggle against the foul, indigenous products by the constant care of the Divine Gardener. Every living theology is saturated with such scepticism; for our conviction of the necessity of supernatural aid is measured by our sense of human impotence. The doctrine of the corruption of human nature is the central doctrine of all vigorous theological creeds. The belief in God is, in this sense, simply the oppo-

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site pole of disbelief in man. They are reciprocal dogmas, allied as the light and the shadow. The doctrines of redemption and the atonement are realized in proportion as this need is felt, and die away or are rationalized into sheer no-meaning wherever it becomes faint. And therefore the belief in the supernatural character of a religion is but the other side of a scepticism as to human virtue, when not reposing upon a supernatural basis, enlightened by supernatural revelation, and stimulated by hopes and fears of a supernatural world.

This brings us in sight of that ground of hostility to "unbelief" which has the greatest weight with a very large class of believers. A legitimate objection to part with the ancient creed may rest upon philosophical, or moral, or æsthetic grounds. Ultimately, it may be said, the questions are all one. The true, the good, and the beautiful are, we may admit, in some sense identical. The one final question is, therefore, "What is the truth?" The æsthetic objection to change becomes contemptible when it admits as a possibility that a belief known to be false may still be beautiful. The moral objection becomes at best a respectable prejudice when it implies a reluctance to press philosophical doubts to their ultimate issue. But, while accepting this most emphatically it may be worth while to point out what are the assumptions involved in the moral objection without examining their ultimate validity. It is asserted, in a great variety of forms, that the sense of duty is based upon some kind of belief in theology. Whether embodied in the blunt assertion that men would be murderers, liars, and adulterers, but for hell-fire, or diluted into the more abstract theory that we cannot preserve our loftiest ethical conceptions without preserving our belief in the divine order of the universe, this doctrine is not merely proclaimed by mere bullies of the pulpit, but is expounded by serious thinkers worthy of all respect, and therefore represents a force with which we clearly have to reckon. Let us endeavor to draw out in articulate shape the positions tacitly assumed by its defenders.

Perhaps the most important task for philosophers at the present day is that of placing morality upon a scientific basis. We cannot expect that any moral theory will yet deserve the name of a science. But we may hope to prepare the way. We may confirm principles already established by empirical methods, show in what direction and in what sense they are capable of modification, and save them from a dangerous association with the decaying and inconsistent theories of theological metaphysics. The first condition of success is the rejection of the main contention of the theologian. We must get rid of the whole scheme of thought which asserts, more or less explicitly, the necessity of a supernatural basis for moral beliefs. If morality is to be scientific in method, though not a completely coördinated body of scientific truths, we must find our data within Nature; that is to say, within the sphere accessible to the ordinary methods of investigation. Morality, that is, like political or sanitary sciences, must be placed upon a sound inductive basis, if we admit, as most serious thinkers virtually admit, that no other basis is trustworthy.

The constructive method follows from this primary assumption. Morality must rest upon the truths which, if fully ascertained, would form the science of "sociology." We can, it is assumed, determine with sufficient accuracy what are the laws which regulate the development of the social organism, and what are the conditions imposed upon it by its environment. We can infer what are the individual instincts which contribute to its growth and stability; and what, consequently, are the laws, a recognition and acceptance of which would be favorable to its healthy development. Laying them down we should virtually construct the moral code. Further, we should investigate the process by which the race has gradually felt out certain rules essential to its welfare. We should find that they have neither been imposed from without nor deduced from abstract speculation. The race has discovered that the practice of murder is injurious to its welfare, as it has discovered that intoxication is prejudicial to health,—by trying the experiment on a large scale. The so-called intuitions will of course be deprived of their supernatural character, and regarded simply as assumptions verified by experience, and now capable of independent proof, though not originally discovered by abstract reasoning. They will have the weight due to the experience of ages, and in their main outlines may be taken to be just as much beyond the reach of possible refutation as any of the primary data of observation. They are as certain as any of those simple rules which are confirmed by daily and hourly experience,—as certain as the laws that men are mortal, that fire burns, and water drowns; and such certainty, if it does not satisfy metaphysicians, is enough to regulate practice. We should infer, again, that the development of society is conditioned by, and tends in its turn to stimulate, the growth of those higher instincts which are unintelligible in regard to the isolated unit, but essential elements of the great binding forces of society. We should see how their growth is interwoven with the growth of the intellectual and emotional faculties, and determine the conditions favorable to their strength, and calculated to make them contribute to individual as well as to social welfare. We should then be in a position to examine the nature of the most efficient sanctions of morality. How is an observance of the rules essential to the welfare of the race to be enforced upon its individual members? The unbeliever has to admit that anti-social instincts exist, and will exist. He is not concerned with the difficulty, which has perplexed theologians since the days of Job, as to the unequal distribution of rewards and penalties in this world, nor with the solution reached by postulating a complementary world in which all the wrongs will be redressed. He may hope that the anti-social forces will finally be crushed out; but he sees that the process must be slow and stern. If, on his view, justice does not always strike the individual sinner, it falls unrelentingly on the society. If a disregard of morality is nothing but a disregard of the conditions of social welfare, the larger organism is certain to suffer in the long-run for an erroneous or degrading standard. The negative guarantee for the triumph of good principles is, in the last resort, that evil means social degeneration and ultimate destruction. But as the unbeliever holds that the social instincts are in the strictest sense natural; that they tend to strengthen and adapt themselves to the growing needs of society; and that they survive the decay of the particular dialects in which men have uttered their emotions and their speculations,—he may reasonably hope that society will develop itself and reach a higher moral standard by a direct growth and at a smaller cost of error and consequent suffering. The ceaseless struggle between good and evil implies the existence of impulses tending both ways; but it may be hoped that, as the race becomes more intelligent and more distinctly conscious of its aims, the victory of good may be won at a smaller cost of error and opposition.

If this be a brief indication of the main lines of the unbeliever's moral theory, we have to ask at what point it conflicts with the believer's tenets. It is undoubtedly possible to state the believer's theory in such a form as to minimize or entirely remove the opposition. Diminish the anthropomorphic element as much as possible; identify God with Nature,—and theology becomes little more than a guarantee for the solidity of our methods. If the belief in the uniformity of Nature implies a belief in the divine Ruler of Nature, and, conversely, the belief in the order implies merely a belief in a regular order, the question becomes one of those already noticed. We do not ask whether, but why, we believe. One party thinks it necessary to get behind experience; it is not content with knowing without also knowing that it knows, or satisfied with the certainty of a doctrine unless it can be also called necessary. The other party is content to regard belief as an ultimate fact, and, to assume, without finding an *à priori* deduction for the so-called uniformity of Nature. I am content to observe that so far there need be no controversy as to practice; the believer and the unbeliever are at one in their methods and results, though differing as to the cause of their validity. It is mere waste of time to bandy charges of scepticism and credulity. But, further, I must say that a theology of this neutral tint and abstract character is not one which really governs men's minds. It is only in so far as the scientific conception is modified that the difference is really important. The question of whether or not it requires a certain guarantee is little better than a scholastic puzzle, except so far as it helps the re-introduction in a disguised shape of ancient fallacies.

When we turn to that kind of theology which undoubtedly makes a relevant contention, we are at once met by a significant difficulty. A belief may fairly be called sceptical in the practical sense which confirms equally a number of conflicting theories. Morality, you say, depends upon theology. Then, is all theological morality identical? It is little better than a juggle to tell us that you alone have an absolutely certain rule if it turns out that you give an equally plausible foundation for mutually contradictory rules. Now, there is no dispute between theologians, or between anybody worth notice, as to the value of certain well-known rules. Nobody explicitly denies that chastity, truthfulness, and mercy are good qualities. Widely as systems differ, the ordinary code—kill not, steal not, lie not, and so forth—may be regarded as definitively sanctioned by the experience of the race. But go a step further: consider any of the really open questions, and you will find that theologians can take diametrically opposite positions. There is no theory of morality which may not be expressed in theological language. There are theological utilitarians and theological intuitionists. One theologian says that man could not have discovered the moral law without a revelation; another, that morality is a science of observation, and that God simply orders us to pursue the greatest happiness of the greatest number; a third holds morality to be deducible by the pure reason, and infers that revelation and experience are alike superfluous. On one system, the essence of theology is the proclamation of future rewards and penalties. On another, the utterly unselfish love of God is the only foundation of true virtue, which is destroyed so far as it is adulterated with personal interests. One theologian regards the virtues of the heathen as splendid vices; another, as proofs of the universality of the Divine influence. One argues that all natural impulses are good, because Nature is God's work; his opponent replies that all Nature is under a curse, and man's heart corrupt at the core. One makes it the foundation of his system that God rules the happiness of man here; another peremptorily declares all happiness here to be an illusion. One holds asceticism to be sheer folly; another holds that it is the only road to heaven. The antinomian thinks that, as God has once for all elected or rejected him, his actions are of no importance; the sacerdotalist thinks that by accumulating meritorious observances he can establish an indefeasible claim upon his Creator. One thinks it blasphemy against God's omnipotence to claim any share in the work of salvation; another calls it an insult to God's justice to suppose that salvation will not be conceded to good works. One sees in God's mercy an assurance that all men will be ultimately happy; another infers from God's righteousness that the vast majority will be sentenced to endless torture.
—*Fortnightly Review.*

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

RENAN'S GOSPELS.

II.

PARIS, Sept. 3, 1877.

I have shown that the Gospel of St. Matthew is not only an amplification of the Gospel of St. Mark, but that many important additions are to be found in it, which are, so to speak, the condensation and consolidation of the legend which was formed after the death of Jesus. Renan regards this Gospel as "the most important book of Christianity,—the most important book that ever was written. . . . In one sense, the composition of the Gospels is, after the personal action of Christ, the capital fact of early Christianity,—I may add, of the history of humanity. The book habitually read by all the world is a book in which the priest is always found in fault, in which the cultured men are all hypocrites, in which all the lay authorities are rascals, in which all the rich are damned. This book, the most revolutionary and dangerous that ever existed, has been prudently put aside by the Catholic Church; but this Church could not hinder its bearing its fruits. The Gospels, severe towards sacerdotalism, scornful of austerity, indulgent towards the weak man who has a good heart, have been the perpetual nightmare of the hypocrite. The evangelical Christian has been an enemy of pedantic theology, of hierarchical pride, of the ecclesiastical spirit produced by the ages. The Middle Ages burnt him. Even now the grand invective of the twenty-third chapter of Matthew against the Pharisees is still the biting satire of those who cover themselves with the name of Christ, and whom Christ, if he came back to the world, would pursue with his whips." Everything seems to show that the Gospel was written in Syria for some Jews who knew little of Greek. It was attributed to St. Matthew, but the apostle was dead when this Gospel appeared.

Nothing is more interesting than Renan's account of the progress of Christian doctrines and ideas in the Roman world. There had been a sort of tolerance under the Flavians. The Christian ideas—we ought rather to say, the Judeo-Christian ideas—found their way into the imperial family after Titus, under the cruel despotism of Domitian. Many persons of the Roman aristocracy opened their ears to the new teaching; the Gospels were to them a sort of ideal refuge against the horrible cruelty of a ruler who seemed to be the incarnation of all evil, and who understood no other duty than to give ignoble pleasures to the multitude. The Jews lived in the suburbs of Rome; they had to pay a special tax,—the *fiscus judaicus*. Many Romans probably felt for them the sort of morbid curiosity which draws so many Russian aristocrats of our day towards communists and socialists. They left the old town of Servius Tullius, and roamed near the Egerian fountain. The collectors soon found that there were many men in this suburb who lived Judaically, though they were not real Jews. The *fiscus judaicus* was extended to all those who led what was then called a Jewish life. Josephus, who was a favorite at court, wrote the life of the Jewish people.

About that time one of the Christians of Rome undertook to write a Gospel for the Roman Church. This Gospel is known under the name of the Gospel of Luke. It is admirably analyzed by Renan. Lucanus, or Lucas, had followed Paul to Macedonia; had remained in Rome after the death of Paul; and his Gospel is thoroughly imbued with Paulinian ideas. "It is surely by mere conjecture," says Renan, "that we connect Luke and his Gospel with the Christian society of Rome at the time of the Flavians; but it is certain that the general character of the work of Luke agrees very well with such an hypothesis. Luke has a sort of Roman spirit; he likes order, hierarchy; he has a great respect for the centurions, for the Roman functionaries, and loves to represent them as sympathetic towards Christianity." Luke was probably ignorant of the Gospel of Matthew, but knew the Gospel of Mark. Living in Rome, he writes for the Gentiles; he does not speak of the Old Law; his Christianity is open; he writes for the oppressed of all nations, for the poor, for the people; he is a pure *Ebionite;* his Gospel is the hymn, the hosannah of all sufferers.

If you look at it from this point of view, you will find how naturally it takes its place under the ferocious and wicked Domitian. From childhood the brother of Titus had hated with an intense hate whatever was good, wise, reasonable; he abhorred all philosophers; they appeared to him like mute critics of his own selfishness; he liked evil as naturally as men eat bread. As soon as his imperial eye fell on the poor Jews and Christians of the suburbs, he was inclined to persecute them as naturally as a mischievous boy torments an insect. He did not admit that there could be any other religion and piety than the adoration of himself; was he not a god, and what gods could be better than himself? The *pious* Roman was the man who worshipped the emperor. Could there be anything more insulting to this all-powerful brute than the impudence of men who adored other gods than the gods of whom he had constituted himself the patron and protector? If many of the good emperors sincerely believed that the new doctrine was dangerous, what could Domitian think of it?

The persecution began, and this time many victims were found in the higher classes of society. The blood of the martyrs did not flow in vain, and we soon find the Roman Church drawing more strength from it. The time was approaching when the Church must come out of what may be called the atomic state and receive an organization. A discussion began between the Church of Rome and the Church of Corinth, where the Greek spirit was uppermost,—the frivolous and undisciplined spirit which did not respect hierarchy, and was open to perpetual inspiration and illumination.

"The great problem was near: what constitutes

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the Church? is it the people, the clergy, or the inspired prophets? The question had been already put in the time of Saint Paul, who had solved it in the true manner by mutual charity. Catholicism had its origin in Rome, since the Church of Rome traced its first rule. Precedence does not belong to spiritual gifts, to science, to distinction; it belongs to hierarchy, to the powers transmitted through canonical ordination, which goes back in an uninterrupted chain to the apostles. It was felt that a free church, such as was conceived by Jesus and by Saint Paul, was an anarchical utopia, which could produce nothing for the future. With evangelical liberty disorder was dreaded; it was not foreseen that with hierarchy uniformity and death would come in the end."

Renan believes that Domitilla and the family of Flavius Clemens entered into the conspiracy which put an end to the reign of Domitian; though Juvenal only says: "He could safely deprive Rome of its noblest souls, and nobody took arms to avenge them; he perished when he took it into his head to become an object of dread to cobblers. Thus was lost a man covered with the blood of the Lamias." All his statues were broken, his triumphal arches demolished; all was over with the *Flavia gens*. Domitilla ended her life in obscurity; her posterity can be traced till the end of the third century; her family vault became one of the first Christian catacombs.

Under Nerva the Church of Rome was quiet and prosperous. The Jews continued to be tormented with Messianic and Apocalyptic ideas. The Apocalypse of Ezra was published under this reign; the Christians read it with avidity. Ezra may be considered as the last prophet of Israel. The adoption of Trajan by Nerva was an event of great importance in the history of Christianity. As Renan says, "The age of monsters was past. The lofty race of Julius and of the families allied to him had shown to the world the strangest spectacle of folly, of greatness, and of perversity. The poison of the Roman blood seemed now exhausted. All the malice of Rome had transpired. It is the nature of an aristocracy which has led a disorderly life to become in its old days Orthodox and Puritan. The Roman nobility, the most terrible that ever existed, henceforth has extreme refinements of virtue, of delicacy, of modesty." This transformation was partly the work of Greece, of the moralists, and of the philosophers. For a hundred years it seemed as if philosophy was going to govern the world. The work of legislation was never so perfect, so exhaustive.

This epoch is very interesting, as it shows a curious mixture of democratic and of aristocratic ideas:—

"The opinion of the politicians of the time is that power belongs, by a sort of natural delegation, to the most honest, sensible, moderate men. This designation is made by fate; once *fatis designatus*, the Emperor governs the empire as the ram his flock or the bull his herd. With all this, the most republican language; in very good faith, these excellent rulers believed that they realized a state founded on the natural equality of all citizens, a royalty which had for its basis the respect of liberty. Liberty, justice, respect of opposition were their fundamental maxims. But these words, borrowed from the history of the Greek republics, had not much sense in the real history of the time. Civil equality did not exist; the Roman or Italian aristocracy preserved all its privileges; the Senate, reinstated by Nerva in its rights and dignities, was as much shut off as ever; the *cursus honorum* was the exclusive privilege of the nobles."

These noble families had alone preserved some of the old virtues of the republic; they had alone resisted the Oriental, Egyptian, and Syriac favorites of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero. Christianity had suffered from the contempt in which the Roman aristocrats held all Oriental influences. Twice, under Nero and under the Flavians, some Jews and Christians found their way into the imperial household. From Nerva to Commodus there was a gulf between the Jewish doctrine and the throne:—

"Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius hold themselves with regard to Judaism and Christianity at a sort of haughty distance. They don't know them, do not care to study them. Tacitus, who writes for the world, speaks of the Jews as of an exotic curiosity, a thing quite unknown to those for whom he writes, and his mistakes are surprising. . . . History must speak with respect of the honest and courageous politicians who dragged the world out of the mire into which it had been thrown by the last Julius and the last Flavius; but they had the imperfections which naturally grow out of their qualities. They were aristocrats, men imbued with traditions, with prejudices, like the English Tories, who draw their strength from their very prejudices; they were profoundly Roman. Convinced that whoever is not wealthy or well-born cannot be an honest man, they did not feel for the foreign doctrines the indulgence which had been felt by the Flavians, who were much more *bourgeois*. Their society, the men who share the power with them, Tacitus, Pliny, have the same contempt for the doctrines of the barbarians. During the second century an abyss seems to separate Christianity and the official world. The four great and good emperors are directly hostile to it, and it is only under the monster Commodus, as under Claudius, Nero, and the Flavians, that we shall find again 'Christians in the house of Cæsar.'"

The persecution which began against the Christians was administrative and permanent, not bloody and temporary. The Christians were constantly acting in violation of a law on associations; they were guilty of sacrilege, of offence against the majesty of the emperor, of nocturnal meetings. There were, besides, all the *flagitia nomini cohærentia*, all the crimes connected with the very name of a Christian, of a *publicus hostis*. The persecution became a sort of a low fever which lasted during the second and during the third century, till it ended in the terrible crisis of the beginning of the fourth century.

This fifth volume of Renan's great work ends with the reign of Trajan. He shows the part which was taken by the Jews during the great expeditions of Trajan in the East; how the Christian Church and the synagogue became more widely separated. While Christianity became more and more Latin and Greek, the Jews shut themselves completely up in an unintelligible Syro-Hebraic dialect. In his sixth volume, Renan will relate the history of Christianity under the reign of Adrain and Antoninus, the beginnings of gnosticism, the composition of the pseudo-johannic writings, the first apologists; show us how the episcopate became more and more important; how Christianity became more and more Greek and less Hebraic; how, finally, a Catholic Church was formed by the union of the provincial churches, and how its central authority was fixed in Rome. The new Bible was then complete, and was called the New Testament. The divinity of Christ was recognized in all the churches except the Syrian Church. Christianity had spread in every direction, in Gaul, in Africa. Christianity, in one word, is born, perfectly born; it is a child; it will still grow; but the child has all its organs; it lives in the open air; it is no longer an embryo.—*New York Nation.*

A GOOD DEAL of interest has been felt in the literary world as to the fate of Heinrich Heine's *Memoirs*, the notion of writing which occurred to him at the time he was in treaty with Julius Campe, his grinding publisher, for the issue of a complete edition of his works. During 1837 and '38 he was hard at work upon them, giving them all the time he could spare from his other labors. Two years later, he had completed four volumes, and he considered them his best prose production. In a letter to Campe, March 1, 1837, he writes of his intentions: "I am not inclined to give a short, dry sketch of my life, but a large book, a number of volumes, which shall embrace the whole story of the age in whose greatest movements I have participated, together with the most marked persons of my time—all Europe, all modern life, German affairs up to the July Revolution, the result of my costly and painful studies,—the book, in short, that is specially looked for from me." The same month he writes again: "Day and night am I engaged on my great work, the true romance of my life; and now I feel for the first time the whole worth of what I have lost by the burning of my papers in my brother's house. This is the next thing the public shall have from me." In September, 1840, he tells Campe that he had completed four volumes, and is well satisfied with them. Alluding to the intrigues and abuse of his enemies, he adds: "My inner spirit remains peaceful and cheerful notwithstanding, for I am used to defamation, and I feel that the future belongs to me. Even if I should die to-day, I should leave behind me four volumes of autobiography which represent my thought and striving; and which, on account of its historic matter, of its true exposition of the most mysterious of transitive periods, will descend to posterity." Heine may have exaggerated the importance of his *Memoirs*, but they must be very interesting, and excellently done, for he was one of the wittiest and most brilliant of men. The MS. is said to have been sold to the Austrian government by one of his near relatives after his death; and the story now comes from Vienna that it is in the secret archives of the library of the Imperial Court, and that arrangements are making for its publication. The literary public will be glad to learn if the story be true; for the publication of Heinrich Heine's *Memoirs* is something about which it must necessarily feel more than usual concern.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

LAWS OF THE CHURCH ON BURIALS.—In the following cases Catholic clergymen are forbidden to perform funeral services:—

1. For non-Catholics. They are not likely to require them.

2. For persons under a major excommunication *et non tolerati*.

3. For persons who, deliberately and in their full senses, commit suicide and give no sign of repentance before their death.

4. For those who obstinately and in the presence of witnesses spurn the sacraments offered to them at the time of death.

5. For people who live a scandalous life and end it without a sign of repentance.

6. For persons who die in a duel, even though they give signs of sorrow before expiring.

In cases of doubt, the Ordinary of the diocese is to be consulted; and whenever this is impossible, the rule is to incline towards the side of mercy.

In family sepulchres built apart, as on estates, for private families of Catholic laymen, the non-Catholic relatives of these families can be buried.

Unbaptized children are to be buried in an unblessed portion of the cemetery. Adults who die suddenly while preparing for baptism are entitled to all the rights of Christian sepulture. Converts are permitted to be buried in the family lot of their non-Catholic relatives, if such be living, and have a lot in a public cemetery. If the surviving relatives are Catholics, and purchase a lot in a cemetery other than Catholic, thinking that they can lawfully do so, or if such lot was purchased before the year 1853, and bodies are already interred there, it is left to the judgment and conscience of the pastor to perform, if he thinks proper, the usual services from the Ritual at the house of the deceased. In this case the service is never allowed in the church without express permission from the Ordinary.

If there is no Catholic cemetery, and a separate portion of the public cemetery cannot be secured for Catholic burials, then the grave in which the Catholic dead lies buried can be blessed in the manner expressly prescribed in the Roman Ritual.—*Providence Visitor.*

"YOU CAN FORM no notion of the impudence of these rascals," says a San Francisco magnate, denouncing the Chinese. "Only the other day, in our rainy season, when the mud was fifteen inches deep on Montgomery Street, a yellow chap, in fur tippet and purple satin gown, was crossing over the road by a plank, when one of our worthy citizens, seeing how nicely he was dressed, more like a lady than a tradesman, ran on the plank to meet him, and when the fellow stopped and stared, just gave him a little jerk and whisked him with a waggish laugh, into the bed of slush. Ha! Ha! You should have seen the crowd of people mocking the impudent Chinee as he picked himself up in his soiled tippet and satin gown!" "Did any one of the crowd stand drinks all round?" "Well, no; that heathen Chinee rather turned the laugh aside." "Aye, how was that?" "No white man can conceive the impudence of these Chinese. Moonface picked himself up, shook off a little of the mire, and, looking mildly at our worthy citizen, courtesied like a girl, saying to him in a voice every one standing round could hear, 'You Christian; me heathen; good-by.'"—*Hepworth Dixon.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

"THE COCK CREW."

As Peter sat dozing
  And taking his ease,
His chin in his hands,
  And his arms on his knees,

A rough chap came up
  And gave him a jostle,
Saying, "I'll go in,
  Please, Mr. Apostle."

But Peter, awaking,
  Said, "Not quite so fast!
Your name isn't here;
  You cannot be passed."

Then, with fingers outspread
  And thumb on his nose,
Looking Pete in the eye,
  He gave three lusty crows.

The apostle then, blushing,
  And fumbling his key,
Said, "Now, my young man,
  Between you and me,

"Though your name isn't here,
  I shall let you go in;
But don't let me hear
  Of your crowing again."

[For THE INDEX.]

TWO SONNETS.

The Priest's Remedy.

The balm of future bliss, Sir Priest, not long
Will work e'en on the *plebs* low-browed and dull,
Whose hard-earned pence keep Peter's treasury full,
And thee in clover, ruddy, fresh, and strong.
This life is somewhat they begin to feel;
Homes they demand, if not so proud and high
The so-called house of God towers towards the sky
At their expense, while they in penury kneel,
Is the hereafter made more bright and sure
By living here in squalor, ignorance, crime?
Hope is a diet thin, howe'er sublime.
Faith's poppy soon will cease to drug the poor
Sword, cross, and sceptre longer to obey,
While feast the few the many born to sway.

Holy Sees.

Ere Peter's dome o'er Southern Europe rose,
  The shrine of Delphos was the Holy See,
The Pythia's lips heaven's will did then disclose
  Foaming with a prophetic ecstasy.
The old world swarmed to bright Apollo's steep,
  Climbing the Pleistus*-gorge in ceaseless throngs.
Thither the pilgrims went with faith as deep
  As unto current devotees belongs,
Who wearily fare to Mecca and to Rome,
As unto deity's especial home,
  Where his anointed earthly agents dwell,
Whose acts he faileth not to ratify
With nod of assent from his throne on high,
  Whether their sentence be to heaven or hell.

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 20.

George Iles, $22.29; Lord & Emmons, $1.61; Robt. Davis, $5.40; F. Claussen, $4.80; H. M. Simmons, $2; A. B. Davis, 50 cents; H. C. Heberling, $1; David Newport, $1.10; A. Oborne, $3.50; A. Williams & Co., $6.76; A. W. Kelsey, $1; James Westwater, $3.20; J. H. Manchester, $3.20; C. B. Hoffman, $3; F. Malcolm, 25 cents; E. J. Hamlet, $3; P. Tavey, $2; Dr. W. S. Leach, $3.20; Dr. E. Wigglesworth, $3.20; Wm. Barnsdall, $5; D. L. Crittenden, $4; R. Patterson, 80 cents; Wm. Jones, $2.35; J. H. Holley, $3.20; Dr. E. B. Wolcott, $3.25; Geo. E. Baxter, $1.10; Edw. Salterthwait, $3.20; J. E. Richie, $3.20; Cash, $2; W. Corning, $3.20; A. A. Roberts, $3.20; B. M. Smith, $10; C. F. Abbot, 10 cents; J. R. Hawley, $1.70; Adolph Englehard, $1; J. E. Haynes, $5.60.

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*The gorge of the river Pleistus led up to Delphi from its port, Kirrha.

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The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 25, 1877.

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N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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THE NEW YORK *Catholic World* for November, 1877, has for its leading article a long paper of sixteen pages on "The Free Religionists," which, if not wholly successful, certainly intends and tries to be fair. It is a review of the last Annual Report of the Free Religious Association, and is honorably free from the insolent, malicious untruthfulness which characterizes too many Catholic criticisms of religious liberals. The writer is, of course, a staunch Catholic, and concludes by saying that "the real issue, if free-religionists can be induced to look at it, is between Catholicity and nihilism"; but we are glad to say that he is also a gentleman.

WE HAVE RECEIVED a pamphlet copy of Col. Ingersoll's *Vindication of Thomas Paine—A Reply to the New York Observer*, which we shall notice on our return from Rochester. The editor of the Peoria *Saturday Evening Call*, in which it was first published, wrote on October 15: "A large second edition of *The Call* containing Ingersoll on Paine was exhausted Saturday afternoon. Not a paper is left, and orders are pouring in from all parts of the country. We are getting the letter out in pamphlet form. It will contain 36 pages, and is elegantly printed, and carefully corrected by Col. Ingersoll himself. It will be sold for 25 cents per copy, or by the dozen at $2.00." Address S. R. Henderson, Peoria, Ill.

THE DECAY of reverence for the clergy which is noticeable in the "Young America" of to-day has been seldom so bluntly manifested as in the following anecdote, for which the Springfield *Republican* stands sponsor: "A prominent pastor exchanged with an out-of-town brother the other Sunday, and his small boy rather took advantage of his absence at the breakfast table Monday. He had noticed the previous morning that the visitor delayed somewhat after finishing the meal before beginning the family devotions; and so, after reminding him that, if he didn't stop eating griddle-cakes, there wouldn't be any left for the hired girl, he burst out with, 'Are you going to have prayers now, or will you try to get out of it as you did yesterday?'"

THE SALEM (Massachusetts) *Register* states that President Clark, of the Massachusetts State Agricultural College, who has just returned from Japan, gave his impressions of that country to the people of Amherst on a recent Sunday evening. Among other things he said: "The Japanese are a people able and willing to do right. I never saw a quarrel in Japan, and never saw nor heard of a Japanese student in America or Japan accused of immorality. I selected from a thousand young men the students for the college there, and never knew one of them that would willingly offend his teachers. The Japanese will walk right up like men and become Christians. I have great faith in a people that have such aspirations. They have great capacity for usefulness in the conversion of the world, and are the men of all others to be missionaries in China. Until last year Shintoism has been the State religion since six hundred years before Christ. It is a sort of natural religion, and they worship the Sun-God, and this religion, heathenism, or whatever it is, has made Japan what it is. Since six hundred years before Christ when the first Mikado reigned, they have all been from the same family. Of all heathen religions Shintoism is the least objectionable; and, if I ever become a heathen, I shall be a Shintoist." Is it permissible to wonder what motive the Japanese can have to "walk right up like men and become Christians," when they are evidently better than Christians already?

"SCHOOL AND STATE."

The curious notion has sprung up in some quarters that the government transcends its proper function in sustaining schools at the public expense, or indeed interfering at all with popular education. It is argued that there ought to be, in a genuine republic, as total a separation of "School and State" as of "Church and State"; that the government ought to confine itself to the protection of life and property, and the general police regulation of society; that it is an invasion of private rights to tax anybody for public schools, especially those who have no children of their own, and who, therefore, are simply robbed by being compelled to help educate the children of other people. Even some liberals of repute, notably Herbert Spencer, have been swept away by this species of sophistry, which, with all deference to those who use it, we are constrained to consider the crudest and most one-sided theory that ever found respectable supporters. It is liberalism gone to seed, and that, too, as bare of seeds as a dandelion stalk which has been subjected to the three puffs of a frolicsome school-girl who wants to discover whether her mother wants her at home.

But let us, if possible, keep hold of this wild and fantastic philosophy long enough to expose its amazingly thin texture.

The principle of the separation of "Church and State" rests upon solid reasons; while that of the separation of "School and State" rests upon nothing but a mere play upon words—a fleeting and cheating echo of sound without sense. Why is it a fundamental condition of republican freedom that the State must be absolutely independent of and separate from the Church? Because the free State exists solely for the protection and furtherance of the purely secular interests of mankind; while history proves that the Church, existing primarily for the protection and furtherance of interests which concern what is termed "the other world," and only secondarily for those of this world, has never meddled with political affairs except to destroy freedom, block progress, and crush out all intellect which would not bow before her tyrannous creeds as the absolute truth. A long, bitter, and biting experience has taught the human race not to delegate the control of civil affairs to priestly hands or influences, if they desire to enjoy the blessings of civilization, science, and personal liberty.

Now what analogy is there between the relations of the free State to the Church and to the School? None, absolutely none. The Church fits for another world,—the School for this. The one is the great enemy of secular independence in the State,—the other is not only its friend, but its very creator, preserver, and constant benefactor. The free republican State cannot exist either united to the Church or separated from the School. The cry of "no union of School and State" is as sapient as would be the cry for "no union of Police and State—Court and State—Post-office and State—Custom-house and State," etc. The State is nothing but a community of individuals, men, women, and children, associated for mutual protection and help; and its very first duty is to perpetuate itself by educating its new-born members into an intelligent comprehension of and fidelity to their own duties and right relations as citizens. Most certainly it cannot long sustain itself under popular institutions if it neglects this duty; and it therefore has the best right in the world to claim and exercise supervision over popular education—the right of self-preservation for the good of all. Any theory is blindness itself which refuses to see these great staring facts of life.

For this reason the school-tax is not at all to be considered as each man's separate bill for the education of his own children; and it is a piece of dismal stupidity to regard it in any such false light as that. The cost of sustaining the police and the courts is paid by the whole community, not by the few alone who are compelled to resort to them for personal protection; the man who never gets his head broken or his house robbed has, all the more on this account, an equivalent value for his taxes in this very fact of his security, which he assuredly would not enjoy if nobody paid to support the courts except the few who actually need their interference. So the cost of sustaining a good public school system, which is also paid justly by the whole community, is the total price paid by all for the privilege of living in an intelligent community with free institutions; every man, childless or not, shares this benefit and should pay his share. That is why it is just to tax Catholics for the school system like all the rest of the community, whether they choose to use it or not; for they receive the same general benefit from the school system which others do, whether they do or do not avail themselves of its privileges for their own children. The Catholic who grumbles over his school-tax on the ground that his conscience won't let him send his own children to the public schools is just as unreasonable as the man who grumbles over his police-tax on the ground that he has never had his pocket picked. It may be his misfortune to possess a conscience which demands privilege and is not satisfied with even and exact justice in the schools to all religious beliefs; but none the less he gets a full equivalent for the money he pays, because he enjoys thereby the advantage of living in a community sufficiently educated to permit him to be the citizen of a free republic rather than the subject of an "effete monarchy" or despotism. All the miserable sophistry and demagogy of the bishops and priests will not avail forever to keep the Catholic laity in ignorance of this self-evident state of facts.

Every day the perils of ignorant suffrage in a republic are forcing themselves more and more upon the attention of thoughtful minds; and every day the necessity of devising some efficient mode for securing universal education is becoming equally evident. It is a question of national magnitude and importance, since the whole nation is vitally affected by it; and sooner or later it must receive a national solution. We believe the time has come already for attempting this; and the first step must be to affirm the right and duty of the national government to require a system of "compulsory education" (we dislike that non-descriptive and misleading phrase) to be established by every State. There is an urgent practical need of this, and the Rochester Congress will do a great public service if it succeeds in bringing this great practical issue fairly before the people. The nation is in danger of positive disintegration from the effects of wide-spread ignorance; and the law of self-preservation demands that this fountain-head of peril, riot, and factious disturbance shall be effectually choked; not by a new policy of disfranchisement which will only sow the seeds of political revolution, but by an extensive and more thorough development of the policy of popular education. The right to knowledge should be recognized as on a level with the right to property or life, and every citizen should be protected by the nation in those tender years when he too often finds no other protector—when the ignorance or selfishness of parents and guardians too often deprives him forever of all opportunity to acquire knowledge.

That there is insecurity in the foundations of the public school system is proved to a melancholy degree by the hostility manifested towards it in certain quarters. General T. M. Logan, of Richmond, Virginia, in a paper read at the last meeting of the American Social Science Association on "the opposition in the South to the free school system," frankly admitted the existence of a formidable degree of such opposition in the Southern States; and he attributed it chiefly to the unwillingness of the whites to sustain schools for the colored children at all. But he declares explicitly that "every consideration of the subject leads to the conclusion that the future welfare and prosperity of the South demand the education of the freedmen by public school instruction." General Logan is a Southern man himself, and his facts and arguments go to confirm the conclusion that the national government would not only consult its own imperative interests, but just as much the imperative interests of the South itself, by requiring every State to sustain a free-school system, and to permit no child to grow up in ignorance within its borders. There is need of statesmanship in this matter which shall be bold as well as wise.

But a still more formidable danger threatens the public school system from the Catholic Church, not so much by its direct as by its indirect effects. There is a deliberate and apparently concerted effort now making by the Catholic clergy to sophisticate the minds of the Catholic laity on this subject, for the purpose of keeping a firmer grip on their allegiance, and consolidating, strengthening, and increasing the power of the Church. Our attention has been only recently called to the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for January, 1877,—a large, new quarterly of nearly two hundred pages, now in its second year, and published by Hardy & Mahony at 505 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. The leading article of this number is on "The Liberalistic View of the Public School Question," and devotes twenty-nine pages to a review of our lecture on "The Public School Question" in reply to Bishop McQuaid. There is no argument in all these pages worthy of the slightest

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consideration; the impregnable central position of our lecture,—that the theory of "Parental Prerogative" is a re-vamping of the obsolete "Patria Potestas" of ancient Roman law, and that it rests on the absolutely exploded social theory that the family, not the individual, is the true social unit,—is very prudently and very carefully ignored. But page after page of vulgar impudence, sophistry, and misrepresentation is made to wear the semblance of argument, and to give the impression to the reader that the really irrefutable has been successfully refuted. As a signal instance of the wilful untruthfulness of this article, we point out one astonishingly brazen, persistent, and cunning misrepresentation:—

"Mr. Francis E. Abbot is the editor of 'THE INDEX, a weekly (Masonic) paper devoted to free and rational religion,' as we read in an advertisement printed at the end of his lecture. . . . He is anxious 'to hasten the day when free religion,' that is, Freemasonry, 'shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world.'" [p. 2.]

"Who is it that 'seeks the interests of a party and of a sect' (though not of a church), but Mr. Abbot, who labors so earnestly in his INDEX for the triumph of Freemasonry? . . . Free-religionists, too, and the members of all Masonic societies, whatever their name, are sectaries, as they are cut off from the universal Church." [p. 5.]

". . . the universal supremacy of Freemasonry . . . this is what every thoughtful man understands to be the aim of the secularistic sect." [p. 6.]

"This is what Mr. Abbot with truly Masonic cheek calls 'equal justice to all.'" [p. 7.]

"Is not Mr. Abbot known as the editor of THE INDEX, 'a weekly paper devoted to free and rational religion,' that is, to Freemasonry?" [p. 12.]

"The *American Encyclopædia* tells us that 'the attention of philanthropic men (Freemasons) in all parts of the country was directed to the subject, and in 1817 (*which was the first centennial of Freemasonry*) commenced what has been not improperly termed a revival (*secularization*) of education, which is still exerting its influence for good (*and for evil too*) throughout the country.'" [p. 13.]

And so on, *ad nauseam*, the writer labors to confound the theory of secular education with Freemasonry, and to represent all its friends as Freemasons, in order to make the well-known hatred and prejudice of Catholics against Freemasonry set them excitedly and angrily in opposition to every one who favors equal justice to all in schools sustained by the tax-money of all! Of course, it is superfluous to say in these columns that we never wrote or uttered a word in favor of Freemasonry. We are not a Freemason, know little on that subject, and have strong objections (which we have freely expressed in THE INDEX) against all secret organization. But the falsehood was useful, and therefore it was unblushingly told over and over again—why? Simply to make all Catholics *hate and oppose the public school system*. For the closing sentence of this long article is as follows, printed in italics: "*The Catholic conscience and the consciences of all other citizens have an equal, natural, and Constitutional right not to be outraged. Therefore, a school system which is an outrage to millions of American consciences is a violation of right and a disgrace to the country.*"

That is the pith of the whole article, which does but utter the remorseless resolve of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to break down our public school system if possible, no matter at what expense of truthfulness or the public weal, simply to set their own feet on the prostrate necks of this mighty people.

The question is: Will the United States, as a nation, have the wisdom and justice to defend its own existence and the equal rights of its own citizens by making the universal education of the people a recognized national duty, calmly and resistlessly performed in disregard of all plots and treacherous machinations?

COOK AND CAUSATION.

Rev. Joseph Cook, in one of his Boston lectures published in the *Advertiser*, attempts to show that the mind has ideas not acquired by experience. He says:—

"The truth is, exp erience goes altogether too short a distance to account for the wide range of such a certainty as that every effect, not only here but everywhere, must have a cause."

"Experience does not teach what *must* be, but only what *is*; but we know that every change not only *has*, but *must* have, a cause. We cannot explain by experience a certainty that goes beyond experience."

"This I know, that everywhere and in all times, every change must have a cause. You are certain of the universality of every necessary truth. How are you to account for that certainty by any known experience?"

Following Kant, Mr. Cook argues that, since such certainty could not have come from our limited experience, it must have arisen independently of experience; that it is inherent and intuitive; something necessitated by the very constitution of the human mind. Many who are not in sympathy with his theology will accept his conclusions on this subject. I cannot accept them.

I believe every change must have a cause,—*because I am unable to transcend human experience*,—because experience has never acquainted us with events that were not determined by preceding events. "An event is a manifestation of force." We have never known a manifestation of force that was not preceded and followed by some equivalent manifestation of force; and the belief that "every change must have a cause," is, as Fiske well says, "the belief that force as manifested to our consciousness can neither rise out of nothing, nor lapse into nothing,—can neither be created nor annihilated; *and the negation of this belief is unthinkable*, since to think it would be to perform the impossible task of establishing in thought an equation between something and nothing. . . . We must therefore, to a certain extent, accept the Hamiltonian doctrine that our belief in the necessity and universality of causation is due to an original impotence of the conceptive faculty; save that an ultimate psychological analysis obliges us to regard this original impotence as simply the obverse of our inability to transcend our experience."

Here is another quotation, from Lewes' *Problems of Life and Mind*: "The very fact of our being compelled to judge of the unknown by the known,—of our irresistibly anticipating that the future course of events will resemble the past,—of our incapacity to believe that the same effect should not follow from the same causes,—this very fact is a triumphant proof of our having no ideas *not* acquired through experience. If we had *à priori* ideas, these, as independent of and superior to all experience, would enable us to judge the unknown according to some other standard than that of the known. But no other standard is possible for us."

The belief that any particular change must have a cause is without doubt universal, for the reasons given in the admirable statements quoted from Fiske and Lewes. But there is no reason for the notion that the belief in the universality of causation is everywhere found among men. Savages have no such belief; neither have children. Indeed it is confined to the comparatively few who are accustomed to thinking and reasoning on scientific and philosophic subjects. That it is an inherent belief or certainty is an assumption which Mr. Cook cannot sustain, even though it has the support (as every error has) of some great names of the past.

But the dogmatic assertions of "His Lectureship" on the subject—a mere repetition of the beliefs, and, in some instances, of the phraseology of metaphysicians of past centuries, characterized by him as "incontrovertible truths"—are greeted by a Boston audience as though these statements were not only profoundly true and of vast importance, but brilliant discoveries of the Rev. Joseph Cook, destined to revolutionize all existing systems of philosophy! It is possible, however, that the clear-headed thinkers of Boston do not join in applauding the "incontrovertible truths" of the reverend gentleman. It is barely possible, indeed, that some of the cultured men and women whose presence in the city help to entitle Boston to its distinction for thought and learning, and to its proud appellation of "Athens of America," do not even honor the champion of a decaying theology with their attendance!

B. F. U.

AN EXCELLENT WAY TO ORGANIZE.

The following printed circular was issued by friends of the National Liberal League at Ithaca:—

ITHACA, N.Y., Oct. 13, 1877.

Dear Sir,—It is proposed to organize in Tompkins County an Auxiliary Liberal League, to coöperate with the National Liberal League in its effort "to accomplish the total separation of Church and State," and secure this by Constitutional amendment. Prompt action is desirable that the local organization may be represented in the convention of the National League, to be held in Rochester on the 26th, 27th, and 28th inst.

If the above object meets your approval, you are invited to attend a meeting at the office of M. E. Bishop, Wilgus Block, on Friday, the 19th inst., at 7½ P.M. Please extend this invitation to any others who, in your judgment, would sympathize with the movement.

Respectfully,

*WM. A. ANTHONY,	MERRITT KING,
JOHN E. BEEBS (Danby),	WM. KINNE,
M. E. BISHOP,	*B. P. MACKOON,
D. W. BURDICK,	J. O. MARSH,
O. S. ENSIGN,	D. B. MORTON (Groton),
*WILLARD FISKE,	*J. E. OLIVER,
*ISAAC FLAGG,	*C. C. SHACKFORD,

JOHN WINSLOW.

The six names marked with asterisks are those of Professors in Cornell University. Our informant wrote on October 16 that "the prospect now is that we shall have a large meeting that will overflow the private office and adjourn to a hall in the same building."

This is a most admirable way to organize a local auxiliary Liberal League, and furnishes an excellent example for imitation elsewhere. Local agitation alone can bring the great principles at stake home to the minds and consciences of the people; and it will be all the more timely and beneficial, if (as we hope) the Rochester Congress shall prove to be successful in its noble aim. Let the next Annual Congress find the liberals of the county widely and thoroughly organized. This year there has hardly been time to secure this important result, and we can hardly hope for more than a prosperous initiation of the great movement contemplated; but next year a larger harvest may be fairly expected, if those who comprehend and appreciate the vital ideas of the Liberal League movement are alive to their manifest duty. Who will not help in a cause so pure, unselfish, and inspiring?

P.S.—We are informed, though not yet officially, that the meeting above called resulted in the formation of a new Liberal League and election of delegates to Rochester.

Communications.

MISS MARTINEAU'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I have a word to say, with reference to a notice of Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography* which appeared in the second number of the *Radical Review*, and, as usual, turn to THE INDEX when I wish to speak with freedom.

I am compelled to confess a disappointment that this notice should have been published in a magazine professedly liberal, and am convinced that its tendency will be to confirm the already existing prejudices entertained toward Miss Martineau, on account of her conclusions on theology. The reviewers of the *Autobiography*, who have condemned, qualified, or lamented the atheistic and materialistic views held by this eminent woman, have been quite excusable, in that they spoke their own biases through organs which are decidedly biased. One, however, expected better things out of our new *Radical Review*.

"J. W. C." begins the notice by saying that he "has been compelled to choose to write principally for those who have not read the book, warning away those who have"; and also "that his opinion of the book would avail the reader very little, whereas a brief compendium might be of real service, and lead to the purchase and perusal of one of the most interesting autobiographies that was ever written."

The reviewer then proceeds to present a compendium, in a very succinct and interesting manner, but from first to last colors it with his own "opinion."

Although a great admirer of Miss Martineau, I still endeavor to avoid that intensity of friendship which characterizes the lady who has prepared the memorials attached to the *Autobiography*, and who receives from "J. W. C." a severe rebuke for "hating them who hate her friend." I can bear to hear the truth, however unpleasant it may be, concerning my idols in literature, provided there is a certainty that it is told without prejudice or bias.

I make no issue with "J. W. C." in regard to his desire that the portion of the *Autobiography* containing the censorious treatment of notable people "had been burned before it ever saw the light." If there be truth in the treatment, as he admits there "doubtless is," I see no reason why Miss Martineau should not speak her thought. She gained many great qualities by heroic endeavors, and could excuse nothing slipshod in great people. She was so transparent that she could forgive no sham, so uncompromising she could have no smypathy with politic timidity. I fancy each individual has the right to admire or condemn this portion of the book.

I also quite agree with the reviewer in the remark pertaining to the high opinion in which she held her friend Mr. Atkinson. I discover nothing in his letters which could cause such a mind as Harriet Martineau's to turn to him for instruction. This is as puzzling to me, as is her faith in the power of mesmerism.

My first issue with "J. W. C." arises when, after calling in question the reliability of Miss Martineau's memory of certain transactions, he says: "But they are generally such as she was quite willing to forget"; and "truth and poetry would describe her *Autobiography* almost as well as Goethe's." That an old woman's memory is often untrustworthy is true; that Miss Martineau's was so, is very likely true; but in the light of her life-long reputation for conscientious truth-speaking, it sounds very unjust to accuse her of forgetting wilfully. It is a super-polite way of saying that which ordinarily polite people call a convenient memory when they mean lying.

Next, I cannot read "J. W. C.'s" remarks upon the part of the *Autobiography* relating to the connection of Harriet Martineau with the anti-slavery movement in America quite patiently. He says, after having expressed the opinion that she was in no such danger of physical violence as she imagined for her sympathy with the principles of the abolitionists, that "some of her friends deserved better of her

than they got"; that "even Dr. Channing is damned with faint praise; that he was a Unitarian, and therefore Miss Martineau was unconsciously obliged to take him down"; that she assumes almost solely for herself the credit of his action in the Abner Kneeland matter; and concludes that "for Harriet Martineau to teach Dr. Channing anything about religious liberty is an unqualified absurdity."

Miss Martineau certainly does "take down" Unitarianism in a manner that is really enjoyable to a thorough-going radical, showing up its inconsistencies in such a clear light, it is no wonder that a thorough-going Unitarian is a little stung. But I cannot believe that she would take a man down *because* he was a Unitarian. She would, as nearly as I can judge of her, be as severe upon an atheist if he fell short of her ideal reformer; and I claim that Harriet Martineau *could teach* even so great a man as Dr. Channing something about religious liberty, for she had attained to a freedom of thought almost without parallel in the world, and was untrammelled by any sort of creed or sect.

Now comes the part of the notice which tallies with all the religionist's reviews of the *Autobiography*, and which is offensive to those who are in sympathy with Miss Martineau's views, and which serves to deepen the shadow cast upon an illustrious woman's name, reflected from the religious prejudices of the mass of mankind. "J. W. C." says: "Almost every reviewer of Miss Martineau calls her an atheist. But she denies that she is 'atheistic.' She affirms her belief in a first cause." This is misleading, and much like the religionist's trick of making the Bible support the revelations of science. "J. W. C." knows that Harriet Martineau was an atheist in the common acceptation of the term, for she distinctly says, in the "Atkinson letters": "There is no theory of a God, of an author of Nature, of an origin of the universe, which is not utterly repugnant to my faculties; which is not to my feelings so irreverent as to make me blush; so misleading as to make me mourn."

To deny, then, that Miss Martineau is an atheist is to show a white feather of timidity on the part of a liberal Christian. It is as if the reviewer said to himself: "It won't do to allow the world to consider this woman a disbeliever in a God; this woman whose conduct was irreproachable, whose life was one long, loving effort to benefit the world."

"Atheist, was she?" asks this reviewer; "I think not, seeing that she conceived the world to be advancing under a law of progress, and so believed not in a first cause only, but in a final cause; in 'one far-off, divine,' not event nor consummation, but society still gradually unfolding."

What does she say? In a letter to her friend, Mr. Atkinson, she writes: "As to what my present views are, when clearly brought to the focus of expression, they are just these: I feel a most reverential sense of something wholly beyond our apprehension. Here we are in the universe! This is all we know; and while we feel ourselves in this isolated position, with obscurity before and behind, we must feel that there is something above and beyond us. If that something were God (as people mean by that word and I am confident it is not), he would consider those of us the noblest who must have evidence in order to believe; who can wait and learn rather than rush into supposition."

Why cannot the reviewers allow Miss Martineau to speak a word for herself on this matter? Pietists are dissatisfied with her disbelief in their idea of a God, and call her atheist; and other pietists, no better satisfied, deny that she is one. No one seems quite content to let the religious beliefs and unbeliefs of this woman be secondary to her great literary and philanthropic work. Atheist! Infidel! these terms are tauntingly alluded to, or treated as things that must be regretted in connection with an otherwise illustrious career; or must be tortured into meanings that shall better please the multitude. This is the clinging taint of an intolerance begotten of our crude religious notions, and partakes but little of that broad, comprehensive, scientific religion of which you, Mr. Abbot, are the prophet.

One thing more. "J. W. C." says that he "for one cannot reconcile the self-mastery of Miss Martineau with her necessarian ethics"; that "she won her peace largely through her industry." I have read very carefully the portion of the book which relates to her study of the necessarian doctrine, and by her own words I for one *can* reconcile the "peace that passes my understanding" to these ethics. I can do no other in the light of such language as this: "I can truly say that, if I have had the blessing of any available strength under sorrow, perplexity, sickness, and toil, during a life which has been anything but easy, it is owing to my repose upon eternal and irreversible laws, working in every department of the universe, without any interference from any random will, human or divine." "My life has been (whatever else) a very busy one; and this conviction of the invariable action of fixed laws has been the mainspring of my activity. When it is considered that, according to the necessarian doctrine, no action fails to produce effects and no effort can be lost, there seems every reason for the conclusion, which I have no doubt is the fact, that true necessarians must be the most diligent and confident of all workers."

Harriet Martineau was a great woman, not without human weaknesses and faults. Her heroic independence, however, in promulgating the results of a free, broad, far-searching investigation of the vexed problems concerning God, duty, immortality, are so exceptional and praiseworthy, that I for one feel it an insult to her memory when others attempt to do what she never would do for herself; that is, to "trouble her spirit to vindicate itself or be understood."

AMELIA W. BATE.

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 11.

THE MORAL OUTLOOK.

The question of moral influence among the class of Liberalists in our land is a matter of such moment as should claim the sober consideration of all. Confident that the freedom-loving of all orders can but appreciate for good the motives by which these lines are penned, they will undoubtedly accept in kindness the offering we bring.

On the part of the church-inclined there exists a sort of random impression that liberalism and immorality are, as a Churchman remarked the other day, "Sin twisters," and that "where you find the one you find the other, and by no means can they be easily divorced, since their affinities are so intimately blended."

With all such the opinion seems quite prevalent that moral worth is only found in its relation with the Church and in its connection with its creed.

Now is this necessarily the case? Is it an axiomatic truth even in a limited degree? The question is worthy of investigation. Can it be a sensible conclusion in the judgment of fair-minded men of average integrity for truth? Because a man holds, as honestly he may, to sentiments of a most enlightened and liberal character in matters of religion, deviating from the old Orthodox ruts, is it to become a fact that for this his character shall be tainted in all coming time? Will it be found by the test of common-sense and ordinary experience that freedom of thought and immorality are in any real sense necessarily blended, or hold any affinity for *evil* with each other? *Impossible.* The proposition is certainly most untenable and wide of the mark. On the average scale of morals in humanity, facts will not sustain the charge, as moral conduct in man is not a special attribute to be claimed by *clan* isolation.

And yet in this opinion they are sustained by their own authorities. Let us see.

Morality, viewed from an Orthodox stand-point, holds a vitally contrasted outline, if seen through *rational* perceptions. To a *trained conscience* morality becomes a fatal failure unless tinged in the blood of the crucified,—it has no value in the errands of life to any poor soul unless linked to an atoning sacrifice of a blood offering. Trained to believe a sentiment so august and fearful, they tremble in terror before the throne of the mysterious, and learn to belittle even the semblance of morality short of an immaculate origin in the blood of a God.

This brief synopsis covers the ground of divinity so far as the views of morality are concerned. Hence the doctrine taught by our wise divines, that "a strictly moral man, if not a believer in the atonement, is, of all others living, the most fearfully dangerous being in his influence, that can mingle in the society of sinful men."

These are gravely serious considerations addressed to rational minds in a world so full of manly possibilities. If true essentially, what a fearful foreclosure portends to all the aspirations and glories illuminating this active world of ours,—"the garden of the gods" to become the abode of woe, the activities of moral genius and greatness, to be doomed to the fiery agonies of the eternally damned! And this is but the faintest dream of the terrible reality! A foreclosure "mild in its claims as compared with the dignity of Deity." And this is the foundation of Christian morality, only too feebly stated. This, the august tribunal that impeaches, indicts, and condemns a morality on the other side, innocent only of blood. Human *reason*, as the offspring of experience and truthful cogitations, and *morality*, as the conscience-rule of life's sober duties, are by this terrible arbiter to be branded as "traitorous machinations" in the universe of a personal God.

To all this, an enlightened and free religious sentiment enters her sober and fearless protest,—since in this free land no one class of mortals have special rights to assume dictatorial prerogatives for themselves, and hurl the firebrand of desolation among the rest of humanity. A more humane instructor tells us of a morality that is more genial in its character and better suited to the universal yearnings of man's nature. Pure morality as a rule of right is the natural religion of social beings, and is endowed with an inspiration that is impressed on all things excellent; so that no sensible being can question the power and influence of real worth in human character. That portion of man's conduct which is not based on moral good has but little to insure for it substantial award in the fair judgment of mankind, while true moral worth is a quality universally beloved, and under no circumstances, whether in or out of Church relations, will ever pass at a discount. No matter to what depths of degradation a poor mortal may consign himself, he will ever look up with imploring sensibilities into the eye of pitying humanity for relief, to come through moral renovation if it comes at all; and as a fallen outcast even, he never fails to approve the morally good, while involved in the basest evil.

Indeed morality has its foundation laid deep in the heart of the social fabric, and instinctively formulates for human society the only code of organic order consistent with the harmony of the race, or adapted to the regulation of individual character. And this condition of things originated not in supernatural revelations and Bibles, but in that original, conscious moral rectitude man sustains to man, and this before Bibles or revelations began.

Goodness and morality, then, must have always been necessarily inseparable in the transactions of human society. Hence the really good man, under a sense of the morally true, asks not what his God will do or demand, but, rather, *what is right?* and, guided by truth-inspiring reason, *"dares the right to do."* This is all. A God of reason will ask no more, can ask no less.

But the history of the Church has signally failed to produce an unquestionable standard of correct morality suited to an intelligent public mind. Carnage, blood, usurped authority, blind zeal and superstitions, leading to the practically *im*moral, have blurred the finer perceptions of man, yielding in return only doubt and derision of her vain pretendings. It is hard to understand how a morality having its foundation in blood could work out other results.

And yet charity would forbid us to doubt the presumptive moral goodness of individuals as such in the Church, or querulously arraign the motives for good of the general mass of her otherwise intelligent religious teachers. But the calm and rational instincts of humanity, in its canvass for the just, the pure, the good, and holy, must and ever will revolt against the pagan conception of a God dying for man, or that innocent blood could alone rescue from sin. With what humility thoughtful man bows his head in sadness over such a picture of gloom as the past has painted for us! Yet nothing less could be expected, from the childhood of our race, and the necessarily slow unfoldings of a higher order. In no age can man be better than the religion he has imbibed, and no higher in morals than are his best perceptions of the loving, noble, just, and pure.

In this age of intellectual culture and unrestricted inquiry for truth, what is the moral outlook for a free religion and the liberal cause in our land? Would it not be unworthy to ignore the questions here involved, or shrink from the scrutiny of interests which concern every one? Never before in the history of man has the world witnessed such cheering indications for the triumph of truth over error, of light over darkness, of science over superstition, or of good over evil. An all-pervading sentiment of moral excellence in character is the essential demand of our times, in order to insure a full and final triumph for liberal efforts as now being made. Will it do then to indulge in unmanly indifference as to true moral worth in life and character? Is a really noble manhood of no moment in our estimates of life's varied duties? Will it do even to submit to the indignity and too common taunt of moral indifference, and want of noble enthusiasm in a cause so self-sustaining and full of hopeful promise? Liberals are seldom charged, I believe, with a want of intelligence, and will not suffer in comparison with any other class of men. But is this the limit of our ambition, or this the summit of glory to which we aspire? Really, we have just reached the threshold of the grand temple that is to be. Paganized Christianity has built her temples in the past, but now it gives signs of decay. She has long been boastful of her conquests in civil rule, and no less so of her power over conscience and the moral domain; but the limits of that power are nearly reached and must soon yield to a milder sway. In her bewildering Christ adorations there has existed but little of pitying commiseration for the poor questioning barbarian who asks for evidence to guide a rational faith. *Investigation and reason* have but very limited quarters in the house of the holy; hence her boasted morality must languish and die in the house of its friends. "Come, now, let us reason together, saith the Lord," we grant is the most sensible and hopeful utterance that ever fell from the lips of Israel's God. But will "believers" admit *reason* to be a *practical rule*, if applied to their religion? If confiding mortals may approach a reasonable and reasoning God with argument, what may not be expected in the evolutions of human events? Permit the liberal judgment of the age under the power of reason to ripen into a persistent purpose for a higher standard of moral excellence and a nobler manhood, and nothing can limit the range for triumph over the waning fabric of religious superstition now prevailing.

Absolutely a great work is to be done. It has been crowded upon the times in which we live, and should be done without hesitation or delay. Life is short. The work is a labor of love, and demands the toil of the fleeting present. Each, all, must cultivate the honest conviction that they have something of life's work to do for the bettering of the lives of ourselves and those we shall soon leave behind. Thinking, reasoning, loving, with every kindly deed, with persistent energy, is the duty of all. Disseminating books, pamphlets, and papers of the best and highest order, full of force, reason, and research, tending to the noble, good, and true, is a work that all may do with an unsparing hand. The eye and ear of all are turned inquisitively to know what is to be the outcome of this effort in the diffusion of a larger religious liberty for man. Our Christian friends of all orders are becoming disturbed and confused. Many of them are exceedingly inquisitive and desire a wider range of liberty for religious thought and action. Early education has been the bane of life in their religion to involve them in the superstitions, from which they find themselves powerless of rescue except by a higher intelligence. They feel the grasp of the insidious, for that binds them and they long for relief. Honest, conscientious, and kind, they nevertheless feel the falsities of the past in a religion that has come down to them only to give unrest. The light of scientific convictions gains ground every day, and the love of higher truth and freedom of opinion pervades the soul of society everywhere. Religious men are neither few nor slow to perceive and cherish new moral truths when they are reasonably approached, and are the very class to prize advanced ideas all the more when once obtained. Good men and true from all the churches of our land are found in greater numbers by far than generally supposed, who are inclined to pursue the ways of reason. With myriads of such, the rubicon of error will soon be passed, and in the near future it will cease to be a crime to doubt the bloody cross and creeds and grasping authority of the "Church militant." Indeed, the progress of moral truth and right reason in this our day is surprisingly grand and cheering to those interested in

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the triumph of liberal ideas. All then must readily admit that a higher standard must exist in living *deeds*, not in prayers and blind faith, and that the worshippers at such a shrine will have reason for their guide, not the Christs and creeds of the past. The light of all sober thought, then, leads to the golden opinion that the morality for which we plead must and will in due time plant her foot on the solid rock of all reasonable truth, doubting nothing in the final sway of right over wrong, of living truth over decaying error, and that the sky will settle serene and clear over a better order of things.

If these hints possess any value, let them find an echo in the life and good deeds of all; then we shall feel that life has not been a failure,—that in our endeavor to bless others we have made ourselves the more happy. G. W. W.

GALESBURY, Ill., Oct. 9, 1877.

AROUSING THE NATIONAL CONSCIENCE.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Your "appeal to all patriots and liberals," headed "Wanted, a New Conscience Party," and your editorial entitled "National Protection for National Citizens," which subsequently appeared in THE INDEX, are brave and true to the liberal line. Like yourself, I endeavor to appreciate duly the trying position and the unavoidable policy of President Hayes, but I fear the attendant dangers through the opiate-influence on the national conscience.

It is useless to boast of the liberty and glory of the American Union in the presence of individuals who are denied the freedom of speech or political action, according as any mob may choose to pervert the forms of local law, or fail to respect the spirit or letter of national law. This is the precise condition of Republicans and opponents of confederate democracy in the Southern States. It is in vain to offer as an apology to them for national desertion the restricted powers of the government; a government which fails to protect its defenders deservedly falls into contempt. The ties of allegiance are loosened; loyalty loses its virtue, and men of opposite principles become political bed-fellows because the obligations of conscience are performed at the risk of social intercourse, residence, or life in a community.

The workingmen's party is everywhere denounced as "radicalism in disguise"; the independents are anathematized as "traitors"; the reorganization of a Republican party would cause a reënactment of the deeds of violence which for so long a period disgraced the land; the one-party minority rule is the order of the day, and within the minority the "property-holders" are the dictators. Is this the republican form of government Congress should guarantee to the several States? Or is it conducive to the highest order of individual citizenship? Thoughtful men will answer. In my opinion a political peonage of millions of voters forbodes no good to the country, and will form the corner-stone of new and embarrassing complications, threatening all national life.

It is an important factor of the power of Romanism which is heartily in accord with democracy in name without the substance. It is the foe of liberalism, and all wholesome political or commercial movement. It barters conscience for office and power, on the broad platform of "the end justifies the means." The national conscience cannot be too thoroughly aroused, and THE INDEX is not one hour too soon in beginning the work. There will be scoffers and scorners,—the worldly-wise men who will murmur, just as they did when the anti-slavery force was put in motion, but who will gradually awaken to the wisdom of your course as events crowd upon them of startling significance. Let us hope that you may be crowned with success in proportion to your zeal, and the Rochester Convention bear good fruit.

Very respectfully, EMERSON BENTLEY.

NEW ORLEANS, La.

NO SIDE ISSUES.

FLORENCE, Iowa, Oct. 13, 1877.

MR. ABBOT:—

Regarding the suggestions of Mr. Leland concerning the platform to be adopted at Rochester, I think that you are right. The woman question is covered by the second principle; and to introduce the currency controversy would be simply suicide. The financial question *must* be kept out, or it will be the ruin of the secular party. Mr. Leland speaks of the great necessity of going in for "success." In this connection he calls for "a radical expression of some kind concerning money." Is it possible that the gentleman is not aware that "success" would be the last thing obtainable with a platform containing such a "radical expression," especially if many of our friends in the East hold the views which you seem to entertain about an "honorable resumption of specie payments in 1879"? Put a bullionist plank in the platform at Rochester, and, unless I much mistake the temper of the West, the secular party cannot command any considerable vote here until this money question has been "settled" for the right.

With you, I trust that *that* question *will* be settled before 1880; but I fear not. With you, I hold that the three principles so ably advocated by yourself, are of pressing importance, and cannot too soon have the careful, earnest attention of all thoughtful men and women; and I shall do all in my power to help on the eminently just cause of secularism.

But, while realizing all this, I cannot but think that the currency problem also demands equally careful and earnest attention. And that we must either leave that question to be settled by the existing parties, or we must adopt at Rochester a "radical expression" *in favor of a currency adapted to the needs of our present civilization*. Such a currency, I need not pause to say, is *not* exclusively *gold*. But such a plank would estrange many of our friends in the East, and some at the West. So that I see no way but to ignore the question entirely, leaving the problem to be settled in other ways.

A "circulating medium" of iron, or lead, or diamonds, would be only a trifle more absurd than one of gold. There is no more reason why we should follow the example of the robber-founded and robber-governed nations of Europe in this matter than in questions pertaining to religion or politics. Upon this, as upon all other questions, *we must do our own thinking*. Authority is of no more weight in political economy than in religion. Science and reason must guide us here as elsewhere. We look back and laugh at those nations which used iron for currency. What shall the future say of *our* blind infatuation for gold? How many more "crises," "panics," and "Black Fridays" do we need to wake us from our sleep? Are we forever to cling to the old traditions of the barbaric past? I lay no claims to far-seeing wisdom, but I confidently predict that this question will *not* be "*settled*" "before 1880," or 2880, unless it is settled in favor of paper currency backed by the credit of the whole nation.

I trust that in your broad catholicity of spirit, you will pardon my freedom of expression. Hoping that the Rochester Congress will be a complete success, I remain, most cordially and respectfully yours,

E. C. WALKER.

[The above is a striking proof of the necessity of sticking to the point at Rochester, and not attempting to drag in side-issues. If the money question is *not* settled by 1880, or if other questions then up for discussion demand a frank utterance, no national party ought to keep silence. But there is virtue as well as wisdom in waiting, and refusing to be tempted into profitless and endless disputes. The three great principles of the "Call" will be as much needed three years hence as now, while the money question at least *may*, and we hope *will*, be then a thing of the past. Mr. Walker's views on this question are doubtless as honestly and as tenaciously held as our own; and we as little seek to commit him to ours as we should consent to be committed to his. Since the new party proposed cannot possibly enter actively into politics till 1880, the only sensible course is not to raise questions prematurely which would inevitably defeat the whole movement. The liberals will test their own wisdom pretty effectually by their action in this respect at Rochester; and we anticipate noble things of them.—ED.]

A LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

BATTLE CREEK, Mich., Oct. 11, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Your favor of the 3d instant pursued me here. I left Concord a month since for a Western tour, longer or shorter, as circumstances or "the logic of events" may seem to determine; but, probably, to remain most of the autumn and winter.

Work such as yours was never more *needed* in the nation than now, and never less *desired*; and, pecuniarily, would never be, or have been, more poorly paid. The millennium of Moodyism is shutting down upon us, like another night closing in on a starless, moonless midnight, and must have its period, under laws beyond all human control.

Do you observe how all sects are uniting, and, as far as possible, coöperating in the new revival tactics? Not only Quakers, but, last week in my town of Concord, New Hampshire, even Shakers are welcomed to the platform performances.

My father's nearest neighbors on both sides were Quakers, and excellent neighbors too; but as we were strict Calvinistic Congregationalists, we were taught to regard them as dangerous infidels; and all the more dangerous for their strict morality and virtue. And as to the Shakers, we held them as only *fallen angels* from Quakerism.

There is meaning to all this. There are some *Liberal* Congregational preachers now, as well as Unitarian, deceiving almost the very elect. Many Spiritualists and Free Religionists run after them, leaving their own meetings to languish and die.

Not long since, I heard a devout Congregationalist describing his new and Liberal minister. "At first," he said, "we were almost afraid of him, his sermons were so much like the Unitarian ministers, and even some of the Spiritualist lectures. But in his prayers," he said, with a gladsome satisfaction, "he sets our hearts all at rest." I heard one of those prayers myself,—closed with solemn ascription to "God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!" And it was splashed with blood of atonement all the way through.

Before me is Rev. Dr. Swing's last Sunday sermon,—*verbatim* reported. And ninety-nine hundredths of it are excellent,—superexcellent. But in its very last lines he says: "*Let us cast aside science, and throw ourselves anew on the assumptions of religion!*" Since Dr. Swing was tried for heresy, he has become the most popular Congregational or Presbyterian preacher not only in Chicago, but perhaps in all the West, and many Liberals of all schools crowd his sanctuary. But in this same discourse he speaks also of his "*risen Christ*," as well as exhorts us to cast aside science, and cling to the *assumptions*, the guessworks of religion. If those "assumptions" be true, then is Dr. Swing the most dangerous preacher and most-to-be-dreaded religious teacher in the Western hemisphere.

I am glad you are still able to keep the field. Never was THE INDEX more needed than in the thick darkness of the present hour. The Free Religious societies are drooping and dying almost everywhere, and some, as you know, are already no more; and I hope the Convention at Rochester will take deep cognizance of these things.

The activities of the Church exceed any thing I ever witnessed before, and the success in many directions is grand harvest of seed sown. Were I in and of the Congregational Church and pulpit, as once, the present prospect would be to my hope, sight; to my faith, full fruition; and, doubtless, I should live and die in that faith and hope.

The zeal and devotion of the denominational churches are worthy the divinest of causes. And, better still, and to us more important, they are worthy our most profound observance and imitation.

It will not be practicable for me to attend your Rochester Convention; but, thanking you none the less sincerely for the invitation, I am ever yours for all good word and work, PARKER PILLSBURY.

THE CHELSEA LIBERAL LEAGUE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

With the return of cooler weather and longer evenings the members of the League came together, with a renewed desire for united effort and secular reform. The warm months and summer vacations had reduced associative effort; but the personal desire of the members to popularize a "conscience party," in and outside of politics, furnished the motive for more individualistic but none the less needed propagandism. A new pleasure appeared to animate the members as the season for renewed effort returned, and they promised themselves a larger satisfaction in the more concentrated labors of the League.

They met accordingly at the home of J. S. Dodge, 74 Bellingham Street, Thursday evening, October 11. President Crandon congratulated the meeting on the appearance of so many members, notwithstanding the relaxing influence of the summer and the inclement character of the evening. It promised well for the future of the League, and the union of effort so much needed against the growing tyrannies in Church and State. He supposed it was familiar knowledge to those present that a Congress of the National Liberal League was to be held at Rochester, N.Y., during the month, and read in support of the same Mr. Abbot's editorial on the want of "a conscience party," in THE INDEX of September 27,—all of which was conceded to embody the essential truths of liberalism of to-day. Mr. E. Turk was especially pleased with the proposed "national protection to the national citizen," and thought such a policy, if carried out in practical life, would command the confidence of the "national citizen" of the United States.

The logical and political merits of such a party were discussed in a friendly conference, after which Mr. Wilcox moved that the League proceed to appoint delegates to attend the Liberal Congress at Rochester, N.Y. The following gentlemen were elected accordingly: D. G. Crandon, Russell Marston, W. H. Hamlen, D. E. Mayo, J. H. W. Toohey.

Adjourned to Nov. 13.

J. H. W. TOOHEY, *Sec'y*.

THE HONESTY OF ATHEISTS vs. THE HONESTY OF THE CLERGY.

MR. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Rev. J. H. Allen, a Baptist minister of Milledgeville, Ga., lately delivered a sermon in this place (Madison, Ga.) in which he expressed his doubts as to the *possibility* of an *atheist* being an honest man. In conversation with a brother clergyman of his, I find it is the uniform opinion of this class of men that, if a man is an atheist, he is without integrity. They contend that if a man is honest, he cannot be an atheist; and if he professes to be one, he is destitute of that probity which ennobles humanity.

Is there any psychological reason why the human mind cannot honestly embrace atheism? John Wesley taught, contrary to the common opinion of the clergy, that mankind by nature were atheist, until educated out of it. "After all that has been so plausibly written concerning 'the innate idea of God'; after all that has been said of its being common to all men, in all ages and nations, it does not appear that man has naturally any more idea of God than any of the beasts of the field; he has no knowledge of God at all. Whatever change may afterwards be wrought by his own reflection, or education, he is, by nature, a mere atheist."—*John Wesley, Vol. II., sermon C.*

Is it historically true that atheists as a class are proverbially dishonest, and less true to the obligations of society, than Christians?

An article from your pen on this subject will doubtless be interesting to many of your readers.

Respectfully, A. A. B.

[We assure our good friend Dr. B. that an "article" of length on this subject is scarcely possible. The question is simply one of experience. We happen to know many atheists, and their honesty is the most evident fact about them. All we can do is to bear honest testimony ourself to this fact, and advise everybody to turn a deaf ear to the *à priori* dogmatism which denies the fact in the broad blaze of truth.—ED.]

MISTRESS.—"Yes, it is above the average. By-the-way [to first boy], what is the meaning of average?"

First Boy—"Please, 'm, don't know."

Second Boy—"A thing hens lay on."

Mistress—"Nonsense! What do you mean?"

Second Boy—"Why, father says our hens lay four eggs a day—on an average."

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPLES.

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EXTRACT FROM THE "PATRIOTIC ADDRESS."

1. The Constitution of the United States is built on the principle that the State can be, and ought to be, totally independent of the Church: in other words, that the natural reason and conscience of mankind are a sufficient guarantee of a happy, well-ordered, and virtuous civil community, and that free popular government must prove a failure, if the Church is suffered to control legislation.

2. The religious rights and liberties of all citizens without exception, under the Constitution, are absolutely equal.

3. These equal religious rights and liberties include the right of every citizen to enjoy, on the one hand, the unrestricted exercise of his own religious opinions, so long as they lead him to no infringement of the equal rights of others; and not to be compelled, on the other hand, by taxation or otherwise, to support any religious opinions which are not his own.

4. These equal religious rights and liberties do not depend in the slightest degree upon conformity to the opinions of the majority, but are possessed to their fullest extent by those who differ from the majority fundamentally and totally.

5. Christians possess under the Constitution no religious rights or liberties which are not equally shared by Jews, Buddhists, Confucians, Spiritualists, materialists, rationalists, freethinkers, sceptics, infidels, atheists, pantheists, and all other classes of citizens who disbelieve in the Christian religion.

6. Public or national morality requires all laws and acts of the government to be in strict accordance with this absolute equality of all citizens with respect to religious rights and liberties.

7. Any infringement by the government of this absolute equality of religious rights and liberties is an act of national immorality, a national crime committed against that natural "justice" which, as the Constitution declares, the government was founded to "establish."

8. Those who labor to make the laws protect more faithfully the equal religious rights and liberties of all the citizens are not the "enemies of morality," but moral reformers in the true sense of the word, and act in the evident interest of public righteousness and peace.

9. Those who labor to gain or to retain for one class of religious believers any legal privilege, advantage, or immunity which is not equally enjoyed by the community at large are really "enemies of morality," unite Church and State in proportion to their success, and, no matter how ignorantly or innocently, are doing their utmost to destroy the Constitution and undermine this free government.

10. Impartial protection of all citizens in their equal religious rights and liberties, by encouraging the free movement of mind, promotes the establishment of the truth respecting religion; while violation of these rights, by checking the free movement of mind, postpones the triumph of truth over error, and of right over wrong.

11. No religion can be true whose continued existence depends on continued State aid. If the Church has the truth, it does not need the unjust favoritism of the State; if it has not the truth, the iniquity of such favoritism is magnified tenfold.

12. No religion can be favorable to morality whose continued existence depends on continued injustice. If the Church teaches good morals, of which justice is a fundamental law, it will gain in public respect by practising the morals it teaches, and voluntarily offering to forego its unjust legal advantages; if it does not teach good morals, then the claim to these unjust advantages on the score of its good moral influence becomes as wicked as it is weak.

13. Whether true or false, whether a fountain of good moral influences or of bad, no particular religion and no particular church has the least claim in justice upon the State for any favor, any privilege, any immunity. The Constitution is no respecter of persons and no respecter of churches; its sole office is to establish civil society on the principles of right reason and impartial justice; and any State aid rendered to the Church, being a compulsion of the whole people to support the Church, wrongs every citizen who protests against such compulsion, violates impartial justice, sets at naught the first principles of morality, and subverts the Constitution by undermining the fundamental idea on which it is built.

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SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

WHAT THE New York *Graphic* says of France and the Catholic clergy applies to America, although with a difference: "It is a very wholesome sight to witness both the parties in France protesting that they are not ruled by the clergy,—each trying to outdo the other. The hand of the Pope in governmental affairs has been the curse of that beautiful realm, and the sooner the clerical influence can be expelled from politics and confined to churches, monasteries, and convents, and the laws and courts be made wholly secular, the sooner peace and liberty can be permanently established."

MR. JAMES PARTON sends us the appended extract with the pithy query—"What more can be reasonably asked?" What indeed, when here we have the soul of the Free Religious Association, "Freedom and Fellowship in Religion"? "The French Freemasons have long been divided upon the question as to whether a belief in the 'Grand Architect of the Universe' should be a dogma of their order. At the recent Masonic Convention in France, the second clause of the Constitution, which ran thus: 'Freemasonry holds the principle of the existence of God and of the immortality of the soul,' was altered by an immense majority to 'Freemasonry holds to the principle of an absolute freedom of conscience, and to the brotherhood of mankind. It excludes no one on account of his belief.'"

THE REPORT of the formation of the Liberal League of Tompkins County, N.Y., which was briefly anticipated in last week's INDEX, arrived just after the paper was sent to press. The meeting was held at Ithaca on October 19, as announced; and, after an exceedingly forcible and cogent exposition of the necessity of the Liberal League movement by Professor J. E. Oliver, of Cornell University, a Constitution was adopted, officers elected, and delegates appointed to represent the League at Rochester. The officers are—President, Dr. John Winslow; Vice-President, Henry B. Morris; Secretary, Myron E. Bishop. The delegates, besides the President and Secretary, are H. B. Morris, D. B. Morton, and J. E. Oliver. An adjourned meeting was appointed for November 1, to complete the list of officers, hear reports of the Rochester Congress from the returned delegates, and transact other business.

DEAN STANLEY, talking of Calvin and Burns not long ago, asked who could doubt that there were lessons of evangelical truth to be derived from the wit and wisdom and generosity of the poor outcast, which we should vainly look for from the stern predestinarian teachings of Calvin? "God forbid," he said, "that I should exalt the dissolute, reckless manners of the wayward genius above the unblemished purity of the high-minded pastor; yet still it may be that many and many a secret sin of pride, of intolerance and untruthfulness that has sprung up under the cloak of the professedly religious man and the stern, unbending divine, may be as hateful in the sight of God as the wild excess of which the other was so mournful an example." The Dean's charitableness is to be commended, as well as his insight into the sins of the "unco guid"; but why should he spoil his own point by the absurd prefix "evangelical"? Is not "truth" enough? One wearies of such interminable intrusions of cant into the discourse of otherwise liberal-minded men.

RETURNING from Rochester, N. Y., just before this issue of THE INDEX goes to press, there is only time to report briefly that the First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League was a complete and most gratifying success. The League voted to adopt the three principles of the "Call," unchanged, as their political platform for 1880, and to postpone the making of nominations to another year. Many of the most desired speakers failed to appear—Col. Ingersoll included. But the audiences, beginning with about three hundred, steadily increased at each session till Corinthian Hall, which is stated by the janitor to seat sixteen hundred persons, was almost completely filled on Sunday evening; their interest was sustained and intense, and the frequent and loud applause proved a degree of enthusiasm which the most sanguine had not dared to expect under the circumstances. The press of Rochester gave very long and respectful reports of the proceedings; numerous liberal organizations sent messages of sympathy to the Congress, and some sent delegates. Next week we shall give as full an account as is possible of the proceedings, but we can only say now that we have come home with a conviction that this movement is destined to be the greatest ever yet inaugurated in the liberal cause, and that the most sceptical will speedily be compelled to recognize the fact.

THE *Sun* darts a ray of truth, when it says of "Tottering Christianity": "Education is becoming more and more separated from faith; literature is permeated with the influence of the scientific theories so hostile to Christianity, and to all revealed religion; and we find the class of men who do not go to any church is on the increase. Indeed, that there is in progress a decline in the religious beliefs so long held in Christendom, no one who observes the tendency of modern thought can deny. Throughout the continent of Europe—even in Italy and Spain,—doubts of the old theology, and even a total rejection of it, and of all supernatural religion are very prevalent. This has long been the case to a very great extent in Germany; in France unbelief is wide-spread; and in Russia the fermentation of ideas antagonistic to those of the national Church, and to the existing organization of society, does not cease to show itself, in spite of the repressive efforts of the government. In England, too, the propagation of doctrines subversive of Christianity occupies many zealous workers of great intellectual force and unimpeachable honesty of purpose and purity of life; and they are making themselves felt. Here, in the United States, as we understand, the same movement is in progress, and it is constantly gaining impetus." Add to this that *Christianity will die hard*,—that its strong consolidated organization will never be surrendered without a bitter battle,—and that its enormous socio-political power can never be overthrown until it has found its Waterloo in the field of politics.

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N. B.—For further information, apply to the Secretary, as above.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

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[See alphabetical list of 170 Charter-Members, in *Equal Rights in Religion; Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals*, pages 181-183.]

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The Scepticism of Believers.

BY LESLIE STEPHEN.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

While there is a general agreement as to a certain moral code, there is room for the most contradictory doctrines as to the mode of ascertaining that code,—the creed which it contemplates, the sanctions by which it is to be enforced, and the nature of the agents subject to it. The theologian alone possesses a sound basis for morality; but which theologian? On the showing of any one, his opponent builds directly immoral doctrine on the very same basis; and a theory which serves equally to conform vice or virtue has surely one of the marks of scepticism. But how should it be otherwise when one man's God is another man's devil? When, indeed, the devil is simply a deposed deity, or the product of a process of "differentiation" dating from a period at which there was no difference? Mr. Kingsley's special merit, says one of his admirers, was the clearness in which he drew this rather important distinction. His school of theology is fond of declaring that the God of the Calvinists, that is, of a very large section of their fellow-Christians, is in fact the devil, or at least possessed of diabolic attributes. If devil-worship and God-worship are so intricately blended, the resulting system of morality is not likely to be very coherent. It may be too much to say that the scientific morality gives a simple and coherent answer to all the doubts which infest theology. It would set aside some disputes as meaningless, while others will still continue to be seriously debated. But by excluding the arbitrary data resulting from the heterogeneous elements blended under the common name of theology, by settling the method and by limiting inquiry to questions capable of verification by experience, it at least brings the controversy within the possibility of final solution. The ultimate root of the theological contradictions is that they involve reference to the region of the arbitrary, where no test from experience can be applied; and the most opposite theories are equally plausible.

The theologian contends that his doctrines alone, however much they may have been perverted, can lay down an elevated code or provide sufficient sanctions. The first assertion usually takes the form of a denunciation of "materialism." I cannot here touch upon the metaphysical side of that perplexed controversy, nor repeat in feebler language the reasons which have been set forth by more competent thinkers for feeling tolerably at my ease in presence of this terrible but very indefinite bugbear. We are considering the moral problem; and the theological contention is virtually that, if the old bonds are dissolved, the race will discover the whole duty of man to consist in eating, drinking, and securing the maximum of sensual pleasure. Virtue will be discovered to be a sham; or, as Mandeville put it, the offspring begotten by flattery on pride. We shall accept as the highest good what Mr. Carlyle somewhere defines as an unlimited possibility of pigswash. Nobody, it seems, can deny the reality of the senses, or doubt that sensual indulgence is pleasant within certain limits. But the more ethereal essences, self-sacrificing heroism, devotion to ideal aims, the love which finds in itself its own surpassing reward, will turn out to be mere phantasms and fine phrases. They will vanish from this mad chaos of a world, and society become a blind scramble for the greatest share of the enjoyments appreciable by the lower animals. If man has been developed out of a monkey, he must still be a monkey. What is in the full-grown animal must have been in the germ. The monkey is a prurient lump of fleshly appetites. Man is the same being, *plus* the faculty of lying. If the lies are seen through, he will be the same being without disguise, and may gratify his passions without useless periphrasis.

One question naturally occurs: Are the doctrines imputed to the unbeliever true? If so, the sooner we admit it the better. Every saint and hero in the

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world is a humbug. He is a brute like the rest of us; a Yahoo trying to throw dust in our eyes. Morality is a clumsy system of rules, adopted by mutual consent to facilitate the distribution of pigswash. When we have come to an understanding, we shall be able to simplify our code. Even the lower animals learn to behave peaceably when the conditions of life force them into quasi-societies; and man can make rules better adapted for the purpose. The purest selfishness will secure the obedience of the majority to an arrangement in which all find their account. And as, on this showing, nothing but selfishness has ever really existed, we need not doubt its efficiency when it acts with less disguise. But the doctrine—as everybody will reply—is false. The disgust produced by a frank cynicism proves the existence of qualities invisible to the cynic. Virtue, it is said with unanswerable force, could not be invented unless it existed. The hypothetical pig (for I hold the actual pig to possess some rudiments of higher instincts) could not conceive of the existence of any appetite but hunger for pigswash. The argument is conclusive, but proves the futility of the doubt. If the higher instincts undeniably exist, can experience fail to prove their existence? Why shrink from accepting a test which, by its very nature, cannot contradict the testimony of consciousness? This appeal to experience is simply an appeal to that testimony by a definite method. I am conscious of some infusion of pure and lofty instinct in myself, and of sympathy with higher manifestations of them in others. Why should I fear that by any possible mode of interrogation my consciousness will be puzzled into a false answer? No scientific teaching can prove that my senses don't exist, and just as little can it prove that my moral ordinary sense does not exist.

It is, indeed, true that a scientific investigator may, or rather must, deprive this moral sense of its supernatural character. He must endeavor to trace it backward to more rudimentary forms, to determine the conditions of its development, and possibly to show that what we take for a simple is really a complex instinct. But to assume that something has been developed, cannot by any dexterity be twisted into a proof that it does not exist. The belief that the moral sense is the normal product of certain existing forces, instead of being an instinct mysteriously dropped into us from without, strengthens, instead of weakening, our belief in its importance; for such a belief alone can enable us to define the true functions displayed by it, and thereby lead to an external estimate of their vast importance. The conscience is no longer an inexplicable power, giving arbitrary directions upon inscrutable authority; but it is the name of a feeling, or a set of feelings, developed in all social progress, and seen to be essential to the vitality of the race. Nor can any analysis tend to throw a doubt upon the very facts which it begins by assuming, that men are capable of regulating their conduct from lofty and unselfish motives, and that conduct, so regulated, drives the most important wheels in the social mechanism.

The essence, then, of the unbeliever's contention is that the conscience or moral sense is a faculty to be explained (so far as we can "explain" anything) by the ordinary methods, because it is part of the normal process of human development. So far as the believer traverses that contention, he is a sceptic in his theory of human nature. He denies the possibility of virtue except under some external compulsion. He denies the reality of virtue except as conduct regulated by reference to a supernatural world. With him, if it is not disguised vanity, it is disguised fear. Man is a pig, though deterred by the rod of everlasting fire from unlimited devotion to his trough. This doctrine, indeed, is repudiated or masked by the higher theology. By using the same word alternately to describe Nature or a force which opposes and controls Nature—for a whole, that is, or a part,—room is secured for any quantity of evasion. It need only be said that, so far as the believer admits virtue to be natural, he is at one with the unbeliever. So far as he asserts it to be supernatural, he illustrates once more the scepticism implied in the argument from the moral character of Christianity; he disbelieves, that is, that any good impulses can arise spontaneously from the corrupt race of man. The tendency comes out more clearly when we turn from the questions about the reality to questions about the sanctions of morality. The believer cannot bring himself to admit that motives drawn from the world around us can be adequate supports of virtue. If he does not hold by hell-fire—a subject which in all seriousness we have ceased to mention to ears polite,—he still maintains that man must have a larger stake in the universe than that of his ephemeral existence in the visible world; unless he can look forward to an indefinite vista of futurity, his virtuous instincts will be asphyxiated. They will dwindle when the imagination is confined within the narrow limits of space and time. Our loftiest aspirations are but "survivals" from the time when they could be nourished by hopes and fears of wider date. The unbeliever, it is said, is under the disadvantage that he cannot argue effectively with the man who deliberately prefers evil to good. He may prove the sinner's conduct to be injurious to society, but not to be injurious to himself. The believer, and the believer alone, can demonstrate vice to be a bad speculation.

Now, it must be frankly confessed that, if hell existed, and could be proved to exist, men would act differently. If we believed in hell, that is, as we believe in Paris, we should be other than we are; though whether better or worse depends upon further considerations. The undeniable fact that the belief produces so little effect as preachers are always telling us, proves that the argument has some weak point in practice. Indeed, one remark is obvious. Allow me to assume the reality of my dreams, and I will produce conclusive argument for any course of conduct whatever; but the assumption is rather a bold one. My argument, you say, would be powerful if its data were sound. That does not show that it is better for practical purposes than one which appeals to less weighty but more real considerations. A penny in cash is more satisfactory than a check for millions upon an imaginary bank. Nor, indeed, is the argument in any case so good as it looks. If virtue is a sham, and hell exists, then you can demonstrate that it would have been better for men not to have been born, but you cannot create in them good instincts. They can be coerced, but not changed without a miracle. If, on the contrary, virtue is a reality, it supplies real motives, which may therefore be sufficient without attempting to fabricate infinite motives. If there is such a thing as an altruist impulse, it can, like all other impulses, be set in motion by strictly finite considerations.

But the force of the argument is destroyed by another remark, which it is convenient to overlook. A law is not effective in proportion simply to the severity of the ruler, but also in proportion to his justice. A tyrant makes obedient slaves, not virtuous subjects. In your anxiety to enforce morality you outrage the conscience. You invent a judge who punishes savagely; who punishes one man for the sins of another, and who punishes frailities for which he is himself responsible. Is it strange that some men refuse to be cowed, and others invent devices for evading your law, as plausible as those by which you would enforce it? The ordinary commonsense of mankind clings to the conviction expressed by the irreverent Omar Khayyam:—

"He's a good fellow, and 'twill all be well."

Isn't he? Some believers think so, and infer that God will deal with his creatures by healing their diseases instead of tormenting the sick. A more numerous class has discovered that God, with all his severity, can be propitiated on easy terms. The proper ceremonies or the right state of emotion will induce him to clear all scores, and write paid at the bottom of the account. Science seems to say that Nature never forgives. What has been has been, and what will be depends upon what is. But omnipotence can make things be as though they had not been, and therefore a miraculous mercy will check the operations of miraculous vengeance. The worst of using dreams in place of efficient motives is, that dreams are surprisingly pliant to men's wishes. It is doubtful whether the conscience has been more stimulated by its fears of retribution or deadened by visions of pardon. Hell is a powerful weapon, for some purposes, to those who believe in it; but in practice it tends to provoke either revolt or evasion, as much as to enforce obedience.

Such considerations may help to explain why it is that the moral standard of the race has been so little affected by theological stimulants. If a theologian could prove that vice involves absurdities so great as to make it impossible, we might be grateful to him. But no one can assert, and the theologian persistently denies, that the unlimited application of this imaginary scourge has really made the race better. Thinking of all the atrocities perpetrated under the religious *régime*, of its frequent effect, in absolutely deadening the conscience, of the false standards which on any hypothesis it has often substituted for the true one, of the indirect injury done by crushing the intellect or the moral nature from a cowardly fear of possible abuses, one may be almost tempted to doubt whether its effect has been elevating or deteriorating. The truth is, that we are touching upon a problem of extreme complexity, which is obscured by all kinds of confusion. What, one may ask; is the relation between the creed and the moral standard actually recognized by a race? To approximate to an answer, we should have to distinguish between true and sham beliefs, to make allowance for the tacit repeal of one set of doctrines ostentatiously advanced by another set covertly insinuated, and to estimate the innumerable indirect influences of the creed upon the whole social structure. One consideration, however, will be enough for my present purpose.

Nobody will deny that men's actions are governed by their beliefs and emotions; but when we attempt an accurate analysis of motives, we are met by the difficulty of allowing for the complex reactions between the reasoning, feeling, and active parts of our nature. What we call beliefs may be really dreams; and, in early stages of thought, the element due to genuine observation and that contributed by the imaginative faculty are inseparably blended. The alteration of a genuine belief may alter conduct as the alteration of the external facts would have done. The facts, it may be said, *are* changed for the observer; and, therefore, his mode of behaving will change. But the alteration of a dream cannot be taken as the ultimate, though, of course, it may be the proximate, cause of such a change, for it must be itself due to some change in the character or surroundings of the dreamer. The dream represents men's desires; it shows what it is which they hope or fear, or what is for any reason impressive to their imaginations; a change in it must be taken to imply some change in those hopes and fears produced by an independent process.

Thus a changed belief as to a future world may greatly modify our conduct, so far as that belief was a real attempt to interpret experience. If, as Paley maintained, virtue meant simply action regulated by prospects of a future life, the destruction of that belief would destroy virtue. It would not directly alter character, but it would close one channel for the display of selfish impulses, and might indirectly come to modify character also. The doctrine of the unbeliever must be different. On his showing, the belief in another life was probably due, in the first instance, to an attempt to interpret experience. So far as we now interpret it differently, our conduct may be altered. But it is plain that all that colors the belief, all that makes the future life an object of hope and fear, must be differently explained. Since heaven and hell were not revealed from without, they must have been suggested from within. A given person may, of course, have believed in hell on the authority of his Bible, and have been guided by his fears as he would by any other fears. But since the whole phenomenon—the belief of a race or society in a "future state of rewards and punishments"—can rest upon no ground of outward experience, its genealogy is clear. It proves what men hoped and feared, not what they inferred from external facts. There is no presumption, then, that by destroying it you destroy the desires on which it existed. You simply force them to take a different form. Destroy the belief in the pagan gods, and you destroy the old poetic machinery, but you do not therefore destroy the poetic impulse.

The believer may, therefore, hold consistently that men are kept in order by external threats, and that the virtuous impulses, if they exist in the natural man, would droop and die without such support. To the unbeliever this explanation is not open. Fetters framed by men for themselves cannot be the ultimate cause of the restraint. It would be as unphilosophical to suppose that a man can lift the platform which supports him. We cannot look outside the world to explain the maintenance of a certain moral standard, any more than we need look beyond the solar system to explain why the earth does not fall into space. The existence of these imaginary worlds becomes with the unbeliever a conclusive proof of two things: first, that men, or the leading minds among mankind, must have hated vice, for the thought of its punishment was agreeable; secondly, that they aspired to a better state of things, for they constructed an ideal world where justice should be perfectly administered. If a man works because he believes that he is to be paid, the work may be done against the grain. If he believes that he is to be paid because he likes to work, the work must have some independent charms.

Is it possible, then, that the closing of this outlet for the imagination will cause the atrophy of the instincts which prompted its construction? The unbeliever hopes and believes better things. He thinks that men's hopes and aspirations will not fail, though directed to definite reality, instead of the boundless imaginary world. He regards it as a fact capable of strict scientific proof that altruistic instincts exist; that men have desires which can only be explained when man is regarded as a fraction of the social integer; and that those desires, depending upon conditions other than dreams, will survive the disappearance or modification of the dreams. The existence of such instincts may appear a paradox to some reasoners. A belief in them is the mystery of the unbeliever's creed, against which the pride of reason is apt to revolt. It is not my present purpose to justify the doctrine, or to show (as I hold that it may be conclusively shown) that it involves no real offence to reason. It is enough to say that, so far as it is an essential part of the unbeliever's theory, whereas it may be rejected by his antagonist, the believer may most fitly be called sceptical. He declares a fact to be contradictory because it will not fit in with his doctrines, and therefore throws a doubt upon the validity of experience. The scepticism in this case is merely one mode of stating the sceptical doctrine already illustrated; namely, the disbelief in the natural goodness of man. So far as the supernatural code or sanction is asserted to be necessary, the insufficiency of the natural is more or less explicitly maintained.

Which creed, then, is most sceptical in the sense already defined,—least calculated, that is, under existing circumstances, to produce coherent and consistent action? The unbeliever loses the use of certain phrases, or reduces them to intelligible meaning. The moral law, says the believer, is eternal, immutable, supreme, infallible, and founded on the nature of things. It is just as eternal, says the unbeliever, as the laws of Nature upon which it is founded. As all reasoning assumes the continuity of past and future, we can never look forward to a time when the law will be essentially changed. It is immutable in the sense that, while the conditions remain, the law must remain; but it is susceptible of modification and adaptation to new circumstances. It is supreme as it expresses the ultimate conditions of social welfare, and the race can never fail to observe those conditions without ruin to itself, and therefore to the component individuals. It is certain, if not infallible, for, though we renounce supernatural guarantees for our moral beliefs, and admit that they cannot be deduced from *à priori* necessity, we can place them on a level with other conclusions of inductive science. It is founded in the nature of things, if by things you mean, for example, man and his surroundings; but we know nothing of the transcendental nature of things, which is the home of the arbitrary, the absolute, and the self-contradictory. We cannot be more than certain, nor say what is "absolute morality," any more than we can say what is that absolute health which is independent of our physical constitutions. The attempt to get beyond this is an attempt to get off our own shadows; and only leads to a show of absolute conclusions at the price of finding them to be meaningless and arbitrary. And, finally, to use a much-abused term, the moral law is clearly "objective," if it is meant by that phrase that it does not vary arbitrarily with the fancies of different men, but expresses truths about human nature as sure and final as the truths of astronomy; though, if objective be used to imply an existence independent altogether of the constitution of our minds, we can only reply that such words are meaningless.

The unbeliever, then, cannot admit that he has

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really lost anything. If it be still asked what he has gained, he may reply that he has escaped from a scepticism of the most distressing kind. That creed is least sceptical in the practical sense which is most conducive to hope. When the early Christians believed in a coming millennium, or modern revolutionists in the perfectibility of the species, each creed must have been stimulating. The vision of the early triumph of the right was not the cause, but the effect, of a faith, flushed with excessive confidence, and capable of transforming, if not of regenerating, society. The difference is characteristic. In dropping the belief in a millennium for a belief in progress, the unbeliever holds that he is dropping the shadow for the substance. The hopes of the believer point to dream-land, and therefore to a world of catastrophes and surprises. They suggest convulsions instead of development. Everything is to be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the sound of a supernatural trumpet. The world has been, and therefore may be, the scene of tremendous and spasmodic transformations, to be anticipated only in virtue of supernatural knowledge. God came upon earth to reveal the one truth, and to establish his divine kingdom. Strange to say, the light has grown dim as knowledge has advanced; and, when the next catastrophe occurs, faith may have disappeared from the world. The new kingdom has so little attracted the allegiance of mankind that the moral standard has improved slowly, if at all, and has often improved by absolute defiance of the acknowledged representatives of the ruler. The only hope is in another catastrophe which may shatter to pieces the whole existing order, and introduce a new system, in which good and evil, hitherto so intimately blended will be eternally divided. So strongly does this conviction color the believer's view, that the last defence of Orthodox theory rests on a scientific argument to prove that the universe must have gone through a complete catastrophe within some finite period, and will probably have another before long,—which is very consoling, and proves the existence of God.

What better proof that belief is, in fact, scepticism?—that it obtains a show of certainty by banishing all certainty from the world of experience to place it in an arbitrary world of abstractions? The assumption, which underlies all scientific reasoning, of the necessity of judging of the future from the past, is systematically rejected. The belief in the millennium has vanished and the outlook for this world is hopeless or uncertain. The devil is getting the best of it here, though he may receive his deserts hereafter. Faith grows dim as knowledge increases; or, in other words, reason destroys all ground of hope. Progress is a failure, for the past was better than the present. In presence of all the great movements which stir the world, the believer's attitude is one of doubt, suspicion, or absolute hostility. Increase of knowledge makes him tremble for his creed. Social changes involve the decay of the one sacred authority. If he forces himself to believe that, in some sense, a reconciliation between the old and the new is yet possible, he is forced to equivocate, to strain words into no meaning, and to look with doubt upon his allies. He is haunted by vague dread of materialism and atheism, and fancies that science will somehow be able to juggle him out of confidence in the most explicit testimony of his consciousness. Belief in progress is handed over to the unbeliever, not only because the winning side naturally believes that things are improving, but because he alone can assign some ground for the belief. "Measuring the future by the past, he can infer that the evolution of which we see the earlier phases will pass through others, as yet but dimly discernible, though dimly encouraging.

The ultimate result, then, of the believer's scepticism as to human nature is that the belief in progress has been transferred to his rival. Now, the belief in progress in some one of its many shapes is the most characteristic product of modern habits of thought. It is simply the doctrine of evolution applied to political and social theories; and it must permeate and transform all such theories in proportion as they become scientific. A similar transformation must be effected in our moral conceptions. Theological language may, of course, be accommodated to this new doctrine, as there are no doctrines to which it cannot be accommodated. But the instinctive repugnance of theologians to such a belief rests upon a sound logical instinct. The theologian naturally denies the validity of the methods and assumptions upon which the belief in progress primarily rests, for he regards a knowledge of the unknowable as an essential condition of foreseeing the future. And the imagination still acts more powerfully than the logical faculty. The vision of a supernatural world becomes vivid precisely in proportion as our interest in this becomes dim. If the two conditions are not logically opposed, yet in practice one waxes as the other wanes. We cannot really walk with our eyes fixed both upon cloud-land and upon solid earth. Dreams and realities may blend for a time, and the dream be transformed instead of abruptly dispelled. But we have ultimately to choose; and, as we choose, we must become sceptical as to this world or the other.

By progress, it only remains to be said, we cannot mean a continuous and indefinite process of improvement. Periods of darkness and partial decay may always be destined to intervene between periods of growth and enlightenment. The planet itself will ultimately, we are told, become a mere travelling gravestone; and before that time comes men and their dreams must have vanished together. Our hopes must be finite, like most things. We must be content with hopes sufficient to stimulate action. We must believe in a future harvest sufficiently to make it worth while to sow; or, in other words, that honest and unselfish work will leave the world rather better off than we found it. Perhaps this is not a very sublime prospect. Life, says the most candid of theologians, and his arguments certainly support his conclusion, is perhaps but a poor thing. But it is a tolerable world so long as one can believe that one's fellow-creatures have plenty of healthy instincts, and enough of really noble instincts to secure a steady, if checkered, social growth; that those instincts do not depend upon our attaining impossible knowledge, and that they will survive all the petty systems founded upon irrational guesswork. It is something to feel a certainty, based upon experience of the case, that we have nothing to fear from unlimited freedom of inquiry, and that we may hope, not merely an indefinite increase of man's power over the external world, but a higher and more rational social order and more widely-reaching sympathies. Extended knowledge means a more accurate appreciation of the conditions of human welfare, and a more intelligent cultivation of the emotions and sympathies upon which it depends. We can work and think without fearing that some infidel Samson will suddenly bring down the pillars of the temple. We cannot flatter ourselves that our personal stake in the universe is more unlimited in regard to the future time than in regard to the past and the distant; but possibly the reflection is consoling to some people who think that they will have had about enough of themselves in the threescore years and ten! That, perhaps, is a matter of taste; but, in any case, when all intellectual progress is seen every day more clearly to depend upon the systematic interpretation of experience and the resolute repression of all incongruous elements of speculation, it is desirable that we should gaze in the direction in which alone experience can enlighten us, and accept realities instead of dreams. The scepticism which rejects the phantoms is less paralyzing than the scepticism which, when it expresses itself frankly, rejects realities, and, when it does not, attempts to mystify us by a jargon which hopelessly confounds the two.—*Fortnightly Review.*

THE BASES OF CHRISTIANITY.

SUPERNATURAL RELIGION: AN INQUIRY INTO THE REALITY OF DIVINE REVELATION. Vol. III. (Longman's & Co.)

The unknown author of the work called *Supernatural Religion* has continued his inquiries, undeterred by the attacks on minor points to which his former volumes were subjected. His belief in the validity of his opinions has not been weakened, nor his force of argument abated. Confident in the truth of his convictions, he prosecutes his task without fear or faltering. It is one sufficiently adventurous; but his boldness has carried him through it without turning aside. In the present volume he shows the same ample knowledge of the subject, with all its literature and bearings. Though the ground has been well trodden, he occupies it in his own way, putting forward his arguments in the mode he thinks most effective, with judicial calmness. There are three parts in the volume: the first discussing the Acts of the Apostles; the second, the direct evidence for miracles in the Epistles and Apocalypse, especially the evidence of St. Paul; and the third discussing the resurrection and ascension of Christ. The first part seems to us to show most ability; although nothing absolutely new is contributed in it. Indeed, after Scheckenburger and Zeller, it is difficult to see how aught can be added to the arguments on that side of the question. The evidence of St. Paul is also treated most minutely, with the view of showing that it does not prove the working of miracles by himself, or the bodily resurrection of Jesus. The writer evades no difficulty, but enters into every passage bearing on the subject, examining it in detail. Having considered the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles on miraculous agency, the author thus concludes:—

"We have now patiently considered the 'Acts of the Apostles,' and although it has in no way been our design exhaustively to examine its contents, we have more than sufficiently done so to enable the reader to understand the true character of the document. The author is unknown, and it is no longer possible to identify him. If he were actually the Luke whom the Church indicates, our results would not be materially affected; but the mere fact that the writer is unknown is obviously fatal to the Acts as a guarantee of miracles. A cycle of supernatural occurrences could scarcely, in the estimation of any rational mind, be established by the statement of an anonymous author, and more especially one who not only does not pretend to have been an eye-witness of most of the miracles, but whose narrative is either uncorroborated by other testimony or inconsistent with itself, and contradicted on many points by contemporary documents. The phenomena presented by the Acts of the Apostles become perfectly intelligible when we recognize that it is the work of a writer living long after the occurrences related, whose pious imagination furnished the apostolic age with an elaborate system of supernatural agency, far beyond the conception of any other New Testament writer, by which, according to his view, the proceedings of the apostles were furthered and directed, and the infant Church miraculously fostered. On examining other portions of his narrative, we find that they present the features which the miraculous elements rendered antecedently probable. The speeches attributed to different speakers are all cast in the same mould, and betray the composition of one and the same writer. The sentiments expressed are inconsistent with what we know of the various speakers. And when we test the circumstances related, by previous or subsequent incidents and by trustworthy documents, it becomes apparent that the narrative is not an impartial statement of facts, but a reproduction of legends or a development of tradition, shaped and colored according to the purpose or the pious views of the writer. The Acts of the Apostles, therefore, is not only an anonymous work, but upon due examination its claims to be considered sober and veracious history must be emphatically rejected. It cannot strengthen the foundations of supernatural religion, but, on the contrary, by its profuse and indiscriminate use of the miraculous, it discredits miracles, and affords a clearer insight into their origin and fictitious character."

After examining the gospels, his conclusion is stated in the following terms:—

"We have now examined the accounts which the four Evangelists actually give of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, and there can be no hesitation in stating as the result that, as might have been expected from works of such uncertain character, these narratives must be pronounced mere legends, embodying vague and wholly unattested tradition. As evidence for such stupendous miracles, they are absolutely of no value. No reliance can be placed on a single detail of their story. The aim of the writers has obviously been to make their narrative of the various appearances of Jesus as convincing as possible, and they have freely inserted any details which seemed to them calculated to give them impressiveness, force, and verisimilitude."

Having dispatched the evidence contained in St. Paul's writings for the resurrection of Jesus, our anonymous critic concentrates the essence of the whole into this passage:—

"What, then, does Paul himself tell us of the circumstances under which he saw Jesus? Absolutely nothing. The whole of his evidence for the Resurrection consists in the bare statement that he did see Jesus. Now can the fact that any man merely affirms, without even stating the circumstances, that a person once dead and buried has risen from the dead and been seen by him, be seriously considered satisfactory evidence for so astounding a miracle? Is it possible for any one of sober mind, acquainted with the nature of the proposition, on the one hand, and with the innumerable possibilities of error, on the other, to regard such an affirmation even as evidence of much importance in such a matter? We venture to say that, in such a case, an affirmation of this nature, even made by a man of high character and ability, would possess little weight. If the person making it, although of the highest honor, were known to suppose himself the subject of constant revelations and visions, and if, perhaps, he had a constitutional tendency to nervous excitement and ecstatic trance, his evidence would have no weight at all. We shall presently have to speak of this more in detail in connection with Paul. Such an allegation even supported by the fullest information and most circumstantial statement could not establish the reality of the miracle; without them, it has no claim to belief. What is the value of a person's testimony who simply makes an affirmation of some important matter, unaccompanied by particulars, and the truth of which cannot be subjected to the test of even the slightest cross-examination? It is worth nothing. It would not be received at all in a court of justice. If we knew the whole of the circumstances of the apparition to Paul, from which he inferred that he had seen the risen Jesus, the natural explanation of the supposed miracle might be easy. There were no other witnesses of it. This is clear; for, had there been, Paul must have mentioned them as he mentioned the five hundred. We have only the report of a man who states that he had seen Jesus, unconfirmed by any witnesses. Under no circumstances could isolated evidence like this be of much value. Facts and inferences are alike uncorroborated, but on the other hand are contradicted by universal experience. When we analyze the evidence, it is reduced to this: Paul believed that he had seen Jesus. This belief constitutes the whole evidence of Paul himself for the resurrection."

The conclusiveness of the arguments adduced in the volume on behalf of the perpetual operation of natural causes, or of unalterable laws, will affect different minds with various effect. The orthodox will be shocked to see cherished beliefs unsparingly attacked: the rationalists will look with satisfaction on the alleged demolition of superstitious notions. We will not undertake to decide between the parties, or pronounce a judgment upon the issue. One thing is obvious: apologists must fairly grapple with the arguments in all their strength. They must not raise side issues to divert the attention from the chief matters in question. It is possible that the author may have tripped occasionally in his Greek; that he may have drawn a hasty inference from a passage, or dated a document too late. But these are very subordinate matters, and do not materially affect the question itself.

It would have been better if the learned writer had referred to apologetic authors much less than he has. His citation of them, both in the text and the notes, does not increase the value of his book, any more than his indiscriminate accumulation of the authorities which too often burden his pages. Here he should have exercised a judicious selection. We cannot see, for example, what good can possibly arise from citing such perfunctory authors as Wordsworth, Alford, Ellicott, Ebrard, Baumgarten, Hackett, Farrar, and others. The weak should have been ignored; the strong alone referred to.

The tendency of the reasoning is prominent throughout, so prominent at times as to evince a strong bias in favor of certain conclusions, which imperils impartiality. An eagerness to bring forth a single result alone thrusts itself forward with undue exhibition, as though the author had determined beforehand to make his witness speak only as he prompted him. Sometimes, too, the language is unguarded, as when it is said, "The expectation of the Messiah, under frequently modified aspects, had formed a living part in the religion of Israel," which is incorrect; or the reasoning feeble, as that about

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the mission of the seventy disciples in the third gospel not favoring the theory of Pauline tendency, which it does; or the special pleading manifest, as that about the words Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλλησι in which it is recommended to disregard the troublesome πρῶτον altogether. We do not know why the writer should have quoted Zeller on the Acts through Lekebusch, as is done in pages 176, 177, instead of from his own work directly. As it is, he should have been accurate in reproducing the reference of the place in the *Theologische Jahrbücher*, for 1851, which is not page 107, but 187.

The volume contains abundant proofs of learned research, acute criticism, and intellectual ability. Opponents will doubtless discover its weaknesses, and assail its attack upon documents so long sacred in their eyes. Meantime, the anonymous author in his well-preserved concealment can watch the movements directed against him, and await the issue. He has on his side a phalanx of critics, weighty and learned; while *they* are also seconded by respectable names. But the subject cannot be resolved by authority instead of evidence; and the evidence of the documents themselves is the chief thing. Let such evidence be fairly treated and fully presented, both in its strength and weakness.—*London Athenæum, Sept.* 8.

MODERN ATHEISM.

THE CHANGE THAT HAS COME OVER DISBELIEVERS.

In former times, when atheism was vague and stammering, incomplete and unorganized, it was condemned and suppressed with horror, anger, and indignation. Its apostles were execrated as monsters doomed to eternal torments. The world cast them out, and the Church burned them. But now that atheism is complete and organized, without concealment and without shame, its name is not even a term of mild reproach. On the contrary, its most notorious professors are honored and looked up to by the world in general, and are listened to with a respectful patience by even their professed opponents. Deans avow friendship for men compared with whom Voltaire is Orthodox, and Cardinals with such men gravely discuss beliefs which Voltaire would have thought it horrible to have questioned. The reason of this is obvious: atheism has come forward under changed conditions. It is based upon new foundations; it is animated with a new temper. For the first time it rests itself not on the private speculations of a rebellious intellect, not on the ravings of a vile Parisian populace drunk with the wine of politics and suffering from political delirium tremens, but on the deep and broad foundations of research, experiment, and proof. It has thus lost all that insolence of private passion and of private judgment which used to make it as offensive to men's practical instincts as it was hostile to their theoretical convictions. Our modern atheists in profession, and, to a great measure, in fact, are entirely free of the old personal bravado. They claim to teach with authority, because they have been content to learn with humility. For they, too, have their church, their infallible teacher, to whom they profess an implicit and devout obedience. And this teacher is undoubtedly an august one. It is none other than Nature herself, as our powerful science compels her answers from her,—Nature, in the widest sense of the world, including the history of the universe and the history of the human race, and the laws in obedience to which this history has developed itself. Here, we are told, is our one source of knowledge; here we learn the truth, and the whole truth. Nature bears witness about every conceivable subject; there is no rational question which, if we do but ask it properly, she will not answer. She will require no faith from us; she will ask us to take nothing on trust. Everything that she teaches us she will prove and verify, and there is no variableness in her, nor any shadow of turning. "Come, then [this is the appeal that our modern atheists make to us], and let us learn of Nature; let us listen to the voice of truth!" And what does truth tell us? Among many things truth tells us two, which are of prime importance, and which are universally intelligible to the human race. There is no God, and there is no future life. The notion of the first is unnecessary, and that of the second is ridiculous. In the name of truth, then, let us cast these lies away from us, however painfully for the moment we may feel their loss, however closely they may be bound up for us with memories of the past. But we are not left with this exhortation only. Something more is added to sustain and stimulate us. These lies, we are told, if we will but look them boldly in the face, instead of blinking at them out of deference to their supposed divinity, we shall see to be lies only, but profoundly immoral lies. It is, therefore, in the name, not of selfish indulgence, not of license and free living, but of sacred truth and all the severest principles, that we are invited to accept the creed of atheism and to cast out religion. Thus the atheism of to-day, though theoretically destructive, is practically conservative. It no longer assails society as it is, or any of those rules that sustain it, or the chastened affections that are supposed to make it worth sustaining. It is associated no longer with any dissolute wit, with any cruel and brilliant cynicism, or with the fascination of lawless love. On the contrary, it is on the whole somewhat dull, and, to say the least of it, it is eminently respectable. It is the atheism of the vigil, not the orgy, and its character when developed is solemn, almost puritanical. Study the language, the conduct, even the faces of its most eminent exponents, and signs will be apparent everywhere of gravity and severe earnestness. These are men, we see in a glance, who hold life a serious thing,—a thing not to be trifled away in idleness, however harmless, or in licentious self-indulgence, however refined or graceful. What is really of value in life, what men should really strive for, are things to be reached only by self-denial and labor, and a vigilant rigor in the guidance and control of passions. Those who pay no heed to the better part, but who saunter, who lounge, who smile, who sneer through life, are condemned by the atheists even more grimly than by the believers.—*Boston Courier, Oct.* 14.

ABOUT TWENTY years ago a somewhat abusive opponent of the Baptists was publishing a book against them at the office of the printer of the acts of the Mississippi Legislature. By some inadvertence the sheets got mixed, and before the confusion was detected several copies of the acts were so bound as to exhibit the following astonishing piece of legislation, the grand result of a thirty years' war against immersion: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi that *bap* means to put under the water, and *tizo* means to pull out."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

CONTRASTS.

[MR. EDITOR: Several years ago, while passing through a small town in one of the older States, on a night train on which a "sleeper" could not be secured, I was in a drowsy, meditative mood and reclining in my seat, when the train stopped for wood and water. Just then the town clock slowly struck twelve, and the watchman in the tower droned out, "Twelve o'clock at night, and all is well." A moment after this cry the groans of the friends of a dying man (who had been injured by a passing train) were heard in a lighted room near by. The train soon rolled away, and passed a hall where a ball was being held, and music and dancing were heard. These painful conflictions are poorly portrayed in the following lines.

J. F. D.]

The old town clock now strikes the midnight hour,
With slow repeatings on its ancient bell;
The faithful watchman in the distant tower
Proclaims in measured tones that "all is well."

All else is silent save his steps that fall
With solemn sound upon the lonely street,
And save the roundsman's well-known whistle-call,
To wake some drowsy sentry on his beat.

No other sound disturbs the deep repose
In which the gloomy world now seems at rest;
While dreamy man, released from all its woes,
By merciful forgetfulness is blessed.

But ere these sounds, now floating on the air,
On distant, slow-receding waves depart,
There comes a piercing cry of deep despair,
A moan of grief from some poor breaking heart.

By yon lone taper's feebly falling light,
Sad stricken ones with weeping forms appear,
Whose sighs now break the stillness of the night,
And fill with sounds of death each wakeful ear.

Now, mingling with the deep distressing cries,
Loud shouts of mirth and revelry are heard,
And in their wild conflicting accents rise,
Till drowsy-eared indifference is stirred.

Still louder from these stricken ones of earth
The pensive tones of sorrow rise and swell,—
The voice of death, the merry songs of mirth,
Strange mingling with the cry that "all is well"!

Can all be well, when some with happy lot
May never know the pangs of want and care,
While others pine in misery's wretched cot,
And live and die the children of despair?

If this be well, then all that is, is right,
And sympathetic sorrow must be wrong,—
Then darkness must be just as clear as light,
And justice should be partial to the strong.

But, waking from some hopeful, restless dream,
Half-freed from pain by its delusive spell,
How multiplied earth's many sorrows seem,
How sad the mocking cry that "all is well"!

How strange in Eden's fairest, shady bowers,
Where roses bloom, and streams enticing flow,
That poison reptiles lurk among the flowers,—
That there the thorn and deadly upas grow!

The ocean, rising from its tranquil bed,
With towering wave beats wildly on the main;
The molten lava, by convulsions shed,
Flows o'er and desolates the smiling plain.

In forests wild, where man has never trod,
The savage brute devours his helpless prey,
And Nature's laws, just as they came from God,
The warring winds and dying leaves obey.

Who made convulsions desolate the land,
The thorn and thistle with its roses grow,
The angry billows lave the ocean's strand,
And dire afflictions fill the earth with woe?

If chaos reigned on the primeval earth,
When "without form and void" the world was made,
These conflicts must have had coeval birth
Before rebellious *man* had disobeyed.

For all the powers of universe combined
Cannot resist their own Creator's will,—
Must each pursue the only course designed,
Must each their own allotted part fulfil.

And then there must have been a prior cause
That thus provoked the anger of the waves,
That under Nature's unresisted laws
Brought forth the lava from its burning caves.

For who can close his restless mental eyes
To thoughts that all their painful visions fill,
When with these universal conflicts rise
Impressions of the great Creator's will?

That will is law that nothing can evade,
That nothing can prevent, annul, or change,
That ere the Earth's foundation-stones were laid
Embraced all destiny within its range.

For knowledge, with the power and will combined,
To every conscious being must declare
That all results occur just as designed,
That all things were designed just as they are.

Each ray of thought that penetrates the mind
Seems guided thither by the hand of fate,
Whose unseen forces ever press behind,
And make us choose the only course we take.

How oft some new and strange, unwelcome thought
Unbidden takes possession of the brain,
And with such all-convincing force is brought,
That every effort to resist is vain.

Where'er these dark mysterious guides impel,
All things within the universe proceed;
All forms of matter, and the mind as well,
Must follow where their silent dictates lead.

And thus throughout man's short and strange career
His thoughts and motives seem alike controlled;
His form, his will, his life, and actions here
Are formed and cast complete from Nature's mould.

Beyond the boundaries of this vast domain
If there is nothing, still there must be space;
For where there's *nothing*, that must yet remain
Instead of *something* there to fill its place.

Where it begins or where its bounds extend,
Are questions deeply veiled in mystery,
Without beginning and without an end,
Save in the unknown, dark Infinity.

And could thought reach the end of endless space,
And all the countless worlds within explore,
It still would fail God's purposes to trace
Upon the sands of that mysterious shore.

For though "His footprints everywhere are plain,"
And though "His presence in the sunbeam shines,"
Creation's mighty records yet contain
No index to his ultimate designs.

Far in the future, rayless, starless night,
His plans and purposes are veiled secure,
And there beyond the range of mortal sight
Unknown to all but him they shall endure.

If to that vague and viewless outer world
Some wayward, wandering planet should be thrown,
And, driven onward, be forever whirled
Through space more distant, dreary, and unknown,

It still would follow in its wanderings there
Wherever led by that Almighty cause
That guides the roving comet everywhere,
In forced obedience to creation's laws.

For that controls as well the smallest mite
That floats away unseen upon the breeze,
As the swift meteor in its dazzling flight,
Or mountain billows on the angry seas.

When science peers beyond the far-off skies,
And brings the distant sun within our gaze,
We see its lurid flames in columns rise,
Its matter in an all-consuming blaze.

In every drop of water we behold
A tiny world of life which there appears,
Each just as much by Nature's laws controlled
As are the movements of the mighty spheres.

And when we turn our weary eyes to view
The worlds above or earth beneath our feet,
Some mystery still more wonderful and new
Our startled vision there is sure to meet.

Each type and order of the human race
Creates anew its own peculiar God;
One views Him with a smiling Father's face
The other arms him with a tyrant's rod.

"Lo, here is God," the Hindu priest will cry,
And point you to his idol deified;
While Christians rear their sacred Cross on high,
And tell you, "There the world's Creator died."

One sees him walk in lonely human form,
And hears him bid the rising waves be still,
And others, riding on the raging storm,
Or leading armies on to slay and kill.

One hears his whisper in the gentle breeze,
Another hears him in the thunder's roar,—
One in the gale upon the angry seas,
One in the "burning bush" upon the shore.

And others still, with faith to them as true,
With obscene images their God defile;
While some in stagnant, turbid waters view
His presence in the loathsome Crocodile.

Imagination, when inspired by fear,
Creates in Him a stern vindictive foe,
Brings down His ever-dreaded vengeance near,
Then pays the priest to ward the pending blow,—

Degrades him to the level of the beast,
Creates in him the slave of human will,
Transfers his sceptre to the grasping priest,
And leaves his vacant throne for him to fill.

But those who stand upon a higher plane
See God in Nature and in Nature's law;
For there, in reason's unpretending fane,
No priest inspires their reverential awe.

No chiming bells, or vespers soft and sweet
In lofty domes and gaudy temples grand,
Shall lure the steps of their unwilling feet
To tread the paths to such a dreamy land.

They stand erect amid the prostrate throng
Whose heads are bowed with superstitious fear,
While unseen harps their melting strains prolong
To charm the soul and captivate the ear.

Here reason, forced to abdicate its throne,
Is madly driven from their temple door,
And human gods are worshipped here alone,—
Their superstition teaches nothing more.

For, from the dawning hour of Nature's birth
Until the present last recorded year,
Not one of all the race who lived on earth
Knew more of God than reason teaches here.

But there is still one creed to which I hold,
That giveth rest to weary, dying man,
Embracing all within its ample fold,
And bridges Hell with reason's arching span:

A creed that should be held alike by all
That love our fellows here and everywhere,
That raises up the erring ones who fall,
And blesses man with sympathetic care.

And here upon eternal truth I rest,
Secure from fears of death or future woes;
For, when my form by mother Earth is pressed,
No frightful dreams shall wake its long repose.

So, when the final summons comes to me,
And kindly friends shall toll the funeral knell,
Then know that death has set another free,—
That all that is, is well, when ended well.

J. F. D.

EAST SAGINAW, Mich., Sept. 13, 1877.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 27.

Wm. H. Fitch, Jr., $5; L. G. Hoffman, $1; N. Grosmayer, $3.20; A. Miller, $3.20; Rev. J. Fisher, $3.20; M. C. Huling, $6.40; C. Lauer, $2; T. A. Kinney, $1.50; Alex Kisk, $10; Dr. Edw. Mead, $3.20; G. A. & S. Hill, $3.20; M. H. L. Cabot, $3.20; Cash, $1; J. C. Saunders, 25 cents; W. C. McDonald, 80 cents; Geo. Engler, $2; Rev. E. Bartlett, $1.50; Hannah J. Scott, $1; Dr. E. Wigglesworth, $3.20; Titus L. Mann, $1.60; A. Bauman, $1.75; W. P. Wilson, $3.10; Cornelius Wellington, $3.20; Henry Grew, $3.20; Lewis Hunt, $6.40; J. S. Shaller, $1.20.

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The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 1, 1877.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
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FREE RELIGIOUS CONVENTION.

A Convention of the Free Religious Association is to be held in New Haven, on the 8th and 9th of November, beginning on Thursday evening, the 8th, and holding through Friday, the 9th. O. B. Frothingham, T. W. Higginson, J. W. Chadwick, Felix Adler, F. E. Abbot, Miss Anna C. Garlin, D. H. Clark, and W. J. Potter are among the speakers invited, and most of them are expected to be present. Interesting and timely subjects will be presented for discussion, and the New Haven friends promise a successful gathering.

Further particulars in the local papers.

WM. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

OUR THANKS are due to Mr. George Jacob Holyoake for some interesting English papers, in one of which we find the following paragraph under the head of "Relics of Bygone Agitations": "The historic sword, which was to clear the way for the Charter, drawn by John Frost on the morning of the fatal affray at Newport, has recently passed into the possession of Mr. G. J. Holyoake. The nonagenarian agitator never saw it after his sentence for high treason in 1839. It was taken from him on the morning of the fray by Colonel Napier, the officer who apprehended and dispossessed him of it. It passed into the hands of Humphrey F. A. Burchel-Hearne, Esq., of Bushey Grange, near Watford, late sheriff for the County of Herts, who made a present of it some twenty years ago to the Rev. Theodore M. N. Owen, vicar of Rhodes, Manchester, by whose courtesy it was passed into the possession of Mr. Holyoake. It is a handsome straight duelling sword, with ivory handle, in leather scabbard, and good condition. On the sheath are engraved the words: 'Foster, St. James' Street, cutler to his Majesty, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York.' Mr. Holyoake also possesses the only specimen known of the spear constructed by Colonel Maccerone for resisting the cavalry in the Reform Bill agitation of 1830, and the flag of the 'Washington,' which carried Garibaldi's thousand to Marsala, and the last flag sent from England to the forlorn hopes which fought for Italian unity."

THE REMARKS of the *Nation* on the late Socialist meeting at Ghent will displease some of their sympathizers on this side of the Atlantic: "The Socialists have been showing signs of renewed activity by holding a Congress of the International at Ghent, in Belgium, consisting of about forty delegates, representing branches in all parts of Europe and in the United States. The discussions seem to have been attended with considerable difficulty, owing to the want of a common language; but in one way or another all were made acquainted with what was going on. The executive committee and the headquarters of the association are in Chicago, it appears, and a long communication from the committee, containing an account of the late strike here and its cause, was read by the secretary. It wound up by saying that 'great changes are proceeding in public opinion here,' and that 'it is evident to all that the false Republic cannot last much longer in its present form,' and that 'unless the Socialistic movement shall reform it, a monarchy, or rather an oligarchy, will be established in a few years,'—which brings it very near. The platform adopted by the Congress was the old one, with which the world is tolerably familiar, and which may be said in general terms to consist in the overthrow of all existing institutions. The fundamental plank is, however, the abolition of private property, and the 'expropriation' of land, machinery, implements, capital, and all by the State or 'Commune.' The new and appalling difficulty in the way of human regeneration which this plan raises—that of getting the owners of property to give it up,—and which may be said to be the greatest ever encountered by reformers in any age, was not treated at all in the discussions. It seemed to be taken for granted that it could be overcome by full discussion, and that as soon as people found themselves 'cornered' in argument by a humanitarian logician they would incontinently surrender their goods.

"TRUTHS FOR THE TIMES."

The great labor involved in making suitable preparations for the Rochester Congress has prevented us from writing in advance, as usual in case of brief absences, the customary editorial article for this page. Our readers will pardon us, we trust, for venturing to supply the vacuum by reprinting the following condensed statement of our general religious position. The "Fifty Affirmations" occupied the first page of the first number of THE INDEX, January 1, 1870; and the "Modern Principles" filled the same page in the first number for the year 1871. Since that time, so many changes have occurred in the mail-list that these carefully studied papers will probably be new to a majority of our present subscribers; and we hope that even those who have already read them will read them once more. There is scarcely a word we should wish to change, were we to re-write these papers to-day; and it is our hope that the *systematic unity of thought* in Free Religion which we have here tried to bring out into clear view will be found to be the chief element of such value as may be attributed to these papers, which constitute the first of the Index Tracts.

Fifty Affirmations.

RELIGION.

1. Religion is the effort of Man to perfect himself.
2. The root of religion is universal human nature.
3. Historical religions are all one, in virtue of this one common root.
4. Historical religions are all different, in virtue of their different historical origin and development.
5. Every historical religion has thus two distinct elements,—one universal or spiritual, and the other special or historical.
6. The universal element is the same in all historical religions; the special element is peculiar in each of them.
7. The universal and the special elements are equally essential to the existence of an historical religion.
8. The unity of all religions must be sought in their universal element.
9. The peculiar character of each religion must be sought in its special element.

RELATION OF JUDAISM TO CHRISTIANITY.

10. The idea of a coming "kingdom of heaven" arose naturally in the Hebrew mind after the decay of the Davidic monarchy, and ripened under foreign oppression into passionate longing and expectation.
11. The "kingdom of heaven" was to be a world-wide empire on this earth, both temporal and spiritual, to be established on the ruins of the great empires of antiquity by the miraculous intervention of Jehovah.
12. The Messiah or Christ was to reign over the "kingdom of heaven" as the visible deputy of Jehovah, who was considered the true sovereign of the Hebrew nation. He was to be a Priest-King,—the supreme pontiff or high-priest of the Hebrew Church, and absolute monarch of the Hebrew State.
13. The "apocalyptic literature" of the Jews exhibits the gradual formation and growth of the idea of the Messianic "kingdom of heaven."
14. All the leading features of the gospel doctrine concerning the "kingdom of heaven," the "end of the world," the "great day of judgment," the "coming of the Christ in the clouds of heaven," the "resurrection of the dead," the condemnation of the wicked, and the exaltation of the righteous, the "passing away of the heavens and the earth," and the appearance of a "new heaven and a new earth," were definitely formed and firmly fixed in the Hebrew mind, in the century before Jesus was born.
15. John the Baptist came preaching that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand." But he declared himself merely the forerunner of the Messiah.
16. Jesus also came preaching that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand," and announced himself as the Messiah or Christ.
17. Jesus emphasized the spiritual aspect of the Messianic kingdom; but, although he expected his throne to be established by the miraculous intervention of God, and therefore refused to employ human means in establishing it, he nevertheless expected to discharge the political functions of his office as King and Judge, when the fulness of time should arrive.
18. As a preacher of purely spiritual truth, Jesus perhaps stands at the head of all the great religious teachers of the past.
19. As claimant of the Messianic crown, and founder of Christianity as a distinct historical religion, Jesus shared the spirit of an unenlightened age, and stands on the same level with Gautama or Mohammed.
20. In the belief of his disciples, the death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus would not prevent the establishment of the "kingdom of heaven." His throne was conceived to be already established in the heavens; and the early Church impatiently awaited its establishment on earth at the "second coming of the Christ."
21. Christianity thus appears as simply the complete development of Judaism,—the highest possible fulfilment of the Messianic dreams based on the Hebrew conception of a "chosen people."

CHRISTIANITY.

22. Christianity is the historical religion taught in the Christian Scriptures, and illustrated in the history of the Christian Church.
23. It is a religion in virtue of its universal element; it is the Christian religion in virtue of its special element.
24. The Christian Scriptures teach, from beginning to end, that "Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ of God,"—that is, the Hebrew Messiah. This, the Christian Confession, was declared both by Jesus and the Apostles to be necessary to salvation or admission into the "kingdom of heaven."
25. The Christian Church, from its origin to the present day, has everywhere planted itself on faith in the Christian Confession, as its divinely appointed foundation,—the eternal "rock" against which the "gates of hell shall never prevail."
26. The Christian Confession gradually created on the one hand the theology, and on the other hand the hierarchy, of the Roman Catholic Church. The process was not, as is claimed, a corruption, but a natural and logical development.
27. The Church of Rome embodies Christianity in its most highly developed and perfect form, as a religion of authority based on the Christian Confession.
28. Protestantism is the gradual disintegration of Christianity, whether regarded theologically or ecclesiastically, under the influence of the free spirit of protest against authority.
29. "Liberal Christianity"—that is, democratic autocracy in religion—is the highest development of the free spirit of protest against authority which is possible within the Christian Church. It is, at the same time, the lowest possible development of faith in the Christ,—a return to the Christian Confession in its crudest and least developed form.
30. Christianity is the religion of Christians, and all Christians are believers in the Christ.
31. The Christian name, whatever else it may include, necessarily includes faith in Jesus as the Christ of God. Any other use of the name is abuse of it. Under some interpretation or other, the Christian Confession is the boundary line of Christianity.

FREE RELIGION.

32. The Protestant Reformation was the birth of Free Religion,—the beginning of the religious protest against authority within the confines of the Christian Church.
33. The history of Protestantism is the history of the growth of Free Religion at the expense of the Christian Religion. As love of freedom increases, reverence for authority decreases.
34. The completion of the religious protest against authority must be the extinction of faith in the Christian Confession.
35. Free Religion is emancipation from the outward law, and voluntary obedience to the inward law.
36. The great faith or moving power of Free Religion is faith in Man as a progressive being.
37. The great ideal end of Free Religion is the perfection or complete development of Man,—the race serving the individual, the individual serving the race.
38. The great practical means of Free Religion is the integral, continuous, and universal education of man.
39. The great law of Free Religion is the still, small voice of the private soul.
40. The great peace of Free Religion is spiritual oneness with the infinite one.
41. Free Religion is the natural outcome of every historical religion—the final unity, therefore, towards which all historical religions slowly tend.

RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO FREE RELIGION.

42. Christianity is identical with Free Religion so far as its universal element is concerned,—antagonistic to it so far as its special element is concerned.
43. The corner-stone of Christianity is faith in the Christ. The corner-stone of Free Religion is faith in Human Nature.
44. The great institution of Christianity is the Christian Church, the will of the Christ being its supreme law. The great institution of Free Religion is the coming Republic of the World, or Common-

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wealth of Man, the universal conscience and reason of mankind being its supreme organic law or constitution.

45. The fellowship of Christianity is limited by the Christian Confession; its brotherhood includes all subjects of the Christ and excludes all others. The fellowship of Free Religion is universal and free; it proclaims the Great Brotherhood of Man without limit or bound.

46. The practical work of Christianity is to Christianize the world,—to convert all souls to the Christ, and insure their salvation from the wrath of God. The practical work of Free Religion is to humanize the world,—to make the individual nobler here and now, and to convert the human race into a vast Co-operative Union devoted to universal ends.

47. The spiritual ideal of Christianity is the suppression of self and perfect imitation of Jesus the Christ. The spiritual ideal of Free Religion is the free development of self, and the harmonious education of all its powers to the highest possible degree.

48. The essential spirit of Christianity is that of self-humiliation at the feet of Jesus, and passionate devotion to his person. The essential spirit of Free Religion is that of self-respect and free self-devotion to great ideas. Christianity is prostrate on its face; Free Religion is erect on its feet.

49. The noblest fruit of Christianity is a self-sacrificing love of man for Jesus' sake. The noblest fruit of Free Religion is a self-sacrificing love of man for man's own sake.

50. Christianity is the faith of the soul's childhood; Free Religion is the faith of the soul's manhood. In the gradual growth of mankind out of Christianity into Free Religion, lies the only hope of the spiritual perfection of the individual and the spiritual unity of the race.

Modern Principles.

I. CHRISTIANITY AS A SYSTEM.

1. Regarded as to its universal element, Christianity is a beautiful but imperfect presentation of natural morality.

2. Regarded as to its special element, Christianity is a great completed system of faith and life,—a coherent body of doctrines logically developed and organized as an historical power by the Christian Church. It claims absolute control over the collective life of society and the outward and inward life of the individual. It rests this claim on the supernatural revelation of the will of God; that is, on the principle of DIVINE AUTHORITY.

3. The chief features of this system are the doctrines of the Fall of Adam, the Total Depravity of the human race, the Everlasting Punishment of the wicked, and salvation by Christ alone. Through the transgression of the first man, all human beings lie under the consuming wrath of God, and are condemned to an everlasting hell, from which the only escape is by the Atonement of Christ.

4. This system demands absolute and unreasoning submission from the human mind. It teaches that doubt is sin, and that disbelief is damnation. It everywhere condemns freedom of thought, and persecutes it in proportion to its power. It is the worst enemy of liberty, science, and civilization, because it is organized DESPAIR OF MAN.

II. FREE RELIGION AS A SYSTEM.

5. Free Religion is a great and growing system of ideas, hitherto very imperfectly developed, but destined to become embodied in a world-wide Commonwealth of Man. It will claim absolute control over the collective life of society and the outward and inward life of the individual. It will rest this claim on the natural perception of truth by the universal human race; that is, on the principle of HUMAN FREEDOM.

6. The chief features of this system are the supremacy of liberty in all matters of government, the supremacy of science in all matters of belief, the supremacy of morality in all matters of conduct, and the supremacy of benevolence in all social and personal relations. It puts the Church on the level of all other institutions, the Bible on the level of all other books, the Christ on the level of all other men, leaving them to stand or fall by their intrinsic merits or demerits.

7. This system encourages the largest activity of the human mind, and asks no assent that can be withheld. It is the best friend of progress of every kind, because it is organized FAITH IN MAN.

III. ANTAGONISM OF THE TWO SYSTEMS.

8. Between these two great systems there exists an absolute conflict of principles, aims, and methods. The one ruled the world in the Dark Ages of the past. The other will rule the world in the Light Ages of the future. Their battle-ground is the Twilight Age of the present.

9. Free Religion emphasizes the *Unity of the Universe*, the *Unity of Mankind*, the *Unity of the Person*, and the *Unity of the Unities*.

IV. THE UNITY OF THE UNIVERSE.

10. Nature is an organic, living whole. All things are in harmony as parts of a perfect cosmos. All phenomena, physical and spiritual, are correlated in the unity of a perfect order.

11. The laws of Nature are elements of one underlying, all-permeating, all-comprehensive system of Law. Fixed and inviolable, from eternity to eternity they know no change. The belief in miracle is an infinite delusion.

12. The forces of Nature are modes of one omnipresent Energy, illimitable, uncreatable, indestructible,—the cause of all metamorphoses and the life of all that lives.

13. Thus Nature is infinitely *many* in her phenomena, and absolutely *one* in her order, laws, and forces.

V. THE UNITY OF MANKIND.

14. The origin of the human race is one, in virtue of a common descent from inferior types of being.

15. The nature of the human race is one, in virtue of the universal possession, in varying degrees, of the same fundamental faculties.

16. The destiny of the human race is one, in virtue of a slow but constant progress towards a universal and perfect civilization.

17. The human race ought to be a political unit, as a universal Republic of Republics based on the principle that the liberty of the individual is absolute except as limited by the equal rights of all individuals.

18. The human race ought to be a social unit, as a universal Coöperative Union based on free industry and free commerce,—labor and capital being reconciled by the education of ignorance and the reformation of selfishness.

19. The human race ought to be a religious unit, as a universal Brotherhood of Man, based on faith in human nature and love for all human beings.

20. Thus the human race is one in origin, nature, and destiny; and it ought to be one politically, socially, and religiously.

VI. THE UNITY OF THE PERSON.

21. Every human being is an independent consciousness, manifesting itself on the one hand in numerous unlike faculties (sensation, perception, locomotion, passion, affection, will, reason, conscience, etc.), and manifesting itself on the other hand in the absolute unity of personality (the *I*).

22. Every human being ought to develop the unity of personality into the unity of character, based on the principle that the liberty of every faculty is absolute in the exercise of its natural function.

23. The unity of character requires that the Intellect shall make experience its point of departure, reason its road, knowledge its goal, and the love of truth its inspiration and guide; that it shall count all questions open that are not shut by positive demonstration; that it shall reject all answers which have no better basis than ignorant assumption or dogmatic authority; and that it shall seek answers to all questions through the patient study of universal Nature according to the laws of scientific thought.

24. The unity of character requires that the Conscience shall govern all personal action by absolute and universal moral ideas (truthfulness, justice, benevolence, purity, honor, integrity, self-respect); that it shall speak in all places and at all times with the voice of absolute command; that it shall shine like a sun that never sets, flooding the soul with the light of an ever-beautiful ideal; that it shall unsparingly rebuke every betrayal of the right, encourage fidelity to it by approving smiles, and waken deathless aspiration towards it by unveiling the eternal possibility of virtue; and that it shall make the welfare of all a private duty to each, thus consecrating the private life to the public good.

25. The unity of character requires that the Affections shall irradiate life in all its relations with the splendor of unselfish love; that they shall make manhood more manly and womanhood more womanly by blending them in one pure and happy home; that they shall dignify existence with noble friendships; that they shall deepen the joy and lighten the grief of others by respectful and tender sympathy; that they shall reverence the good and pity the evil in every human soul, and broaden out into a mighty and self-forgetful love of universal man.

26. The unity of character requires that the Will shall serve the conscience and reason, and know no other law; that it shall master the passions and confine them to their lawful functions; that it shall be incorruptible in this servantship, and unconquerable in this mastership; and that thus, harmonizing the animal and the spiritual, it shall bring the entire man into harmony with the laws of Nature.

27. The unity of character requires that the Sentiments and Imagination shall soar to the beautiful and sublime, and never trail their wings in defiling mire; that they shall venerate the truly venerable, delight in the magnificence of universal Nature, and thrill to its mysterious life; that they shall recognize the infinitude of the unknown, and add to the clear insights of science the deep glow of poetry and the deeper reverence of worship.

28. Thus the individual is one in the unity of personality, and ought to be one in the unity of a free, powerful, and self-harmonized character.

VII. THE UNITY OF THE UNITIES.

29. The Unity of the Universe is repeated in miniature in the ideal Unity of Mankind; and the ideal Unity of Mankind is repeated in miniature in the ideal Unity of the Person. The macrocosm is mirrored in the microcosm.

30. The great inspiration of the nineteenth century is faith in these ideal unities as possible in fact. Its faith in Man is part of its faith in universal Nature; and its faith in universal Nature includes and necessitates its faith in Man.

31. The great endeavor of the nineteenth century, half-conscious though it be, is thus to reproduce the eternal harmony of Nature in the life of the race and the life of the individual,—to create a civilization grounded on universal reverence for freedom, truth, and the equal rights of all mankind.

32. The Universe is Many in One, and One in Many. Such also will be Humanity, when its ideals shall have been realized in the world and in the soul. The national motto of America has become the great watchword of the ages—E PLURIBUS UNUM.

TWO VIEWS OF THE BIBLE.

In a discourse specially addressed to young converts in Boston, Rev. Joseph Cook is reported to have said, "The Bible is the only book which will bear perfect translation into life. Shakspeare drips with inculcations that would not be fit for any one to immerse himself in. The same may be said of Milton, Plato, and others. We may take the whole inculcation of the Bible and find it healthful. There is no other book which you would be willing to have for your pillow when dying. Its whole inculcation, if absorbed into civilization, would work well."

On the same day that I read this report of Mr. Cook's lecture in a Boston newspaper, there came to me a circular containing a notice of a new freethought journal to be published in New York, in which the editor says, "I have long been of the opinion that the Bible is the one great obstacle to human happiness. To this book I attribute nine-tenths of the evil, the ignorance, and the wide-spread misery among the nations of the earth at the present day. I look upon it as a work of fiction emanating from selfish and designing brains, and with none but selfish and evil intentions."

We have in these utterances the two extremes of popular thought in America on the character of the Bible. Yet, far apart as these opinions are, one of them is the product of the other,—if not by the genesis of direct descent, at least by force of repulsion and reaction. That is, the extreme negative view of the Bible, which regards it as a fraudulent and evil book, would never have found any lodgement in the human mind, had it not been for the extreme Orthodox view, which regards the Bible as an exceptionally inspired book revealing infallibly from beginning to end the perfect will of God. Had the Bible been left in the position of other books, as a human composition—as, in the main, the natural literary product of the Hebrew people for many centuries of their history,—it may be safely said that we should never have heard the opinion expressed in this nineteenth century, that it is an imposture emanating from designing brains and the cause of most of the ignorance and misery existing among mankind. It is only the extraordinary claims made for the Bible which have led to the extraordinary attacks upon it. A book of which it is alleged that it contains for the whole human race an infallible rule of belief and practice, that its whole inculcation, in every part and particular, is true and pure and healthful, and would work well if absorbed into civilization,—a book for which such claim is made certainly challenges atten-

tion. The claim is a challenge to the human mind to inquire and judge.

But when the human mind began to inquire, and as a result of inquiry began to question the claim, the ecclesiastics rushed to the defence of the threatened authority of the book, not always with a more learned inquiry, but with the power of ecclesiastical and civil law. They summoned the terrors of the Inquisition to their aid, and used all the spiritual appliances of hope and fear to keep the Bible in its place. Hence, naturally, the doubters and deniers of the claim began to transfer their hatred of the means used in defence of the Bible to the book itself, as if that were responsible for all the guilty instrumentalities employed in its favor, and as if its authors were somehow in collusion with the ecclesiastics who defended them, for the purpose of impeding science, and keeping the people in ignorance and superstition. And this is the mood of mind which the New York free-thinking editor inherits to-day.

But a later and broader scholarship has set aside both of these extreme views of the Bible as wholly unfounded. If critical research into any part of human history has settled anything, it has proved and settled, beyond a question, that the Bible is not an all-perfect book; that it is not an infallible record either as to matters of historical fact, or matters of intellectual truth, or matters of moral precept; that it is a book which has to be read, not blindly, but with reason and conscience alert to sift its errors from its truths. And the same research has proved that the book is no imposture, and no evil work of designing men. It has shown that the Bible is not one book, but many books,—of various contents, by numerous authors, in different languages and dialects, and covering a period of many centuries; that it is, in fine, the natural literary record of a people with a special genius for religion: not a heaven-born book nor a hell-born book, but an earth-born book,—a book born of humanity and sharing humanity's infirmities and aspirations; born of the human soul and bearing a faithful record of the struggles of the human soul out of earthiness towards moral and spiritual good.

W. J. P.

Communications.

A TIMELY AND NOBLE EXTRACT.

MR. ABBOT:—

In connection with those principles so forcibly enunciated by yourself, which are to come before the First Annual Congress of Liberals for consideration, and, I trust, consequent action, I should be much pleased if you could find space in THE INDEX for the following remarks by Prof. Ridpath, from his recently issued *History of the United States*. I think that you and your readers will agree that both the sentiments and the language in which they are clothed are very fine.

On page 620, in his sketch of the Centennial Exposition, occurs the following paragraph: "No structure of Fairmount Park was more characteristic of the epoch than the Woman's Pavilion. The building and its contents illustrated one of the grandest tendencies of American civilization,—the complete emancipation of woman. In ancient times her chains were forged; the Middle Age re-riveted them upon her; the Modern Era—even the Reformation—has mocked her with the *semblance* and the *show* of liberty. America sets her free, and lifts her to the seat of honor."

The concluding chapter is so good that I cannot resist the temptation to quote it entire:—

"What, then, of the outlook for the American Republic? What is to be the destiny of this vigorous, aggressive, self-governing Anglo-American race? How will the picture, so well begun, be completed by the annalists of posterity? Is it the sad fate of humanity, after all its struggles, toils, and sighing, to turn forever round and round in the same beaten circle, climbing the long ascent from the degradation of savage life to the heights of national renown only to descend again into the fen-lands of despair? Is Lord Byron's gloomy picture of the rise and fall of nations indeed a true portrayal of the order of the world?—

> "'Here is the moral of all human tales,—
> 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past;
> First freedom, and then glory; when that fails,
> Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last;
> And History with all her volumes vast
> Hath but *one* page!'

Or has the human race, breaking the bonds of its servitude, and escaping at last from its long imprisonment, struck out across the fields of sublime possibility the promised pathway leading to the final triumph? There are still doubts and fears, perplexities, anxieties, and sometimes anguish, arising in the soul of the philanthropist as he turns his gaze to the future. But there are hopes also, grounds of confidence, auspicious omens, tokens of the substantial victory of truth, inspirations of faith welling up in the heart of the watcher as he scans the dappled horizon of the coming day.

"As to present achievement, the American people have far surpassed the expectations of the fathers. The visions and dreams of the Revolutionary patriots have been eclipsed by the lustre of actual accomplishment. The territorial domains of the Republic enclose the grandest belt of forest, valley, and plain, that the world has in it. Since the beginning of time, no other people have possessed such a territory, so rich in resources, so varied in products, so magnificent in physical aspect. Soil and climate, the distribution of woods and lakes and rivers, the interposition of mountain ranges, and the fertility of valley and prairie, here contribute to give to man a many-sided and powerful development. Here he finds bays for his shipping, rivers for his steamers, fields for his plough, iron for his forge, gold for his cupidity, landscapes for his pencil, sunshine enough for song, and snow enough for courage. Nor has the Anglo-American failed to profit by the advantages of his surroundings. He has planted a free government on the largest and most liberal scale known in history. He has espoused the cause of liberty and right. He has fought like a hero for the freedom and equality of all men. He has projected a civilization which, though as yet but dimly traced in outlines, is the vastest and grandest in the world. Better than all, he believes in the times to come. So long as man is anxious about the future, the future is secure. Only when he falls into apathy, sleeps at his post, and cares no longer for the morrow, is the world in danger of relapse and barbarism.

"To the thoughtful student of history, several things seem necessary to the perpetuity and complete success of American institutions. The first of these is the prevalence of THE IDEA OF NATIONAL UNITY. Of this spake Washington in his *Farewell Address*, warning his countrymen in solemn words to preserve and defend that government which constituted them *one people*. Of this wrote Hamilton and Adams. For this pleaded Webster in his great orations. Upon this the far-seeing statesmen of the present day, rising above the strifes of party and the turmoils of war, plant themselves as the one thing vital in American politics.

"The idea that *the United States are one nation*, and not thirty-eight nations, is the grand cardinal doctrine of a sound political faith. State pride and sectional attachment are natural passions in the human breast, and are so near akin to patriotism as to be distinguished from it only in the court of a higher reason. But there is a nobler love of country,—a patriotism that rises above all places and sections; that knows no Country, no State, no North, no South, but only *native land*; that claims no mountain slope; that clings to no river-bank; that worships no range of hills; but lifts the aspiring eye to a continent redeemed from barbarism by common sacrifices and made sacred by the shedding of kindred blood. Such a patriotism is the cable and sheet-anchor of our hope.

"A second requisite for the preservation of our American institutions is THE UNIVERSAL SECULAR EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE. Monarchies govern their subjects by authority and precedent; republics by right reason and free will. Whether one method or the other will be better, turns wholly upon the intelligence of the governed. If the subject have not the knowledge and discipline necessary to govern himself, it is better that a king, in whom some skill in the science of government is presupposed, should rule him. As between two suspendous evils, the rational tyranny of the intelligent few is preferable to the furious and irrational tyranny of the ignorant many. No force which has proved among men, impelling to bad action, inspiring to crime, overturning order, tearing away the bulwarks of liberty and right, and converting civilization into a waste, has been so full of evil and so powerful to destroy as a blind, ignorant, and factious democracy. A republic without intelligence—even a high degree of intelligence—is a paradox and an impossibility. What means that principle of the Declaration of Independence which declares the consent of the governed to be the true foundation of all just authority? What kind of "consent" is referred to? Manifestly not the passive and unresisting acquiescence of the mind which, like the potter's clay, receives whatever is impressed upon it; but that active, thinking, resolute, conscious, personal consent which distinguishes the true freeman from the puppet. When the people of the United States rise to the heights of this noble and intelligent self-assertion, the occupation of the party leader—most despicable of all the tyrants—will be gone forever; and in order that the people may ascend to that high plane, the means by which intelligence is fostered, right reason exalted, and a calm and rational public opinion produced, must be universally secured. The public FREE SCHOOL is the fountain whose streams shall make glad all the lands of liberty. We must educate or perish.

"A third thing necessary to the perpetuity of American liberties is TOLERATION,—toleration in the broadest and most glorious sense. In the colonial times, intolerance embittered the lives of our fathers. Until the present day the baleful shadow has been upon the land. The proscriptive vices of the Middle Age have flowed down with the blood of the race and tainted the life that now is, with a suspicion and distrust of freedom. Liberty in the minds of men has meant the privilege of agreeing with the majority. Men have desired freethought, but fear has stood at the door. It remains for the United States to build a highway, broad and free, into every field of liberal inquiry, and to make the poorest man who walks therein more secure in life and reputation than the soldier who sleeps behind the rampart. Proscription has no part nor lot in the American system. The stake, the gibbet, and the rack, thumb-screws, sword, and pillory, have no place on this side of the sea. Nature is diversified; so are human faculties, beliefs, and practices. Essential freedom is the right *to differ*; and that right must be sacredly respected. Nor must the privilege of dissent be conceded with coldness and disdain, but openly, cordially, and with good will. No loss of rank, abatement of character, or ostracism from society must darken the pathway of the humblest of the seekers after truth. The right of freethought, free inquiry, and free speech is as clear as the noonday, and boundless as the air and ocean. Without a full and cheerful recognition of this right, America is only a name, her glory a dream, her institutions a mockery.

"The fourth idea, essential to the welfare and stability of the Republic, is THE NOBILITY OF LABOR. It is the mission of the United States to ennoble toil and honor the toiler. In other lands, to labor has been considered the lot of serfs and peasants; to gather the fruits and consume them in luxury and war, the business of the great. Since the medieval times, European society has been organized on the basis of a *nobility* and a *people*. To be a nobleman was to be distinguished from the people; to be one of the people was to be forever debarred from nobility. Thus has been set on human industry the stigma of perpetual disgrace. Something of this has been transmitted to the new civilization in the West; a certain disposition to renew the old order of lord and laborer. Let the odious distinction perish; the true lord is the laborer and the true laborer the lord. It is the genius of American institutions, in the fulness of time, to wipe the last opprobrious stain from the brow of toil, and to crown the toiler with the dignity, lustre, and honor of a full and perfect manhood.

"The scroll of the century is rolled together. The work is done! Peace to the memory of the fathers! Green be the graves where sleep the warriors, patriots, and sages! Calm be the resting-place of all the brave and true! Gentle be the summer rains on famous fields where armies met in battle! Forgotten be the animosities and heart-burnings of the strife! Sacred be the trusts committed to our care, and bright the visions of the coming ages!"

I think that the readers of THE INDEX will pardon the length of this extract in consideration of its many excellences.

E. C. WALKER.

FLORENCE, Iowa, Oct. 16, 1877.

AN UNHEEDED PHASE OF THE WOMAN QUESTION.

CANASTOTA, N.Y., Oct. 13, 1877.

DEAR SIR:—

In what I am going to say, I wish it to be understood that for more than thirty years I have upheld in the lecture-room, and by my pen, the entire equality of the sexes,—the right of woman to the same franchises in the "body politic" reached and claimed by man; that the measure of capacity is the measure of sphere to man and woman; that religion and morality are without sex; and hence all the highest and best that may pertain to humanity is the inalienable birthright of all, irrespective of sex, race, or color. Having thus given my bill of rights, I wish to propound some questions, suggested in part by an admirable article of Mr. B. F. Underwood in THE INDEX of Sept. 27.

He says: "Man may do with impunity in every part of this enlightened nation that which, if woman does it is to her worse than death. And it is considered a matter of course. It is something to which there is scarcely an objection, and yet it is simply an implication *that woman is not the equal of man*, else it would never be that that which shall bring disgrace and social infamy to one may be tolerated in the other without anything derogatory to his character." The italics are mine.

Is this a fair inference? Does it not rather imply, whether justly or not, that woman exercises a higher moral activity? That, despite of a false position and the oppressions of the long ages, she has, better than her brother, seized upon and adhered to the purer moralities, and has thus taught the world to expect more from her, and that, when she falls, she falls like Lucifer, from the high level she has claimed for herself.

Does not the priest stand in the same relation? Do we not demand of him, rightfully, purer moralities than we exact from the man of mere fashion? Again: when men insist upon the purity or chasteness of the women of their households, do they expect this from base or selfish motives? Rather is it not a question by itself, and may not this demand for moral excellence in woman have really been one method of preserving in the human mind the best intuitions of holiness?

Does a manly man ever absolve himself from the severity of moral obligations? Are not those who are lax in this respect the ignorant and the depraved by heredity? Is it necessary that a human being shall be a priest or a woman before he is qualified to give personally his testimony to the excellence of a chaste life? By the emphasis with which a man insists upon the high moralities in his family, has he not given his testimony in favor of them?

Are the moral aberrations of a man equally destructive to the family as those of the woman? If she sin, does not her crime strike, not only a blow at the marriage relation, but also at the rights of property, and the genuineness of paternity? And therefore does not a bad life in her tell worse upon society than a bad life in him?

I am not defending unmanly lives and immoralities in men; I am simply wishing to ask about what may rightfully be demanded of women.

Does not an immoral woman invalidate the rights of her child?

Is it desirable to preserve genealogies?

Is it desirable that offspring should be heirs of property?

If so, is it not doubly a duty to the woman to keep the family escutcheon free from blot?

Are we to see our old corner-stones of morality swept away because some declare that certain sins

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are no worse in woman than in man? I contend that, as society is now organized, they are worse. In the sight of God, in the light of eternal issues, all sin is sin, and we are not in a condition to grade it; but I prefer that my sex should adhere to the austerities of the virtues rather then loosen the bands that hold the family together. It is to be fervently wished that the other sex should come up to our standard, not that we should go over to theirs.

I suppose, when we were all troglodytes, the strong man drove marauders out of his cave with fist and club,—and we are not yet far beyond this savagery; but if this was the way that women took their moral suasion, and learned indirectly the sanctities of the person, society has grown up with certain ideas of the responsibilities, graces, and requirements of her sex, which I believe may be better enlarged than neutralized. It may be that the cave life had its attractions; but as civilization does not tend that way, the surest method for us to assert our equality with the other sex is, not to abate one iota of our own moral acquirements for ourselves, but strive to so enlighten the other sex that they will learn that the laws of paternity are mutual.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH,
Pastor Independent Church of Canastota.

[We are glad to find these very important and true positions insisted on by a lady; for they need emphasis in any thorough discussion of the "woman question," and yet seem ungracious if urged by a man.—ED.]

THE LESSONS OF THE STRIKES.

CASTLETON, Ill., Oct. 6, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

It is a source of much satisfaction to myself to note the interest that is being taken by so many writers upon the labor question. As E. L. Crane says, "The subject grows"; and from the comparison of the different views held by these writers, I am persuaded that there is yet abundance of room for it still to develop into greater proportion.

The contrast of views upon this question seem wide in the extreme. For instance, one will applaud the action of the strikers and the license of riot—revolution in their eyes,—for the reason that it elevates the dignity of labor, and calls into view the injustices which the laboring class, as a whole, have to bear; against which the laborer, in his attempt to use force to free himself, is entitled to as much praise as though he had, as a soldier in time of war, simply performed his duty in the attempt to gain a victory over the enemy.

Another writer, whose sense of justice towards all parties, from laborers to capitalists, seems in no want of keenness, sees naught but the most serious mistake in the late strike. The remedy for an existing evil, he thinks, is not to be brought about by the use of mob force; and to sanction or applaud in any degree, or any form, anything of the kind, will only tend to increase the unstability of capital; compelling it ultimately to seek opportunities for investment where its security from accidents will seem best assured. To him the strike is a strike against justice, reason, and the interests of the laborer, as well as against capital, which suffers least of all and only for the time being; as in the end her demands are made good by the additional levying of taxes, the payment of which falls upon those who have never sanctioned or countenanced any act tending to array each against the other.

Looking at the labor question from my own standpoint, it seems that the want of unity in our views of this question results from the manner in which we have educated ourselves for its observation.

As man educates himself with a view to recognize facts, what appears to him as the greatest and most weighty, as a matter of course, will take precedence of all others. So with myself in viewing capital, for in it exists the providence of the laborer,—the means that has civilized and is still civilizing the human race; a minister, as it were, doing an outside service for humanity, greatly needed, and one that demands acknowledgment just as much as the religion which it always affords us so much pleasure to acknowledge, having served the *within* to the purpose of humanizing and socializing the race.

Capital being the lever, the aggregate energy or force of the laboring class is the fulcrum upon which this lever works, has worked, and will work for all future time. The refusal to labor here is to deny the means which capital must ever employ in order both to promote commerce and civilization.

It is often said that commerce is more effectual in its civilizing influences than religion, for the reason, undoubtedly, that it brings all portions of the human race to know each other by personal contact. If this be true, and it seems to me that no sane man can deny it, then it is easy to perceive that the labor which has built up the wealth of any nation to that degree that it gave the requisite stimulus for commercial intercourse has been the *real* missionary of the age.

It is probable that an undue weight of labor falls upon those whose means of knowing its precise value is so limited, that no other alternative exists than to accept its conditions. The men who have built our canals and our railroads—who have performed the heaviest part of the labor in their construction,—have been those less qualified to set a just value upon their labor in the degree of the obscurity to their minds of the utility attendant upon the completion of such enterprises.

But suppose the case to have been opposite, and that every person who has shouldered the greatest burdens of labor had been qualified to write essays upon the utility of canals, railroads, and commercial intercourse; what time must have elapsed before such intercourse could have been realized!

My own opinion is, that the labor which enables capital to realize the quickest return promotes the welfare of mankind in general, in the same degree that it insures the profits of labor.

The solving of this problem—how to reconcile labor with capital—rests mainly upon two conditions: the education of all laboring classes, and the abrogation of all laws tending to create or justify monopolies in whatever form. These conditions once secured, the attitude of the laboring classes will be such as to encourage the hope of justice, if not, in fact, to realize it. So here we have another argument for compulsory or universal education; for verily, it gives man the key that opens the door which, in his ignorance, he vainly attempts to demolish by using brute force,—by which he not only damages himself, but those who already have burdens of their own to carry, and to whom it is rank injustice to add more.

Yours for justice *in* education,
C. W. NEWTON.

THE "RIGHT OF RIOT."

EDITOR INDEX:—

I am not yet at rest on the question of the "right of riot."

Any noisy disturbance of the public peace, in which several individuals are engaged, may justly be called a riot; while a political revolution is, briefly, a material change in the constitution of a government. But I cannot see that this distinction has anything whatever to do with the right or wrong of riot. The simple question is this: Are ten men, or a hundred, or a thousand, ever justified in resisting by force an apparent wrong? If such action *is* justifiable, then it makes no difference whether this forcible resistance to a controlling power (governmental or individual) be carried on by a "Boston Tea Party," in 1773, or by a set of railroad employés a hundred years later. Looking at the matter in this light, Mr. Babcock's comparison does not strike me as being particularly "wild."

I challenge any one to dispute the right, at certain times, of "resort to private war for private purposes." Make the case your own. Suppose a gang of burglars should conspire to enter and rob your house; would you choose mildly to submit to their depredations? Not at all. And yet the opposite course would most certainly involve you in a sort of "private war."

Suppose, further, that a deep-laid plan has been matured into action, whereby several men are robbed, not openly, but secretly, of large amounts little by little. Is not resistance to such injustice quite as natural and praiseworthy as in the first instance? But the "private war" thus inaugurated, would not, in either case, be wholly for "private purposes." Never yet was a blow dealt in the name of justice, though the hand were weak, and the issue trifling, that its power was not felt outside of individuals, as a help and a blessing to all mankind.

If "in all civilized countries," such a thing as "private war" is "justly regarded as a high crime," then may I be permitted to emigrate at once to some savage land where the innate sense of right in the human soul has not become so dulled by an overwhelming deference to the "best policy," and a cringing subserviency to MIGHT as to allow men to sit like slaves at the feet of power.

In heaven's name, if there is anything in life worth living for, let us not forget that, everywhere and under all circumstances, "RESISTANCE TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD!"

B. HARVEY.

BOSTON, Oct. 14.

[There is evidently a strong temptation to disregard the well-established distinctions we have already pointed out, since it is impossible to overthrow them. But we must be so impolite as to insist that putting down rioters, who are forcibly preventing industrious men from working, and forcibly preventing all travel on public thoroughfares, is precisely that "resistance to (*mob*) tyrants" which is "obedience to God." It is a melancholy confusion of thought to see no difference between such infamous acts as these and that justifiable self-defence against murderers or burglars which *the law itself sanctions*. We are perfectly willing to refer the case to our readers without further argument, for which we have at present no leisure.—ED.]

MISS ANTHONY'S ADDRESS.

It was a startling conviction which took possession of me, upon the occasion of Susan B. Anthony's late address to working-men, that she herself is not wholly insensible to well-digested instincts of coquetry.

She had fairly launched her subject into the deep waters of political discontent, graciously but inevitably weaving facts and figures relating to woman's rights into its meshes, when (at a point in which she divined that possibly, and more than likely, she would be misrepresented) she hesitated, and waved her hand in a half-entreating yet authoritative manner toward the "reporter," with the remark, "Don't misstate that." It was a gesture of graceful deprecation and womanly shrinking from abusive criticism,—which, I may as well add here, had its reward, in the next day's issue of the daily paper, of fair and just statements.

That reporter knows perfectly well, no matter what he may say, that, in the guise of a strong-minded fanatic, Susan B. Anthony is at heart a confiding, timid woman,—that beneath that armor of steel lies hidden a womanly woman's misgivings.

After all that has been asserted in proof of woman's graceful concessions and arts of pleasing having their outgrowth in inherited and life-long servitude, I prefer to think, and to believe with deep religious fervor, that these are gifts inborn in her nature,—that self-denial, tender compassion, long-suffering, and loving companionship abide with her from the laws of her being,—and that this power, which now permeates the domestic circle will, when conveyed to broader fields of citizenship, control the nation, overshadowing its discordant elements with the same influence by which the household is held in abeyance, neither chopping down trees nor drawing them to the door, peradventure, but with politic provision utilizing such material to the best interests of the family.

In every condition of life the mother's dispensation is recognized as next to that of the Supreme in beneficence. Why, then, in the government of nations, should she be represented by proxy, while this jewel of priceless value lies mouldering beneath the conservatism of the age?

Upon the whole, I was well pleased that this slight indication of kinship in our relations with one another should have been forced upon me,—and from such a quarter!—proving that conditions of oppression, injustice, and calumny have no power to change the mutual dependence of the sexes,—of deference and courtesy one toward the other.

An enthusiastic lady remarked that she fairly longed for the time to come when she should have the privilege of standing in the street-cars. But why stand? Why should the woman who holds a vote stand? In place of standing, she would be enthroned upon velvet, with courtiers kneeling at her feet. Modern knights of chivalry would vie with each other in assisting her from the street-car. Who talks of standing when equal rights are distributed? Meantime let the courtesies of life be continued though the heavens fall; let the bulwarks which hedge in the divinity of womanhood be preserved. And while the gentle dew of her influence falls upon administrations of law and equity, let her in no wise yield her just dues of reverence and courtesy to fancied views of independence, or in her zeal reject homage paid to her beauty and delicacy,—which compact between the sexes constitutes the very safeguard of civilization.

CONSERVATRIX.

TOLEDO, O.

A NEW PRAYER.

In a meditative mood, the other day, while lying in a hammock and enjoying the delicious languor that steals over one after emerging from a salt-water bath, the light of other days broke upon my mental vision, and I thought, among other things, of the "prayers of my youth." At that moment the baker halted at the door, and shot past me with a basket containing two loaves of fresh bread,—one white and one brown one.

Next to the pleasure of eating a thing you like, is the privilege of smelling it. In my meditative mood, the odor of this fresh, sweet bread was all the food I cared for. So with eyes upon that basket and its contents, I murmured slowly and thoughtfully: "Give us this day our daily bread." Suddenly, out from the kitchen window flashed a white hand and arm,—they were at work, for I noticed traces of flour upon them. I heard the jingle of silver, the baker puckered up his lips and turned away, whistling, "Put me in my little bed" (and I must confess he looked sleepy), leaving me still "at my prayers." "Give us this day our daily bread." Now *that* bread—I mean that which I saw in the basket—was paid for by the industry, thrift, and general "level-headedness" of the owner of that white hand and arm. If there be a heavenly bake-shop, *she* never got a cracker from it. Ah, "spiritual bread," you say, it means. Well, when you prove to me that a man or woman can have "spirits" of any kind without something in the stomach to generate them, I'll be ready with you to say: "Give us this day our daily bread." But I still kept "at my prayers." "Thy will be done." How can it be otherwise, when God is omnipotent? "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us." Hoity-toity, that is a clever notion, upon my word! "As we forgive those who trespass against us"! How many of us, think you, "In the course of justice should see salvation," were *our* trespasses to be forgiven *only* in proportion as we forgive those who trespass against us? "Lead us not into temptation." If he do, will it be *our* fault? "Deliver us from evil." "Good" and "evil" are both notes on the same key-board. One cannot exist without the other. Once "delivered" from evil, all progress must be at an end. This very "delivery" for which men pray is the very one thing above all things that they ought *not* to ask for.

The storm created the steamship, pestilence is the parent of health, the sting of pain teaches us mercy, night makes day comprehensible. The naughty Romans and Jews are to be thanked for all our "saints," ay, for our very "Savior." Life is simply action and reaction, and we can't kick unless we have something to kick against. "For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever and ever." Of course there is no denying that, if he created everything, he must own everything.

But I still continued my prayers, only now they were addressed to those who need them most, and ran somewhat as follows: "Thou mortal who art upon earth, undefiled be thy name; thy prosperity come; thy justice be done on earth as if it were a heaven; share each day thy daily bread; forgive men their trespasses that they may be moved to forgive thee thine; go thou not into temptation, but be ever mindful of evil; for thine is the punishment, the joy, and the sorrow, come one day or many, *amen*."

INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD.

NEW YORK, Sept. 24, 1877.

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NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

GLIMPSES.

READ CAREFULLY the report of the Rochester Congress in this issue, and ask yourself whether the movement which there took definite shape is not destined in time to sweep the country before it.

AT A MEETING of the Manhattan Liberal Club, in New York city, October 19, at which Professor A. L. Rawson was chairman and Mr. Porter C. Bliss secretary, it was voted by the Club to declare itself auxiliary to the National Liberal League, take out a charter, and elect as delegates to the Rochester Congress the following persons: D. M. Bennett, Hugh B. Brown, Mrs. Clara Neymann, Porter C. Bliss, and Theron C. Leland. This action was reported at Rochester.

PRESIDENT HAYES repeats the evil precedent of issuing a Thanksgiving proclamation in the name of the nation. He has no right to do this. Nobody goes to church because the President advises him to; but color is thus given to the dangerous and false claim that "this is a Christian government." It is strange blindness not to see through the strategic policy of the Church in thus getting State sanction for its creed and cultus. Liberals ought not to be so easily duped as to regard such customs as innocuous.

OF ALL the speakers at the Rochester Congress, none made a more favorable impression on the great audience than Mrs. Clara Neymann, who came from New York city to express the sympathy of our German fellow-liberals in the new political movement. Possessed of a charming personal address, and uniting transparent earnestness, unaffected simplicity, and delicate modesty in her manner, she spoke with such evidence of true culture and high ethical purpose as captivated all her hearers, and brought down the house with deafening applause on the conclusion of her thoughtful paper—which, by the way, we have received for publication in THE INDEX. Mrs. Neymann is desirous to enter the lecture field on behalf of liberalism, and her manifest ability to render important service in its cause makes us trust that she will receive invitations to lecture from all quarters. Her address for the present is 97 Maiden Lane, New York city.

REFERRING to the three monarchical factions which plot together to compass the overthrow of the French republic, Gambetta said in his famous Belleville speech: "The hand that draws them together is the hand of clericalism. It is the Ultramontane conspiracy in which lies the greatest peril of all; the one danger at which the country may fairly tremble; the faction which puts the Church before France, and which would set Europe in flames to restore the temporal power. Their last hope is in France. Austria has shaken off the yoke of the concordat. Italy has emancipated herself. Spain itself has dealt blows at the Ultramontanes. Germany wars upon them. Holland and England stand fast against their encroachments. Their sole hope is France, and it is they who seek by the act of the 16th of May to subdue France to their will and to make of this great country the tool of the Vatican. What Europe most dreads at this moment is to see France fall into the hands of the agents of Ultramontanism, of theocracy, and of the syllabus. . . . We have said before now—clericalism, that is the enemy. It belongs to universal suffrage to declare—summoning the world to look upon its work—clericalism, that is what we have vanquished."

THE NECESSITY of the second plank of the Rochester platform is illustrated by this paragraph in the *Tribune* of Nov. 1: "The country papers in South Carolina are, with one consent, demanding the re-establishment of the whipping-post. The argument is that larceny, highway robbery, and burglary have become so common in all parts of the State that no man's property is safe. The chickens in the coop, the corn in the field, the very clothes that a man pulls off at night in the expectation of putting them on again in the morning, become alike the prey of the midnight prowlers; and the cry comes up from all quarters: 'Give us what Virginia and Delaware already have—the whipping-post.' It is a popular theory in South Carolina that it is utterly impossible for a negro to be honest, and the whipping-post, if introduced, will be used exclusively as an instrument for intimidating and punishing the blacks. It is easy to forecast the results of such an experiment in a State where the color and race lines are so sharply drawn. The whipping-post would open the way for a merciless system of repression and cruelty. To its credit be it said that the *Charleston News and Courier* does not advocate so extreme a measure. It insists that the same ends can be better accomplished by other means, which will not be open to the same objections. It argues that labor is more distasteful to the criminal than the lash, and that he will prefer a whipping to a place in the chain gang."

THE NEW YORK *Telegram*, one of the most widely circulated daily journals in the United States, had the following very significant editorial notice of the Rochester Congress:—

The Liberal League Congress.

This is evidently the epoch of congresses. In some respects the most important of all these gatherings is that of the liberalists at Rochester, which tends to mark the strong tendency of the times toward liberal feeling, as opposed to sectarianism and fanaticism. Every cultured gentleman, at the present day, is inclined to be liberal in his general views, although he may be distinctively Orthodox in religious matters. In fact, true culture and true liberalism now go hand in hand. The immense strength of the purely liberal party was hardly suspected until the congress at Rochester was convened, and the strictly Orthodox people—people whose views are narrow and antiquated—were inclined to look upon the party with a certain amount of unmerited contempt. The truth is, however, that liberalism is revolutionizing society, and when the effects of this movement are wholly ignored by bodies of people professing a religious creed, the evil consequences fall directly upon these short-sighted bodies. The Liberal League has shown, once for all, that in this country the progress of an enlightened policy, both in religious and national affairs, is bound to receive a strong support from a large community of citizens. The day is past when freethought was spoken of as inimical to elevated sentiment and religious faith. *To-day the philosopher is on the side of investigation, and, when reason is outraged, he demands justice.* Whatever may be our religion, we have no right to refuse him this much, we have no right to ignore the central spirit of the age. The effects of the Rochester Congress may be deplored by a certain class of people; but men of large views have watched its progress with honest satisfaction.

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Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Liberal League of Denver.

PAINE HALL, BOSTON.—[Officers not yet reported.]
Issued to Horace Seaver, J. P. Mendum, Elizur Wright, B. F. Underwood, David Kirkwood, James Harris, G. H. Foster, H. P. Hyde, Robert Cooper, S. R. Urbino, John S. Verity.

PALMYRA, NEW YORK.—President, J. M. Jones; Secretary, C. C. Everson.
Issued to J. M. Jones, C. C. Everson, Henry M. North, A. R. Sherman, Joseph Fritts, L. B. Keeler, J. J. White, R. H. Sherman, Henry Gardner, Samuel Cosad, and others.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.—President, F. E. Abbot; Secretary, Miss J. P. Titcomb.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the First Liberal League of Boston, Mass.

NEW PHILADELPHIA, OHIO.—President, George Riker; Secretary, C. M. Rittenhouse.
Issued to C. M. Rittenhouse, George Riker, J. C. Price, Daniel Korns, P. W. Himes, John Arn, Philip Gintz, A. H. Brown, Jacob Miller, L. A. Cornet.

TITUSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA.—President, William Barnsdall; Secretary, C. M. Hayes.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Titusville Liberal League.

HUDSON, MICHIGAN.—President, Dr. Levi R. Peirson; Secretary, Dr. F. O. Baker.
Issued to Levi R. Peirson, A. D. Armstrong, James S. Bedel, Miles C. Beach, W. R. Norris, R. H. Armstrong, R. W. S. Johnson, E. M. Brown, G. L. Harceron, Philip Sewall.

CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, NEW YORK.—President, H. L. Green; Corresponding Secretary, John Hammond.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Cattaraugus County Liberal League.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.—[Officers not yet reported.]
Issued to R. M. Sherman, W. W. Stow, F. A. Hermance, T. F. Hamilton, D. M. Hamilton, W. F. Hopson, E. R. Whiting, E. E. Seaman, A. C. Harrison, R. F. P. Shepard, and others.

ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI.—President, P. V. Wise; Secretary, H. Brunsing.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the St. Joseph Liberal League.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK.—President, Hugh B. Brown; Secretary, A. L. Rawson.
Issued to T. B. Wakeman, Henry Evans, A. L. Rawson, Hugh B. Brown, E. Langerfeld, D. S. Plumb, O. E. Browning, Mrs. Eliz. Erving, Miss E. W. McAdams, Mrs. O. E. Langerfeld.

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK.—President, Mrs. Amy Post; Secretary, Willet E. Post.
Issued to Benj. Greegg, Mrs. Amy Post, Willet E. Post, Emily G. Beebe, Dr. Sherman, Mrs. Barker, Clement Austin, Wm. H. Gibbs, Dr. C. D. Dake, and others.

TOMPKINS COUNTY, NEW YORK.—President, Dr. John Winslow; Secretary, Myron E. Bishop.
Issued to C. W. Ames, Wm. A. Anthony, Geo. Arnold, M. E. Bishop, H. Bool, W. Dennis, Isaac Flagg, B. W. Franklin, C. Gardner, W. Hutchins, and others.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK.—President, A. L. Rawson; Secretary, Porter C. Bliss.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Manhattan Liberal Club.

[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

IT IS, OF COURSE, contrary to all recognized canons of taste to say that the pictures to be seen in Belgium soon tire. The frequent repetition of one treatment of the crucifixion, by however great masters, is annoying, and I should think must drive any but those whose souls are steeped in Catholic ideas into a more pronounced rejection of all that that representation implies. It was with growing feelings of strong distaste that one of us sat before a picture of this sort, and asked the attendant by whom it was painted. "Monsieur," was the answer, "c'est le 'Dieu Mourant' par—" These words at once gave form and definiteness to vague thoughts, and they took shape then and there somewhat as follows:—

"I think if God had ever died
'Twere not like God to perish thus;
No spear had pierced a fleshly side,
God had not bled, sweat, groaned like us.

"No tender women, stooping round,
Had kissed his pallid parted lips;
No sheeted forms had burst the ground,
In such half night of brief eclipse.

"Nay, rather as some central star,
The fount of life, and thought and light,
Might send one flash of flame afar,
And then go out in lasting night.

"God would have stood above the sky
Once, but then all revealed to man,
And every human thought and eye
Had turned on Him, while Nature, wan

"With prescience of the coming gloom,
Had stayed her force; then God had said,
'I am no more,' and with the doom
Himself and all that is were dead."

—*London Examiner.*

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

REPORT OF THE

FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Oct. 26, 27, and 28, 1877.

[*Specially reported for THE INDEX by F. P. Smith.*]

The First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League was commenced in Corinthian Hall, Rochester, New York, on Friday, Oct. 26. The sessions continued three days, and were closed Sunday evening, Oct. 28. The attendance was large, and grew larger at each session; and a great degree of enthusiasm and interest was shown throughout. A report of the entire proceedings may be condensed as follows:—

Friday's Proceedings.

At half-past ten o'clock, Friday morning, the delegates and members, together with many others interested in the advance of liberal ideas, assembled and were called to order by the Rev. Newton M. Mann, pastor of the Unitarian Church of Rochester. He stated that probably those present were united neither upon religion nor politics. While he approved of the principles set forth by the association, he doubted the wisdom of the methods proposed; at the same time he welcomed the visitors to his beautiful city, which needed only the influences of liberalism to make it a paradise. In conclusion he tendered, on behalf of the committee of arrangements, the free use of the hall to the Congress during its sessions.

Mr. Abbot, President of the National Liberal League, responded on behalf of the Congress. He cordially thanked the committee for their hospitality and kind coöperation, and said there was a propriety in selecting Rochester as the place for holding the first annual meeting of the League, because it was the only city in the State, so far as he knew, that had completely secularized its schools. Thanking Mr. Mann personally for his freedom in expressing his own opinions on the proposed objects of the convention, Mr. Abbot said that, whether these objects were wise or not, the necessity of untrammelled discussion was evident to all; and that at least would be had here.

The reading of the Secretary's minutes of the Centennial Congress of Liberals was dispensed with, and the printed *Report* of that convention was adopted by vote as the authorized record of its proceedings. Mr. H. L. Green, of Salamanca, N. Y., then moved the adoption of the following order of business:—

Following the precedent of the Centennial Congress of Liberals:—

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Congress shall be governed by the general rules of parliamentary law.

Resolved, That, in order to secure the prompt and orderly transaction of the important business of this Congress, all resolutions, after being read, shall be referred to the committee on resolutions without debate.

Resolved, That the general order of business shall be to devote the evenings of Friday and Saturday and the morning, afternoon, and evening of Sunday to addresses, essays, and free conference, as shall be announced by the President from session to session; but that the morning and afternoon sessions shall be devoted to the special business of this Congress, which shall be taken up and disposed of in the following order:—

1.—Appointment of committee on membership.
2.—Opening address by the President.
3.—Report of committee on membership.
4.—Appointment of committees on nominations, on resolutions, and on finance.
5.—Report of the directors for the past year.
6.—Report of the treasurer.
7.—Report of the committee on nominations, and election of officers for the ensuing year.
8.—Report of the committee on resolutions, and free debate on the proposed political platform.
9.—Report of the committee on nominations as to a presidential ticket for 1880.
10.—Report of the committee on finance.
11.—Miscellaneous business.
12.—Free conference, short speeches, etc., etc.

The President read a communication from the National Executive Committee of the Union of Radicals, signed by Carl Doerflinger, of Milwaukee, Karl Heinzen, of Boston, and others, expressing sympathy and offering suggestions to the National Liberal League on this occasion; and it was referred to the committee on resolutions, to be reported on hereafter by them.

Prof. J. H. W. Toohey, of Chelsea, Mass., J. W. Truesdell, of Syracuse, N. Y., E. M. Sellon, of Castile, N. Y., were appointed as a committee on membership.

The President, Mr. Abbot, then delivered an address upon "A New Conscience Party in Politics."

The speaker mentioned the deplorable lack of conscience in business, in politics, and in social life. The time had come when conscience should assert itself in politics, and when something should be done to right certain political wrongs which prevail in this country. There were three great *neglected national duties* which demanded to-day a powerful movement to secure a conscientious fulfilment of them by the nation: first, total separation of Church and State; secondly, national protection for national citizens; thirdly, a system of really universal education.

In connection with the first proposition, the speaker said that the National Constitution was strictly secular, but that a strong attempt was now making to unite Church and State, taking advantage of the fact that most of the State Constitutions recognize Christianity to some extent.

Until 1833, every citizen in Massachusetts was taxed for the support of church-worship; but the tendency had been towards entire separation of Church and State. This idea was still gaining ground. There were, however, those who believed that this principle was wrong, and demanded the Constitutional recognition of God, Christ, and the Bible. To carry out this principle the "National Reform Association" was organized in 1863. Conventions were held all over the country and it was declared that no atheist should hold office. The strength of this party lay in the desire of the clergy for power. It closed the gates of the Centennial Exhibition on the Sabbath. This National Reform Association had just been emphatically indorsed by the State Universalist Convention of Massachusetts. The speaker also referred to the action of the Episcopal General Convention, which tabled a resolution sympathizing with the effort to separate Church and State in England. At the same time other resolutions were passed that declared the invalidity of marriage ceremonies not performed in accordance with "God's Word," and that the Church should "take an active interest in the education provided by the State, with the purpose of infusing into it as much as possible of religious influence and instruction." Another example of this was the introduction of a resolution by Mr. Blaine, in Congress, that prohibited any State from making appropriations in favor of religious corporations. This resolution was reported in the United States Senate by the Judiciary Committee in a form which practically protected forever the non-taxation of church-property and established the reading of the Bible in the public schools. The resolution only lacked two votes to carry it through, every Republican favoring and every Democrat opposing it. Had it succeeded, the divine authority of the Bible would have been recognized in the United States Constitution. All ecclesiastical bodies were combining to prevent the advance of liberal thought, and the time was not far distant when the Protestants would be as closely combined as the Catholics. The enforcing of Sabbatarian laws was an evidence of this, and it was necessary to make a protest against such steps. The object of the League was to prevent a union of Church and State. In regard to the taxation of church property, Mr. Abbot said that, since 1850, church property had been doubling in value every decade, and in 1870 amounted, by the census, to $354,000,000; that it could not be less to-day than $500,000,000; that, at a rate of taxation of $10 per $1000, the taxes thus evaded would be $5,000,000 annually, or, at the rate of $25 per $1000 (which is less than the rate in New York city), they would amount to the enormous sum of $15,000,000 annually. This was a great public burden, as well as injustice, since the country at large must pay these taxes evaded by the churches. It was the object of the League to remedy this wrong.

The second proposition demanded that women should be protected in all their rights (including suffrage) as well as men, black as well as white, infidel as well as Christian. Under the present system, the nation gave no personal protection, but referred its own citizens to the separate States, to get such protection as they could. As to the withdrawal of troops from the Southern States, although it was not the fault of President Hayes, it would be the fault of the American people, if the defect in our Constitution was not remedied and the freedmen efficiently protected as individuals.

Speaking upon the last proposition, Mr. Abbot contended that the separate States should be required to maintain public schools of equal efficiency for all, and that every child should be required to get an education, whether it attended these schools or not.

Prof. Toohey, chairman of the committee on membership, offered a partial report, which was accepted, and requested all delegates and members to notify the committee of their presence and present their credentials.

The following committees were then appointed:—

On Nominations—D. G. Crandon, of Massachusetts, William Barnsdall, of Pennsylvania, William Dudgeon, of New York, Charles Roth, of Colorado, John Verity, of Massachusetts.

On Resolutions—H. L. Green, of New York, W. S. Bell, of Massachusetts, Morris Einstein, of Pennsylvania, A. B. Brown, of Massachusetts, Moses Hays, representing the Liberal League of Mishicott, Wisconsin.

On Finance—John Verity, George H. Foster.

The Secretary, William H. Hamlen, read the report of the Directors for the past year, which on motion was accepted.

The report of the Treasurer, J. A. J. Wilcox, was then read, showing the receipts for the year to have been $445.10; expenditures $115.75; and balance on hand, $329.35. On motion, the Finance Committee were requested to audit the Treasurer's report, which was done.

The Congress then adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.

On re-assembling in the afternoon at the appointed hour, the committee on nominations reported a long list of officers for the ensuing year; and these officers (with the additional Vice-Presidents mentioned below) were then elected, as follows:—

President.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.....*Boston, Mass.*

Vice-Presidents.

HON. E. P. HURLBUT.....*Albany, N. Y.*
HON. SAMUEL E. SEWALL.....*Boston, Mass*
HON. NATHANIEL HOLMES.....*St. Louis, Mo*
HON. HENRY BOOTH.....*Chicago, Ill.*
HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.....*Irvington, Ind.*
HON. ELIZUR WRIGHT.....*Boston, Mass.*
MR. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.....*New York.*
MR. WM. J. POTTER.....*New Bedford, Mass*
MR. E. P. HALLOWELL.....*Boston, Mass*
MR. JAMES PARTON.....*Newburyport, Mass*
MR. F. SCHUENEMANN-POTT.....*San Francisco, Cal.*
HON. ABRAHAM PAYNE.....*Providence, R. I.*
REV. M. J. SAVAGE.....*Boston, Mass.*
RABBI B. FELSENTHAL.....*Chicago, Ill.*

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REV. W. H. SPENCER.....*Sparta, Wis.*
MR. SAMUEL L. HILL.....*Florence, Mass.*
MR. E. W. MEDDAUGH.....*Detroit, Mich.*
MR. KARL HEINZEN.....*Editor of "Der Pionier," Boston.*
MR. HORACE SEAVER.....*Editor of the "Investigator," Boston.*
RABBI ISAAC M. WISE.*Editor of "American Israelite," Cincinnati.*
MR. D. M. BENNETT.....*Editor of the "Truth Seeker," New York.*
MR. MORITZ ELLINGER.....*Editor of "Jewish Times," New York.*
MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD.....*Thorndike, Mass.*
REV. ROBERT COLLYER.....*Chicago, Ill.*
COL. ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.....*Peoria, Ill.*
DR. T. L. BROWN.....*Binghamton, N. Y.*
HON. R. S. McCORMICK.....*Franklin, Pa.*
ELDER F. W. EVANS.....*Mount Lebanon, N. Y.*
MRS. ELIZABETH THOMPSON.....*New York City.*
MRS. AMY POST.....*Rochester, N. Y.*
MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.....*Tenafly, N. J.*
MISS SALLIE HOLLEY.....*Lottsburgh, Va.*

Secretary.

W. H. HAMLEN.....*231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.*

Assistant Secretary.

MISS JANE P. TITCOMB.....*142 Chandler St., Boston.*

Treasurer.

J. A. J. WILCOX.....*8 Pemberton Square, Boston.*

Board of Directors.

F. E. ABBOT. W. H. HAMLEN.
J. A. J. WILCOX. H. L. GREEN.
D. G. CRANDON.

Executive Committee.

Alabama.....J. H. HALLEY, *Selma.*
Arkansas.....JOHN AHRENS. *Monticello.*
California.....H. MOULINEAUX, *San Francisco.*
Colorado.....DAVID T. BEALS. *Grenada.*
Connecticut.....GEORGE W. BALDWIN, *Bridgeport.*
Delaware.....JOSEPH D. GILBERT, *Greenville.*
Florida.....T. D. GIDDINGS. *Enterprize.*
Georgia.....DR. A. A. BELL, *Madison.*
Illinois.....ERNST PRUSSING. *Chicago.*
Indiana.....L. C. UNDERWOOD, *Indianapolis.*
Iowa.....J. C. MICHENER. *Adel.*
Kansas.....JOHN FARNSWORTH, *Fort Scott.*
Kentucky.....S. B. CLARK. *Wilsonville.*
Louisiana.....EMERSON BENTLEY, *New Orleans.*
Maine.....M. A. BLANCHARD, *Portland.*
Maryland.....J. S. RUPELL, *New Market.*
Massachusetts.....W. H. SAYWARD. *Boston.*
Michigan.....D. C. HAUKHURST, *Battle Creek.*
Minnesota.....J. B. BARRETT, *Minneapolis.*
Missouri.....J. S. BAYDEN. *St. Louis.*
Nebraska.....L. W. BILLINGSLEY, *Lincoln.*
New Hampshire.....WILLIAM LITTLE, *Manchester.*
New York.....H. L. GREEN (chairman), *Salamanca.*
North Carolina.....J. W. THORNE. *Warren.*
Ohio.....E. D. STARK, *Cleveland.*
Oregon.....SAMUEL COLT, *Humboldt Basin.*
Pennsylvania.....G. W. BALDWIN. *Lewisville.*
Rhode Island.....GEORGE LEWIS, *Providence.*
South Carolina.....P. W. FULLER, *Columbia.*
Tennessee.....DR. E. H. PIERCE, *Chattanooga.*
Texas.....DR. A. DUNBAR, *Greenville.*
Vermont.....R. L. HAUGHTON. *North Bennington.*
Virginia.....L. SPALDING, *Norfolk.*
West Virginia.....A. M. DENT, *Weston.*
Wisconsin.....ROBERT C. SPENCER. *Milwaukee.*
Dakota.....D. P. WILCOX, *Yankton.*
District of Columbia.....W. H. DOOLITTLE, *Washington.*
Utah.....W. FERGUSON, *Provo City.*
Wyoming.....NORMAN S. PORTER.

Finance Committee.

D. G. CRANDON, *Chairman*,.....*Chelsea, Mass.*
MRS. SARAH B. OTIS,.....*127 Warren Avenue, Boston.*
HARLAN P. HYDE,.....*231 Washington St., Boston.*

Mrs. Amy Post, at the conclusion of the report, said she was astonished that no women were named in the list of Vice-Presidents. She thought some should be added.

The President then said that the reason why no names of women were added was because some of the most distinguished liberal women of the country, being invited last year to allow the use of their names in that list, had declined the invitation.

It was then moved and carried that the names of Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, Mrs. Amy Post, and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton be added to the list of Vice-Presidents.

The committee on resolutions reported a series which was adopted, with a few slight amendments as follows:—

I.

Resolved, That all those Christians who declare that "this is a Christian government," and that the government as such is bound to favor, promote, and propagate what they term "unsectarian Christianity," are drifting consciously or unconsciously into a dangerous and wicked conspiracy against the religious liberties of the American people, a striking a deadly blow at that separation of Church and State on which the government is founded, and evincing a most reprehensible contempt for the equal rights of Christians and non-Christians under the United States Constitution.

II.

Resolved, That the success of the plot of the National Reform Association to "put God into the Constitution," and to incorporate the common creed of Christianity into the fundamental law of the land, would be the blackest treason and crime of the nineteenth century; because, under a government sacredly pledged by the Declaration of Independence to the equal liberties and equal rights of all men, it would covertly but effectively unite Church and State, to the total destruction of those equal rights and the total ruin of free institutions.

III.

Resolved, That the government of the United States is not a Christian but a secular government; that it would be a piece of flagrant iniquity and injustice for the government as such to patronize either sectarian or unsectarian Christianity; and that the treaty with Tripoli, approved by George Washington in 1797, did but recognize and proclaim the righteous equality of all citizens as to religious rights and liberties, when it solemnly declared: "The government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion."

IV.

Resolved, That every motive of national patriotism and of personal self-respect calls loudly upon the Liberals of the United States to defend the cause of secular government against the insidious, multiplying, and formidable dangers which threaten to overwhelm it; that the time for apathy and submission to ecclesiastical encroachments has gone by, and the time for activity, courage, and lawful resistance to these encroachments has arrived; and that the great principle of the total separation of Church and State, on which the national government is founded, needs now to be defended by stronger and more explicit constitutional guarantees and by the determined support of all true patriots.

V.

Resolved, That no government has a right to claim supreme allegiance from its subjects, except in return for direct and efficient protection in their equal civil, political, and religious rights; that it cannot without absurdity and injustice exact such allegiance while it shirks the duty and responsibility of affording such protecton; and that any people which, through its government, persists in repudiating this reciprocal obligation of allegiance and protection forfeits all title to an honorable place among the nations of the earth.

VI.

Resolved, That, in the gradual development of the United States as a nation, it has become necessary that the national government should cease to present the humiliating spectacle of refusing to protect United States citizens at home, while yet it recognizes its duty to protect them in foreign lands, and of forbidding the separate States to claim the supreme allegiance of their own citizens, while yet it obliges the latter to look for personal protection to their own separate States alone; and that the United States Constitution ought to be so amended as to rid the nation of this humiliation and disgrace.

VII.

Resolved, That among the most precious rights in which the national citizen ought to be protected by the national government is the right to enjoy his independent opinions respecting religion, no matter what they may be, on equal terms with all other citizens before the law; that all State patronage of religion or of "unsectarian Christianity," so-called, unavoidably casts odium and disrepute upon the minority on account of their honest thought, is intended to do so, and is gallingly unjust; that we protest energetically against the "clerical policy" which, by exempting church property from taxation, taxes every man for the support of the churches, and which, by requiring Bible-reading in the public schools, taxes every man for the support of a religion to that extent established by law; and that we demand national protection against the injustice of this oppressive and outgrown "clerical policy."

VIII.

Resolved, That we affirm the paramount duty of the national government to guarantee and effectually maintain by its own immediate authority the equal civil, political, and religious rights of all national citizens, whether white or black, male or female, rich or poor, literate or illiterate, Christian or non-Christian; that this duty ought to be discharged through the United States courts, and an amended United States Constitution, and not by the United States army unless there is overt rebellion against the national government; and that we therefore approve the Southern policy of President Hayes' administration, provided it is supplemented by adoption of the great principle for which we contend,—national protection for national citizens in their fundamental personal rights.

IX.

Resolved, That public intelligence and public virtue are the sole possible foundation for a free and stable republic; that the right to a good elementary education belongs to every child in the country, and ought to be protected by the national government as a measure necessary to the nation's prosperity and continued existence; that the only way to protect this right efficiently is to maintain everywhere good schools at the public expense; that, since it is confessedly right for a State to require its various towns and cities to maintain such schools, it is self-evidently no less right for the nation to require each State to maintain an efficient public system; that the United States Constitution ought to be so amended as to recognize and discharge this national duty; and that the crying evils of ignorant suffrage, especially at the South and in our large cities, forbid delay in establishing strictly universal suffrage and strictly universal education at the same time.

X.

Resolved, That public schools cannot be maintained in justice to all, unless they are confined exclusively to secular instruction; that to teach religion or sustain public worship in them unavoidably infringes on the reserved rights of conscience in some class or classes of the community; that nobody is wronged, if nothing is taught in positive violation of these rights; that the mere omission to teach religion where the teaching of it would be patent injustice is a wrong to no one; and that the self-evident rule of justice in this matter is briefly—secular schools in a secular State.

XI.

Resolved, That, postponing to future conventions the addition of such planks on other issues as future events may render necessary or expedient, the National Liberal League now adopts, as its political platform for the presidential campaign of 1880, these three great national principles of overshadowing importance:—

"(1.) Total separation of Church and State, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution; including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

"(2.) National protection for national citizens, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

"(3.) Universal education the basis of universal suffrage in this secular republic: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public-school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education."

XII.

Resolved, That we respectfully but earnestly urge upon all who favor this platform, regardless of their opinions on other subjects, to coöperate with the National Liberal League in all practicable ways, and especially to organize everywhere, if possible, local auxiliary leagues for vigorous local agitation in behalf of the common cause.

XIII.

Resolved, That the members of the executive committee of the National Liberal League, to whom the supervision of local organization in their respective States and Territories is intrusted by the Constitution, are requested to prosecute this most important work as rapidly and energetically as possible, in order to secure a large delegate representation at our next annual Congress, and thus command the public influence which the magnitude and justice of our cause deserve; and they are hereby authorized to issue a call for a State or Territorial Liberal League in their respective fields, whenever in their judgment a sufficient number of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues has been organized to render such a step useful.

XIV.

Resolved, That we receive with the most cordial appreciation and reciprocation the very friendly address of the National Executive Committee of the Union of Radicals; that we tender them our sincerest thanks for their valuable coöperation in the past and their pledge of still further coöperation in the future; that, in the opinion of this Congress, the basis of the National Liberal League would be narrowed, and not broadened, by attempting to accomplish all reforms at once, and by thereby multiplying causes of disagreement when concentration of effort in defence of liberty is the supreme necessity of the liberal cause; that we regard the measures proposed by this League as at once simple, comprehensive, transcendently important, and certain, when fairly understood by the general public, to rally an immense number of the most intelligent voters of the country to their support; that we deem it the part of practical wisdom to make our platform so broad as to command the sympathies of all thorough liberals, rather than to narrow both platform and party by taking up issues on which liberals are themselves divided; and that the proposed project of a joint congress of all liberal and radical organizations in the year 1878 is hereby referred to the board of directors, with full authority to act in the premises as circumstances shall in their judgment render advisable.

John Verity moved that the resolutions be taken up singly and discussed.

The first and second resolutions elicited considerable discussion. Some desired the substitution of the words "civil and political" in the place of "religious" in the first; but, the matter being put to vote, the phraseology was unchanged. The draught of that resolution read, "the various religious sects of this country, declaring with almost one voice as they do that," etc., but was modified so as to read, "all those Christians who declare that," etc. The third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh were accepted without discussion. In discussing the eighth, one gentleman thought that it, as well as the others, favored too much the centralization of government. After several other delegates had defended the propriety of the phraseology of the resolution, it was accepted without change.

The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth resolutions were accepted without discussion. When the thirteenth resolution was read, several delegates spoke of the prime importance of local organization. The liberals of this country should show that they are dead in earnest. This would command respect, even from those who oppose liberalism. By the organization of local leagues money could be procured and the work be effectively prosecuted. Mrs. Woodruff arose and made vigorous, enthusiastic, and very thoughtful remarks upon the importance of organization. When she took her seat, she was loudly applauded. Mr. Toohey said they should show that liberalism was generous in its spirit, and magnanimous in its policy, and that those whose work was the establishment of leagues should carry the olive leaf while they fought for their opinions. The fourteenth resolution was carried unanimously.

The committee on nominations, to whom was referred the matter of organization of a political party in 1880, not being ready to report, was permitted to do so at a future time.

General business being in order, Professor Rawson, of New York, read a letter from the Society of Humanity of that city, commending the work of the convention, and expressing great sympathy with its object. Mr. Verity moved that the thanks of the Congress be sent to the Society of Humanity for their letter.

The President read a telegram from the German Association of Freethinkers of Buffalo. It was moved that a proper recognition of this courtesy be made by the President on behalf of the Congress. This was done by a reciprocation of the courtesy by telegraph.

Several delegates in the convention spoke of the necessity of having liberals subscribe for those periodicals whose object was the propagation of liberal ideas.

Mr. Evans, of Toronto, extended a sympathetic greeting to the convention from the liberal society of that city. He was agreeably surprised to see that liberalism had made such headway in the United States, as the number present showed. He was greatly interested in the work, and should do all in his power to promote its interests.

After some further unimportant remarks the convention adjourned until half-past seven o'clock.

Evening Session.

The evening session was devoted to addresses by Prof. A. L. Rawson, of New York, upon "Compulsory Education, State and National"; by Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton, N.Y., upon "The Ethics of Secular Education"; and by Elder F. W. Evans, of Mount Lebanon, N.Y., upon "The Origin and Mission of the American Goverment."

Prof. Rawson told the story of his conversion from orthodoxy, and then stated that in matters of public education religion should be left entirely out of consideration. He believed that every child should be educated, but not by priests. The result of education under the direction of priestcraft was seen in Italy, where not one in twenty could read or write. The Bible should be kept out of the public schools. The speaker said he read it, partly in a business way, partly as the grandest effort of the human mind, partly because it was so queer. The tendency of education coupled with religion was to make a person discontented, inclined to look upon life as a fleeting show. Men should be educated in real knowledge, and not in something entirely unknown.

If there is to be dominion over the schools, who are to have the direction of affairs? The Church says, "We must; there is only one name given among men by which men can be saved, and it is for us to teach religion." Protestants are becoming crafty in this matter, as much so as the Jesuits in attempting to accomplish their bigoted ends. It is our duty and our purpose to see that neither Protestants nor Catholics gain control of our schools. Said Mr. Rawson: "I believe in letting the future take care of itself. I am a Positivist. The desert may be made to grow plants. All that is necessary is water and cultivation,—nothing more. There are children in the streets who are called 'Arabs.' To make them good citizens we should educate them in good things instead of bad things. They now get a fearful education in villainy and mischief of all sorts. We should educate them in real knowledge instead of something we know nothing about. I picked up one of these 'Arabs,' surrounded him with good influences, and now he is an orderly young man earning his own living. In Rochester and in Cincinnati, schools have become secularized. This is good, and work in the right direction. I object to having children placed under influences which warp their minds against scientific knowledge. I was instructed in regard to God and Christ, and I dreamed about them. I believe in a future life, but, as a Positivist, I know nothing about it. We must banish the Bible from our schools. Until we settle the school question, our religious differences should be kept out of sight."

Dr. Brown considered the pursuit of positive knowledge as the only means of improving humanity. He opened by saying: "Our true guide to duty we obtain from our knowledge of matter, the motion of matter and its uses. What we know, not what we believe, is the most important aid in helping us

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decide our duties as moral, religious, or reasonable beings. A correct idea of the forms and conditions of objects and their relations to the good of man is never the result of faith or belief, but always that of knowledge. Investigation, demonstration, and experience place the facts in mind which move to proper duty all reasonable people. A worldly education is the basis of human character and useful thought. A worldly man naturally gives his whole time and attention to the knowledge of those facts which aid him in being the most useful son, husband, father, or citizen. He works for humanity, not for a supposed deity. He depends upon mind and action, not upon reported divine assistance. His providence is a proper use of the human knowledge as dictated by experience. He neither fears nor expects any interference from beyond the clouds, here or hereafter. Until he knows something about gods or clouds, he prefers to rely on himself or his honest secular brother, who has love of duty and fact to do with, and is within reasonable reach. What we leave to God or a believing friend of his is not done unless human knowledge and reason, obtained by a secular education, is appealed to and used. Our reliable helps in all our duties are within our reach and the limit of a secular education. Ignorance and not a personal devil is our foe; while knowledge is our best friend, not an unknown and imaginary God. To leave everything to God or Christ is to live in idleness and want.

"Take from a Christian his secular education, and he becomes a savage, frightened as of old by evil spirits, ghosts, and shadows. In such a state the clerical teachers have all the advantage, and scientists well know that such people are the sole property of theology and its revengeful God. How much longer shall we be taught from our sixty thousand pulpits and gospel-shops that theological religion is better than real knowledge and reason, or to love the world and its true educators is a fearful sin? Is it possible that the lean, weak muscles and soft brains of theology are preferred by a wise intellect instead of the healthy and whole ones produced by science? Who ever knew prayer, church-music, or preaching to save the sick from death without the aid of scientific medical advice or educated, faithful nursing? It is on the worldly, educated brain of man that this nation and the race must depend for future prosperity and goodness. To-day we think and vote for the truth of this world, in the honor of the recorded knowledge of man which so faithfully guides us into ways of health and long life. Loving humanity as honest secular teachers more, and God and idle dreams less, we shall excuse him from the national Constitution, leaving him to work by faith and belief, while we rely upon human knowledge and reason for the rightful and harmonious welfare of the living, remembering that our knowledge is science and theology the want of it."

Elder Evans, the famous leader of the Shaker community at Mount Lebanon, said:—

"I consider that the ideas set forth this evening have made our government. This movement is the continuation of the ideas of the American revolution. We must have entire separation of Church and State. Of their union nothing can be said too bad. We see what it has done in Spain. It has not been forgotten, and I hope it never will be forgotten.

"I am here to express my sympathy with your Liberal League. I consider you as the guardians of our government. Let the Bible be excluded from our public schools and the chaplains from our legislative halls. This will promote progress in every direction."

The speaker then detailed the origin of the Orthodox Church. He read in Revelations of the beast that rose up out of the sea: that represented Catholicism. "Another beast rose up out of the earth: that had two horns instead of ten,—Luther and Calvin. They did not leave the Catholic Church, but protested against indulgences only. The one was a shadow of the other. Both advocate the union of Church and State. This idea does not belong here. It arose in Europe, but will be purged from America. God's spirit is at work to pull down the Babylon that has been built. The Protestants are like Catholics. They have persecuted. Calvin burnt Servetus. They killed witches at Salem.

"Constantine united Church and State. The idea was continued down to the present. Protestants want to get God, Christ, and the devil into the Constitution, but we wish to keep them out. All the great men of our American Revolution worked as we are working. All but one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were infidels. They saw that, wherever the priest had anything to do with civil matters, the government became corrupt. Therefore they skilfully excluded the religious test, and it is our duty to maintain their ideas. We, the Shakers, believe and practise the principles of separation of Church and State. We do not vote, and have nothing to do with the government.

"'I saw an angel come down from heaven,' says the author of Revelations. This angel was Swedenborg. He introduced the idea of Spiritualism, and upon that our societies are founded. In our history the spirits told us they would leave us and go out into the world and visit every dwelling. For more than four years we heard nothing of them, and a few of us began to doubt what had been said. But soon we received news of the Rochester rappings. From that time the work has gone on and will go on till the whole world is spiritually enlightened.

"The union of Church and State has set men to kill each other, and kept people in ignorance. The separation and the acquisition of positive knowledge has promoted the welfare of mankind. The diseases which 'flesh is heir to' are the product of ignorance. The religion that would make men truly religious must begin with the stomach, whence proceeds many of the ills which so afflict mankind."

The speaker as he took his seat was loudly applauded.

The evening session was closed by an adjournment till Saturday, at 10 o'clock.

Saturday's Proceedings.

The attendance on Saturday was much greater than that on the previous day. The morning session and part of the afternoon session were devoted to a consideration of the propriety of nominating a ticket for the next Presidential campaign.

Mr. Crandon, chairman of the committee on nominations, reported the name of Miss Sallie Holley, of Lottsburg, Va., as a Vice-President.

Hon. Elizur Wright, of Boston, spoke in favor of this nomination, and in praise of her father, Myron Holley, of Rochester, who had been one of the founders of the old "Liberty Party," which had its birthplace in Rochester, and of which the Liberal League was a legitimate descendant. He said that the League should not be either a Christian or an atheist party, but a party of the whole,—that now, as a true child of the Free Soil party, we should come before the people as the Free Soul party.

Mrs. Sarah B. Otis, of Boston, spoke in favor of the total secularization of the government, and her remarks were greeted with loud applause.

The ticket was brought before the Congress by the report of Mr. Crandon, chairman of the committee on nominations. He said that the committee had concluded under the circumstances that nominations at the present time would be premature, and reported that the whole subject of Presidential nominations should be referred back to the Congress, sitting as a Committee of the Whole.

This report was accepted with great unanimity.

Mr. Green moved that the subject of Presidential nominations be postponed to the next Annual Congress.

Mr. Bennett, of New York, was in favor of putting up a ticket. Such a step would unite the party, he thought, and then read a letter in the *Truth Seeker* recommending the adoption at this Congress of a good platform, with Col. R. G. Ingersoll as the nominee for President, and Mr. F. E. Abbot as Vice-President.

Dr. Brown spoke on the same side of the question, desired to nominate Col. Ingersoll at once, and to keep nominating that distinguished gentleman till success attended their efforts. Col. Ingersoll was a noble and healthy man who believed that the Bible should be discarded as entirely useless for school purposes.

Mr. A. B. Brown, of Worcester, Mass., was opposed to making nominations on the ground that such a step would be premature. He moved to amend Mr. Green's motion by referring the subject to the Board of Directors, to be reported on by them next year.

Mr. Green did not want any committee to nominate a President for him. He was opposed to the amendment.

Mr. Brown explained that he had not proposed his amendment with any such view as that; but had only offered his amendment that the Directors might act as a committee on nomination, to report in due season to the League. However, he would withdraw the amendment altogether.

Mr. John Verity thought that, if Col. Ingersoll were present, he (Verity) would favor nominating him, with Francis E. Abbot as Vice-President; but as the case stood, he considered postponement preferable.

Mr. Abbot at this point asked leave to make a personal statement. He said that he should persistently refuse to allow his name to be used on any Presidential ticket; that he could be very useful to the League as editor of THE INDEX, or perhaps even as President of the League; but that he should be utterly useless as a candidate.

Prof. Toohey, Mr. Harwood, and Mr. Harding spoke upon the subject,—the latter being in favor of immediate nomination.

Hon. Elizur Wright objected to Col. Ingersoll. The people of the United States should be allowed time to consider the platform, which could not be done if nominations were made immediately. Moreover, Col. Ingersoll had already connected himself with a party.

Judge McCormick did not like Col. Ingersoll, because he was illiberal; and he was in favor of postponing nominations.

Mr. Morris Einstein spoke earnestly in favor of local organization. Mrs. Woodruff, of Rochester, declared that the speakers had missed the point,—which was organization first and nominations afterwards. This gave rise to a motion by Mr. Verity (which, however, was not seconded), to the effect that nominations be deferred till five hundred leagues had been formed.

The Congress then adjourned till 2 P.M.

Afternoon Session.

In the afternoon session, Mr. Green's motion to postpone nominations for one year was again taken up, and was carried.

Immediately after this matter was disposed of, the President urged the importance of local organization, and of raising money for this purpose. The work of liberalism could not be carried forward without money. If sufficient funds could only be procured to keep Mr. Green in the field, he thought it would not be long before the best results would be manifest. As to methods of obtaining money, there were several, and among them more memberships (life and annual), and contributions from individuals and from local leagues. He hoped this matter would receive the necessary attention.

Miscellaneous business was then announced to be in order.

Calling the secretary, Mr. W. H. Hamlen, to the chair, Mr. Abbot stated that at last year's meeting, at Philadelphia, he had been responsible for the introduction of a resolution which unjustly censured an individual; and that, though he had acted on mistaken information as to the true facts in the case, he now wished to rectify the injustice by moving the adoption of the following resolution:—

WHEREAS, At the Centennial Congress of Liberals a resolution was passed by which the Director of the Mint was censured for inscribing the motto "In God we Trust" on several of the United States coins "without authority of law and on his own motion alone"; and

WHEREAS, It proves to be the fact that the Director of the Mint did not inscribe this motto on the coins until he had first secured the passage of an act of Congress authorizing the inscription of it; therefore,

Resolved, That the said resolution of censure was unjust to the Director of the Mint so far as it charged him with acting in the premises "without authority of law and on his own motion alone," and to that extent is hereby rescinded; but that his successful attempt to procure Congressional authority for such inscription on the national coinage was a gross violation of the whole tenor and spirit of the national Constitution, a direct insult to all his fellow-citizens who appreciate and prize its purely secular character, and a fanatical invasion of the religious rights of the whole people.

This resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote.

Resuming the chair, the President read a letter of sympathy from the Rochester Turnverein; and a vote of thanks and reciprocal good-will was passed by the Congress.

The remainder of the afternoon was devoted to ten-minute speeches upon various topics. Remarks were made by Mr. Verity, Mr. Green, Prof. Oliver, of Ithaca, Dr. Brown, and Judge McCormick.

Prof. Oliver declared that every person who had the opportunity, by voting, to identify himself with the government was responsible for its justice or injustice. It was his duty to see that the government granted to all their equal rights. The great question before the Congress was not between the atheist and anti-atheist, but between the bigot and the man sincerely interested in the matter of individual liberties.

Judge McCormick believed Christianity to be intolerant of necessity. Yet its believers should be respected. They should be convinced of their error by argument, and not by ridicule. If liberalism was right, it would succeed in spite of everything, for truth was mighty and would prevail.

Prof. Toohey, Dr. Brown, and Mr. Green gave their views upon the subjects of tolerance and federal protection to the individual.

Evening Session.

The first address in the programme for the evening was by Mr. W. S. Bell, of New Bedford, Mass., upon "The Questions of the Day." He said in substance: "Equal rights should be granted by all. He who will not grant to others what he claims for himself is a scoundrel. If its truth will not bear out a cause, legislation will not achieve that end. We talk about equal rights. This is the claim that is most imperilled. Our Christian friends say that freedom of thought leads to freedom of action, and that to immorality. There is no connection between the two. To me it seems that, the fuller and freer men think, the more likely they are to be right. The charge is made against us that, if we think freely, society will become licentious. If we visit our prisons, we see but few liberals there. Man can be developed best by appealing to his manhood. In our platform we have done this. It is our aim to work for manhood and human rights. This will secure to each all his rights. This is the road to progress. We believe in the separation of Church and State. Our forefathers believed in it. It has given us a hundred years of prosperity. There are those who wish to incorporate a God into our Constitution. Will it do any good? The Southern Confederacy had him in their Constitution, and it fell. We demand the taxation of church property. We object to the reading of the Bible in the schools. We advocate universal education. We see that education has done good in Prussia. Would not a similar system do good in this country? We claim national protection for national citizens. There were some who objected to this. Their ideas would be changed, however, when they were placed where they could get no redress for their injuries. These are our principles." Mr. Bell concluded by telling how he came to leave the Church and to become an infidel. To use his own words: "I found a great many things in the Church which I did not like. I was led to investigate the principles of freethought. I took Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer, and other men of equal celebrity as my guides, and became a devout believer in infidelity." He said he admired the platform of the Congress. He would show it to the people here and in Canada, and let it speak for itself; and "it *would* speak for itself."

Prof. Toohey was next introduced, and began an address upon "The Liberal League the Supplement and Complement of the Protestant Reformation.' After he had spoken a few moments, however, he was taken with a severe fainting fit, and was compelled to retire from the stage. This was a great disappointment to the audience, for the few remarks he had made gave promise of a most interesting and instructive address. By going back to the Reformation, he showed that in Germany and in England it was primarily a political movement, and not a religious outburst. It was not Luther who introduced this great modern revolution; for Luther attempted to defeat it when he advised the princes to shoot down the peasants in the Peasant War. In England, it began in a place where there was no difference o opinion,—where all were good Catholics. Like Germany, however, England failed to perceive the significance of the moment,—failed to see that the need of the times was a complete separation of Church and State.

When Prof. Toohey retired at this point in the dis-

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cussion of his subject, the Rev. J. H. Harter was called upon to speak.

He desired the introduction of a temperance plank in the platform of the Congress, and also one forbidding judicial murders.

Mr. Abbot followed with a few earnest remarks upon the paramount necessity of the separation of Church and State, and the necessity of hospitality in the hearing of unlike thoughts. He thought the members of the convention should unite heartily in contending for the great principles at stake, and allow all minor differences of opinion to pass out of sight. The League was neither Christian nor anti-Christian, but simply favored equal rights to every man, woman, and child; and he read a resolution to this effect from the *Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals*. This convention, he said, was pledged to perfect freedom; its platform was an absolutely free one. There were two ways of securing harmony: one by sacrificing the individual to the society and requiring him to suppress his peculiar opinions,—another by guaranteeing utter liberty of expression to each member, cheerfully taking the consequences, and offsetting one extreme view by its opposite. The League adopted this latter method; and all extravagances or harshnesses were sure to be restrained or corrected by the speakers themselves, when once they became convinced that there was to be no repression of their freedom, no encroachment on their equal rights. Each speaker was responsible for himself alone; the League took no responsibility for his words; and if he was bitter or ungentlemanly, he would be speedily punished by the inevitable reaction of his own violence. This was infinitely better than to attempt rigid discipline over the speakers. Personalities, of course, were to be ruled out of order; but the vehemence of heated but honest minds would be soon subdued by mutual freedom of criticism, if all would only preserve respect and kindness for each other. It was time to learn not to be "shocked" at all.

Dr. Brown took the stage, and declared that he was an iconoclast in matters of religion. He had a desire to do right and wanted others to do the same. Men must depend upon knowledge, not upon faith. He showed the difference between faith and doubt; one was ignorance, the other the source of knowledge. Doubt gave rise to inquiry and that to investigation, which produced positive results. The real object of life was to develop manhood. Although a materialist, he preferred to be called a "man" rather than anything else.

The last speaker of the evening was Judge McCormick. Substantially he said: "When we establish freedom, we allow men to think for themselves. When we begin to think for ourselves, we begin to grow in every direction. Although I am a Spiritualist, I believe in the largest freedom. I never feel so proud as when I say that I am a Spiritualist, and that I am going to live after death. This idea is the growing religion of the age. We must work in the present for the future. Life means that we should start out to live in view of our *whole* life. Everything we do reacts upon ourselves and others. It makes us and others better or worse. Orthodoxy is passing away, and with it the intolerance of the world." He agreed with Dr. Brown on the necessity of obeying the laws of Nature. No tears, no redemption, could commute the penalty of violating the laws of our being.

The Congress then adjourned until Sunday morning, at half-past ten o'clock.

Sunday's Proceedings.

The audiences that attended the convention on Sunday were even larger than those on the two previous days; and, as the Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle* stated, "great interest and enthusiasm were very apparent." Perhaps this was partly owing to the fact that the business of the Congress had been transacted, and the time was to be devoted to an exposition of ideas. The character of the audiences was even more remarkable than their numbers; they comprised the most intelligent and respectable citizens of the place. All were intently watchful of the proceedings, and listened with rapt attention to the speakers.

At half-past ten o'clock, the President called the assemblage to order, and introduced the Hon. Elizur Wright, of Boston, who read a paper upon "Republican Taxation." It was a profound and thoughtful discussion of the proper mode of taxation, and an exposure of the pernicious effects resulting from the present system of indirect taxation. [As we have been favored with this most admirable paper for publication, we forbear to injure its effect by printing a mere abstract here. It will appear in full in our next issue.—Ed. Index.]

Mr. Wright's essay was enthusiastically and loudly applauded throughout, although its reading took up more than an hour. When he had concluded, Mr. Bennett, of New York, who was to have followed with an essay on "The Bible in the Common Schools," preferred to postpone his paper for a while, on account of the lateness of the hour; and the Congress adjourned to half-past two o'clock in the afternoon.

Afternoon Session.

The Congress re-assembled at half-past two o'clock, P.M.

Prof. Toohey, having recovered from his illness of the previous day, and being present, was called upon to conclude his address. He said that, when he was interrupted by his weakness, he was showing that the Reformation failed in England for the same reason that it failed in Germany; namely, it did not aim at the total separation of Church and State. Proceeding to analyze the true causes (which were always secular) of all great revolutions, he said it had been declared that French infidelity was the cause of the French Revolution, and that the Protestant Reformation was a mere result of Luther's activity. This was untrue. The causes which were at the bottom of the one were at the bottom of the other. These revolutions were the attempts of man to improve his social and political, as well as religious, condition. They began with a secular element, and this was the element that lay at the foundation of the reform proposed by the Liberal League. A union of Church and State had been the great evil of the past, and was still the great evil of the present. It disregarded manhood, and favored wealth. Liberalism knew no Catholic, no Protestant, but believed in the complete equality of mankind in their natural rights. All true Liberals demanded national protection for national citizens. In the height of Grecian glory, the idea of strictly secular nationality was unknown. Judæa did not comprehend it. Both struggled to realize the theocratic principle more or less completely, but both failed. The rise of Rome was the first great step toward a national unity grounded on the religious equality of all men, and that nation became a gigantic power. The misconception of the principle of union exposed itself in the late rebellion. In this country there were many elements—Irish, French, German, Italian, etc.,—and they should be harmonized and united. This could be done only by the fullest recognition of the idea of genuine secular nationality in the federal Constitution, with national protection for all individual rights.

The third principle in the liberal platform, said the speaker, was that of education. The Church would never reform the evils of society. It stood committed in the matter of education to false theories. The separation of priestly influences from education should be accomplished. Religion presented a single book to be studied; while secularism was the gateway to all literature and all knowledge. The genius of our government was committed to an education which did not meddle with mysticism, but to one that was as simple and practical as the multiplication table. There should be no compromise in this matter. Till this great object had been accomplished, all could at least practise the principles of brotherly tolerance.

The well-known Spiritualist medium, Mrs. E. L. Watson, of Pennsylvania, was then introduced to the audience, and made an address chiefly upon "Woman's Rights." She said that she was in full harmony with the principles set forth in the platform which had been adopted. The discontent of the masses revealed the fact that there should be a change in the political administration of the nation and in the religion of the day. Politics ignored one-half of the intelligence of the nation. This was one of the most vital points that had been disregarded, by the so-called statesmen. This nation had set aside the intelligence of wives, sisters, and daughters, in questions of public policy and government. While it had hastened to make citizens in the South and to enfranchise foreigners, it had forgotten women. It was the object of the League to take advantage of this element, which had been so ignored.

Men had controlled the government, but it was permeated with corruption. They had made laws, but those laws were only for one-half of the community. When woman should be allowed to have a voice in public affairs, these abuses would be swept away. She had done well in the household, and been instrumental for good in the matter of local option. Men had professed to be her protector. In truth, they had too often been her greatest enemy. She had always been their legitimate prey. She would be no more injured by going to the polls than by remaining at home to receive the brutal blows and to hear the curses of a drunken husband. Moreover, in the matter of intelligence, she was just as capable of reading her ballot as Patrick in the ditch.

The speaker did not care what Liberals believed, and was a member of no sect. Religion was an inseparable part of man. The great need of the day was an ethical science, as well as a science of material things. Infidels as such, she said, could not do more toward reforming the world than the Christians had done. The old idea was to kill the body to save the soul; the new was to care for the body to promote the welfare of the spirit.

After discussing what she considered the truths of Spiritualism, she closed by saying that the "increase of our scientific knowledge is the promotion of our spiritual knowledge."

As he had been accused of being an atheist, simply because he belonged to the League, Mr. Moses Hays, of Rochester, took the floor, and said that he was a Jew, and believed in a God as much as ever. He was working for the emancipation of mankind and the protection of their equal rights; and to the accomplishment of this end he should forever work. This led the President to explain once more that the League was not committed to or against any particular creed or belief in matters of religion. In strong and emphatic terms he denounced it as a slander of the League to say that it was either theistic or atheistic, spiritualistic or materialistic, Christian or anti-Christian; and this position outside of and independent of all particular religious opinions was fundamental to its work. The National Liberal League was simply an equal rights party, and was founded to defend impartially the equal rights of all men with respect to religious beliefs. Christians, Jews, infidels, heretics, theists, atheists, pantheists—in short, men and women of all types of religious thought—composed its membership without surrendering or compromising their own individual convictions, or losing their right to express them publicly in all proper ways; and he called upon the audience to bear honest witness in this matter, and to vindicate the League from the slanders which bigots and fanatics might circulate against it.

Henry P. Stark, of Rochester, said he was proud to be present. The time he had he would devote to the defence of orthodoxy. At a meeting of Orthodox men in this city it was moved and carried that all church property should be taxed. He suspected that this was one of the reasons why the convention had been held in Rochester. The city had excluded the Bible from the school. The Orthodox have built hospitals, schools, manufactories, etc., and they should have credit for all this.

The Congress then adjourned till half-past seven o'clock, P.M.

Evening Session.

On re-assembling in the evening the Congress was called to order by the President, who, before announcing the speakers, submitted to the League the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the National Liberal League of America, convened in annual congress at Rochester, N. Y., October 28, 1877, hereby instructs the board of directors to transmit to Leon Gambetta, the great leader of the republican party of France, a message expressive of our profound sympathy for himself and his fellow-patriots in their brave efforts to defend the republic against the plots of the ultramontanes and to attain that total separation of Church and State which we are laboring to perfect here in America.

This resolution was interrupted by applause at the name of Gambetta, and adopted with the greatest enthusiasm by the immense audience.

Elder F. W. Evans, of Mount Lebanon, N. Y., was then introduced by the President, who welcomed him all the more because he was a Christian. Elder Evans made an address upon "Woman in the United States Constitution." He said his sympathies were with the infidels in this matter. The American government was an infidel government. While we could hate a system we could love those who lived under the system. In this matter we could oppose theology while we loved Christians. He considered those present as American men and women. It was left to them to preserve their own government. We should have a secular government, because it was for all the nation. Our ideal had not been entirely realized, but we were gradually completing the work of the framers of the Constitution.

When he became a member of a Shaker society, he was absolutely surprised to see Christians living together without quarreling and without getting mad at the opinions of infidels. The society was not perfect any more than the government. One, as well as the other, was in a state of transition. We should do what we could to make men progress, study natural laws, and follow the wisdom thus gained. All should study the preservation of health so that the race could be perpetuated.

The system of the Jews taught men how to live. In the wilderness they were fed upon manna for the purpose of being cured of the diseases of the Egyptians. They did not poison themselves with drugs. Their bread was simple, and they became hardy and healthy. It was not found necessary to eat meat. The attention of the audience was called to these facts, because the speaker would have them adopt such a plan to banish disease. First, it was necessary to study the body and let the soul not be troubled. None should allow money-making, acquisition of fame disturb us, but study the development of character. When this was done, wars would pass away, disease would be decreased, and happiness would be made general.

To come to the point, the speaker said he was in favor of women's rights. They should take part in legislation. Then and then only could the social evil be legislated out of existence. When they could vote, they would make better bread. They would not lace themselves up and make themselves such fools as they were. This was the fault of the men. Said the speaker, "Let us put Woman into the Constitution, and keep out a theological God."

The last address of the evening was that of Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York city, who spoke on "German Liberalism in America," and was enthusiastically applauded. The German liberals of her city, she said, sympathized profoundly with the measures of the Liberal League. The Germans in this country, like those in the Fatherland, were mostly liberals of a pronounced type, but until recently had not come as such before the American people.

There was no question which so aroused the Germans as the religious question. They were very enthusiastic and enlightened on this point. This was because, while other nations were studying politics, German philosophers contemplated the problems of life. Sometimes they might have taken wild flights, but they gave birth to the scientific method. The scientist became the complement of the philosopher. Reflections on philosophical subjects emancipated the people from theological prejudices. The intelligent German had outgrown a long time ago the absurd ideas of superstition. In this respect the Americans were far behind. They had studied no religious book but the Bible,—a book that contained more errors than any other. Was it at all strange dishonesty and immorality were increasing? Our social

[CONCLUDED ON PAGE 535.]

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 3.

E. M. Weir, $25.25; Rob't Davis, $2; O. C. Hampton, 10 cents; A. D. Newcomb, $2; W. W. Grant, $10; S. S. Morgan, $30; Wm. J. Ferris, 50 cents; Mrs. W. A. Stebbins, $3.25; Jacob Hoffner, $3.25; T. H. Knowles, $10; J. F. Johnston, $1; J. M. Hollister, $1.60; Geo. V. Chandler, $1; S. S. Ball, $1.60; Dr. A. J. Eaton, $3.20; Samuel Cosad, $3.20; Samuel Crump, $1.20; N. H. Ambler, $3.20; Aaron Bathrick, $2.20; F. Hays, $3.20; Geo. M. Wood, $1.60; W. C. Ferris, 10 cents; Henry Ahrens, 70 cents; Henry Lantz, $2.25; Jno. Sawyer, $10; Cash, $100; Hon. L. W. Billingsly, $1; W. P. Wilson, $1.34; Dr. C. H. Horsch, $20; G. A. Lane, $3.20; Joseph Fritts, $3.20; Wm. Foster, $3.20; E. W. Mitchell, $3.20; Henry Quindy, $1.60; Homer McVean, $4.40; J. A. Stull, $3.20; John Riker, $2.20; H. P. Stark, $1.60; Mrs. Amy Post, $3.20; Jane Wilson, $3.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 8, 1877.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, *Editorial Contributors.*

THE NOVEMBER number of the *Radical Review* will contain an extraordinary article entitled, "So the Railway Kings Itch for an Empire, Do They?" by "A Red-Hot Striker," of Scranton, Pa. ("Being a letter to Mr. W. M. Grosvenor, whose slander of working people in the *International Review* has stirred me up mightily.") Contents for November: "Prostitution and the International Woman's League," (Henry Edger); "Spencer's Unknowable as the Basis of Religion," (J. Stahl Patterson); "Preacher's Love-Vacation," (John Weiss); "Transcendentalism," (Samuel Johnson); "System of Economical Contradictions." Chapter II. Of Value. Editor's Translation, (P. J. Proudhon); "The Warfare," (I. G. Blanchard); "So the Railway Kings Itch for an Empire, Do They?" ("A Red-Hot Striker"); "The Spirit that was in Jesus," (John Weiss); "The Great Strike: Its Relations to Labor, Property, and Government," (E. H. Heywood); "Mr. Spooner's Island Community," (Edward Stanwood); "Current Literature." "Chips from my Studio," (Sidney H. Morse). Benj. R. Tucker, Publisher, New Bedford.

SAYS THE New York *Nation*, in its last issue for October: "A statue of Roger Williams was dedicated last week in Providence by the city, which erected it. The orator of the occasion was Prof. J. L. Diman, and his discourse was in every way worthy of the subject. It is pleasant to find the last word on a problematic character, and his much-disputed career before his expulsion from Massachusetts Bay, in accord on the Rhode Island side of the line with the last word (Dr. Henry M. Dexter's) spoken on the other. The causes which led to Roger Williams' expulsion were independent of his views, subsequently incorporated in his new commonwealth, concerning the separation of Church and State—or, as is less accurately but more commonly said, concerning religious toleration. All this was conceded by Prof. Diman, and the shade of Cotton Mather himself might have listened complacently to this portion of the address. On the other hand, we should suppose that no apologist of the Puritans would now be disposed to deny Williams the full measure of eulogy here bestowed on him as the first statesman who established a form of government 'which drew a clear and unmistakable line between the temporal and the spiritual power.' Prof. Diman contrasts his protection of religious differences with the much-vaunted toleration of Calvert in Maryland, as two things not to be confounded; and he also ranks the Providence covenant above the *Mayflower* compact. The political maxim of government for the general good imbedded in the latter 'was implied rather than consciously affirmed, while the principle to which Roger Williams and his associates set their hands was intentionally and deliberately adopted as the cornerstone of the new structure they were building.' What follows is of course true: Williams 'cleared the path which even Massachusetts has been content to tread. The principle which he laid down is now the accepted and fundamental maxim of American politics.' But here the interesting inquiry is suggested whether the Puritan or the Providence principle had actually most to do with the separation of Church and State in our national government. Prof. Diman does not allude to this, and even leaves it a natural inference that but for Roger Williams this separation might not have taken place. Whoever has looked into the history of disestablishment in Massachusetts knows that it was brought about by development from within; and not only by the amelioration of the laws consequent upon the break-down of the theocratic idea of government, as by the 'Religious Freedom Act' of 1811, but by the strict application of them, as in the Unitarian dispossession of the Orthodox churches begun in 1820. Chief-Justice Parker, in the Dedham case of that year, 'insisted that he merely applied principles that had before been laid down—old principles that had been slumbering in the ecclesiastical law and policy of Massachusetts since 1780, and long before.'"

FREE RELIGIOUS CONVENTION.

A Convention of the Free Religious Association is to be held in New Haven, on the 8th and 9th of November, beginning on Thursday evening, the 8th, and holding through Friday, the 9th. O. B. Frothingham, T. W. Higginson, J. W. Chadwick, Felix Adler, F. E. Abbot, Miss Anna C. Garlin, D. H. Clark, and W. J. Potter are among the speakers invited, and most of them are expected to be present. Interesting and timely subjects will be presented for discussion, and the New Haven friends promise a successful gathering. Further particulars in the local papers.

WM. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

THE ROCHESTER CONGRESS.

MULTIPLY YOUR RATIFICATION MEETINGS!

A long report of the First Annual Congress of the National Liberal League at Rochester, N. Y., will be found in this issue of THE INDEX. It is not *verbatim*, but gives on the whole a very fair representation of the general character of the proceedings and the general tenor of the speeches.

The plan of the Convention was not fully understood by all at first, though it was very successfully carried out, and, when understood, commanded apparently universal approval. This plan was the result of circumstances to some extent. The impression had at first arisen in Rochester and its vicinity that the National Liberal League proposed only to hold a mass meeting, analogous to that which had been held in August at Wolcott Grove, N. Y., without any definite or specific purpose beyond having a good time and giving a chance for everybody to talk on any and all subjects. In order to meet this local expectation as far as possible, and yet accomplish the important work of the Congress, it was decided to devote part of the time to business and part also to general free discussion and conference; and notice of this intention was very early sent to the local committee of arrangements. Accordingly this plan was carried into execution. The four day-sessions of Friday and Saturday were reserved for the business of the League, which was transacted with admirable order, precision, and good judgment; while the evenings of Friday and Saturday, and the whole of Sunday, were devoted to addresses, speeches, etc., without any intention to restrict the range of topics within prescribed limits. Under the circumstances, no other course was possible; and the general feeling at the close of the convention was that, notwithstanding some disadvantages inseparable from a perfectly free platform, the advantages far outweighed them. Nobody, so far as we know, failed to perceive that the freedom of the platform was jealously preserved, and that perfect freedom of speech, even if sometimes abused in the heat of excitement, supplies a corrective for all mistakes of this sort far better than that of a coercive or repressive policy. There were no offensive personalities, no violations of decorum or courtesy; and if extreme views in different directions were made sometimes more prominent or expressed more aggressively than good taste would warrant, they offset each other, and were understood by all intelligent listeners to express the mind of the speakers individually, and not of the Congress. Christian and non-Christian, materialist and spiritualist, theist and atheist, all received respectful hearing without interruption, and without any other rebuke than that of temperate mutual criticism; and in this particular, as we said at the time, the National Liberal League set a greatly needed and practical lesson of *respect for freedom* for which one would apply in vain at the door of any church in Christendom.

There were points of peculiar interest in this convention.

1. Some of the most distinguished speakers who had given encouragement to expect their presence failed to appear. Col. Ingersoll was absent for unexplained reasons; Mr. Underwood was taken severely sick, and was obliged to leave Rochester for his home; Rabbi Landsberg cancelled his engagement; Mr. Seaver was detained in Boston in consequence of being assaulted on the street by a ruffian who probably mistook him for somebody else; and there were similar disappointments in several other cases. Col. Ingersoll's absence, in particular, was the cause of intense chagrin to the Rochester public, and threatened to diminish the audiences materially. But no such effect was visible. If he had lectured on Sunday evening, as was hoped, it would have been impossible to get many more into the large Corinthian Hall than were actually present. Nothing was more noticeable or more encouraging, in our own view of the case, than the singular independence of great names evinced by this convention. There were good speakers, and enough of them; but none of them possessed such wide reputations as would account for the constant growth in the size of the audiences. The causes of this growth were evidently deeper than any man's reputation; they were apparent in the intensity of interest that shone on every one of those crowded, eagerly attentive faces, as speaker after speaker struck the key-note of the occasion in the *demand for equal rights for all.* We have attended many liberal conventions before this; but never have we seen one whose strength was so manifestly that of the audience rather than of the platform—of the people rather than of the speakers.

2. In the peculiarity we have just noticed lies the chief significance of this occasion. Politicians had nothing to do with shaping the political action of the Congress; it was the action of the people themselves, and it turned on questions of real politics, not of mere electioneering or office-holding. Says the Hartford *Courant* in a recent issue:—

A celebrated Englishman who has recently been travelling extensively in this country was asked what had most impressed him in his intercourse with the people. He replied, "The lack of interest in politics."

He was answered that, if he were here during a Presidential election, he would not complain of any want of excitement; the people take their interest in politics periodically and spasmodically.

"Ah," said the Englishman, "I did not mean the interest in *elections;* I meant interest in *politics.*"

What an Englishman or a continental man understands as politics scarcely exists in the United States. Possibly the conception of nine-tenths of the voters of politics is in undivorcible connection with office. Nearly all the talk of a group of men who are called politicians, when they talk, is of offices or candidates; great policies are rarely discussed. Thus it happens that "politics" has become in the main a merely personal matter; and the intelligent Englishman finds our "politics" only a struggle between the "ins" and the "outs."

With a permanent civil service, the officers of which are selected solely on account of intelligence and honesty, and whose tenure is not liable to be disturbed by anything except their own unfitness, intriguing for office will no longer be "politics"; and we may hope that the voters will turn their attention to real politics.

It was "real politics" alone which gave all its significance to the Rochester Congress. Its wisdom in action was strikingly conspicuous, and of such a character that sagacious students of signs of the times will pay great heed to it. Probably for the first time in American history, the platform of a political convention commanded and concentrated its chief attention, to the comparative disregard of candidates. We were filled with admiration in noting the exceeding good sense with which the Congress treated the paramount subject of the principles that should constitute its collective word to the American public. If we had any misgiving before the meeting, it was lest private hobbies should be thrust forward so pertinaciously as to excite heated controversy, and perhaps irremediable division,—lest the platform should be loaded down with planks that would scatter, and not unite the liberal party. All such apprehensions proved to be absurd. With marvellous unanimity, the Congress agreed on the policy of saying just enough, and not too much; it saw the transcendent importance of the three principles of the "Call," and showed no disposition to break their formidable force by hasty and ill-considered additions. On this point great earnestness of purpose was apparent, and no little enthusiasm; and the result is that the platform is a bold challenge of the public attention to principles which can be sneered at by no one, but are fated to command more and more public respect as time goes on. The future belongs to us, liberal friends, if succeeding conventions shall exhibit equal wisdom. A party which plants itself resolutely on those great ideas, adheres to them inflexibly, and works for them actively and public-spiritedly, is just as certain by and by to sweep the country as the moon is certain to command the tides. Ideas govern at last; and these ideas will eventually make liberalism omnipotent in the United States. It is difficult not to indulge the exuberance of satisfaction we feel over the adoption of those terse, invincible, and magnificent principles as a basis of political action. There is unfurled a flag which will sooner or later attract every noble spirit in the country to its defence; all that is wanted is that its supporters shall bear it onward to predestined victory by proving themselves worthy of its glorious cause.

2. No less conspicuous was the wisdom of the Congress in dealing with the question of candidates. Several of the speakers expressed the desire to nominate a distinguished liberal on the spot, as a Presidential candidate who would well represent the platform before the country at large; but the prevailing temper of the Congress was to honor no man with their nomination who did not in turn honor them

and their objects by his personal presence, or at least by a direct declaration of his consent to represent them. There was great unanimity in the conclusion to postpone all nominations for the present, and this was eminently wise. One or two years hence, it will be much easier than it is to-day to nominate candidates who are willing to bear the brunt of opposition, make the sacrifices demanded, and bear the standard of a new and of course unpopular party; but it would be hardly reasonable to expect these sacrifices until the liberals themselves have proved their own earnestness by becoming far more widely and actively organized.

3. This is the inexorable condition of real political influence. A splendid beginning has been made, but it must be persistently followed up in order to reap its advantages. Until Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues have been multiplied in every State, and thus a large delegate constituency has been ensured for the Annual Congresses of the National Liberal League, the importance of this movement cannot possibly be comprehended by the "average man." Politicians of the common sort, and the ordinary secular journals which never look beneath the surface of passing events, will be unable to discern the enormous vitality of this movement until they see it numerically powerful. Blind as bats to the power of ideas, and too ignorant to distinguish an acorn from a pebble, they will be likely to perceive no more significance in the Liberal League movement than in the famous convention of the "Three Tailors of Tooley Street," who met in a garret and issued a stately pronunciamento beginning—"We, the People of England." One must pardon the stupidity of such critics, because they really do not know any better, and because there is some honest excuse for the contempt they entertain for the liberal party, in the fact that the liberal party are only just beginning to acquire sufficient self-respect to demand the legal recognition of their equal rights. Nobody respects a man who does not respect himself; and no man can be supposed to respect himself very much who submits silently to gross violations of his equal rights by the majority. All the instincts of manhood rebel against such ignominious submission to oppression; and the one feature in the Rochester Congress which marked the birth of a new and mighty moral power was the evident dawning determination to submit to the oppression of the "clerical policy" no longer. That feature of it filled our own soul with joy. Contented slaves will remain slaves forever; but discontent with slavery is the fountain of freedom. It is the spread of this noble discontent which will be the best service rendered by the Rochester Congress; and the rapidity with which it spreads will be accurately measured by the rapidity with which new Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues are organized.

4. To this conclusion, then, are we brought: the Rochester Congress must not be the end of a movement, but only its beginning. Other conventions are held, and very profitably held, too, for the simple discussion and presentation of ideas, without the least attempt to secure their practical embodiment in action. But this convention, adding action to thought, looks to results. Its object is to break the yoke of ecclesiasticism which now, heavy but unheeded, presses the neck of every unorthodox citizen of the United States,—to rouse him to a determined vindication of his equal rights before the law,—and to secure a political condition which shall make these equal rights of all, Orthodox and unorthodox alike, respected in theory and in fact. All whose souls cry amen to this great purpose will do their utmost to call RATIFICATION MEETINGS in their respective neighborhoods, for the purpose of organizing Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, ratifying the political platform of the National League, initiating an active local agitation in its favor, and securing a great delegate constituency for the nominating Congress of next year. This will probably be held in that Western city which shall offer to the National Liberal League the most encouragement and local coöperation, and furnish the most advantageous field of operations. But meanwhile let every Local League already formed hold a special Ratification Meeting, and get its proceedings published in every journal that will print the report; and where no Local League exists, let one be organized forthwith for the express purpose of ratifying the new platform and winning votes to its support. Men and women of America who comprehend the transcendent issues staked on the success of secular government, we call upon you earnestly to enlist in this great cause, and do some unselfish work on its behalf for the sake of our common country and your own posterity!

MISS MARTINEAU'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

We are very glad to receive the following letter from Mr. Chadwick, which will be read with great interest:—

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your correspondent in THE INDEX of Oct. 25 seems to be much displeased with my criticism of Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography* which appeared in the second number of the *Radical Review*. Her first issue with me is that, "calling in question the reliability of Miss Martineau's memory of certain transactions," I said: "But they are generally such as she was quite willing to forget." But this was written of literary performances which Miss Martineau herself declares she had forgotten. It was she who called in question the reliability of her memory. That the performances forgotten generally were such as she was quite willing to forget, she is again my witness, as your correspondent will discover on referring to the instances in question.

Her next issue with me is in regard to Dr. Channing. I am supposed to be "a little stung" by Miss Martineau's treatment of him because I am "a thorough-going Unitarian." As this is the first time I have ever appeared in this character, I find it very amusing. My Unitarian orthodoxy has always been considered doubtful. And yet there is a sense in which "a thorough-going radical" may be "a thorough-going Unitarian," and in this sense I am one, if I understand myself. Your correspondent cannot believe that Harriet Martineau "would take a man down *because* he was a Unitarian." To me it seems that Harriet Martineau could not help doing so; and that any person who can read her book and not see that she was *intensely prejudiced* against the Unitarians is incapable of any honest literary judgment. A self-styled "thorough-going radical" has sometimes quite as much sectarian bias as any thorough-going Unitarian, even in the offensive sense of your correspondent.

She claims that "Harriet Martineau *could* teach even so great a man as Dr. Channing something about religious liberty, for she had attained to a freedom of thought almost without parallel in all the world, and was untrammelled by any sort of creed whatever." This last sentence may be true of the Harriet Martineau of 1851, when the Atkinson letters appeared; but in 1835 Miss Martineau was quite as good a Unitarian as Dr. Channing. As to her "unparalleled freedom," your correspondent's reading must be very narrow to render such a judgment possible; and if her reading had included Dr. Channing's life, I doubt if she would think that Miss Martineau could teach him anything about religious liberty.

But my principal offence, it seems, consists in saying that Miss Martineau "denies that she is atheistic." This is "to show a white feather of timidity." On the contrary, it is simply stating the truth, as I was bound to do. She says expressly (Vol. II. p. 42) that she was "an atheist in the vulgar sense,—that of rejecting the popular theology; but not in the philosophical sense of denying a First Cause." Your correspondent says truly that "'J. W. C.' knows that Harriet Martineau was an atheist in the common acceptation of the term." She is right there. But why should I be limited to the common acceptation of the term any more than Miss Martineau?

I am not aware of any least anxiety to bulldoze Miss Martineau into the ranks of theism. Though she were truly atheistic, I should not feel obliged to say, "Poor God, with nobody to help him!" If she were atheistic in the profoundest sense, I should regret the limitation of her genius which compelled her to be so. But this she never was. Therefore I said so; not on God's account, or on Miss Martineau's, but for the sake of simple truth. If something else had been the truth, I should have stated it just as frankly. God is quite able to take care of himself, I fancy, without the assistance of Miss Martineau or even your Milwaukee correspondent.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

BROOKLYN, Oct. 29, 1877.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 533.]

structure was permeated with the worm-holes of evil. The liberals have a great work before them. They should educate the people; teach a morality based upon science; show that the neglect of natural laws shall be punished here. They must popularize science. "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you" was not a religious maxim, but a maxim of life. The doctrine of humanity would work out man's salvation. Christianity had departed from the excellent precepts of its Founder. The new ideal was more beautiful, more inspiring, but it only needed some one to spread it abroad. The liberals had a strong enemy to contend against. All should start out for a better life and a nobler existence.

The remainder of the evening was devoted to ten-minute speeches by Mr. Verity, of Cambridge, Dr. Brown, of Binghamton, Mr. Bretzner, of New Lebanon, Mr. Evans, of Toronto, Mr. Marsh, of Rochester, and many others. Mr. Evans expressed himself as delighted and astonished by the size of the audiences, and their enthusiastic response to liberal ideas. He should return to Canada to report that the Congress had been a wonderful success, and to encourage his own countrymen to greater efforts in the same cause. He very warmly thanked the League for its kind reception of himself and his fellow-delegate, Mr. Hargrave; and the audience loudly applauded the brief but cordial response to Mr. Evans' remarks made by the President.

Before adjourning, the President made a short closing speech. He urged those present to go to their homes to work, and not to slumber,—to multiply ratification meetings on behalf of the new platform, and to form new local auxiliary Leagues everywhere in support of the National League. Our cause, he said, was glorious beyond our own conception; it was a vaster movement than we ourselves comprehended, and the future belonged to it. Let us kindly, but resolutely, carry it forward, and deserve well of the Republic by our enlightened devotion to its true prosperity and public virtue.

The Congress then adjourned *sine die*.

Communications.

ORGANIZATION.

TO THOSE WHO FAVOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL.

At the National Liberal Congress held at Rochester, Oct. 26, 27, and 28, a platform was adopted which, I believe, future generations will regard as the second declaration of American Independence. The first duty of every friend of freedom should be to see that this platform has a wide circulation. Go to your local editor and request its publication; and if your request is refused, raise sufficient funds to pay for its insertion; for, depend upon it, when the people understand the full import of that document, those of them who are at heart *American* will indorse it. The three words that best represent it are EDUCATION, LIBERTY, EQUALITY. I repeat, friends of equal rights for all, see that it has a wide circulation.

At the Congress there was appointed a national Executive Committee, consisting of one member from each State and Territory, whose special duty is to organize Local Liberal Leagues in the various towns throughout the country. If we would succeed in building up a national political party, upon our platform of freedom, that shall be felt at the next Presidential election, we must engage in this work with a zeal and earnestness worthy of our principles.

As chairman of that committee, I desire to request each member of the committee *at once* to appoint, as the National Liberal League Constitution requires, four persons from his State or Territory to act with him as a State or territorial sub-committee, the duties of which are very important and are laid down in the National League Constitution. I desire that during the next *thirty days* these State and territorial committees may be appointed, so that we may be prepared to go to work *immediately*.

As it is proposed next year at our Annual Congress to nominate a President and Vice-President for 1880, it is very important that Local Liberal Leagues be organized everywhere, and delegates elected for that Congress. I hope at an early day the Directors may fix upon the time and place for holding the Second Annual Congress, and all who indorse our platform may go to work to make it one of the most important National Conventions ever held in the United States. I think by indefatigable work we can by that time have organized a thousand Local Liberal Leagues which would give us a representation of *five thousand delegates*.

With such a Congress, representing the intelligence, virtue, and patriotism of the nation, we could put into the field a ticket headed by some such man as Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, and go to the American people with great prospect of success. Will every friend of liberty and the equal rights of man, including women, work for so glorious an achievement?

H. L. GREEN,
Ch. Ex. Comm. N. L. L.

RADICAL THEOLOGY.

I have for some time ceased to ask anyone to either affirm or deny God; and decline to respond unqualifiedly to peremptory theological queries. If one asks me, "Do you believe in God?" I will answer, "Define God; I can then tell whether I believe in him. Take fifty years for it; the creature cannot be expected to comprehend and set forth in adequate language the Creator in less time than that; meanwhile I will go about my business."

I have never met the man who absolutely denied gods; in other words, all can see that the word god exists (with many variations), and all must know that words never exist without some meaning accompanying them. But when we come to ask, What, precisely, do all these names of supernatural personations mean? when we ask this, we are repulsed from all sides; no two agree in their definitions. We find, in fact, that there is no Orthodox theology. So-called orthodoxy is but a local fashion; it will not bear transportation. Travel a few days in any direction and the correct knowledge of theology is no longer correct, but is crowded out by a different kind.

In fact, when we see, the world over, how each individual mind and each mental type always provides itself with its own peculiar theological forms, we are forced to look upon the study of theology as in reality the study of human nature. I would as soon think of arguing seriously in denial of the existence of nixes and kobolds as in denial of gods and devils. I place all superhuman impersonations in the same category, as far as objective reality is concerned; they do all exist in the human mind. As to the universal belief in extra human correspondences to all egoistic forces, it is useless to attempt to disturb that. I object only to forced or ultra literal interpretations thereof. The almost infinite diversity of meaning which many men in many moods have sought to express by their multiform theologies, is something which is not to be ignored, but rather studied in a scientific and sympathetic spirit.

So many men, so many gods, and truth in each and all. The God (for example) of Jonathan Edwards is a stern and cruel being against whom the humanitarian spirit rebels; nevertheless we are forced to confess him a too truthful emphasization of

certain aspects of existence,—the pitilessness of force, the stringency of natural conditions, the grinding of supply and demand, the inevitable sequency of penalties, the hopelessness of forgiveness for too wide departures from the path of safety. The strength of the conception is in its full recognition of the supreme necessity to which we are all reminded sooner or later that we must bow; its weakness is in its pessimistic animus. The Calvinistic God was composed by exiles from beauty and happiness, he is too much the bitter product of cloudy skies and hypochondria. The fact of his having been as popular as he has been, shows what a vast amount of sin and misery the world has known, and should soften our hearts into pity rather than harden them in indignation. There is little in him to attract love; and indeed there is little pretence of loving him; other divine images have been necessary as objects of the world's affection. Fear God and love Jesus and Mary.

So many desires in the heart, so many ambitions and questionings in the brain, so many celestial or infernal personations will there be to answer them. God, in one of his leading *rôles*, is the patron of success; the incarnation of conservatism and law and order; the sanctifier of permanent power. In this respect Satan is his contrast, the God of the radicals, the defeated party, the natural rebels to whom capricious might is no right. Why is Jesus beloved even to this day and in spite of the sacerdotal distortion of which he has been victim? Because of his antitheological quality; his Satanic (Promethean) affiliation was unmistakable; he was all radical, the friend of man, the defiant of the priest-monopolized incarnation of power in whose name he was crushed. All benefactors of mankind have been considered essentially Satanic by the cringing virtue and orthodoxy of their time; the friends and self-appointed agents of a good and powerful God have in all times been satisfied that the inevitable lot of the masses was to be bad, miserable, and oppressed, and all attempts at elevating them have been stigmatized, and if possible repressed, as devilish revolts against fixed conditions and the holy authority of God and his ministers. Alas! there is truth in this too; God *is* on the side of the strongest battalions; the cause of the weak, unfortunate, erring millions, often seems finally hopeless, and their closest sympathizer is sometimes tempted to exclaim in revulsion of despair: "Go to; let us be even as others, let us ally ourselves with power. The many are weak and bad, therefore they have no rights; let us rule them and tax them, let us eat them even as they would us if they could. Let the slow development of the race take its natural course, and meanwhile let us fight our way through as the rest do."

But this mood does not last. The true radical is so not by virtue of arguments or facts, but because it is his born nature. Would you ask his motive? It is love; and thereby is he, peacefullest of men, sworn fighter against the kingdom of hatred and force.

The gods are innumerable; they reflect every shade of human feeling. There is the cant god of him who swears or prays by rote,—God reduced to the minimum of significance, we may term this. There is the conventional god, the god of good society, patronized by the churches and constituting a sort of guaranty fund for the Pharisaism of the country. Then there is *le bon Dieu* of the Frenchman,—a happy, if not a very sublime, conception. He is not exactly the father of the human race, but rather their grandfather. He is a little superannuated, but his benevolence is inexhaustible; one may even feel a little affection for him without being accused of blasphemy or undue familiarity. Sometimes, in a moment of petulance, his grandchildren twit him of being little better than an old humbug; but he bears with them, knowing that they will believe in him as joyously and devoutly as ever soon as things go smooth again.

What multitudes of gods! What a God Philip of Spain, the heretic-roaster, must have had! How would you go about it to blaspheme or insult such a deity?

What a lovable God Fénélon worshipped! And yet Philip and Fénélon were alike good Catholics,—which shows how unimportant names are.

Every man's god is, at final research, an enlarged or idealized or intensified image of himself. Think of gods in this common-sense way and you will have little fear of blaspheming—some men's gods; and at the same time you will feel a profound respect for those of others. It is all a matter of personal taste and preference.

The attitude of the philosophical atheist is perhaps the most rational that can be taken. It is certainly the most modest, and is not necessarily the least reverent. He simply refrains from making any affirmations concerning the existence or nature of God. He does not assert that there is no personal deity or deities, but that we know nothing of any. He further asserts that if there be a supreme personal ruler of the universe, he must be, necessarily, of all things, the farthest removed from our comprehension, and of all things, what we cannot profess to describe. He is the unknown. Nothing in this world is quite so absurd, childish, and irreverent, as the various cut-and-dried schemes in which professional theologians pretend to display God's personal character, his inmost motives, and his general policy, together with a more or less extended history of his varying success in carrying out his designs. All theology, taken literally, is mere nursery-talk; although it has undoubtedly served as vehicle for some of the profoundest studies upon the nature and fortunes of man.

Many seem to make the existence of a man-shaped deity the essential pivot in the everlasting query as to the goodness or badness of the world. But there is no such real relation; the world is good or bad just as we make it. There is no system of theology that suffices in itself to make men happy; if there were, all men would eagerly accept it. A happy man will have a good and indulgent god; misery sharp and protracted enough will make almost any man suspect that the genius of the world is evil and that man is its puny victim.

It certainly is never necessary to lose a poetic faith in all the mythologies; they are the sublimated and condensed experience and insight of the past,—and genuine poetic faith in them seems to me as valid and worthy as any positive rigid forms of belief. In fact, creed seems generally to be *arrested poetry*,—the mark left by the ebbing wave. I believe in all the gods,—much as I do in all the men; some suit me better than others; all are interesting; none are entirely bad, nor entirely without a basis in truth. But when theology—any theology—puts forth its claims to be considered an exact science,—excuse me.

G. E. TUFTS.

BINGHAMTON, N.Y.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XVIII.

The segmentation of the cube into eight cubules furnishing, as was shown in the preceding article, the logical basis of the musical octave (falling down practically to seven, and these repleted, by intercalation, to twelve), it follows from the *fact* of segmentation, that the cubules (taken to represent, analogically, domains of science) fall apart, become disengaged or free, and may now be arranged in a linear scale or single file. Indeed, this linear order, this gamut or scale, as the ultimate and practical arrangement, is already symbolically foreshadowed within the primitive cube by that *diagonalism* which is always and everywhere the type of *practical* nature. Let an ideal cord be stretched from a given corner of a cube through the body of the cube to the remotest and opposite corner, and we have the analogue and origin of the *scalar* arrangement or *musicoid register* along which the separate cubules come to be arranged, by some *crowding-and-accommodation*. This necessity for crowding-and-accommodation, inherently unavoidable (in all actuality or concreteness), is the reason why the musical intervals are unevenly distributed, and can never be adjusted otherwise than by a certain *tempering*,—analogue of that inexhaustible good *temper*, upon which the social adjustments and harmonies of society must ultimately rest, after all the exactitudes of scientific social solution. Because, however, Nature perpetually escapes from the trammels of scientific exactitude and bursts into the freedom of art, that is no sufficient reason why the exactitudes of scientism should be discarded or recklessly overleaped. Because musical execution rises again into spontaneity, after a thorough training in "harmony," that is no reason why the laws of "harmony" should never be studied. The primitive and untrained spontaneity in music is the naturism of music (singing and playing by ear). This gives way, in the true course of the evolution of musical education, to the study of the laws of "harmony." That is the scientism of music. After this basis of pure knowledge is laid in, which at first trammels and hinders the *naturismal exercitation*, the spontaneity is again let in and accustomed to move within the limits and mathematical conditionings so furnished; and then we rise into the domain of true art. We have then a trained and rationalized spontaneity in the place of the unregulated exuberance of mere Nature. All art which ignores, dodges, or overlaughs the middle step, the abstract and pure scientism, is pseud-art; whether we are talking of music, of the classification of the sciences, or of whatsoever; for everything whatsoever percurs these three degrees—naturism, scientism, artism—if it fulfils its normal destiny. Otherwise, it is aborted. Still, pseud-art may very closely proximate true art, as in Blind Tom; and provisionally, it is practically availably as a matrix of true art; a necessary basis or ground, and even as an indispensable early substitute.

Pseud-art and true art, or high art, concur in the fact that they are both practical, as contrasted with mere scientism or pure theory. They are the LOW PRACTICAL and the HIGH PRACTICAL; but still both practical; and as the whole of life and of being itself culminates in uses, practicality is a great matter. We can subsist, after a manner, upon mere naturism or the Low Practical; we starve on mere Scientism (there is no real music in the mere mathematics of music); but we only truly live in the High Practical, where the natural spontaneity is based on and guided by scientism.

It is in this sense, as the Low Practical, but still the Practical, that I accord the *practical* superiority to Wakeman's system of classification (*A Complete and Positive Classification of the Sciences—For the use of the New York Liberal Club*) over any other system as yet published. By this I mean Comte and Wakeman, as Wakeman has absorbed the labors of Comte on this subject. On the other hand, Elsberg, absorbing Spencer and Haeckel in a similar way, stands representative, incipiently, for the scientism of classification. His fundamental discriminations are for thinkers; for the men of science as such, and do not pertain to the familiar hand-book of this classification for the practical initiation of the people at large into a curriculum of scientific education which is the leading and greatly-to-be-commended purpose of Mr. Wakeman and the positivists. For this grand popular educational purpose, the school of positivism and "the church of humanity" are to be congratulated upon the possession of such a treasure as this new positivistic tabulation of the sciences by Wakeman really is; and scientific men at large cannot afford to be ignorant of it.

The high practical, and in its connection, the integral or all-embracing and every-way aspected system of the classification of the sciences, is, in fine, universological, and will be evolved by the further elaboration of universology itself. What has now been said justifies, in a sense, the position taken by J. Stuart Mill, that there are many possible methods of classifying the sciences, one preferable for one purpose, and another for another. But it by no means justifies his licentious indifference on the subject. It is not true that there are many systems *equally good*. There is but one system which is truly best for the given purpose, and there are but the two or three great leading purposes. There is no more legitimate choice in the order in which the sciences shall be placed, in ascending scale, than there is in the order in which the musical notes shall be placed in the musical gamut. The instinct of the positivists is perfectly right on this subject; and Spencer is wrong. It is the universological theorem, that whatsoever in the universe, that is orderly, is arranged in gamuts and octaves and registers after the type of music; and that all this, together with music itself, rests on and is derived from the regular or axiated segmentation of the globe and cube, as the two governing geometrical forms. With this perception, classification has a *meaning*; without it, it remains a chaotic agglomeration of chance observations only more or less proximately true.

One of Elsberg's divisions of the sciences is into the (1) General and (2) Special sciences, a discrimination which all tacitly adopt, but which other classifiers have treated as so obvious that it needed no mention. We shall see why it is so obvious if we understand that Generality relates to the total rotundity, as, for example, to the whole apple, and such minor divisions as can be made without destroying the rotundity, as when we pare the apple; as Speciality relates to the apple cut through the centre, divided into halves, quarters, and eighths, and presenting *plane faces* or *facets*, in place of rotundoid or general divisions. We find, in this difference, the origin of the thoughts which are consigned to the two words *genera*, allied with *general*, and *species*, allied with *special*, the two catch-words and heads, respectively, of the whole dominion of classification. *Gen*-us being *total-ist* or whole-like, *gen*-erates, or contains, and produces from its partition, or parturition, the *species* or face-presence, which is minor, and derivative from it. (*Cf.* Latin *species*, face.)

Another of Elsberg's divisions is into (1) Descriptive, and (2) Comparative. His descriptive is what I have called monospheric (of the single sphere); so that here we are in the difference to which I have given the names: Monospherology and Comparalogy. This is as when we consider the cut-up of the one apple, in whatsoever ways, on the one hand, and the cut-up of two or more apples, that of the one repeating, with some modification, that of the other on the other hand. In the case of comparalogy (comparative science), therefore, it is more specifically the *schema of the cut-up* itself which is under consideration, rather than either apple; and so we become *transcendental*, or pass into the science of classification, as such, and beyond the proper science of the things classified. Neither Comte, nor Spencer, nor Wakeman makes any provision for comparative science, which *traverses* all other science or sciences, finding identity of principles and laws (the substance or subject-matter of science) in different spheres, as the mathematician finds the same formula applicable to wholly different groups of phenomena.

The third of Elsberg's preliminary divisions distributes the sciences, as we have previously noticed, into (1) Aspectual, for which I have more recently adopted the term Ingrediential sciences, and (2) Departmental. Chemistry and psychology, for example, deal in a special and predominant degree with matter, substance, stuff, or material, and less with considerations of form; while astronomy, anatomy, and the like, are peculiarly morphological and departmental.

The full significance and importance of these several preliminary divisions of the sciences does not appear at once, nor until we enter upon the higher phases of the science of classification, properly so-called. It may be observed that the aspectual or ingrediential view of science conducts quite directly to comparalogy, or makes the true basis of comparative science by the *traverse* thus instituted of the diverse *departments* of science. The *sameness of substance* in different *departments of being* introduces, in other words, a new ground of unity, and so a cross-distribution, in the nature of comparison.

Recurring to the question of gamut or scale in the distribution of the sciences, Spencer wrote his essay on "The Genesis of Science" expressly, among other things, to show that "the sciences cannot be rationally arranged in serial order," and for contesting the propriety of Comte's assumption of this order. In this I have said that Spencer was wrong. I am not unmindful of the trenchant force of his criticism upon Comte's assumption that we proceed, *in the development of the sciences from the general to the special*. I agree with him (Spencer) that "it might contrariwise be asserted, that commencing with the complex and the special, mankind have progressed step by step to a knowledge of greater simplicity and wider generality." And especially I agree with him, that Comte's doctrine in this matter "is only a half-truth"; and "that neither proposition is correct by itself," and that "the actuality is expressed only by putting the two together" and that "the progress of science is duplex; it is at once from the special to the general, and from the general to the special; it is analytical and synthetical at the same time." But all of this does not authorize the denial that this evolution proceeds, *on the whole*, along a given line or track; any more than the fact that we put one foot before the other, and then the other before it, countervails the fact, that by this very alternation, we do walk; and do so, along a seriated pathway, and in a given direction. Neither does Mr. Spencer's other

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view, true and important as it is, of the tri-dimensionality of the primitive ideal outlay, countervail the fact that the general progression is along a jagged diagonal, as has been expounded above.

And, on the whole, I have numerous reasons which cannot be adduced here, for accepting Comte's *instinct* of the true order, as better than his reasons, like the judge who often decides right and reasons badly. The plain common-sense of mankind will perceive that the idea of constituting a science of society arose far later in human history than arithmetic for example. And so, Wakeman's revised and enlarged scale (upon that of Comte) will, I believe, in the main, stand the test of working experiment, despite the adverse criticism of Spencer, upon the rationality of "any serial order" in the arrangement of the sciences. I am not, however, to be understood as adopting it in all its details, as finality, but generally as the best extant epitome of the departmental sciences.

AN APPEAL TO LIBERALS ON THE GREAT NEED OF THE HOUR.

The great need of the world to-day is a higher standard and a more faithful practice of morality in all the relations of life. This, I repeat, is the one great need of the world to-day; and whatever system of belief (whether it be called religion or known by any other name) that is working to this end, is to be hailed as a friend of mankind and a gospel of righteousness. If liberalism is doing this—if it is elevating man's moral ideal and promoting the practice of those cardinal virtues on which social integrity and happiness rest,—then it is entitled to the sympathy and aid of all philanthropists. If liberalism is not doing this—if its prevailing tendency is not in the direction of a higher life, a more conscientious regard for duty both public and private,—it is not worthy the respect of any man or woman who is seeking to forward the cause of righteousness on earth.

On this subject I wish to be very explicit. The religions against which we Liberals protest as being false in philosophy and unfriendly to the advancement of civilization *do* teach morality in their way. Their methods may be false; their theories of morality may be unsound; but they do admonish men to be honest, upright, chaste, and benevolent. They do demand righteousness of their believers and condemn wrong. The teachers and followers of these systems may not at all practice the morality they profess; but still it forms a part of their belief, and shapes to some extent their conduct in life. Now, is liberalism doing, or preparing to do, this work of making men better in all the relations of society more successfully than those other systems that claim a monopoly in moralizing the world?

The answer to this question must in my opinion decide the fate of liberalism. If it is making men and women better citizens, purer husbands and wives, kinder fathers and mothers—if it is stimulating the nobler impulses of human nature,—then welcome it as a friend and patron of progress, and consecrate it at the altar of humanity. But if it is not doing this work, if it is lax in its demand for righteousness, if it is not holding up a higher standard of virtue for the conduct of life, let—"Weighed in the balance and found wanting"—be written over its pretensions.

I am not afraid to declare my moral creed. Neither am I afraid to declare that many who call themselves Liberals, and who are fellowshipped as Liberals, teach doctrines that are, in my judgment, subversive of the moral foundations of the civilization which we in this age enjoy and cherish. Many Liberals do the very thing which we condemn the Church for doing,—that is, they substitute belief for character, and let speculative opinions atone for immoral lives. I care much less what a man believes than how he lives. Still, I hold that it is eminently necessary that we have a correct view of life and its duties. The truest theory of man's moral relations must be the best basis of morality. But he who does right, though his system of belief be false, is a much greater benefactor to society than he whose conduct is immoral though his views of life are true.

I am eager to see liberalism put on the whole armor of righteousness, and battle against the sins that are degrading and damning man to-day. Let us dismiss some of our hostile feeling towards other religions and supply its place with a deeper interest in the improvement of society around us. It is a poor, pitiable way of living to do nothing but stand still and scowl and curse at orthodoxy. Yet this is all many Liberals ever do. They abuse the churches and the preachers incessantly, but they do not give the community in which they live any better example of a virtuous life than the priest-ridden victim whom they affect to commiserate.

If Liberals have been emancipated from the slavery of superstition that has so much retarded human progress, they ought to manifest the superior light they enjoy by leading better lives than their less fortunate neighbors. This is the logical result of their assumption, and liberalism is a fruitless pretension if it does not accomplish this end. I am very earnest on this subject, and desire to see Liberals everywhere give evidence of the faith that is within them. We are too slothful in discharging our duties, and too ready to combat other people's opinions. Let us come to the front in the work of elevating the standard of practical righteousness in society. The world is still debased by a multitude of sins and vices. In politics, fraud and corruption threaten to subvert our dearest liberties; in society, vice and crime multiply with alarming rapidity; in many homes, instead of those divine influences that should ever dwell in the family nursery to lead the tender lives of children to the light of virtue and happiness, only sensuality, ignorance, and all the loathsome forms of degradation are found. The cause of humanity everywhere cries aloud for aid. Will Liberals answer the call of duty and hasten to the rescue? H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo., Sept. 15, 1877.

THE INTEREST QUESTION.

SALEM, O., Oct. 12, 1877.

MR. ABBOT:

Sir,—In the discussion of the interest question, it seems to me that the main point has not been sufficiently emphasized,—that which makes it profitable to the borrower to pay interest for the use of money, sometimes even a high rate of interest. Bishop Ferrette ignores it altogether. According to him, it is just as well to have the use of one's money ten years hence as to-day.

It is well known that all performance is more effective, is productive of better results, if done at the right time than if done at some future time. Seed sown at the proper time will produce a better crop than if sown later. The crop harvested at the proper time will be of better quality and will suffer less waste than if harvested at any future time. There are a seed-time and harvest in all the affairs of life. Money will buy labor and enable us to have things done at the time when they will produce the most benefit. Money will buy goods at a time when they can be obtained on the most advantageous terms, thus enabling us to sell them at a profit. Money may enable us to start a profitable manufacture, or to embark in other profitable business *now*, and thus enable us to begin making a profit *now* instead of at some future time. Having the control of money gives us the power to seize time by the forelock.

It is taking a very narrow and superficial view of money to say that it is unproductive.

Money is society's acknowledgment that a service has been rendered to it by him to whom the money was first given, and it is the promise of society to return an equivalent for that service to him who presents the money. Labor judiciously expended is productive, goods judiciously used are productive, and money which gives us the control of these is practically productive.

But Bishop Ferrette will say that many who own money have not the ability or the enterprise to use it in a way to make it productive, and therefore they ought to be willing to allow some one else who can to have the use of it without charge. On the same principle he should require any one who owns any thing which he cannot himself utilize to give it away to some one who can: for instance, he who produces something which requires a subsequent process of which he is not master to render it available.

I can understand a person's denying the right of the individual to hold property; but, conceding the right to hold property, I cannot perceive the consistency of denying the right to claim payment for the use of it.

If the borrower makes a profit on the money which is lent him, why should he be unwilling to share the profit with the owner of the money? The result of doing away with interest would be to lock up capital or to induce the owners of it to employ it themselves, even when they lacked the ability to employ it to advantage, instead of lending it to those who had the requisite ability. After all, is it not best that a premium should be offered by society to the industrious, the intelligent, the provident, the self-denying?

Would it be equitable that the sluggard, the spendthrift, the self-indulgent, the procrastinator should in a measure be able to reap the advantages, without paying for them, earned by the industrious, the provident, the self-denying, and the forehanded?

Yours truly, J. W. SULIOT.

[The above short article is full of condensed wisdom and truth, and we cordially say amen to it.—ED.]

A GREAT THEORY IN DANGER.

Among all the broad conceptions of modern science there is none that surpasses in grandeur the nebular hypothesis. It reaches back into an earlier period than even the history given by the inspired volume. It begins untold ages before creation; when the earth was not only formless and void, but had no separate entity, being part of a vast and shapeless concourse of atoms that had been scattered through space. According to this hypothesis, the original nebula from which the solar system was formed by condensation, may have had, and probably did have, a diameter comparable only with the inconceivable distances from us of the fixed stars. The elder Herschel has the credit of this magnificent theory, to which he was led by his telescopic studies of the nebulæ. Laplace subjected it to the rigorous analysis of mathematics, and fully sustained it. One of our most eminent American mathematicians, some years ago, went carefully through Laplace's computations, and afterward said to a friend that while the theory answered the conditions of the problem, it was by no means to be regarded as the only possible solution. Nevertheless, it has gained a very wide acceptance, and has been used in partial support of other theories, such as that of evolution.

Since it was first put forth, the nebular hypothesis has passed through a crisis that threatened its overthrow. It had, from the first, to encounter the prejudice of ancient beliefs, but it steadily won its way among astronomers. But when the great telescope of Lord Rosse was turned toward many of the nebulæ which had been classed as "irresolvable," that instrument separated them into star clusters; and the opinion gained ground that, if sufficient optical power could be applied, all the nebulæ could thus be picked to pieces. With greater improvements in telescopes, that opinion was not justified. Then came the spectroscope, with its astonishing train of discoveries. These, so to speak, set the nebular hypothesis on its legs again. The light of the unresolved star-mists was analyzed, and it was found to consist of glowing gases, such as form a large component in the outer atmosphere of the sun. On the other hand, these nebulous masses exhibited no metallic or mineral substances in a state of incandescence, as do the sun and the fixed stars. The inference, of course, was that the mineral constituents had not been raised to the degree of heat necessary to give light, because the mass was not sufficiently condensed; that we had before our eyes matter in process of being formed into suns with attendant planets, but as yet a primeval fire-mist in which the gases alone were luminous.

But some of the astronomical discoveries of the present year threaten the nebular hypothesis quite as much as did the earlier observations of Lord Rosse's telescope, while the recent testimony of the spectroscope throws a doubt over the inferences that were so serviceable in supporting the great theory. To begin with, it has always been accounted one of the strongest points in the argument, that all the members of the solar system moved in the same direction around the sun, or, in the case of satellites, around their primaries; a direction which is also that of the rotation of the sun and planets. The chances against such uniformity being accidental, are so many to one, that the long row of figures which represents the proportion would be wearisome to the eye. For a while, however, there was a doubt as to this uniformity in respect to the satellites of Uranus. But closer observation showed that those satellites, though retrograde as to the ecliptic, were direct as to the equator. To explain this, it ought to be stated that their orbit is so far out of the usual plane of the planetary orbits as to be nearly at a right angle thereto. The new difficulty is with the satellite of Neptune. Professor Newcomb's recent tables show that its motion is decidedly retrograde, both as to equator and ecliptic. The fact is not at all fatal to the nebular hypothesis, but it is certainly not favorable.

The next of the recent objections (in the order of time) is the strange aspect of the new star in Cygnus, when latterly viewed through the spectroscope. When that star was first observed several months ago, it was exceedingly brilliant. Its spectrum was like that of some of the fixed stars, and it was supposed to be one of them that had been rapidly formed by the condensation of its materials, causing it suddenly to blaze out where all before had been darkness. Here, then, was probably the quick formation of a sun from a previously invisible nebula. But the new star soon began to lose its light; it is growing fainter, week by week. Now it can be shown by calculation that if a star of the size of our sun were suddenly heated to incandescence, it would take several million years to cool. Therefore, this, which appeared like one of the fixed stars when first observed with the spectroscope, could scarcely have been one. At present, when it is fading, its light is again examined, and, strange to say, it has entirely the appearance of being a planetary nebula. To meet the expectations of the friends of the great theory, this apparition ought to have begun as a nebula and ended as a fixed star; it has done precisely the reverse. True, Professor Lockyer says "the nebular hypothesis, in its grandeur and simplicity, remains untouched by these observations"; but it is not easy yet to bring the facts into line with the theory.

Last, and more formidable than the rest of these troublesome discoveries, come Professor Asaph Hall's new pets, the satellites of Mars, of which the inner one goes around that planet in seven hours and thirty-eight minutes, while the planet's own rotation on its axis requires more than thrice that length of time. Manifestly, if the satellite was originally left out in the cold while Mars was cooling and contracting into shape, the speed of that little moon, in its orbit, should have been less, not more, than that of the rotation of the interior mass which ultimately became the planet. Professor Kirkwood says that something similar has been observed as to the interior ring of Saturn,—the third ring, with which astronomers have only become acquainted in recent years. It is suggested that the extra speed of the Martial satellite may be explained by supposing that, when it was part of a nebulous ring, it struck against some other portions of the ring, or was struck by them, so that it gained velocity at their expense. The pieces that were thus knocked out of time would fall inward, perhaps on the surface of Mars. Professor Kirkwood thinks that such a process is taking place in Saturn's rings. He adds these words: "Unless some such explanation as this can be given, the short period of the inner satellite will doubtless be regarded as a conclusive argument against the nebular hypothesis." Such words are the more startling, since they come from a mathematician and astronomer who has done good service for the nebular theory, by showing, among other things, that the distribution of the groups of asteroids is in strict and remarkable accord with its requirements.—*Tribune, Oct.* 9, 1877.

IN THE members of the Free Religious Association we have genuine specimens of the descendants of Diogenes. At high noon they are out, like their intellectual ancestor, with their little horn lanterns, in search of a religion. Claiming to be preëminently religious, they are not at all settled as to what religion is. They are in search of that valuable commodity. Of many minds, a motley crew, they grope at noonday, confident only that the world is a total eclipse. Sad would it be for the world if that were the case, and no other illumination at hand than that of these farthing rush-lights. If the blind lead the blind, according to the old proverb, how can they fail to fall into the ditch?—*Zion's Herald.*

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1877. WHOLE No. 412.

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PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC; to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

GLIMPSES.

AN ABLER or more instructive paper than the opening essay of this issue was never, we think, published in THE INDEX. We commend it to all who can appreciate it.

ON SUNDAY afternoon, October 28, while the Rochester Congress was in session, the proceedings were considerably disturbed by a Catholic procession in the streets, which marched with a full band to consecrate a new "Church of the Holy Redeemer." What would have been said, if the Congress had marched in this noisy manner past the churches of Rochester while celebrating their worship?

PERSECUTION is not yet an old story in this country. Two Seventh-Day Baptists were recently fined $4 each in a town in Central Pennsylvania for working on Sunday. They refused to pay, and were sent to jail for four days. They claim that the State law of 1794 is unconstitutional, and that it is opposed to any Sabbath at all, since it abolishes the Sabbath of the Scripture and ordains a new one, which is really no Sabbath.

THE LATE Episcopal Convention in this city declared that "the clergy and laity of the Church should take an active interest in the education provided by the State with the purpose of infusing into it as much religious influence and instruction as possible, and that a joint committee of one bishop, one presbyter, and one layman be appointed to consider the matter." This is aggressive Christianity, aiming to subject the State to the Church as far as possible. Are the liberals going to suck their thumbs and go to sleep, or will they demand with energy that the principles of the Rochester platform shall be carried into effect?

HOW THE Catholic Church enters politics appears from two circulars. One was issued by the "Association de Notre Dame de Salut" in Paris, appointing a "Neuvaine et Triduum national" of public prayers for the success of the Ultramontanes at the elections of October 14. The other was issued by the "campaign committee" of Brooklyn, denouncing James Howell, Jr., candidate for Mayor, as an infidel and blasphemer of the Bible and the Virgin Mary, and declaring that "it is a sound political axiom that no country or nation or State can long exist without a distinct and positive recognition of divinity and attendant attributes." It is quite time to see that secular government is still only an ideal. Will you not help to realize it?

JOSEPH COOK, in one of his late "preludes," took pains to retail the vilest slanders of Thomas Paine, and to whoop like a savage over the misfortunes of "infidels," in connection with the sale at auction of the Paine Memorial Building. His eager credence of the worst possible of Paine, notwithstanding the vast preponderance of testimony in his favor, is so thoroughly in keeping with his own character as not in itself to be worthy even of the briefest comment; but when he adds, "There is evidence that his infidelity sowed the seeds of his bad habits," he invites a species of retort from which he is saved only by the self-respect which no gentleman forgets. We always pass unnoticed the cases of "clerical scandals" with which the daily papers teem, and prefer to leave to vulgar minds the unenviable distinction of attributing to mere belief or unbelief the vices which religion and "infidelity" alike condemn. If the question of truth as between Christianity and "infidelity" could be settled by a comparison of personal character between Christians and "infidels," the former would have far greater cause than the latter to hang their heads in shame. But we should scorn to attribute to Joseph Cook's Christianity the mean malignity of detraction, the loathsome delight in others' misfortunes, the disgusting offences against all magnanimity and decency, of which this "prelude" was an exhibition; his creed, little as we like it, gives no excuse for such things as these, and we credit them solely to the inherent coarseness and vulgarity of the man himself.

THE BOSTON *Advertiser* of November 8 (not a paper likely to go out of its way to do justice to "infidels") contained this editorial paragraph, which we commend particularly to those liberals who imagine that the National Liberal League is a useless organization, without any satisfactory reason for existence: "Texas has never been supposed to be a very religious community; but the current belief must arise from ignorance of the real fervor of the people when their notice is called to any case of immorality. Dr. S. I. Russell, one of the prominent men of Bell County, is an infidel. The other night he was taken from his bed to a wood ('inveigled into some woods,' another account says) by a company of men said to be led by members of a Baptist church, stripped and addressed thus: 'We know you are an honest man and a good physician, but we will tolerate no infidels in Bell County; so, by the help of God, we will stop your career of infidelity.' A hundred lashes were then laid upon his naked back. He was then freed, and a notice posted on the tree that hereafter infidelity in Bell County will be punished by the torch and halter. Sunday circuses, pocket revolvers freely used, and horse-thief hangings do not seem to these moralists to be contrary to a pure code, but they are afraid of brain power used against what they know to be necessary to social stability. There seems to be an excellent opening for public schools, besides the old-time missionary effort." We shall have something to say on this subject next week. Meanwhile we trust our readers will do a little hard thinking upon it on their own account.

THE CONVENTION of the Free Religious Association at New Haven, on November 8 and 9, was a very pleasant occasion. The meetings were held in Loomis' Temple of Music, which, as we were informed, seats about six or seven hundred persons. The morning and afternoon audiences of Friday were quite small; but on Thursday and Friday evenings the hall was nearly filled. The opening speakers of the four sessions were Mr. Frothingham, Mr. Potter, Miss Garlin, and Mr. Underwood; and addresses were also made by Col. T. W. Higginson, Rev. S. P. Putnam, Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Rabbi Wechsler, J. B. Stillman, Moritz Ellinger, and F. E. Abbot. Col. Higginson criticised the Liberal League movement in a way that showed how little he understands its real spirit or objects, misrepresenting it as growing out of a mere desire to "fight somebody," and betraying ignorance or disregard of the facts which have really created it. For instance, he declared positively that he "knew" that the statutes of Massachusetts do not require Bible-reading in the public schools; whereas not only is this expressly required by law, but the school regulations of some of the cities, at least, require the pupils to repeat the Lord's Prayer as an act of worship, and to commit portions of the Scriptures to memory. Direct and serious argument against the Liberal League is always welcome, since it gives the very opportunity we desire to make known the strength and justice of its cause; but we see neither intellectual nor moral utility in misrepresentation, whether conscious or unconscious. The New Haven audience have now heard both sides of the Liberal League movement presented; and a week from next Sunday they will have a chance to decide for themselves whether the Rochester platform is or is not worthy of their ratification. From the indications of sympathy with the more radical side of the case which we saw in this audience last Friday, we shall be much surprised if the conservative side gets many votes. A new spirit is beginning to stir the liberals to-day, and it will take more than anecdotes and *persiflage* to stop its spread.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

A STRANGER wandered into a church in San Francisco, but the service not being of such a character as to agree with his peculiar temperament, he began to feel nervous and fidgety, and to wish he hadn't come in. At last the presiding officer remarked that "they would now proceed with the ordination service." The stranger picked up his hat and prepared to leave. "And," continued the minister, "after that is over there will be, a big collation spread up-stairs, to which all are invited." The stranger settled back into his seat, and his hat dropped to the floor. To his neighbor, who had been eyeing him rather quizzically, he whispered, "I'll see this service out if it breaks every bone in my body."

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Republican Taxation.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., SUNDAY MORNING, OCT. 28, 1877.

BY ELIZUR WRIGHT,
OF BOSTON.

To the careful reader of our revolutionary history the wonder is, not so much at the success of the rebellion against British taxation, as that it did not result in a new monarchy, or a number of them. For though, with the opposition to foreign taxation without representation, there grew up a good deal of popular hatred of King George, and perhaps of kings in the abstract, there was little conception of the true nature of national republican government; that is, of "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," or of that just method of taxation which is essential to its existence as defined by President Lincoln; and without which, whatever its form may be, it is but a monarchy minus the monarch.

Though in their elementary municipalities the colonies resorted to purely democratic and direct taxation, none of them seem to have discovered any injustice or absurdity in indirect taxation for colonial or national purposes. If they could have been fairly represented in the taxing body of the British nation, they would not have found fault with any indirectness in the method of collecting the tax.

What really resulted from the military success of our grandfathers, or great-grandfathers, was a union of certain groups of little democratic municipalities, under the name of States, into a nondescript nation, which, though not in form or fact a monarchy, had small right to be called a Republic, if we are to accept the famous definition made at Gettysburg.

I am not going to advocate direct taxation, or indeed perfect republicanism, as a sovereign remedy for all the ills to which human civilization is exposed. Those ills grow out of human imperfection. All men and women may be made equal before the law; but it is to be remembered that they will still be, by the nature of things, mentally, morally, and physically unequal. Under no possible form of government can indolence, improvidence, or vice escape want. All that the best government can do is to give to every one the best possible chance to develop the powers received from Nature, whether corporeal or mental. It is to this end that a good government should repress the industry of all parasites who seek to live and luxuriate surreptitiously and fraudulently on the labor of others. This class is by no means confined to the burglars, robbers, petty thieves, or pilferers of society. It embraces multitudes of men whose methods of business are only partly fraudulent, and so obscurely so as to defy legal analysis or impeachment. Whenever a government resorts to indirection in its methods of taxation it has the sympathy and is prone to fall into the power of this class. Of course it is no longer a government wholly for the people, but partly, if not mainly, for the parasites. Under all forms, this struggle of classes, wholly or partly parasitic, to grasp and wield government for their own purposes, is as old as history. They succeed just in proportion as they can get their ill-gotten gains protected, to themselves and their heirs, at the expense of those from whom they were fraudulently obtained. Indirect taxation is the atmosphere in which they best flourish. The comparative exemption from taxation of great wealth under all methods of indirect taxation increases the thirst for great wealth among the unscrupulous, and leads them to adopt in their private finances the indirect methods which they see so successful in the public.

After the adoption of the present Constitution the only hope of our country ever becoming a genuine Republic lay in the fact that it did not establish a Church or in any way chain opinion. It established simply a secular government in the sphere left to it by the groups of democratic municipalities called States. This abstinence from tyranny over opinion, this establishment of the freedom of speech and of the press, was the great fortunate fact of the nation's infancy. It has resulted in the abolition of slavery; for abolitionism grew out of it, and could have grown out of no other soil. Not that abolitionism itself abolished slavery. The folly of the slaveholders did that. The Republican party shed rivers of blood rather than do it. But the pungent preaching of the abolitionists provoked the slaveholders to make pretensions which were intolerable to most people outside of the slave States, and resulted in a civil war in which the abolition of slavery became a military necessity. It is thus that when truth is left loose no evil is safe.

That giant iniquity being laid prostrate, we shall soon wake up to the fact that another wrong is flourishing in full vigor. If not a relic of barbarism it is a relic of the monarchy from which we sprang. Our Republic's method of nutrition is not worthy of a free government, but rather of a beast of prey. Its whole revenue is collected by indirection. It does not draw its material resources from the persons it serves and protects according to their ability to pay, but rather according to their necessities of consumption. It taxes mouths rather than purses. It takes scarcely any thought whatever of the just and rightful incidence of the taxes which it exacts. There is, it is true, a possibility that in a nation property might be so distributed that consumption would be proportionate to income, in which case an indirect tax might fall on the people in proportion to their ability to pay; but there is no probability of such a thing. And if there were, there is another fatal objection to indirect taxation. Its incidence is neces-

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sarily clandestine; just as much so as if the tax-collectors were sent to the dwellings of the people with instructions to enter them while they were absent or sound asleep and deplete their wardrobes and store-closets to a certain extent. To tap the great arteries of exchange or trade and steal revenue by collusion with the merchants and manufacturers is the favorite method of kings, and in this respect our national government is rather monarchical than republican. If the great commercial distributers of the results of labor, foreign and domestic, can be brought into the arrangement by the faithful execution of what are called the Revenue Laws, it makes no difference to them, for they add the tax to the cost price of their goods, and charge their percentage of profit on the whole, cost and tax. Their advantage from thus seeming to pay the whole tax, is that, comparatively, they escape paying any tax at all.

It is the consumers who, generally without knowing it, pay the tax. This making people pay taxes without knowing it, whether the tax be just or unjust, leads to extravagance and disregard of the rights of the people on the part of their public servants. When the government gets its own revenue clandestinely, how can it be possible that its agents should not increase theirs clandestinely? Apparently an immorality lies at the foundation of the system.

I am well aware that the tariff taxes on foreign trade are thought by many to be justified by their effect on domestic industry. They are said to be for the protection of the home producer. But the encouragement of domestic industry by governmental subsidy is a wholly distinct question into which I do not now propose to enter, further than to say, it has nothing whatever to do with the mode of collecting the money wherewith industry is to be subsidized, and that subsidy by tariff, instead of by open, distinct, and definite bounty, has the special disadvantage, that it is about as likely to entice the home producer into a waste of his capital as to enrich him.

Indirect taxes on noxious products are also thought to tend to the suppression of vice. But this is a poor reliance in comparison with education and moral culture. If the government cannot by direct prohibition prevent the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks, for example, it had better charge all the expense they occasion it as a special direct tax on those who directly or indirectly derive a profit or income from such manufacture and sale, and thus drive the capital engaged out of the business. No really noxious business can flourish much if made to repair it own mischiefs. There is little cause of wonder that *delirium tremens* should rage as it does, when people who never taste alcohol or receive a cent of income from its sale as a beverage are as much taxed to build and run jails and almshouses as those who are made rich by it.

Nothing can be much plainer than that both openness and justice in taxation are essential to a government by the people and for the people. In civilization, as the race advances in the creation of material wealth by the use of natural forces and division of labor, property tends inevitably to distribute itself more and more unequally. And it is out of this unequal distribution of property that the expense, if not the necessity of government chiefly arises. If a man with the same family to support has twice the wealth of any of his neighbors around him, it probably costs government more than twice as much to protect his property as to protect that of one of his neighbors; perhaps four times as much. At any rate, a tax on him three or four times as large will not weigh so heavily on him as the smaller one on his neighbor. The principle of increasing the rate of the tax with the increase of the means, was once recognized by our government in the celebrated income tax occasioned by the war; and it is sad to think that the most equitable tax it ever laid was the first to be abolished after the war. Plainly, the mode of taxation should tend, as far as it justly can, to counteract the unequal distribution of wealth. The tendency of the indirect mode, which falls mostly according to the necessities of consumption, and not according to either wealth or income, is to aggravate the inequality of distribution. It is to make the poor poorer and the rich richer. It amounts, relatively, to a comparative exemption of the rich from taxation. What the rich now pay towards our national revenue they would not feel, even if they knew it. What the poor pay, if they knew it, would soon kindle a feeling which would make the country very uncomfortable for the rich. Domestic peace can be thoroughly secured only by having everything understood. In a Republic, as in a family, the way to avoid quarrels is to have no favoritism, especially none which is secret.

It is generally conceded that the only atmosphere in which a republic can exist is one of general intelligence. As soon as such an atmosphere is established, it will be impossible to support the national government by any system of taxation which virtually exempts the rich. The sooner, therefore, this fundamental subject of taxation receives the earnest attention of all thinking minds the better. It is of no use to talk, as some honest reformers do, of taking capital out of the hands of its proprietors, or the wages of labor from the dominion of the law of supply and demand. The acquisition of property is an attribute of human nature, one of its grand passions, to be governed but not eradicated. It is capable of the noblest uses and applications. The comfort of it is the natural and just reward of labor. If Nature had made mankind equal like the working-bees, communism would doubtless be the right thing. But inasmuch as human individuals differ from each other almost as much as all other animals put together, the righteous regulation of individualism is all that can be aimed at. To prevent fraud and theft by taking capital out of the control of its owners, is like trying to prevent occasional murder by the universal administration of strychnine. What can be done, and what only waits the more general diffusion of knowledge to be done, is to secure the protection of individual property in its natural and necessary rights, and to instruct its owners in those social and patriotic duties which give to property a large part of its possible value.

This brings me to another exemption of the rich from taxation, not because they are rich, but because they are supposed to be particularly good, or, to be more strictly correct, because they are presumed to hold certain opinions on the subject of theology. This exemption does not come from the same source as the other. It is not by the nation, but by the State. It is the remains of that very tyranny of opinion which the founders of the nation so carefully discarded.

The common assumption is, that Christianity at its origin appealed only to the human reason, which was addressed by the preaching of the gospel, and that this was made effectual to conversion by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, whatever that may mean. Whether this accounts for its triumphant prevalence, so far as it did prevail, over an effete paganism; or, whether we are to attribute it to an appeal to the religious instincts or prejudices of mankind coupled with a more social and democratic spirit and a warmer presentation of the doctrine of human brotherhood, certain it is that its greatest victories were achieved, and its grandest moral power was exhibited, before it received any support from secular government. The moment it accepted such support, it took the attitude which paganism had always held of a pensioned and subservient cult. It surrendered ignominiously its high claim to be a kingdom not of this world, and became in some sense a moral slave, responsible for the very wickedness of the secular governments whose bounty it consented to receive. The salt of the earth was thus decomposed and corrupted by the very world it was sent to sweeten and save.

The influence on the individual States of the purely secular form which our national government took under the present Constitution of the United States went to effect the disestablishment of the churches, which in the several colonies had not only been pensioned but wielded more or less of political power. But to a very large extent the ecclesiastical property of all Christian denominations was still exempted, as it is to-day exempted, from taxation. In 1870 this property amounted to over three hundred and fifty million dollars. It had doubled every ten years, increasing more than twice as fast as the population. Consequently it will take but two or three decades of exemption to bring the country to the deplorable condition of things which has been experienced in Italy, Spain, and Mexico.

This pernicious class-privilege is claimed on the plea that religion is essential to the safety of the State; that Christianity is the only true religion; that it teaches the only morality on which good government can be founded; that, therefore, it would be as absurd to tax churches as to tax the school-houses which the State itself builds; the churches doing a work which is as absolutely necessary to the welfare of the people as that of the schools.

This argument proves too much. If it is valid, Church and State should never have been separated. The Church, in fact, should be the State, and a theocracy should take the place of the Republic.

But admitting—what is by no means proven, and probably never will be—that Christianity is the only true religion and teaches the only effective morality, it by no means follows that as such it can afford to accept any exemption from taxation. Exactly the contrary. If these assumptions are well founded, it cannot and will not accept any such exemption, but will insist on paying its full and just share of all public burdens. It will rest its claims on the public conscience solely on the demonstrable truth of its dogmas and its precepts. By the very token that it holds credentials from heaven, it will decline holding any from earth, or accepting anything like a bribe from earth. It will of all things avoid making common cause with the parasitic classes that seek to live at the public expense, and be dead-headed through the struggle of life.

Supposing the Christian Church sincere in its claim of divine authority, inasmuch as its commission is not to supplant Cæsars or govern the world, but to convert it and give it a new heart, all it will ask of secular government is liberty to use its spiritual power, not exemption from its secular duties. It is the church-member himself who has the deepest interest in seeing this, and who will see it, unless the Church is doomed to perish in its own corruption. It was Cavour, a sincere Catholic, who did more than any other man to deprive his Church of its temporal power, in the very home of its power. And he appears to have done it quite as much in the interest of his Church, as of the State which he regenerated. His last words as he pressed the hand of a priest, in taking leave of life, were, "Brother, brother, a free Church in a free State." If either the Protestant or the Catholic churches in the United States have any Cavours in their communions, any far-seeing men who earnestly seek to make Christianity a salutary moral power and a principle of social health, they will outstrip us liberals in their efforts to subject all ecclesiastical property to fair taxation. No matter whether the amount of such property be more or less, it is the principle which tells on the Church, and it is the question of spiritual life or spiritual death to it.

In these days when men go to and fro, and knowledge is increased, the life of the Church depends mostly upon its social attributes. Its supernatural sanctions are largely out of date. Its dogmas about a future state have lost their hold on the minds of men. Something more than a thousand years ago when a Longobard king undertook by force of arms to recover from Pope Zachary some territory which that pontiff had coaxed out of his royal father, the Pope visited the camp, and in an interview with the king so frightened him by setting forth the terrors of hell as the punishment of violating the rights of the Church, that he not only desisted from his undertaking, but became a monk for the rest of his life. Nobody expects Pius IX. to repeat this on Victor Immanuel. There is nothing left for which any Church can be much respected but the theory and practice of right living in this world. When a Church converts religion into a luxury, and asks that its luxury shall be exempted from taxation, what becomes of its moral power? Do we expect it to rebuke corruption in the government when it is itself a pensioner? If the Church as a whole seeks exemption from the public burdens, will not its individual members do the same? Is there any moral force in what to unregenerate human nature seems meanness? Do we expect good legislation about railroads when the legislature rides free?

The trouble is not merely that non-church members are taxed the more heavily by the exemption of church property, though that is a serious injustice likely to become more and more oppressive, but what is more important, considering how large a mass of population it comprehends, the Church itself is corrupted; its honor is sullied; its moral tone is debased; it becomes even worse than a total failure in regard to the moral elevation of the present world. It is perhaps easier even now for a good man to exert moral power out of it than in it. Not that there are not a great many good men in it—good for the visible duties of life, although straining their sight so vainly into the invisible world,—and always have been. In about the darkest of the dark ages there was Arnold of Brescia preaching bravely in the pulpits of Rome against the temporal power of the Church, and getting burnt alive by an English-born pope for his pains. It is on such men that the Church must rely for its salvation, if it is to be saved from becoming an intolerable fungus upon human civilization.

That there is need of all that moral force which organized Christianity assumes to be, to bring the nation up to the idea of a true republic, is too patent to be for one moment denied. The very chief objection which statesmen, so-called, and writers on political economy urge against direct taxation is, that there is not truth enough among the people to make it practicable. They say wealth will be concealed, and perjury resorted to to escape taxation. This is far too true; yet it is hardly credible that more lies are told or would be told to town and city assessors, than are now told to custom-house officers and internal revenue collectors. Nor would it be conclusive against direct taxation if it were so. A government is bound to aim at the thing which is right, however obstructed. If it aims to steal its revenue because private liars abound, it is not likely to find truth increase any where.

The overwhelming argument for the non-exemption of church property from taxation, is the very fact that in these last years, fraud, bribery, and lying are beginning to threaten the ruin of the social structure. Perhaps these vices are no more rife than in any former times; but they are in a position to do many times more mischief, because the material resources on which the life and happiness of our modern civilization depend are vastly more aggregated. This age, now in trouble, has been eminently an age of trust. In order to utilize the great chemical and mechanical discoveries of the age, the people have united their means into vast trust companies, far transcending in magnitude anything of the kind previously known in history. The demand for truth, honor, and private self-abnegation to manage these immense trusts seems to have far outstripped the supply. The people have trusted not only their savings already earned, but those yet to be earned. Hence a fatal facility for private aggrandizement by running the people in debt. As a consequence, we have seen a city robbed of $100,000,000. Everywhere we see commercial failures at the rate of about $200,000,000 a year. Some, but not the most, of this has come from ignorance and miscalculation, and bad legislation about money. The chief cause has been the want of truth and honor, the only cement that can hold together a civilization based on our present minute division of labor.

Very early in our history laws were enacted to prevent the perversion of justice by bribery. The offerer of a bribe, whether it was accepted or not, was made punishable as well as the receiver. Prosecutions, say the law writers, have been very few. Yet bribery has become a chronic disease. It has crept into the fountains of law, if not into the courts of justice. Let me mention a single fact as a sample of what might fill a library. A few years ago a legislative investigation, started with a purely partisan purpose, convicted an important supervising officer in the pay of the State of New York of receiving large sums of money from the officers of some of the largest trust companies of the world, which it was his business to watch. This supervising officer, so patent and flagrant was his crime, was deposed from his office by a legislature controlled by his own political party; yet the officers of the great trust companies who gave him the bribes, out of the funds entrusted to them, are still in office, unpunished; and, not only that, but many of them are respected pillars in the Church.

Those who are familiar with the operations of great moneyed corporations, such as banks, insurance companies, railroads, steamship lines, and telegraph companies, well know that the officers seldom scruple to use the money of the corporation to influence legislation or the administration of law in their favor. Some of the people may inwardly resent, but the government does not punish this giving of bribes,

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whatever it may do about the taking of them. Now, if the churches are the depositaries of moral power, here is their opportunity to exert it. Let them make bribe-giving at least as disreputable as unbelief. But, unfortunately, the churches are by exemption from taxation themselves pensioners upon the very legislatures which are virtually run by the bribers,—legislatures which seem to think that the sin of taking bribes consists in being found out. The Church, by its moral force, might move the political world, if it only had an independent fulcrum for its lever. But, by sharing in class favors, it makes common cause with the great body of parasites which seeks to live and flourish at the expense of the producing classes.

If what I have said about taxation as bearing on the interests of secular government should go for nothing, the interests of Christianity itself, as an organized religion seeking perpetuity, demand that it shall be wholly self-supporting; that it shall in no sense, nor to any extent, seek or accept either aid or immunity from the secular government.

Let us look at the history of Christianity. At the start, if it had any government within itself at all, it may be said to have been communism. It had no rulers, only servants. A few centuries saw this transformed to monarchy, or the rule of a supreme bishop. Regal splendor and temporal power ensued. The Church became not only an empire within an empire, but within all empires. Exalting itself in imperial Rome, whatever it may have done for the ultra-mundane interests of the millions who inhabited the vast and fertile peninsula of Italy, it ruined their mundane interests. Whenever its popes encroached upon the secular governments and were pressed back to the wall, they invited foreign princes to their aid, so that by their means Italy was overrun and spoiled by Goths, Franks, Longobards, Germans, Austrians; it seethed in blood for ages with the intestine feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. It became a land of beggars, multitudes of them consecrated as such. So great a nuisance did the government of the Holy Fathers make of itself to poor Italy, that famine and pestilence on one occasion is said to have carried off two-thirds of its population. The luxury of some of the regal popes raised some of the finest edifices of the world, it is true, and partly by the wages of sin. This led to that revolution in the Church itself which has been called the Reformation. It wrenched off fragments from the great monarchical body of Christianity, and introduced government into these fragments more or less republican or democratic in form and character. This rupture was the most auspicious thing that ever occurred in favor of freedom of thought. Whether it was the pressure outward of the embryo of science which split the Church, or a revival of the spirit of primitive Christianity which did it, is a question I do not now care to discuss. The Reformation undoubtedly had a good moral effect on the great monarchical nucleus of the Church which still remained, as well as on the Protestant fragments which flew off. But the former, though much reformed in its bloody and fiery methods, still retained its nature.

That nature is everywhere to grasp all possible material power, and forestall freedom of thought by inoculating every child with superstition as a part of its primary education. The drift, tendency, and effort of Catholic or monarchical Christianity in every country where it exists, or ever will exist, is perfectly illustrated in the history of Italy since the Reformation. There it still had full sway, with wit enough to discard many of its old practices; but it set itself to resist, with its army of more than one hundred thousand priests, the progress of the times, whether that progress was urged on by the discoveries of science or the sword of Bonaparte. It reacted against every advance of civilization, always in favor of the worst political despots that would be subservient to it. During the reigns of Pius VIII. and Gregory XVI., from 1823 to 1846, the worst priests were put in the best offices, all independent and liberal teachers were banished from the universities, trade was taxed almost out of existence, and whenever the people resisted, insurrection was stamped out either by foreign or papal troops. The atrocities committed by the latter in the streets of innocent Bologna, in 1831, perhaps exceed any that stain the pages of history. The consequence was, that by the time Mastai Ferretti ascended the papal throne in 1846, as Pius IX., there was such an electrical antagonism between the Jesuitic monarchy on the one side, and scientific Italy and young Italy, chiefly embodied in the secret society of the Carbonari on the other, that a thunderstorm over the whole peninsula was imminent. The new Pope, undoubtedly in the spirit of humanity and with much of the wisdom of a Franklin, attempted to discharge the electricity innocuously by such concessions in favor of civil liberty as never before came from a Pope. They were hailed with delight, not only by the liberals of Italy, but by liberals all over the world. It was too late. Pius waked up in a little while to find he was the slave of the very hierarchy whose triple crown he wore. The bloodhounds of Austria were down upon him. Despotism and priestcraft, securely established in other Catholic countries, were by no means going to allow Italy to be made free and independent by a Pope. The Holy Father found himself, for any beneficial purpose in this world, perfectly fallible. The case is one of the saddest in human history, for he was not only thwarted but finally corrupted.

The renovation of Italy which we have lived to see, was brought about by two forces hardly in sympathy with each other at all, but either quite impotent without the other. The one composed of youth and science was represented by that child of genius, Mazzini, and the honest warrior, Garibaldi. They two were cordial brothers. The other was represented by Count Cavour, a born conservative progressive, with wit enough to see that Garibaldi and Mazzini were fighting at fatal odds not only the enemies of liberty in Italy, but in Catholic France, Spain, and Austria. Mounted on the shoulders of these men—without whom Italy could no more have been freed than our slaves could have been emancipated without John Brown and Harper's Ferry,—as if he were trampling on and suppressing them, he had the wit, as a diplomatist, to outwit the Catholic powers of Europe, and establish a civil power in Italy, which, though it is still burdened with a pensioned Church, holds it rather as a servant than submits to it as a master. Cavour saved this monarchical Church from condign punishment in spite of itself. But though it no longer dominates over the civil power in Italy, it does elsewhere, and seeks to do it everywhere. Nobody could know its nature better than Count Cavour; and as he had not a particle of prejudice against its theology, he is a perfectly unimpeachable witness as to the tendency of its priestcraft, if not as to the best way to counteract it. When the Jesuits had full possession of his own country, Piedmont, but were exciting apprehension and losing foothold in France, he wrote to a French lady these words:—

"If one would learn to know the true nature of that order, it is not where the Jesuits are struggling, and where they hold a precarious footing, that they should be studied; they are not to be appreciated fully as they are, except when, meeting no obstacle, they apply their rules in a logical and consecutive manner. They have learnt nothing, forgotten nothing; their minds and their methods are the same. Woe to the country; woe to the class confiding its youth to their exclusive education! Unless it be owing to fortunate circumstances that destroy in the man the lessons imparted to the child, they will, within one century, make a race utterly debased. . . . I wish, indeed, that, in the interest of humanity, we could come to an understanding with the Jesuits, and concede them in the countries from which they are excluded, three, four, ten times the degree of liberty that they are willing to grant in the countries where they dominate." [*Life of Count Cavour*, page 17.]

Though a few of the higher Catholic clergy are undoubtedly in accord with Catholic Count Cavour, and see the folly of resisting the science, civil liberty, and progress of the world, the great body of their clergy, having no family ties, have really no sympathy with society at large, and are substantially Jesuits, having no ruling motive in life but the aggrandizement of the priesthood.

Now I appeal to every thinking Christian of the democratic, republican Protestant sort, whether such an unnatural, necessarily mischievous body of men ought to be favored in a Republic, or any other government, by the exemption of the property of their order from taxation. Liberty to think what they please, liberty to do or not do what they please, inside of the law, including the liberty never to marry, they must have. But immunity from taxes on property used to propagate their peculiar notions, even were those notions not favorable to ignorance, superstition, and mental *imbecility*, they should never have. But if the Protestant churches claim immunity of their church property from taxation, the Catholics must and will have theirs free.

What we want, no matter what its name may be, is a religion of truth. The anthropomorphic theology, by turning with contempt from the teachings of actual life and the actual universe to an imaginary world of its own creation, full of gorgons and chimeras, has almost made an eternal sham of the eternal now. By looking to another world and to a man-made God, men have failed to find and reverence those laws of truth and justice, revealed in visible and tangible things, which no conceivable will, however potent, could either create or violate with impunity. Our salvation must come from knowing and obeying these laws. Whatever pleasure we may take in works of imagination they cannot save us, our social and political condition being such as we now see it, and such as the best prophets of all ages have deplored. The Hebrew-Isaiah said of his country: "Thy princes are rebellious and companions of thieves; every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards; they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them." He was hopeful of a Savior, but how much has that Savior saved? And an English Isaiah, of our own time, says of his country:—

Peace sitting under her olive, and slurring the days gone by;
When the poor are hovelled and hustled together, each sex like swine;
When only the ledger lives, and when only not all men lie;
Peace in her vineyard—yes!—but a company forges the wine.
And the vitriol madness flushes up in the ruffian's head,
Till the filthy by-lane rings to the yell of the trampled wife,
While chalk and alum and plaster are sold to the poor for bread,
And the spirit of murder works in the very means of life,
And sleep must lie down armed, for the villainous centre-bits
Grind on the wakeful ear in the hush of the moonless nights;
While one is cheating the sick of a few last gasps, as he sits
To pestle the poisoned poison behind his crimson lights.

And this is the nineteenth century of a Church which votes itself exemption from taxation because its morality is the only morality which can save the world! Wanted—a better one!

MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY.—*Senioress*, translating: "*Wir sind von keinem Mannes Herzen sicher.*" "We are sure of every man's heart." *Professor*: "Not correct. Try again." *Senioress*: "We are safe in every man's heart." *Professor*: "Hardly." *Senioress* (blushing): "We are sure of no man's heart." *Professor*: "Correct."

[FOR THE INDEX.]

GERMAN LIBERALISM IN AMERICA.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE ROCHESTER CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, OCT. 28, 1877.

BY MRS. CLARA NEYMANN,
OF NEW YORK CITY.

Though I do not come among you as a delegate of any special German Society, I do not think that I assume too much when I express the great and warm interest our German Liberals take in your movement.

Our German independent newspapers, the Boston *Pionier*, the Milwaukee *Freidenker*, and others of a like tendency, are rejoicing that their American brothers give decisive expression to liberal thoughts. They encourage and advocate coöperation, and consider it the best and purest means for success.

But, not only do our independent papers respond to your call and prepare the way for united action among the liberals of this country; I have also noticed that in more indifferent circles great pleasure is felt at the practical measures which the Liberal League is trying to introduce. You are aware, I suppose, of our German reputation,—that our country has ever had great theorizers, idealists, and many subtle thinkers. The Germans of this country have inherited somewhat of that peculiar tendency; and, while our freethinkers have worked for years, diffused liberal principles, and educated freethought, they have not succeeded in bringing their views before the National Liberal League, and have only commenced last year to secure public action upon their proclaimed principles.

The American, on the contrary, is noted for his practical good sense. Very often it happens that, before an idea is fully developed, before he can realize the depth and magnitude of a question, even before the question has taken accurate shape in the minds of the people, he is willing to test it by a political indorsement.

The coöperation of the two nationalities with their diverse gifts and characteristics, each excellent if not carried too far, is therefore of great importance. The German gladly recognizes the quickness and intelligence of his American friend, and I hope that our American friends do equally appreciate the sincerity, the earnestness, and accurate reasoning of their German co-workers.

During the last two years the German freethinkers have made great progress in their organization, and every well-wisher to the Liberal cause ought to advocate a union; ought to use all his influence for the establishment of a mutual and harmonious activity. *Single, we are weak; united, we shall be strong.*

The endorsement and support of the German element will be gained so much the easier, as they have long ago felt and discussed the dangers which are threatening our free institutions. Catholicism is growing more and more daring every year; its widespread influence, its untiring efforts, its zeal is a constant anxiety to the liberal-minded. The Catholic religion would like to celebrate a new revival in this country; and well may they succeed, if their actions are not better watched, if they are left unopposed to spread their creed and its evil influences.

There is no question upon which our German population are so united; no question upon which their feelings can be so easily aroused, as the question of *religious independence*. They may differ about questions of finance, of civil service reform, of prohibition; they may find it even difficult to decide which of the two political parties is the most erect, the most trustworthy; they may bring weighty arguments against woman suffrage, and dispute her participation in public matters; but on the free religious question they are, on the whole, more unanimous, more enlightened, and, I think I may add, more enthusiastic. Why this is so, the student of the history and development of Germany will easily perceive.

While other European nations had directed their best efforts and talents to political affairs, to the national aggrandizement, to military and commercial glories, Germany's best talent was engaged in philosophical and literary pursuits. Our earnest men endeavored to unravel the mysteries of life; they were engaged in solving the problem of human existence. They were digging, searching, investigating the nature of the mysterious phenomena of life; they tried to explain man's destiny upon earth; his relation to himself; his duty toward his fellow-men; and his connection with and dependence upon surrounding Nature.

It is true that their way of reasoning was not always correct; that they lost themselves at times in their dangerous flights, and carried their speculations into untraceable regions. Still, their critical reasoning, their clear logic, the great ethical laws which they established independent of religious worship and Bible-teaching, took root in the mind and heart of the people, and prepared the way for the religious change which the new scientific revelations are now making more complete. The German philosophers had reasoned out deductively what our scientists to-day manifest through induction, by a verification of facts and actual proofs. The harmony of the universe; the laws by which our life is governed; the nature of man's duties and responsibilities; what effects good and virtuous actions have on the individual, on society, on the State—ethical, æsthetical questions which form the basis of a higher life and a nobler being,—these and other problems they discussed ably and intelligently in their writings. Reflections of so grave a nature emancipated the people from the churches long ago, and greatly lessened the influence of the priesthood.

On my way home last year from Europe I met an American clergyman who had spent a few weeks in Germany. He told me that he was greatly puzzled about my country people. He had found them on

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the whole to be good, honest, trusty, inclined to walk in the paths of virtue and righteousness; and yet they were infidels! They did not support the churches; and the comparatively few churches extant were attended principally by women and children.

Very true. The intelligent German has long ago outgrown the established and popular creed. His morality is not dependent upon the Bible teaching; his ethics rest on a firmer basis, and his actions are not guided by the fear of an angry God, or a reward in a hereafter. It is not so with the majority of Americans.

The Bible has been the only source—and alas! it is so still—from which this great nation has drawn its inspiration for right-doing and thinking. The Bible has been the book out of which they have received instruction in morality; their conscience has been formed according to its fallacious teachings. A book which was written nearly two thousand years ago, containing many noble sentiments, but more scientific errors than truths, more false statements than true ones, serves to-day an intelligent race as the sole instigator, the sole inspirer, to moral virtues, moral conduct, and moral excellences! Is it to be wondered at that our social edifice is trembling in its very foundation, that vice is multiplying, that sin is increasing, that the infection is spreading, and that the passions are breaking through their artificial restraints? Distrust is undermining our social, commercial, and political relations. Honest men are losing all confidence; theft has become a universal vice; stealing, defrauding, embezzling under some cunning device is an every-day occurrence. The temptation to go astray has taken a hold upon our people. And mind! it is not among the poor and needy, not among the lower orders of society that vice is increasing. There are many, it is true, who are driven by want and by a neglected education toward dishonesty and licentiousness. It is not to them I am referring now. The debasing propensities have reached our upper and middle classes as well. Our well-to-do and well-cared-for sons and daughters—the children of honest parents—are infected by the moral pestilence.

Their education has been first-class; they have attended the Sunday-school regularly; they have been devout church-members; and their love for God cannot be doubted. They have lately read about the new science. They have seen extracts from Darwin's *Origin of Species*, of Huxley's explanations of the *Evolution of the Universe*, of Spencer's *Sociology*, of Tyndall's lectures on *Light and Electricity*. They are puzzled. Why? This is all in contradistinction to what the Bible teaches; it differs widely from what they had learned,—what they had read in the Book of books. Either here or there there must be falsehood!

The average American is quick to see, intelligent to perceive. The new revelations are much more convincing; there is sense, proof, rationality in all this; he is beginning to doubt; his faith is tottering, and he has broken loose from the old before he is himself aware of it. But he dares not acknowledge it; he is not brave enough to break from the customary habits or to face his friends with the truth: besides, it would cost him his position. What would his friends say if he were to give up his pew in church? And so he goes on doubting until he doubts the very essence of all religion. He must practice hypocrisy to accommodate the old to the new. The voice of conscience is growing more faint as he advances; and the time comes when it is hushed down, and the love of self, the lower passions rule him throughout.

The anathema against the new revelations are of no avail. Its doctrines have already advanced too far. The spell of the Church is broken; and the sooner it is recognized the better for man's happiness and his ultimate advancement.

The Liberals have a great work before them. They have to educate the people's conscience, so that they may perceive the new truth. They have to establish a new morality derived from scientific experiences. The Religion of Humanity must have a fixed standard of morals. It has to show and explain the evil effects of vice,—how it acts upon ourselves, our children, and our posterity. The Liberals have to explain, teach, expound, make clear the laws by which our life is governed. They have to show that our actions are indeed foreordained by a wise unrelenting power of Nature, and that a neglect of these laws will be punished here among our own kind and kindred. Every noble act, every sacrifice for the good and the true, is a benediction to those nearest to our heart, and brings bliss and happiness to mankind. Righteousness means happiness in the visible world. Goodness and purity of action *produce* goodness and purity of sentiment. Goodness is and always will be good; badness is and always will be bad.

The Liberals have to popularize the sciences, show their bearings upon all the relations of life, and make the right application of the manifold beneficial discoveries. They have also to show the value of æsthetical culture; how inspiring, ennobling, and elevating the different arts and sciences have been in the past; that the cultivation of art is a necessity,—a necessary path in the education of a civilized community.

We have also to show that the most lovely and amiable, the most beautiful sentiments are an outgrowth of elevated and intelligent thought, leading us to higher spheres; that these lovely sentiments are by no means peculiar to the Christian Religion but belong to all ages and to every civilized country. Man's vanity, his ambition, his self-love, his egotism, have to be directed to loftier spheres, where there is satisfaction without satiety, gratification without repentance. What has been held out to be gained in a future life has to be realized here, and it has to be shown that this can only be when all men and all women know and fulfil their duties, love and show proper regard for their fellow-beings.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself," "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," are no religious tenets, but maxims of life, which have to be carried into our daily intercourse. These maxims have a deep meaning, a wide significance; they contain the wisdom of ages of experience. Love is indeed life; it creates, builds up, smooths the path, and magnifies every being, every emotion, every act. Hatred and ill-feeling are debasing, destroying, and leading us on to destruction. The Religion of Humanity, by teaching universal brotherhood, is carrying out the fundamental doctrines of the old creed, doctrines which have been obscured and neglected by outward formalities and coarse egotism. The Christian Religion, once pure and simple, has long ago forgotten the beautiful maxims of its Founder: its redeeming qualities are almost hidden by the selfishness, ignorance, and prejudice of its followers. The old ideal has to be renewed again; it has to be enlarged and placed on a new pedestal.

Life is full of sacrifice; but man wants to know why he shall sacrifice. He cannot soar on high without a clear ideal held out for his reach. The temptations to go astray are too strong, vice is too alluring, and his ignorance of causes and effects is too great.

The new ideal is loftier, more beautiful, more inspiring than it ever was, but it wants to be proclaimed,—it awaits its new apostles.

The Liberals must stand firmly together; we have a great, an arduous work before us, and we have a mighty enemy to contend against. Success can only be gained by a close alliance, by self-sacrifice, and by a clearness of purpose. We have to be magnanimous toward those who cannot sympathize with our cause; severe, unrelenting, but just toward our opponents. Many of us may have to give up our own less important schemes for the sake of the party and its success. Our demands are founded upon reason; and so let our actions, our deeds, be guided by a superior wisdom; and may we never forget the high aim we are pursuing! Let us have a clear perception of our ideal, and let the ideal stand out in vivid colors before the mind's eye, so that we may gain strength and endurance for the arduous task upon which we start out to a better life and a nobler existence.

PROPOSED ADDITIONS TO THE ROCHESTER PLATFORM.

BY ELDER F. W. EVANS.

MOUNT LEBANON, N. Y., Nov. 3, 1877.

ESTEEMED FRIEND ABBOT:—

The planks in your National League bridge, that is to pass us safely from the old to the new earth government, are good as far as they go. But there are not enough of them; we shall fall through, unless more are added. To make it safe, I propose to add:—

1. A distinct recognition of women as citizens, equal with men in all the processes of framing and executing the laws.

2. A warrantee deed of all the land in the United States to all the citizens of the United States.

3. A land limitation law, defining the quantity of land that any citizen may purchase, or inherit and hold, after the year 1878. Heirs to inherit, but be compelled, by the limitation laws to sell all land above the legally limited number of acres. The government to legislate poverty out of existence, and each citizen into possession of a portion of land, from which to produce his daily bread by his honest labor. In the "wilderness," all owned the land, and each citizen gathered the "manna" with his and her own hands. This land legislation should respect existing vested rights of individuals and corporations, as is done in making highways, railroads, and canals, and as is done in times of intestine and national wars.

4. The abolition of laws for the collection of debts. It is stated that the collection of debts costs more money than the amount collected will pay, and that the lawyers and courts are thereby defrauded of their just or *legal* dues.

Dear friend Abbot, now that the National Liberal League is formed, I feel comforted in my spirit. The Inquisition, with its fires and fagots, its racks and screws, its horrible tortures and dislocations of the human form divine, seem further off in the coming future. Cause and effect are no more indissoluble, than it is that any religionist, who believes in war under any circumstances, will advocate the union of Church and State. When Church and State are united, and they have legislative power, they will think they are doing God and Christ and the Holy Spirit good and acceptable service in restraining heretics and infidels, Quakers and Shakers, Freethinkers and Spiritualists. By the Constitutions of several States, those who *disbelieve* in a personal God and Devil, may not be witnesses in law.

As God liveth, and as human beings have inalienable right to life-elements—land, air, and sunshine,—let there be no peace, nor rest, until the American government is a joy in the earth,—until Shaker communities, and all infidels to Babylon Church-and-State fighting, monopolizing, persecuting theologies, are excluded and forever separated from the halls of legislation and courts of justice, that are for all peoples, nations, and tongues on the face of this earth. Let us all be known only as American citizens. Then shall those be blessed who inherit the earth,—the land; and wars shall cease to the ends of the earth, for its causes will have been removed forever and ever. Those theologies that make people to be hateful and hate one another shall be supplanted by the love of God and the love of man, that worketh no ill to its neighbor. F. W. EVANS.

[1. By the first section of the fourteenth amendment of the United States Constitution, which provides that—"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the States wherein they reside,"—women are already distinctly recognized as citizens; and this has been distinctly decided by the Supreme Court. The second plank of the Rochester platform takes the next step by demanding national protection for all national citizens in their equal civil, political, and religious rights,—which would secure to women-citizens all the political rights of men-citizens. This first "addition," therefore, is no addition to the Rochester platform at all.

2. The other three points would be real additions; but they need yet further elucidation to be quite clear. For instance, we do not see what the "warrantee deed" mentioned would amount to, if "vested rights" are to be respected. That some form of land-limitation may prove to be at some time necessary, is quite likely; but we wait to be enlightened on many points before we can see our way clear to a practically just measure. Thoughtful discussion of these last three points, however, will be useful; and we should be glad to hear more definitely and fully concerning them from Elder Evans, for whom we learned at Rochester to entertain profound personal respect.—ED.]

THE SUNDAY-FREEDOM MOVEMENT seems to spread. Only lately the agitation in Queensland was noticed in your columns, and since then the movement has sprung up in Tasmania, where Mr. David Murray moved, in the House of Assembly, "that, in the opinion of that House, it would tend to stimulate and elevate the public taste for healthful recreation, if public libraries and museums were opened between 1 and 5 P.M. on Sundays." The motion was seconded by Mr. Meredith, Colonial Treasurer, and supported by several members; but it was decided to withdraw the motion, in order to bring it forward again when the estimates come under consideration. The result will be looked for with interest by many in this colony, as well as by those on the spot.—*Melbourne Correspondent of the Maryborough Advertiser (Australia).*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE VEILED ISIS.

"I am all that ever has been,
And what'er existeth now;
I am all that ever will be,
And the veil which hides my brow
Mortal yet has never lifted."
Such was the inscription grand
O'er the statue veiled of Isis,
Which in Sais old did stand.

Were the mighty Mother's image
Carven now, as 'twas of yore,
Half-withdrawn, her starry peplum
Would her whole face hide no more;
Glimpses of her august beauty
To her suitors yields she now—
Stands no more a tempted mystery,
To which mortals blindly bow.

B. W. BALL.

[For THE INDEX.]

AN ENIGMA.

More subtle than sunlight am I,
The life of all action and thought;
Without me your best projects die,
With me your worst may be fraught.

Men invent many ways me to bind,
And exclusively make me their own,
And, when feeling most sure me to find,
They're surprised to find I have flown.

The Shekinahs I build and forsake—
Contented in few long to stay;
Strange new ones 'tis my business to make,—
At this game forever I play.

My realm is all nature and art,
In high and low places I dwell;
Of heaven I am the best part,
And also the worst part of hell. T. B.

WORCESTER.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 10.

Dr. J. S. Wright, 65 cents; Dr. A. A. Bell, $1; J. Peter & Co., $1.60; Jas. Davison, 50 cents; Mrs. M. A. Livermore, $1.60; Sam'l Warbasse, $10; R. P. Hallowell, $3; Francis Alger, $3.20; Dr. C. H. Horsch, $3.75; L. A. Harbaugh, $6.40; Raynal Dodge, $1; Miss E. Homer, 80 cents; Jos. Warbasse, $10; Geo. M. Murray, $3.20; Wm. Phillips, $2.25.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 15, 1877.

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N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, *Editorial Contributors.*

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD will lecture at Kenton, O., Nov. 14; at Marion, O., Nov. 15, 16; at West Liberty, O., Nov. 17, 18, 19; at Napoleon, O., Nov. 21, 22, 23.

THE SPECIAL attention of our subscribers in New York and Pennsylvania is invited to the committee's announcement of a Ratification Meeting to be held at Randolph, N.Y., Dec. 8 and 9, by the Cattaraugus County Liberal League. The more such meetings, the better.

SEE HOW timely is the demand of the Rochester platform for equal rights in religion, as illustrated by this communication to the *Tribune*, dated New York, October 26: "*Sir*,—It is somewhat amusing to note by your item of to-day, that a new question is being introduced into local politics which is hardly creditable to all concerned. Objection is made to a certain candidate for renomination for alderman because he is a Jew, and he is thereupon rejected by the convention. A similar reason is given for the withdrawal of an estimable gentleman from the canvass for the Marine Court judgeship. If this policy is to be perpetuated, let right-minded citizens understand it, and we will regard the 'religious liberty' of the Constitution a dead letter. Otherwise, let every candidate stand on his individual merits as a patriotic, intelligent, and useful citizen, and let his religion, or irreligion, be a matter between him and his conscience, his bishop, priest, or rabbi. We want no sectionalism, no sectarianism, in our National, State, or city politics. CITIZEN."

THE MOST DIVERSE phases of religious thought found unrestricted utterance at Rochester. Christianity was represented by Rev. J. H. Harter, a Universalist clergyman of Rochester, by Elder F. W. Evans and Emil Bretzner, of the Mt. Lebanon Shaker community, and by a volunteer spokesman in the audience who denied some radical statement of one of the speakers, and who, being called to the platform, apologized for his rudeness, but declared that the speakers were all "reeds shaken by the wind,"—positivism by Professor A. L. Rawson, of New York city,—"infidelity" by Mr. W. S. Bell, of New Bedford,—Judaism by Mr. Moses Hays, of Rochester,—materialism by Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton, who was at first a little carried away by his own earnestness, and afterwards won all hearts by his frank request for forgiveness if he had wounded anybody's feelings,—spiritualism by Judge McCormick, of Franklin, Pa., and Mrs. E. L. Watson, of Titusville, Pa., who both spoke earnestly for their own convictions; and scarcely any type of belief failed to be represented by some one. There were a few present who, not fairly comprehending the magnificent breadth and catholicity of the platform, took offence at individual utterances, and were inclined to hold the National Liberal League responsible for them; but the great majority certainly soon caught the spirit of the occasion, and hospitably welcomed the widely variant views of the speakers without being offended by manifest sincerity and without forgetting that each speaker was alone responsible for what he said. Professor Toohey, of Chelsea, Mass., whose address on "The Liberal League the Supplement and Complement of the Protestant Reformation" elicited great applause, did great service in promoting the general good feeling by his conciliatory and admirable brief speeches. Altogether, the Congress gave a noble foreshadowing of the great moral reform which must follow in the wake of true reverence for equal rights before the law.

"THE INTELLECT AND SENTIMENT."

In a communication with the above heading, Rev. S. P. Putnam puts queries which we would not be so discourteous as to disregard, although to answer them will involve repetition of some points which we have already presented in replying to previous articles of his.

1. Mr. Putnam holds that the intellect can give no reason why "ingratitude is wrong" other than the bare, ultimate fact that "the sentiment of humanity" is against it. Stated syllogistically, his only argument to show the wickedness of ingratitude would run thus:—

Everything is wrong which is against the "sentiment of humanity";
Ingratitude is against this "sentiment";
Therefore ingratitude is wrong.

Now the first or major premise of the above syllogism is not true.

It is not very many years since the "sentiment of humanity" was universally against the man who refused to fight a duel; he was universally regarded as destitute of honor,—as a coward who deserved the scorn of all honorable men. To this false and mischievous code of conduct the illustrious Alexander Hamilton, who was slain by Aaron Burr in a duel, fell a victim; and thus one of the greatest, wisest statesmen whom this country ever produced was immolated in the prime of his vigor and public usefulness at the shrine of a tyrannous and bloody "sentiment." It required a long process of intellectual development, fostered by just such catastrophes as this, to open the eyes of mankind to the wickedness of duelling and the "sentiment of humanity" which commanded and sanctioned it. The intellect of the race became sufficiently educated to discern that the duellist is only a murderer, sacrificing human life through idolatry of an absurdly perverted "sense of honor"; and forthwith the horribly misleading "sentiment of humanity" began to be corrected, and to adapt itself to a more enlightened code of morals.

This illustration is only one of hundreds that might be adduced to show that the "sentiment of humanity" is no test of morality at all—that it shifts and changes as men's intellectual perceptions change—and that it has often sanctioned what is infamously wrong, while it has as often condemned what is as conspicuously right. "Sentimental" or "intuitional" morality is nothing but a tissue of unreasoning guesses, just as likely to be false as true, and in point of fact certain to put blind prejudice in the place of intelligent moral conviction. Consequently, if Mr. Putnam cannot bring some better argument than this to prove that "ingratitude is wrong," there is not the slightest certainty that a better instructed age will not pronounce it one of the cardinal virtues.

But he is mistaken in supposing that "the intellect can give no reason" why ingratitude is wrong. He should take a lesson from the heathen Confucius, who, when asked by Tsze-kung—"Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" more than anticipated the Golden Rule by saying: "Is not RECIPROCITY such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." Here, in this great word "reciprocity," is foreshadowed the central principle of scientific ethics—the *law of moral equations*, the all-embracing principle of *equal rights*. Why is the ingrate a criminal, judged by that higher and broader law which the legislation of the State only imperfectly represents? Simply because he *fails to reciprocate*. He has received good from his benefactor, and he returns evil for it; he violates the beautiful relationship which ought to bind benefactor and beneficiary in a noble reciprocity of good; he destroys the moral equation which ought to subsist between every man and his neighbor, and above all between the man who has stretched out his hand in kindness and him to whom it has been stretched out. The sin of ingratitude lies in the breach of reciprocity, the practical denial of that moral relationship which requires an equal return for good conferred—a return of good in some other form, it may be, yet none the less equal on that account. Here, then, is the necessity of the intellect in all moral consciousness proved to demonstration; the intellect, and the intellect alone, perceives relations, no matter of what kind; and the "sentiment of humanity," if not perverted, adapts itself in every case to the decisions of the intellect respecting right and wrong. Nobody ever said, so far as we know, that the intellect can take the place of sentiment, or render it unnecessary; but we do maintain that the intellect must precede and the sentiment follow. Thought first—feeling afterwards: that is the natural and rightful order, and mischief always ensues if it is violated. Nobody can successfully uphold the proposition that "ingratitude is wrong" who will not ground it on the law of moral equations, and thereby concede the necessary priority of the intellect in all moral judgments whatever. In every healthy nature, the appropriate sentiment rises inevitably in the wake of each intellectual perception; and it would be a piece of dreary obtuseness to accuse our doctrine of being either cold-blooded or wanting in any element of the full-sphered truth of life. We do not, of course, imagine that our esteemed correspondent would so misunderstand us. We prize noble sentiment just as highly as he does; our difference touches only the order of genesis, precedence, and rank.

2. We cannot take back anything we have said touching the relation of the Free Religious Association, or its "expressed law," to the scientific method. Our interpretation of its Constitution commits and binds nobody else. There is the Constitution; interpret it for yourself. If anything is clear, it is that all who favor perfect liberty have an unquestionable right to its fellowship. If a Catholic should imagine that perfect liberty is compatible with obedience to the Papal theocracy, that is his affair, not ours, and he has an indefeasible right to join the Association. But we have just as indefeasible a right to say that such obedience is in our eyes incompatible with perfect liberty; and we certainly shall not hold ourself bound to suppress this opinion for fear that somebody may take offence at it. Something is due to truth, as well as to fellowship; and the Free Religious Association would be a melancholy failure in point of fundamental principle, if it could not reconcile *fidelity to truth* with *fidelity to fellowship*. Just so long as Mr. Putnam cleaves to the conviction that perfect liberty is right and safe and good, he would make a great mistake in quitting the Association because he cannot in all respects think as we do; and we should profoundly deplore such a step on any one's part. We have not the slightest desire to see everybody thinking just as we do.

But there is indeed a great question to be settled—can perfect liberty of thought be found in any but the scientific method? Let it be discussed without reference to any consideration but that of the pure truth of things. Mr. Putnam says: "Is it wise to seek to commit the Free Religious Association to one side of an 'open question,' while there are still such profound differences of opinion among honest and liberal thinkers?" Why put so idle a question? We have never "sought to commit the Free Religious Association" to anything. We only say: there is its Constitution, and we think it means so-and-so. If any member differs from us in this understanding of it, we are just as much excluded by his difference from our interpretation as he is excluded by our difference from his. That is clear, is it not? There is only one "open question" on which the Free Religious Association is fairly and irrevocably committed—the question between "that absolute liberty of thought which is the natural right of every human being" and that usurped authority which would limit this liberty. Whoever does not mean to be committed on this question ought to give the Association a wide berth; he, and he alone, has no right to belong to it. The "scientific method," as we explained it last winter, is nothing but "that absolute liberty of thought which is the natural right of every human being"; and that is all that the Association is unequivocally committed to. Mr. Putnam should bear this in mind. Is he unwilling to be committed to the principle of absolute liberty of thought? Then he certainly is out of place in this Association. But if (as we suppose) he desires to be committed to that principle, there is not the slightest occasion for him to leave the Association; for, conceding that the Association is thoroughly committed to the "scientific method," as we contend it is by the terms of its own organic law, it is thereby committed, according to our own conception of that method, to nothing but perfect liberty—which it was founded to promote. We cannot comprehend why there should be any confusion on this point; but, if this explanation is not satisfactory, we hope for many reasons that the topic will not be dropped.

WHY IS UNCHASTITY VENIAL IN ONE SEX AND INFAMOUS IN THE OTHER?

Elizabeth Oakes Smith, in a thoughtful article in THE INDEX of Nov. 1, questions the correctness of the conclusion that, because man may do with comparative impunity that which, if done by woman, is considered infamous, he therefore regards or has regarded woman as his inferior. She thinks this fact rather implies "that woman exercises a higher moral

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activity"; that she "seized upon and adhered to the purer moralities, and thus taught the world to expect more from her." "Does not the priest," she asks, "stand in the same relation? Do we not demand of him rightfully purer moralities than we exact from the man of mere fashion? Again: when men insist upon the purity of chasteness of the women of their households, do they expect this from base or selfish motives?" "By the emphasis with which a man insists upon the high moralities in his family, has he not given testimony in favor of them?"

Now it still seems to me that man absolutely forbids in woman what he may himself do with far less censure, because his attitude to woman through long ages has been, and to a great extent now is, that of a *master to a servant*. The man with whom drunkenness is an habitual vice, is often very severe in condemning and punishing the slightest intoxication in his servants. He knows drunkenness is wrong, but his appetite craves the stimulating drink; and his position is such that he *can* gratify it, and he does so. He does not experience his servants' craving for drink as he does his own; he has seen the bad effects of drunkenness on servants; he knows it is wrong; and, having the power to make his servants abstain from this vice, he exercises it, actuated by various motives, some moral, some selfish perhaps. He becomes familiar with this vice in himself and those of his own rank in society, and in them its moral enormity seems much less than it did in early life. On the other hand, from his youth, among those with whom he has associated, and whose thought and expressions have helped to shape his own, he has heard drunkenness in servants spoken of only in terms of condemnation. He comes to look upon this vice in servants as a sign of disobedience, untrustworthiness, and inefficiency; and, since it involves opposition to the master's authority, which is acknowledged as rightful and supreme in his own household, it *does* indicate in the servants all the bad qualities which the master ascribes to them. Thus, while, as he grows older, he views with greater lenity drunkenness in himself and his associates, he regards it with more and more aversion in the servants who are socially below him, and subject to his authority and control.

The habit of sobriety in servants is, without doubt, worthy of encouragement, and of imitation by their masters; but, in such cases as I have referred to, the more temperate habits of the servants do not imply that they "exercise a higher moral activity," or, that there is any thing constitutional in them, or peculiar to their nature, that has led them to "seize upon and adhere to the purer moralities." The reason is in their *subordination* to their master's will and wishes; and the reason that he has no patience with drunkenness in his servants, while he excuses the same vice in himself and those of his own rank, is not because he regards them as his superiors morally, but because he has lived with them in a relation giving him power and authority over them. Drunkenness in them implies disregard of his authority, neglect of duty, incapacity to minister to his wants, and inefficiency generally. Drunkenness in himself and those of his standing, although not to be defended on moral grounds, is "their own business."

Thus, having the power, men will prevent vices in others (when it is to their interest to do so) which they find reasons for excusing in themselves; and when any habit or custom, however bad, has prevailed among a particular class for centuries, that class comes to regard it, if not as right, at least as entitled to toleration; when the same folly in those who have been strangers to it calls from them unqualified condemnation. We all know fathers who are habitually profane, but who would punish with severity anything like profanity in their children. Not that the children "exercise a higher moral activity" than the father,—not that they are recognized as moral guides or teachers,—but the father, conscious of his superiority over his children in power, in knowledge, in judgment and authority, and knowing that he can, to a great extent, control the language of his child, exercises that power from a sense of duty out of regard for his child, and to retain for himself and family the respect of the community. He punishes his child, if he hears an oath from his lips; yet is an habitual swearer himself. Why is this? Having the power and authority over his children, he exacts from them as far as possible conduct in conformity with his conceptions of right and duty. *He* falls far below the standard, excusing himself, perhaps, in various ways. Profanity becomes so confirmed a habit with him that it seems impossible to resist it; and, at length, it seems much less wicked than when he began to swear. But he has always regarded profanity in a child as horrible. "Everybody" thinks so; and long after the father has ceased to be disturbed, from moral consideration, by profanity from himself or other men, he is shocked to hear an oath from the lips of his child. And the child, when it grows to manhood, will, perhaps, do in this respect as its father did. In punishing the child, the father is not actuated by "base or selfish motives"; nor, when he is shocked by an oath from the lips of his little boy, does he regard it as we regard a crime in some great moral teacher whom we have looked up to as an example and guide. But, in the first place, having the power, the father has compelled his child to abstain from a vice or folly in which he has permitted himself to indulge; and, in the second place, he has not been accustomed to it in his child, while by frequent repetition through years he has become so accustomed to it in himself that it gives very little trouble on moral grounds.

So I hold that unchastity in man in our present society is excused, or but mildly censured, while in woman it is a sin never to be forgotten or forgiven in this world, because primarily, the position of woman has been subordinate to that of man. No doubt chastity in woman should be encouraged; no doubt it has been and is favorable to the improvement of society; and no doubt man should strive to elevate himself to the standard by which he expects woman to live. All these propositions I strongly maintain; but it is none the less true, I believe, that the inequality of the censure which is bestowed upon the two sexes for unchastity is due to the fact that in the evolution of society man has been superior to woman in power and authority, and has accordingly treated her as an inferior. Men have exacted from women a more rigid adherence to virtue than has been exemplified in their own lives, not because they have looked up to women as priestesses of morality, but because they have been in a position to *cast aside* "the higher moralities" of which Mrs. Smith speaks; and this has been done so generally and through so many ages, that the mind has become somewhat accustomed to it; while, on the other hand, woman's position has been such that man, for her interest and for his own, has discouraged and forbidden any disregard of those "higher moralities." Chastity in woman having been encouraged, strengthened, and fortified by education and selection, and relations dependent upon it having been incorporated into our social system through centuries of gradual growth, any departure therefrom now is naturally condemned with severity.

Mrs. Smith thinks that, "in the sight of God, in the light of eternal issues, all sin is sin, and we are not in a condition to grade it"; but, as society is now organized, she believes unchastity in woman is worse than the same offence in man. It is worse, she would say probably, because its effects are more ruinous in the one case than the other. But if we look a little deeper, we cannot fail to see that society is so organized, because during its evolution the idea has been prominent that man's position is one of superiority,— that woman's is essentially subordinate. When we consider that woman's condition has been *improving* with the progress of civilization, and that among the unadvanced nations her state is still very low, while even among the most enlightened peoples her position is far from what it should be, I do not see how this conclusion can be avoided.

It might have been added that the sin in woman implies generally greater moral depravity than in man, because society in various ways declares, and men and women recognize, unchastity in woman as a far greater sin than in man; and the moral depravity that will lead the woman to sin must be in proportion to the guilt she believes it involves. For it is the disposition and motive that determine the moral criminality of an act. But this is only an additional illustration that in the evolution of our whole system, social and moral, the idea has prevailed that woman's position is an inferior one. The very standard that society has formed, the very authority by which woman regards unchastity in her sex worse than in man, and in consequence of which her sin implies greater moral delinquency than the same does in man, has been formed through centuries, because man has controlled and governed woman, and has had the power to construct society, however unconsciously, so as to conform to his predominant desire and disposition in regard to his relation to woman.

In proportion as woman rises from her inferior position to one of equality with man, and both sexes are influenced by intellectual and moral considerations, will the obligations of chastity be regarded as equally binding on both; and any relations or institutions, inconsistent with what is so obviously just and right, however well they shall have served the race in attaining that state, will have to disappear and others gradually take their place. B. F. U.

Communications.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE AT HURON, N.Y.

WOLCOTT, N.Y., Nov. 8, 1877.

MR. EDITOR:—

It affords me pleasure to inform you that at the close of my lecture in Cosad's Hall, in the town of Huron, Wayne County, N.Y., Nov. 1, the liberals organized a Liberal League with the following officers: President, J. M. Cosad; Vice-President, G. W. Smith; Secretary, Samuel Cosad; Treasurer, William Robinson; Councillors, James Chase, James Johnson, L. R. Ellis, Mrs. Effie Weed.

There are in this locality a few free spirits who are determined to carry forward the interests of freethought in this Liberal League movement. I spoke three evenings to the liberal people of this community, and enjoyed myself very much. Mr. Cosad set the ball rolling last summer, in getting up the great three days' meeting in his grove; and he is determined to keep it rolling as long as he lives. Besides his heroic and patriotic efforts, others are coming to the rescue, and before a great while the Liberal League will be a power in the town of Huron.

Yours, W. S. BELL.

NOTICE—CATTARAUGUS COUNTY LIBERAL LEAGUE.

THE ROCHESTER PLATFORM TO BE RATIFIED.—ABLE SPEAKERS TO BE ENGAGED, AND THE LIBERALS OF WESTERN NEW YORK AND WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA INVITED TO PARTICIPATE.

We, the undersigned, Freethought and Liberal League Committee of Cattaraugus County, propose to hold a mass meeting in the village of Randolph in said County, on the 8th and 9th days of December, to ratify the platform adopted by the National Liberal League at Rochester, Oct. 26; and we cordially invite all persons residing in Western New York and Western Pennsylvania who indorse said platform to unite with us in the proposed ratification meeting. The speakers who are to be invited to address the meeting are Hon. R. S. McCormick, of Franklin, Pa., Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York, Giles B. Stebbins, of Detroit, C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, W. S. Bell, of New Bedford, Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton, and others. H. L. Green, who represented our League at the Rochester Congress, will make a report of the proceedings of that Convention. Liberal arrangements will be made to accommodate all who attend, and if possible reduced railroad fares will be obtained.

A. L. BRAINARD,
FREDERICK LARKIN,
J. M. MATHEWSON, } *Committee.*

THE INTELLECT AND SENTIMENT.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Not in any spirit of controversy, but simply to find out the truth, I would like to discuss more fully the relation of the intellect and sentiment in the attainment of moral conviction. I admit that the intellect must play a large part in this; but I also affirm that it must to a certain extent depend upon the sentiment, as the sentiment depends upon it; there must be an interblending of both to reach the final conclusion.

Take for instance the proposition, "Ingratitude is wrong." You will admit that this is an objective truth. I ask you to follow the steps by which I reach such a conclusion, and point out wherein I make a mistake. It is the intellect, of course, that declares the meaning of the terms "Ingratitude" and "Wrong," and it is the intellect that joins them together. But what reason can the intellect give for joining the term "Wrong" to the term "Ingratitude"? Here, I affirm, it relies upon sentiment; if there were no sentiment, the truth of the proposition could not be affirmed. The intellect perceives that the sentiment of humanity is against ingratitude. *This sentiment is ultimate; the intellect can give no reason why it exists.* The action of the intellect stops with the perception of the existence of the sentiment, which sentiment it must assent to as it assents to the proposition that two and two make four. One can give no reason for blaming ingratitude. He simply *blames*, and the whole heart goes with the blame, and the opposite feeling cannot for a moment be entertained.

In reaching therefore the conclusion that ingratitude is wrong, the intellect must depend upon the sentiment as an ultimate thing in human nature beyond which it cannot go; and if this sentiment is not objectively valid, then the conclusion is not objectively valid.

Do you say that this sentiment exists because of some previous action of the intellect? This I deny. The intellect does not create the sentiment; it gives opportunity for its exercise by pointing out certain relations; it is the *occasional* cause, but not the efficient cause. After pointing out the relations, giving clear knowledge, the operation of the intellect ceases. Out of human nature itself, from sources over which the intellect has no control, comes this irresistible feeling of blame, an original, spontaneous impulse, in view of which and in dependence upon which the

intellect makes the declaration that ingratitude is wrong.

This is my reading of my own experience. This is the way in which I reach the objective truth that ingratitude is wrong. My sentiment is an original helper independent of, yet working with, the intellect. How do you read your experience; what are the relations of intellect and sentiment in the process by which you arrive at the objective truth that ingratitude is wrong? I would like to compare notes and see where we deviate. I appeal to your consciousness, as I have appealed to my own.

The authority of Hume does not settle the question; I arrived at my conclusion independently of him. I was surprised in reading his essays to find that he had read his experience in the same way that I have read mine, and of course this gives me added confidence in my reading. I hardly think you have a right to say Hume was asleep, since he devotes to this question a whole essay. Suppose the Orthodox affirmed that he was asleep when he wrote on Miracles, would that answer his argument?

Allow me in this connection to call your attention to the following point:—

It is perfectly right for you as an individual, believing in the sole authority of science in religion, to declare that the drift and outcome of Free Religion as a general movement in human history will be in favor of this sole authority. But are you not going too far in saying that the Free Religious Association, as an Association, by its expressed law is committed to this sole authority? For no matter how liberal your own soul may be, if I am convinced that your interpretation of the organic law of the Association is correct, I must withdraw from membership; for I do not believe that science is the sole authority in religion, and therefore cannot commit myself to the expression that it is. Is it wise to seek to commit the Free Religious Association to one side of an "open question," while there are still such profound differences of opinion among honest and liberal thinkers?

Truly yours, S. P. PUTNAM.

NORTHFIELD, Mass.

"REVEREND FATHER" EWER.

This eminent divine, whilom rector of Christ Church on Fifth Avenue, now the head and front of the ritualistic movement in our city, "father confessor," or plain "Father Ewer," has been letting off his theological pop-gun before the Church Congress at Chickering Hall. The "reverend father" hath a "honeyed tongue"; he speaks well; doubtless the "cloven tongue like as of fire" has descended and sat upon him. But when "facts" are against the "reverend father," they must look out for themselves. He rides over them rough-shod. There was a time when he was a great respecter of "facts," and then it was he wrote his pamphlet entitled *Protestantism a Failure*. But the "cathedral service" did the mischief. "Mark but my fall and that that ruined me." The "reverend father" wanted the confessional, incense, candles, and ritualistic millinery, and he got them, but not at Christ Church. "Ewer's circus," as the scoffers called it, came to an untimely end; so the "reverend father" crept, like the crab into the deserted shell, into the cast-off slough of Mr. Frothingham's society, and dubbed it "Church of St. Ignatius,"—whoever he may be. Doubtless "Father" Ewer first besprinkled the place with holy water, while his exorcist drove out the devils, of whom a legion must have lurked in the rafters.

Well, as already stated, the "reverend father on the 30th of October spoke upon 'Spiritual Forces in Civilization.' He began by saying 'spiritual forces' came into the world with Christianity and *the gifts of the Holy Ghost*"!

Now we "have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost"; so here Father Ewer has a great advantage over us. But if by "spiritual forces" he means "love for the pure, the elevated, the refined, the ideal," surely he must know the world of ancient art proves the existence of this *spirituality* before any good came out of Nazareth. I think he may be defied to point to an indecent attitude or immodest *pose* in the works of the Grecian and Roman artists. The virtues illustrated are always noble, pure, godlike. The "skull and crossbones" are a Christian emblem, set up in the place of the sad-visaged angel with the inverted torch. The horrors of hell and purgatory are, with very few exceptions, all Christian inventions. In fact, the dread of death, that has so filled the world with needless suffering and misery, is entirely the work of this sweet (?) faith of which Father Ewer is one of the chief priests.

"Even the pagan temples," continues Father Ewer, "were shelters of crime." Can the father have forgotten the "right of sanctuary," which the advance of law and enlightenment so lately forced the *Church* to surrender?

"Christianity," says the reverend father, "has had an effect on private morals which is incalculable; it has also created a public conscience unknown before." Now is this a fact? Is not the very opposite the truth? "Private morals" of our age are, we confess, rather of the nature of "hot-house plants"; but, *such as they are*, they were forced into existence by the general spread of intelligence, the increase in material prosperity consequent upon the great inventions and discoveries of the past three centuries, the far-reaching power of the press, the triumph of liberal government, and the victory of human rights in the courts, parliaments, and constitutional conventions of the world;—these were the potential factors in the growth of "private morals." As to Christianity *creating* a "public conscience," it may be safely asserted that Christianity has always been the one great inert lump of *laissez faire* in the way of a public *conscience*,—that is, sense of and resistance to wrong. "Give Cæsar his tribute"—has ever been its cry. The priest, the monk, the Jesuit, as keeper of the kingly (public) conscience has never hesitated to stain his hand with human blood, pile wrong mountain-high, stifle the cry of liberty, plunder the patient, brutalized people, burn the sceptic at the stake, and rivet the manacles of the slave.

"A prince," cried the reverend father, "who should imitate the excesses of a Tiberius would be hurled from his throne." True, father, but not by the efforts of the Church. Here, in our city, the infamous Tweed Ring found apologists among the ministry; one religious journal, (the *Evangelist*) openly defended the crew of public plunderers. "Give Cæsar his tribute!" The Catholic Church grew fat at the Ring trough; Protestant ministers crowded Tweed's ante-chamber, and bore away the public funds to build churches with, to buy bells with, to pay off mortgages with, etc., etc.

But now comes the reverend father's most intensified misstatement of fact: to wit, "that slavery melted away under the influence of the Church!" Slavery, the very child of the Church! Rome, the very home for centuries, of the slave-pen and auction blocks! only think—the clank of the bondman's chain must have daily visited the ear of Jesus of Nazareth; his robe must have daily swept against the cringing, starving, captive; and yet no word, no remonstrance, no syllable of pity or encouragement. And Paul, too, that prince of turn-coats, that chief of time-servers, that *avatar* of Jesuitism, talks glibly of "bond and free." Was the voice of the pulpit, Protestant or Catholic, raised to condemn human slavery in our land, until the burning words of our Parkers, Phillipses, Smiths, Garrisons, Browns, rang through the North and roused the people to a sense of this glaring iniquity? No, indeed! To its shame be it spoken, the Church for years defended, excused, and palliated this infamous wrong, and, worse than all, supported it by references to Holy Writ!

"The same influence," continues Father Ewer, "changed the position of woman," etc. Here again the reverend father kicks against the pricks of facts. It was not until the year 1848 that this sovereign State of New York had the courage and honesty to rouse up and shatter the yoke which the *Church* had laid upon woman's neck. Until that date, the married woman was classed with idiots and felons; she could hold no property, make no contract; her husband owned her earnings. To the so-called Holy Bible woman owes her servitude. On the pages of that volume she is, *with very few exceptions*, a harlot or a slave! Paul tightened the rivets that hold her chains; his "successors and assigns" have but wrapped these fetters in the velvet of the confessional, and the silken fascination of mariolatry have but soothed her with the soft spoon-food of emotionalism.

One word more, and I have done with the reverend father. He says: "Christianity has erected hospitals and created respect for human life." Either this statement is maliciously false, or else stupidly erroneous. Not until the advance in medical and chirurgical science made hospitals *necessary* was Christianity able to construct them. Father Ewer mistakes effect for cause. Not until the medical science set up its glorious shibboleth, "My mission is to save; let not the meanest die!" did hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries spring up on all sides.

But why say more? It is the old, old trick of the Church to claim every triumph of the arts, sciences, and industries as *her own!* As her miserable miracles, so-called, "pale their ineffectual fire" in the glorious daylight of fact, we are enabled to see the commencement of the end! The splendor of truth may dazzle our eyes for a brief space, as we emerge from the darkness of theological systems; but ere long we shall be enabled to stand boldly up and face the dawn, like true children of light as we are!

INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD.

NEW YORK, Nov. 2, 1877.

BARRENNESS OF MATERIALISM.

The philosophy of materialism may at times seem very strong intellectually; it may stare us in the face as the only belief that cannot be refuted by scientific analysis. But morally it must ever be weak and defective while human nature remains essentially what it is. To say that the doctrine of materialism does not satisfy and encourage the highest aspirations of the human heart is to affirm a universal truth. The intellect may be forced to accept materialism as the only reasonable view of life; but it does this against the agonizing protest of every instinct of the soul. If one embraces materialism at all, it is from stern logical necessity, and not with that joy of heart experienced in receiving any new confirmation of the hope of immortality.

Materialism is the belief of despair, and the paralysis of the finest moral energies in human nature. It lacks every element of a true religion, for it destroys man's highest conception of life. What has materialism to give in exchange for the sublime and inspiring hopes it destroys? What moral tonic does it offer to brace human nature against the pressure of this life's ills? I do not say that materialism is false, but I do say that it does not meet the great spiritual wants of human nature. I do most sincerely believe that it has yet no compensation to give for the hope of a future life which it destroys. It may suit a few hardy natures, but it is repugnant to the great mass of men and women who think and feel.

If materialism is true, the human mind has wrought a sublime miracle in conceiving a destiny for itself so much nobler than that which Nature has given it. Admitting materialism to be true, we are then confronted by one truth that will not satisfy the spiritual aspirations of human nature. To round out this life into its most perfect spiritual symmetry man must create for himself an imaginary state of being following this. Destroy the idea of the *permanence of character in some conscious form*, and its sacredness, its beauty, is irreparably marred.

In the name of that religion which Mr. Abbot defines as "the effort of man to perfect himself," I impeach materialism and challenge its advocates to show that it does not paralyze this noblest ambition of human nature.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo.

A PLEA FOR COMMUNISM.

I am greatly surprised that so many reformers who have thrown off the yoke of superstition should still cling to so many of the ideas and customs that have grown out of the falsities they have rejected. Take, for instance, the article "Common-sense vs. Communism," in which the writer accepts all the erroneous and absurd conditions of society which have been forced upon it by the priests who have kept the mass of the people in ignorance, degrading them into slavery. If "modern civilization is based upon the inequality of the distribution of the productions of labor," why did we not see it exemplified in the Southern States? For the very good reason, "that all attempts to subvert the natural law governing the process of human and social evolution" is the cause why humanity has not attained a higher civilization.

The unnatural and false conditions on which this writer bases society leads himself and his readers to false conclusions, and his comparison falls to the ground. We do not expect "oak trees to produce cabbages." But we do expect an acorn to produce a grand, noble, gigantic tree, if "artificial restraints" are not brought to crush or dwarf it. We should remove all obstructions and allow the laws of Nature to produce her grand results.

Why will not thinkers shake off the shackles with which they have so long been bound, and boldly and courageously throw off their early education and prejudices? Let them consider how great and glorious would have been the condition of humanity today, if every means had been employed to educate and cultivate all individuals, allowing them to unfold the latent capacities within them.

The civilization of the world has been kept back by preventing the minds of the masses of the people from unfolding. How many geniuses of the order of Fulton, Watts, Newton, Franklin, and many others have been crushed and destroyed! No doubt the world has lost many inventions and improvements that they might have developed.

Common-sense teaches that communism would educate and develop the physical, intellectual, and affectional nature of humanity. And the people would live in love and peace, instead of the wars and strife which now afflict society. Communism affords the people leisure to cultivate the arts and sciences; and when they find any of their members possessing faculties which will be a benefit to humanity, those possessing the means can encourage and foster the genius that might otherwise be neglected.

How much more grand and excellent such a system would be than the present, which only allows a few "superior minds to *force* their way by diligent pressure into the superior social strata"! Now, if the scientific and literary men and women will not demonstrate to the class which are usually considered the refined and higher portion of civilized society, that there is a still higher condition of social life which shall be free from poverty and crime, then it is time for the working-men and women to let "the educated classes" know that they are no longer willing to live in the present social system, which the next evolution will denominate as barbaric; but that they are determined to unite together and work for each other's good, so that they may enjoy all the advantages of the "accumulation of wealth" and "the leisure essential to the better cultivation of the intellectual powers." As labor produces all the wealth of the world, you can by a true system of economy soon have your own libraries and scientific institutions from which you are now debarred by the false system, called civilization, which by its horrid wars destroys and wastes your labor, on the one hand, while idleness and extravagances consume the remainder. Civilization is filled with crime and poverty, while communities are free from these evils and are blessed with industry, love, and happiness.

GEORGE D. HENCK.

PHILADELPHIA.

CONWAY'S "EARTHWARD PILGRIMAGE."

Upon the fly-leaf of a book I have before me, entitled the *Earthward Pilgrimage*, I find that it was "entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1870, by M. D. Conway, in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York." The first intimation, however, that I had of the existence of such a literary treasure, was received, not long since, while looking over the catalogue of books offered for sale by the Index Association. This is not a surprising circumstance; but it does seem a little surprising that such a gem should not have found its way to the shelves of the Harvard Library until the year 1875, and equally so, that it is not yet obtainable from the Public Library of the not inconsiderable town of Woburn, where the writer of this is, at present, residing.

Indeed, I much doubt if it could be found in half-a-dozen of the public libraries of Massachusetts outside of Boston and Cambridge. Is it, then, strange that the *Religion of Humanity* spreads so slowly, when there is so little desire shown to know what that religion comprehends? Now, for many years I

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have been a pilgrim along the misty way of life in search of light and truth. In furtherance of that desire, I have read such freethought literature as I could command, and can truly say, that nothing has fallen under my eye more entirely soul-satisfying than this work of Mr. Conway's.

Indeed, I may exclaim, EUREKA! No doubt, tastes, as well as opinions, differ widely, and that a song may fall upon my ear in melodious cadence, which would grate harshly upon the tympanum of my neighbor: still, unless I greatly misjudge the average sentiment of my co-seekers after truth—in the realm of free inquiry,—the *Earthward Pilgrimage* will prove as great a boon to them as it has done to me. Its pages fairly sparkle with gems of sublimest truths, and blossom with flowers of sweetest odor and loviest hues. The author's thoughts—always beautiful, often sublime—are borne smoothly onward upon the bosom of an abounding river of graceful diction and stirring eloquence, even as the thrilling tones of a prima donna's voice blend and float harmoniously upon the waves of melody, evoked by her orchestral accompaniment. A book that abounds in so much that is true and beautiful, and so little of the contrary,—one that contains so much to admire, and so little to condemn,—should have a more general reading than, I fear, it has had; and should, ere this, have passed through many editions.

The chapter under the caption, "Deo Erexit Voltaire," is in the author's happiest vein, and is alone worth the price of the whole volume. It contains a merited tribute to the honesty and genius of the great iconoclast, whose remorseless breaking of the idols set up by the Romish Church made it possible for the present generation to enjoy freedom of religious opinions, and—as the author conceives—prevented Protestantism from relapsing into popery. Possibly, I am enthusiastic in my admiration of Mr. Conway's book beyond what is warranted by the text, but my enthusiasm has, at least, the merit of sincerity; and I cannot refrain from speaking warmly in favor of a volume which, as I turned its leaves, first *interested*, then *delighted*, then *electrified* me.

Those who have enjoyed its beauties, I warmly congratulate; to those who have not experienced that pleasure, I as heartily commend its perusal.

DANIEL CONY.

WOBURN, Mass., October, 1877.

"CAUSE" AND "OCCASION."

GREAT BARRINGTON, Mass., Oct. 27, 1877.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Mr. B. F. Underwood's comments upon certain propositions affirmed by Rev. Joseph Cook lead me to ask a few questions which I hope your correspondent will consider worth answering.

Is experience the *cause* or the *occasion* of all our ideas? If the former, then the mind is a blank previous to experience; if the latter, then the germ at least of every idea exists in the mind previous to experience, and is *merely quickened* by its influence.

Both suppositions are unsatisfactory, because, if either be true, man is at the mercy of an element outside of himself,—in short, is just what his circumstances make him.

Either supposition leads to fatalism; for the *occasion* is of just as much consequence in determining whether or not an effect shall result as the cause itself. What does speculation upon the origin of ideas amount to? But more of this, if Mr. Underwood cares to reply.

H. J. CHASE.

P.S.—The above is written under the impression that sensationalism, as expounded by Locke, and others, leads straight to fatalism. This is what I have been taught. On my own account, I have formed the opinion that the opposite theory of the origin of ideas (that they exist beforehand in the mind and are aroused into activity by experience) leads to precisely the same result. For effect depends for existence just as much upon *occasion* as it does upon *cause*. If you think the last conclusion ridiculous, please throw this into the waste-basket.

H. J. C.

REMINISCENCES OF BENJ. HALLOWELL.

The beautiful reminiscence concerning Benjamin Hallowell, by A. G. Riddle, tendered in THE INDEX of October 11, was very grateful to my feelings. I knew friend Hallowell well, and was a frequent recipient of his beautiful and highly philosophical letters. He was a man of great scope of mind and breadth of thought, and was a free religionist in the full acceptation of the term. He was a man of deep and fervent faith,—a faith that *worked* by love and wisdom and truth. Faith other than this he considered irrelevant. In a letter dated in 1873, he thus writes: "The practical truth is, we must pray in action; live religion; put our own shoulders to the wheel, and then call on Hercules to aid our exertions. We must have unwavering faith in God, and faith in man as the child of God, whom he has made but little lower than the angels, and will crown with glory and honor, if only we coöperate with his gracious purposes and strive to serve him in his way, not ours. Then will our *aspirations* become *inspiration*."

He once told me of an Orthodox minister desiring that he should render an account of his faith, to whom he replied as follows: "This is a manifestation of the spirit of God graciously imparted to the soul of every rational, accountable being, which, if humbly and faithfully regarded and obeyed, will lead such soul into all truth necessary for its present well-being and its everlasting salvation."

Thus Benjamin Hallowell was a believer, and a follower too, of that "true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." He believed with Socrates that the soul was modelled after the eternal idea of the true, the good, and the beautiful. With Paul that this was "the first-born of many brethren." Or in other language, that the *à priori* law of causality acts within us as the law of our being and intellect, depending not altogether on experience, *because as a law à priori, it precedes all experience, making experience possible.* He was much interested in the circulation of a book entitled *Christ the Spirit*, by Gen. Ethan Allen Hitchcock. In a letter to me he states: "This work gives a more connected, consistent, elevated, spiritual, and practical view of the Scriptures, than any other I have been favored to meet with, and its author removed nothing from Christianity but its superstition and its idolatry. He brings into greater prominence Christ, the Spirit of God, the divine attribute, manifest in all ages in the soul and conduct of man throughout humanity, which is the universal eternal Christ, the wisdom of God and the power of God, in which the true friend believes and trusts."

Benjamin Hallowell was a man whom the truth had made free. He was a lover of freethought, and herein I again quote from a letter written 2 mo., 25th, 1877: "In the calculus, it sometimes becomes necessary in the solution of a problem to integrate between limits; but in the *search for truth, in the expression of a truth, there must be no limit;* the mind must be FREE."

DAVID NEWPORT.

ABINGTON, Pa., 10 mo., 11th, 1877.

COMPARISON AND DISCRIMINATION.

At the Ministers' Institute held at Springfield, Oct. 8, and following days, Rev. Dr. Thomas Hill, of Portland, ex-President of Harvard College, read a paper on Erasmus Darwin, in the course of which he criticised the poet's famous grandson as follows:—

"There are two opposite faculties of mind enjoyed by men in different degrees. One is the power of observing likenesses and resemblances, the other the talent of detecting differences and making nice discriminations. Charles Darwin has an intellect in which the former power predominates. He assumes that species have become what they are by processes of infinitesimal change and modification acting through vast periods of time; and he sets species of similar forms into lines of graded connection. Now he may be wrong here; for although in the present state of knowledge we may be able to see but few and small differences between two species, yet numerous and wide distinctions may really exist, which keener and closer observation in the future may disclose. Language and definition so lag behind thought and perception that many differences about which common-sense makes no mistake, our scientific classifications cannot yet mark out. Prof. Asa Gray says that no botanical description of an oak can be given in which that of a chestnut is not included. Yet uneducated observation easily distinguishes between oaks and chestnuts."

Rev. Dr. Hill did not broach the large question of Evolution, but seemed to think that its *à priori* argument, as giving most glory to the Supreme Intelligence, was the strongest adducible; and that all *à posteriori* arguments as yet brought forward were imperfect and inconclusive.

G. I.

WHILE testifying the other day before the high and mighty commission appointed by Congress to inquire into the sanity of San Francisco upon the Chinese question, Dr. Meares was asked by Senator Sargent "if the disease existing amongst the Mongolians was the true leprosy of the Bible." To which he replied he didn't know, as "medical men were not in the habit of consulting the Bible as authority upon diseases." The discomfiture of the worthy senator may be better imagined than described. The reply was well-timed and admirable. It was an argument clothed in exquisite satire. The question that drew it forth was, in truth, a very fair specimen of the prejudice which is artfully instilled into the minds of the ignorant against the Chinese. The poor fellows have hitherto walked about our streets with this disease, and have entered our hospitals with it, and, deplorable as it is, and indeed all diseases are, yet no serious consequences have arisen to our people through its presence here. But then it may be made a bugaboo of. Attach to it an awe-inspiring Biblical name and origin, and it instantaneously becomes a worse scarecrow to certain people here than does the banshee woman to them elsewhere; whilst it would be in reality no more substantial. Very much more worthy of Christian statesman would it be to propose the cure of the disease, rather than use it as a means to frighten ignorant people. If the commission will inquire as to its curability, they will be accomplishing a beneficent, humanitarian work, and, before they are through, may possibly astonish our medicos at the amount of useful information revealed. The disease is by no means unknown or confined to the Chinese. In Norway there were, in 1856, as many as two thousand eight hundred and fifty advanced cases of it; by scientific treatment then commenced, the number of cures soon amounted to forty *per cent.* of the whole, and since then an average of fifty-six of the worst cases is cured annually, whilst the spread of the disease has been absolutely stopped.—*San Francisco News Letter.*

THE MORMON theology, as expounded by Joseph Smith and perfected by Brigham Young, is a fantastic compound of doctrines and practices borrowed from almost every form of religion the world has known. Mr. J. H. Beadle, long a resident of Utah, in a book on the Mormons published some years ago, says: "They are Christians in their belief in the New Testament and the mission of Christ; Jews in their temporal theocracy, tithing, and belief in prophecy; Mohammedans in regard to the relations of the sexes, and Voudoos, or Fetichists, in their witchcraft, good and evil spirits, faith-doctoring and superstition. From the Buddhists they have stolen their doctrines of apotheosis and development of gods; from the Greek mythology, their loves of the immortals and spirits. They have blended the ideas of many nations of polytheists, and made the whole consistent by outdoing the materialists." The active conflict going on between the various Christian sects at the time Joseph Smith proclaimed a new revelation, seems to have led to his borrowing a variety of controverted doctrines from sources immediately at hand. Thus the Mormon theology takes from the Methodists their "witness of the Spirit"; from the Disciples their "first principles"; from the Presbyterians their "universal suffrage"; from the Second Adventists their belief in the speedy coming of Christ's kingdom; and from the Catholics their doctrine of an infallible head of the Church. In their faith that only a small portion of mankind will fail of ultimate salvation the Mormons are almost Universalists; and in their idea of the nature of Christ they might be called Unitarians. Their notion that unseen powers produce physical manifestations on earth brings them in accord with the modern Spiritualists, and their belief in evil spirits allies them with the ancient Manicheans.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

DEEP ARE THE WILES of the Jesuit, and wary must he be who would avoid him. There is in England an Evangelical paper called the *Rock*, whose editor buckles on his armor and writes to his confectioner to supply him with comfits free from crosses. Candy in the cruciform shape he guards against as a Satanic and, if it isn't superfluous to add, Jesuitical device for luring young and confiding souls to popery. The confectioner, good easy man, is not so deeply alarmed as his customer, though, to the possible destruction of some unsuspecting family who will have to take more than its share of crosses, the papistic devices are omitted from the package sent to the *Rock* office. Still, the candy-man is sensible that, under certain conditions, the cruciform sweets are liable to send a young and innocent child into the arms of the Scarlet Woman. "I have had many thoughts about these enclosures," says the conscientious Christian confectioner, "as to whether they might foster the tendency to popery; but I don't think there is this danger, as they are simply regarded by the children as an ornament." The editor of the *Rock* devotes a solemn paragraph to the subject matter of this correspondence. "We are," says he, "quite at the mercy of our confectioner, according to the whim of the moment. This matter will have to be thoroughly probed." While such zealous, thoughtful men are guarding the liberties of the world, it is safe from the aggressions of the papacy. Let it sweep back the cursed tide of cruciform candies and all will be well.—*Cincinnati Telegraph.*

GEORGE ODGER, the English working-man and radical who died lately, deserves a kindly mention by Americans. Professor Fawcett said at his funeral that one eminent service which Mr. Odger had rendered to his countrymen ought never to be forgotten. At one time it had seemed likely that England was about to commit a crime which would have branded her with indelible disgrace. It had seemed some fourteen years ago that this country, with its traditional love of freedom, was about to throw in its lot with the slave-owners of the Southern States, and to refuse its sympathy to those struggling for freedom in the North. It was in that hour of crisis he had first known George Odger, who then had done a noble work: for no one had more influenced the decision of working-men, who, to their immortal honor, when other people with greater advantages went wrong, kept true to the traditions of Englishmen, and never wavered for a moment in their allegiance to the cause of the North. He remembered going some fourteen years ago with John Stuart Mill to a meeting at St. James's Hall, called by the Trade Unionists of London to sympathize with the cause of the North. Mr. Mill said that it was such eloquence as he had never heard, and never expected to hear again; but he went on to make this significant remark of one whose early education had been neglected: "I never knew that the cause of the North could be put so forcibly till I heard the speech of that working-man," meaning George Odger.—*N. Y. Tribune, March* 26, 1877.

THE *Tribune* has been examining the books of the county register to ascertain how many and what churches in this city are mortgaged. It finds mortgages on fifty-three churches on record, representing the startling total of $2,367,886. But this probably does not fully represent the debts which the churches have incurred. There are, doubtless, many owing various amounts which are not secured by mortgage. The total of these debts may reach two or three hundred thousand dollars, so that the sum which the churches of New York city owe amounts to upward of two and a half million dollars. The fifty-three churches named in the *Tribune's* list belong to seven denominations. The Presbyterians have the heaviest load, $706,000; next are the Reformed churches, with $644,000; then the Protestant Episcopal churches, with $453,000; the Roman Catholic, with $229,000; the Baptist, with $212,000; the Methodist, with $79,000; and the Lutheran, with $44,886. The largest amount owed by a single church is that set against "the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church": *viz.*, $471,000; the Phillips (Presbyterian) Church owes $250,000; the Church of the Disciples (Congregational), $189,000; the Church of the Puritans (Presbyterian), $155,000; the Church of the Heavenly Rest (Protestant Episcopal), $137,000; and the Memorial (Presbyterian), $130,000. The *Tribune* also ascertains that nearly all of these debts have been incurred in enlarging or rebuilding church-edifices, and not for purposes of charity or the increase of salaries.

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NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 8, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

GLIMPSES.

MR. L. W. BILLINGSLEY, the Nebraska member of the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, has appointed his four associates on the State Sub-committee as follows: N. W. Smalls, of Fremont, Fulton Gault, of North Platte, H. W. Parker, of Beatrice, and W. E. Copeland, of Lincoln.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Mr. J. W. Frank, Dysart, Iowa, 68; from Mr. C. F. Gard, Greeley, Col., 59; from Mr. W. K. Smalley, St. Albans, Vt., 29; from Mr. W. U. Dame, Brentwood, N.Y., 15; from Rev. L. K. Washburn, Chelsea, Mass., 81; from Mr. John Ahrens, Longview, Ark., 28; from Mr. W. H. Crowell, Jefferson, O., 40. Total thus far received—8,891.

DISPATCHES from Panama not long since stated that "an attempt was made September 29 at San Pedro Jacopilas, near the Mexican frontier, to assassinate President Barrios of Guatemala. He was attacked while driving by a priest named Felix Pajes, who fired a revolver at him. The first shot missed, and before the second could be fired Barrios seized the assassin and struggled for the possession of his weapon. The President's body-servant at that moment entered the door, and, seeing the priest still endeavoring to fire the revolver, shot him dead. Barrios had just quelled a slight outbreak near the border, started by a party of Mexican brigands and dissatisfied Indians, of whom seven or eight were killed and a number taken prisoners, but pardoned. Pajes was supposed to be the instigator of the outbreak."

A "UNITARIAN" addressed this note to the editor of the Chicago *Tribune* recently: "Among the agencies to be employed in relieving the Third Unitarian Church of its financial embarrassments, the Rev. Mr. Herford (if correctly reported in your Monday's paper) cites faith, prayer, and courage. Being of the Unitarian household of faith, I had hoped that sentiments of this kind among our order were among the things of the past,—obsolete. They savor too much of 'Tabernacle' doctrine. Potatoes are made to grow by putting them into the ground, and then after, tilling. This planting and tilling is called work. This is the only way potatoes ever were known to be produced, and by the same natural process church-debts are paid. Faith, prayer, and courage never yet grew a potato or paid a church-debt, and it never will. Let us hope that among Unitarians, if not among other Christian sects, the use of sentimental gush or nonsense of this character is near at an end."

THE LIVERPOOL *Mercury* some time since published this droll account of "A Ritualist Curate's Apology": "The Sussex *Daily News* says that the Rev. E. G. Watson, who was for twelve years a curate at Christ Church, St. Leonard's-on-Sea, and who has left the Church of England, has published a printed 'apology respectfully addressed to the clergy and congregations of Christ Church and St. John's, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.' The writer commences: 'My dear friends, acquaintances, and enemies,' and gives numerous reasons why he 'went over to the enemy's lines.' In the course of his apology occurs the following: 'I assure you I felt the humbug of the thing so bitterly that more than once when we were piously walking down the church singing,—

"'We are not divided,
All one body we,
One in faith, in doctrine,
One in charity,'

I was on the point of flinging my book at the boys' heads, and leaving you then and there.'"

IT IS STATED that "Father Cruci, editor of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, a prominent Jesuit, has been expelled from the order for maintaining that the temporal power is not necessary to the well-being of the Church. The question involved, it will be observed, is 'the well-being of the Church'; not its authority nor its supremacy. It would seem that upon such a question some difference of opinion might be allowed. The view of the obnoxious editor and priest is not hostile to the Church, nor in any sense constructively disloyal. He believes, evidently, in rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. It is held by his opponents, however, that the temporal power—that is the things that are Cæsar's—belongs to the Church, as well as the spiritual power. Father Cruci is an eminent Catholic; and, until now, an eminent Jesuit. It is not to be presumed that he stands alone in his Church or his order, among its thinkers and scholars, opposed to the temporal power. The enlightened as well as the common-sense of the world rejects the assumption of temporal authority by any church or religious body whatever."

IT IS AMUSING to see the tables turned in this way, as described by the New York *Tribune*: "The heathen are organizing foreign missions for the conversion of Christians. The Hindus of the sacred city of Benares have founded a society for the propagation of Brahminism among the Christians of Australia. An eminent Brahmin of the name of Suradschi, a man of great authority, has recently been visiting some of the English colonies, and while travelling in Australia, was appalled and grieved at the fearful prevalence of drunkenness among the Christians. On returning to India he called together a number of thoughtful Brahmins, to whom he communicated his glowing zeal to do something for the salvation of their degraded fellow-men and fellow-subjects in Australia. The only perfect remedy, he considered, would be the conversion of these Christians to a better and purer faith. A large sum was collected for the pious and benevolent enterprise, and some of the Brahmins declared their willingness to devote themselves to the work, and to spend and be spent in this humane and holy cause. Suradschi is now engaged in translating fitting passages from the Vedas into the English tongue, for the use of the missionaries."

ESPECIAL ATTENTION is invited to the meeting of the Tompkins County Liberal League, at Ithaca, N.Y., after the adjournment of the Rochester Congress. The list of members contains the names of eleven Professors, presumably all of them in Cornell University. The addresses of Professor Oliver and of Mr. Giles B. Stebbins ought to give abundant assurance that the Congress has made a deep impression on the very best class of our citizens. Despite the injudicious utterances of some of the speakers, which were as much regretted by us as by any one, it is most encouraging to see that such cultured, intelligent, and high-minded listeners as Professor Oliver (Mr. Stebbins was not present at the Congress) were disposed to rate individual indiscretions at their true magnitude, and not to lose sight of the unspeakable moral importance and greatness of the movement itself. No brave heart will be daunted in the least by the absurd and exaggerated consequence attributed by some critics to the mere effervescence of long repressed feeling on the part of some who have for years been subjected to public contumely on account of their honest belief. These very speakers uttered no mean or cruel or dastardly words, such as charging "immorality" on all who differed from them, as Christians too often do; their zeal in behalf of unpopular opinions would have been accounted honorable, if they had been twice as enthusiastic in advocating the popular creed, and, although they stepped pretty hard on our own most tenderly cherished convictions, we felt not a particle of resentment on that account. It is the extreme of ungenerosity to raise a senseless clamor over such minor matters, as some have done; and we should scorn to disown anybody who speaks a valiant word for freedom. His is a petty soul who cannot forgive much to the spirit of liberty!

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

QUEER ORIGIN OF WORDS.—"Jet" derives its name from the Gatates, a river at Lycia, where was found the black stone which the French call agate, or jaet, which we abbreviate into jet.

Pamphylla, a Greek lady, who compiled a history of the world in thirty-five little books, has given her name to "pamphlet."

"Punch and Judy" are the relics of an ancient mystery play, in which the actors were Pontius Pilate and Judas Iscariot.

"Dollar" is from the German thaler, which is derived from Thal, the Valley of Joachim, in Bohemia, where the silver works were situated that made this coin.

"Bigot" is from Visigoth, in which the fierce and intolerant Arianism of the Visigoth conqueror of Spain has been handed down to infamy.

"Humbug" is from Hamburg; "a piece of Hamburg news," was in Germany a proverbial expression for false political rumors.

"Exhort" and "yeast" are from the same root, which signifies something boiling or overflowing.

"Gas" and "gust" have the same parentage.

"Gauze" derives its name from Gaza, where it was first made. Silk was first made at Damascus.

"Tabby-cat" is all unconscious that her name is derived from Atab, a famous street in Bagdad, inhabited by the manufacturers of silken stuffs called Atabi, our taffety, the wavy markings of the watered silk resembling pussy's coat.

IT IS TOLD for a fact that a little flaxen-haired boy of five years, who had passed the afternoon at the Boston Art Museum, looking up in his mother's face, said: "If all the mammas, when they die, turn into mummies, do all the papas turn into puppies?"

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Unitarian "Ministers' Institute."

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT COSMIAN HALL, FLORENCE, MASS., OCT. 21, 1877.

BY DAVID H. CLARK.

There was a few days since a very interesting and notable gathering of Unitarians at Springfield, Massachusetts. It bore the name of the "Ministers' Institute"; and, as such, was the introduction of a new enterprise of the denomination of a specially commendable and significant character in the line of progress. Its object, according to previous announcement and representation at the time, was the consideration and examination of theology and religion in the light of advanced knowledge and science,—to enable the younger ministers of the body, and those whose secluded and less favored situations prevent them from coming into ready contact with the freshest currents of thought, to become acquainted with the conclusions of the elder and more favored, the results of their best scholarship, thinking ability, and veteran experience in respect to these subjects, and those of professional interest,—to school these younger men in the tactics necessary to contend with the new exigencies and trials of faith incident to the intellectual transitions of the time.

Of course, it was not to be expected that this purpose (unintentionally, perhaps, implying a dilemma) would be fulfilled with that entire thoroughness, independence of position, and freedom from all theological bias and compromises which unchurched and radical minds might insist upon. It was not to be expected that (broad, free, and even radical as might be the discussions, and were in the main, as we shall see) they should not be in some degree qualified and colored by a regard for denominational reputation for soundness of faith, and by that dread of unsoundness which has always been more or less characteristic of all Christian sects, Unitarians as well as others,—by professional training and prejudices of which the genuine freethinker and truth-seeker knows nothing, and is, in consequence, unaffected.

But with all due consideration of such influences as these, and much must be allowed for them in any like instance, the occasion was remarkable for the disposition evinced to front with more or less directness the new scientific views and tendencies; to subject theology and Christian doctrines to the tests of the most advanced criticism. It was remarkable as an illustration of the steady, rapid, more and more potent, and in fact irresistible encroachment of science and modern enlightenment upon the Church. It indicated the gradual recognition that theology can no longer successfully elude the issues which they are thrusting upon it, and that it must, in some clearly satisfactory and reasonable way, adjust itself to the positions which the leaders in the world of knowledge and thought are taking. It is true that this was but reënacting what has often been witnessed in the course of religious history,—the sudden, eleventh-hour conversion when the fortunes of the day seem to be going against them.

The course of science and religion has been like that of competitive runners for a prize. Religion has hitherto taken the lead, but now begins to perceive that, such is the speed of its rival, it is in danger of being beaten, if it does not halt and transform the race into a friendly walk side by side. But as religion and science are of different origin and nature, and in their distinct character must be rivals, such a union cannot permanently exist without the loss of the identity of the one or of the other. The union of religion and science, if the former shall continue to be what it has been, and if we can trust the signs of the times, must eventually result in the undisputed dominion and leadership of science in every department of human interest and thought. There is nothing so sacred as to be independent of it; nothing that is not amenable to its laws, or that can be permitted to refuse to give account of itself before the bar of its judgment,—no rite, nor doctrine, nor system, not even the idea of God himself, since it is the necessary and ultimate expression of human intelligence. I speak of course of the method of science, not of any particular position it may have assumed to-day.

The Ministers' Institute was notable because of the deviation it marked from what has been the conduct of the denomination under whose auspices it convened. It was distinguished by breadth, toleration, and silent consent at least, in the intellectual developments of the time,—an apparent sympathy with the progressive spirit rather than a disposition to draw arbitrary lines of exclusion and proscription. It was noticeable, by one who had been accustomed to attend former conventions of the sect, that there was less alarm exhibited with reference to dangers which threaten Christianity within the fold; less fear that the reputation of the body might be damaged if certain vagaries of opinion, or those esteemed such, were suffered to abide in it rather than be cast out; less insistance upon the appellative, the "Lord" Jesus Christ; less heard concerning "statements of faith"; less abhorrence manifested of scepticism and infidelity and of the prospect of splitting the denomination in two if certain resolutions were passed, and less threat of leaving it if they were, than have been in years not far remote the distinction of its sessions. As one recalled some of these, it was impossible not to conjecture how different might have been the fortune of Unitarianism in this country and religious progress in general (not to mention the personal experiences of alienation, trial, and suffering which have ensued in numerous instances in consequence),

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if the same temper and wisdom could have sooner prevailed and more directly influenced its career.

But the scientific dictum that progress is from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, the reflection that an advanced intellectual principle or policy is a gradual development must serve to reconcile us to the fact that it has been otherwise. "It must needs be that offences come, but woe to him through whom they come"—has been scarcely less characteristic of liberal Christianity than of the other divisions of the Church. It remains to be seen with what unshrinking courage, with what undeviating fidelity and perseverance, it shall pursue the path upon which it has entered. It cannot redeem the past, but it can in some noble measure atone for inappreciation of the great opportunity which it possessed,—for faithlessness to its professions of freedom, the ideal of liberty which it has always assumed to cherish, but to which it has never wholly preserved an allegiance.

A brief retrospective survey just here will render this more apparent.

Although the essential doctrines of Unitarianism have been held in every age of the Church, with less or greater distinctness (and it is claimed to have been its earliest accepted creed), it shows but few traces of persistent growth in this country until the closing part of the last century. It was a recoil from the inexorable orthodoxy of the time; an advance in rationalism inside of Christianity. It began with the renunciation of the doctrine of the Trinity, or a tri-personal Deity; Jesus was not both Father and Son in one, but Son only. At first it was entertained mainly as a private belief, quietly working in the minds of the more studious and critical of the day, appearing now here and now there more or less openly, but for the most part suppressed and concealed. As has always been the case in the Church, to utter the truth was perilous. Those who held it did not care to make the sacrifice, or did not deem it expedient. They might not experience the cruel fortunes of the Arians, their early progenitors,—nor of Michael Servetus, who was burned at the stake for his Unitarianism at the instigation of John Calvin,—nor the suffering in behalf of their faith of their brethren in Italy, and Poland, and various parts of Europe, after the Reformation. But they had good reason to believe that a free confession of their doubts, misgivings, and growing convictions would be attended with consequences they did not care to incur or provoke.

It is related that, as early as the year 1650, "the General Court of Massachusetts Bay" "convented" before it Mr. William Pynchon, the distinguished magistrate of Springfield, on account of some "false, erroneous, and heretical" notions broached by him in a volume that had been published in London. His heresies referred to the method of atonement through the death of Christ, and he showed no disposition to retract all his "errors," though the elders conferred with him, and the Rev. John Norton was appointed to answer his book. A little more than a century afterwards, the Rev. John Rogers, of Leominister, came under the suspicion of unsoundness in respect to the doctrine of original sin, and the deity of the Lord Jesus Christ, and was driven from his office.

These and kindred occurrences were the natural antecedents to that gradual softening of the creeds which transpired during the last half of the eighteenth century, and out of which Unitarianism was evolved. It especially gained strength among the cultured class, through the influence of the fact that many of the most eminent philosophers and men of letters for a considerable time before, including the great metaphysician John Locke, the philosopher Sir Isaac Newton, and the poet John Milton, as well as renowned living divines and persons of various distinction, were either known or believed to incline to the growing heresy. But the movement, as has been indicated, was still, for the most part, an undemonstrative one. It was inside of the Church rather than outside.

The appointment of a professor to the Divinity School of Harvard College, in 1805, who was affected with the questionable views, served to kindle the flame which was ere long to break forth with greater volume and violence. It acquired additional intensity ten years later through the following incident: In the memoirs of Lindsey, a famous English preacher, by Belsham, another famous English preacher, a chapter was devoted to the progress of Unitarianism in America, in which a number of private letters, from clergymen and others in this country, were adduced as evidence. This convicting testimony was immediately seized upon by the Orthodox party as a sufficient warrant to sound the trumpet of alarm. A sharp strife of words in sermons, reviews, pamphlets, newspapers ensued, in which many of the most noted and valorous on either side vigorously participated. A sermon about the same time by Dr. Channing, at the ordination of Jared Sparks at Baltimore, in which the Trinitarian doctrine was directly assailed and the Unitarian avowed and defended, increased the heat of the conflict. A leading Orthodox publication urged "separation in worship and communion from Unitarians." The line now became distinctly drawn between the two parties. The exchange of pulpits between their respective clergymen ceased. Congregations became divided, and cases of litigation growing out of questions in respect to the rights of church property and the settlement of ministers were frequent. Much bad blood and acrimonious temper were displayed by both parties. The Orthodox endeavored to enforce a summary decision against the Unitarians by adopting the name of Evangelical Christians. The odious epithet of infidel was freely hurled at them; and, borrowing a damning charge from the New Testament, they were accused of "denying the Lord that bought them." To disclose more fully their abandoned condition parallels were exhibited between their writings and those of "Tom Paine" (I use the name as it was in customary use). Need there have been anything further to show the depth of infamy into which they had fallen?

But Unitarianism, beginning with the rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity, soon, as is inevitable in every step of mental progress, found all the correlative conceptions of the system undergoing a modification. It became unsound, if not upon all, at least upon most of them. It is true that many, at first, shrank from consistently and logically following out their positions to their conclusions, or encountering the consequences of an open avowal of these modifications of the old opinions. It seemed preferable to them, and more agreeable, to keep as closely moored as possible to solid and established orthodoxy rather than to venture far out upon the untried and uncertain waters of liberalism.

It was owing to this clinging to orthodoxy, notwithstanding their logical detachment from it (which has always been peculiar to Unitarians), that some have always demurred at the name Unitarian, which was not of their choosing, but thrust upon them by their adversaries. Others were opposed to any name which would give them a distinct sectarian character, or tend to separate them from the general body of Christians. As a consequence of this a considerable number of their ministers and churches have sought to be known as Congregationalists, from which body they originally chiefly came. As the Unitarian movement justified itself by a protest against creeds and against the limitation of reason and private judgment in matters of belief, as an impediment to the free development of truth—a principle which with singular inconsistency has frequently been lost sight of,—it has been reluctant to adopt a distinctive formula of opinions for itself. These circumstances have conspired to induce that vagueness and indefiniteness of belief with which Unitarianism has been, and with good reason, charged.

Starting with the educated and the higher social ranks, and having won at an early day in its history Harvard College and much of the culture of Boston as allies—with its comparative liberation from the trammels of creeds and emphasis upon mental independence,—it succeeded in rendering itself particularly attractive to scholars and those of literary tendencies. It has been foremost among the Christian sects in its susceptibility to liberal ideas and advanced criticism in religion and philosophy, its sympathy with social reforms and humanitarian efforts, and its practical philanthropy.

But while this has been the general character of Unitarianism, and while it has assumed to be the champion of reason in religion, it has always retained a very large *residuum* of conservatism. Although it has been the strenuous opponent of creeds, it has always tacitly held or publicly proclaimed certain religious conceptions as essential to its fellowship, and exercised, with but little scruple, excision upon those who refused to accept them. This was demonstrated in its treatment of Theodore Parker, as it has been in the general temper and conduct of its denominational affairs,—its repeated efforts to pass at its National Conferences resolutions confirmatory of certain definite articles of belief of less or greater tenuity, and the division of the denomination into a right and left wing upon these points, as well as many instances of personal experience indicative of a latent element in its nature of intellectual usurpation and intolerance. Nor has it always, even with its humanitarian tendencies, been as quick to respond to such appeals as might have been expected. In the days of the anti-slavery agitation, although embracing more of that sentiment, and as a whole more pronounced in regard to the great iniquity, than the other Christian sects, it nevertheless stands to its discredit that it was by no means a unit upon the subject, but was largely affected with lukewarmness and apathy in reference to it,—disposed to suffer its influence and sympathy to incline toward the cause of the oppressor.

This hurried sketch or summary of the historic antecedents of Unitarianism prepares us for a more adequate appreciation of the signal importance of the recent gathering under consideration. Apart from the intrinsic interest of the occasion, it possessed a special one for the large and growing class outside of the churches. Disappointing, halting, inconsistent as Unitarianism has been, it has nevertheless, as we have intimated, contained more of the spirit of liberalism and of hospitality to advanced ideas, and contributed more toward the promotion of freethought in regard to religion, than any other of the Christian sects. From it a large number of the ablest, most cultured, and influential leaders of radicalism in this country, impatient of its circumscribing limitations (among whom may be included the projectors of the Free Religious Association, and some of its most earnest conductors at present) have come.

It is in view of the fact that Unitarianism and radicalism intersect so largely each other's domain—that it is impossible not to recognize the closeness of their kinship and affiliations,—that I have been prompted to the introduction of this theme.

A collection of Unitarians such as that under consideration is always quite sure to be one of genial and cultivated people; and, whatever its intellectual purpose, scholarly and thoughtful in respect to matter, and unsurpassed in the literary form of its presentation. A three days' attendance at the recent gathering enables me to say that it surpassed even the usual standard in this respect. It occupied more than four whole days longer than it is common to give to the biennial National Conference, and embraced elaborate and able addresses or studies upon distinct themes pertaining to theology and religion and the minister's vocation, of an average of three per day, from most prominent representatives of either wing of the denomination,—all remarkable for freedom and freshness of treatment, signs of a vivid consciousness of the new issues, and pertinent to the time,—interspersed with meetings for business and social conference.

The Institute opened with a sermon by the Rev. W. H. Channing, of England, a nephew of the eminent Dr. Channing of the earlier days of Unitarianism, and for some years past the successor of the Rev. James Martineau in London. It is described (I am unable to speak of it but from report) as imbued with that mystic imaginativeness and refined religious sentiment which are the peculiar distinction of the author. It presented a very ethereal ideal of the ministerial office, one toward which the average mortal, even among ministers, they being assumed mortal with something of earth as well as heaven in them, may aspire, but must be content with small progress. Like the Madonnas, the exquisite music, and grand cathedral effects of mediæval time, it was very impressive and beautiful, but more adapted to dreamy, contemplative modes of life and thought of the past than the varied, stirring experience, relentless rationalistic thinking, and practical tendencies of the present; and yet, notwithstanding these characteristics, presenting an explicit and open admission and appreciation of the new enlightenment and demands of the time which rendered it harmonious with all that succeeded.

"We need," said he, "a new theology, a new statement of this religion of the light of life, and we should take up all that is highest and purest and noblest in the past, and should give it a new expression and bring it out into new form. Christendom is longing for a new and adequate expression of Christianity,—a Christianity which, while profiting by the criticisms of modern science, will not fear or recoil from any of the activities of our political or social life, but live in the heart of them and grapple with them."

There are some who would be tempted to ask in reply to this whether we do—whether society or the world really needs a new theology—whether it is the most promising cure for the ills of humanity—whether it has not in fact already had too much of such—and whether, "when we take up all that is highest and purest and noblest in the past," we shall not take up much which the Church has never acknowledged as such, and never can safely, and shall not construct something which shall be quite different from that which has a right to be called Christianity.

The formal preliminary exercises of the next day were enriched by an address from Dr. Bellows, whose noble presence, magnetic manner, rich voice, choice diction, power of imagination, and sparkling wit, and (as I suspect) correspondent dignity of character and genuine goodness of heart, render him, in spite of the occasional erratic impulses, seeming mental inconsistency, and despotic tendencies which have sometimes marked his career, the central preacher and the most influential mind of the denomination. Among the striking passages of his address were the following: "It is not too much to say that the popular doctrine of the verbal and plenary inspiration of the Scriptures is as thoroughly disproved as the Ptolemaic astronomy, and that scientific theology knows and can know nothing of it." And again: "There is nothing plainer to-day than the fact that Religion has outgrown the intelligence and care of her professed keepers. She is still watched and guarded like a restored lunatic, whose safety his professional keepers refuse to recognize. Those who need religious blindfolds and handcuffs find plenty of priests to put them on without any special strain upon their own consciences; while those who will not wear them themselves, ought to be forbidden by solemn scruples from doing any part of the work which, however lawful in others, it is a sin against the Holy Ghost for them to engage in."

One of the most extraordinary papers of the occasion was that presented by Dr. Hedge, for many years a professor in the Divinity School at Cambridge, and eminent for erudition, philosophic insight, and independent habits of thought, the epigrammatic terseness, rhetorical elegance, and beauty of his writings. It was a profoundly metaphysical discussion of "Personality," the constituents, relations, and limitations that are involved in the definition. Towards the close the Doctor adverted to the question of a conscious personal immortality, boldly and frankly submitting the startling confession that he attached little value to the common arguments in its behalf, and that as an individual he was indifferent to the speculation. That such a declaration could come from such a source and in such a place, and be listened to respectfully, though evidently received with much disfavor by many present, pretty conclusively attests the venture in the direction of liberty of discussion and freethought which Unitarianism has just taken.

Another very interesting and valuable essay, to which I can only make a passing allusion, was by the Rev. E. H. Hall, of Worcester, one of the most scholarly and critical of the younger clergymen. The theme was, "St. Paul and the Development of the Early Church." The first Christians for some time after the death of Jesus were Jews. They not only worshipped at the temple, but observed all Jewish rites, and showed no desire to sunder their connection with the mother Church. It was through the broader views of Paul that they were at length prevailed upon to take the first steps toward presenting the new faith to all who would accept it. But Paul himself, it is evident, made progress in this respect. Instead of the sudden and miraculous conversion on his road to Damascus, it is probable that he had been for some time before conversant with the new religion, and had examined its claims; and the event,

regard it as we may, was simply the culmination of what had long been going on in his mind. The doctrines of predestination, election, and original sin may be deduced from his earlier writings. Eventually he grew into a more liberal application of them.

The essay by the Rev. M. J. Savage, of Boston, upon the "New Ethics," was a conspicuous illustration of the growing influence of science upon clerical thinking. Mr. Savage is a convert from the Orthodox Church of a few years since, and yet in comparative youth, with a robust physique, a good voice, a positive style of address, and the art of saying things in a straightforward, forcible, and piquant manner. The impression which he makes is that of the Western (in which section his professional experience began) rather than the New England type of preacher. It is safe to say, I think, that he is at present one of the most attractive and radical men in the Unitarian pulpit.

The moral sense or conscience, he maintained, although common to mankind, is not an infallible guide in respect to what is right and wrong. It differs in different periods and in different parts of the world at the same period. The only method he claimed for determining the origin of conscience is the scientific method; all others lead to mere speculative results. The popular idea that conscience is the voice of God in the soul, a supernatural gift for the guidance of man, is an assumption entirely incapable of proof. We *know* nothing about the supernatural. After considering the various views of the origin of conscience, including a fall, a devil, total depravity, etc., the intuitive theory and others, he arrived at the conclusion that the modern scientific principle of evolution is alone able to offer a satisfactory answer to the question. Following the line of argument of Darwin, he traced the development of conscience from the social sympathies in man up to its complex manifestations in the highest civilization. A perfect conscience can only come, according to this view, through a development of intelligence that shall deliver from the errors of ignorance and superstition, and show men things as they are. Morality is independent of theology; though all faith in God should die, it would survive. Superstition, as Lord Bacon has said, is more dangerous than atheism. Morality is independent of the belief in a future life.

In the discourse of Rev. S. R. Calthrop, of Syracuse, N.Y., the successor to the pulpit of Samuel J. May, upon "The Spiritual Chronology of the Old Testament," it was contended that it is essential to a correct and intelligent apprehension of the contents of the book that its whole order should be rearranged. A cannot possibly be the grandfather of B, if A lived one, two, or five hundred years after B. It is startling to find that the whole race of the prophets knows nothing of the Fall of Adam or the Garden of Eden. It is strange that the most divinely illuminated minds of the Hebrew race, its formal spokesmen, were wholly unaware of the very foundation upon which the whole fabric of theology is built. Their look was not backward, but forward,—their paradise not in the past, but the future. Through many centuries the religion of the Hebrews was mixed up with idolatry. Jehovah was worshipped under the form of a bull, and there was no protest against it. Deuteronomy, which has been supposed to be the latest book of the Pentateuch, is now proven to have been the latest, and the whole composed long after the Mosaic period.

But most noteworthy of all these remarkable addresses and essays, in the way of evidence of the new spirit which has entered Unitarianism, the unmistakable change of front and bold advance to which it has committed itself, was that of Prof. John W. Draper, of New York, on "The Origin, Progress, and Consequences of Evolution," and the unbroken and respectful attention which it received throughout. Dr. Draper is not a Unitarian, if he is, indeed, identified with any division of the Church. In fact, he has long been regarded as one of the most learned and profound leaders of the sceptical school of philosophers and scientists, which made his appearance before an assembly of Christian ministers all the more strange and exceptional to the usual course of things, and but natural the hesitation which he acknowledged that he experienced into accepting the invitation. At the conclusion of his address, he admonished his hearers not to reject evolution, declaring, though differing from Darwin in some important particulars, he regarded it as an established verity of Nature.

It will be readily seen, I trust, from the foregoing hurried and inadequate review of the occasion referred to, and its correlative suggestions, that it marks a new era in the Church and religious progress in this country, in which all radicals and freethinkers may heartily rejoice.

The question will arise, in view of this and like events, in the minds of radicals,—if the Church is thus by its forward movement to meet us on our own ground, to plant itself alongside of us, is there any longer any need of our existence? Will it not ere long supersede us? To this it may be answered, that the Church, with all its growing liberalism, is still hampered and tied to a system of forgone conclusions, which must necessarily impede its progress, though that progress be of unlooked-for rapidity and thoroughness,—for a long time to come.

Still further, if it were otherwise, radicalism comprises, as a general rule, those who have been alienated from the Church, and have outgrown its methods and associations and are not likely to return to it. There is a work for us among these, which, whatever may be our sympathies in respect to the Church and estimation of its worth and mission, I believe as urgent, more untrammelled, and nobler in its possibilities. And yet, as I come in contact with the Church, certainly with the more advanced and attractive sections of it, like that which has been mentioned, I am persuaded there is much that we may learn from it, much of its zeal, enthusiasm, and spirit which we may profitably appropriate to the promotion of our broader, more uncompromising, and rational principles. We need its coherence and unity of devotion to a cause. We need with our critical and intellectual discussions, dissertations, secularism, and ampler provision for recreation and the cheerful side of life, more of the "enthusiasm of humanity," more moral aspiration and self-sacrifice and unquenchable longing towards a high ideal of life and character. And I confess that to my mind, so far as we fail to quicken these feelings and susceptibilities (if indeed we do fail), to kindle these yearnings toward the true, the beautiful, and the good, though we have all knowledge and wisdom, we are, after all, and in a higher sense than he conceived who uttered it, but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

It is for us to show the effectual union of the head and heart, intellect and character, the development of lives of uprightness, purity, refinement, sympathy, benevolence, reverence,—the highest type of manhood and womanhood possible amid the circumstances of our civilization and age.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

ADDRESSES BY THE REV. H. W. BELLOWS, D.D., PROFESSOR DWIGHT, OSWALD OTTENDORFER, AND R. D. HITCHCOCK.

THE SPEECHES.

Association Hall was well filled Oct. 18, on the occasion of the meeting in favor of Civil Service reform. In the audience, Mayor Ely was noticed, sitting not far from the platform, and on the platform, besides the speakers of the evening, was Dorman B. Eaton, who introduced the Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows. Dr. Bellows said:—

"Civil Service reform is now fairly before the country, and has already received earnest study from a few who have made sincere efforts to inaugurate it; a general attention from the press, some vehement discussion as to its methods, and an appearance in the platform of all parties. What is the Civil Service in its nature or design? It is the extension of the executive functions and duties in distinction from the military, naval, legislative, and judicial functions of the government. It is composed of the persons who are employed by the nation in executing the laws appertaining to customs, taxes, postal facilities, and the clerical duties connected with all the great departments of the government. Now, what is required, from an ideal point of view, in the persons who fill executive offices? That they shall be competent, trustworthy, easily held accountable, and removable only for cause.

"Government is the greatest, most serious, and widely influential form of business. We all recognize the importance of sound principles in the selection of the agents and executors of the plans and operations of a great business house. Not that this is so easy. There is too often one wise and one foolish partner; but no one doubts that a great house owes its permanent success, next to the wisdom of its business plans, to the sound methods it steadily pursues, without deviation or exception, in the selection, promotion, and oversight of its employés. Now, the methods and rules recognized in private business as conditions of success, are obviously even more beneficent, more necessary, and more binding when the business concerns directly the whole country. Imagine all the employés of the government to be competent, responsible, faithful, suitable, carefully selected men, is it not obvious what economy, dispatch, exemplary excellence, and confidence would at once attend our governmental machinery and operations?"

Dr. Bellows spoke of the Postal Department as one in which, because its operations came more directly and constantly under the public eye of the largest number of people, its excellences and defects were more immediately felt, and more regularly commented on by the public press; a satisfactory exactness, a compulsory standard of competency was more nearly obtained. There the public would stand no nonsense. Parties did not often dare to keep notoriously inefficient or incapable officers in place, nor to nominate or support unworthy or incompetent men of their own stripe. The speaker continued:—

"This is a fact of singular importance, because it throws a strong light upon the only method by which we may hope to effect reforms in those other departments of the Civil Service which, while they equally and perhaps in many cases far more seriously affect the public interests, do it in ways that are not obvious and make no noise. Whatever methods are employed, and however successfully, in other countries, it is pretty certain that in this no satisfactory reform can be attained in the character and efficiency of our Civil Service except by the intelligent pressure of public opinion. But in the American nation we have pronounced, or our political progenitors for us, an absolute confidence in the people at large as the judges and controllers of public law and economy. The government is only as wise, as politic, as pure as the people are wise, politic, and pure. The efforts hitherto made for reforming the Civil Service are, in my judgment, none the less honorable and useful for having for various reasons been deemed unsuccessful. The main good, as in all such movements in this country, has been in arousing public attention and calling out earnest discussion.

"Civil Service reform in this country, is not a thing to be achieved by the intelligence, address, and devotion of a few noble political reformers who have studied the Civil Service reform of England in India or at home. The place to begin is with the people at large, in calling their attention to the working of the government machine, upon whose wheels they turn their tremendous and irresistible power without often considering how the machine works, what constitute its teeth, and how capable it is of maiming their interests, and wasting their strength, if they are careless or indifferent as to its defects and disorders. The American people have been well-educated in the principles of their government. It remains to educate them in the machinery of their government."

LIKE BUSINESS, LIKE GOVERNMENT.

Dr. Bellows said that he had been endeavoring to show that the Civil Service of the country would not be any better than the general business practices, the general morality, and the general carefulness in depositing responsibility. It was often assumed by Civil Service reformers that the *personnel* of the government departments, and the methods and morals of the public offices, were worse than were found in the private business of the country. He did not believe in this. Like priest, like people; like business, like government; like commercial service, like Civil Service. The speaker alluded to the recent experiences with corporations, with savings-banks, with railroad companies. Business of all kinds had here more enterprise, snap, and dash, than prudence, exact method, and rigid accountability. He said:—

"This is due to the fact that, until the close of the war, opportunity was so various that employés everywhere had their choice of pursuits, and held one place only until a better offered, and therefore with a diminished sense of obligation, and a weak kind of fidelity to present employers. One of the principal causes of demoralization in the country has been the extent of the territory and the facilities for change of place, with a corresponding independence of local reputation. It is a great support of fidelity to feel that one must earn one's living where one is, and in the limited sphere of one's opportunities. There will be no great improvement in National character until citizens live nearer to the bone,—until life is harder, and success requires longer and more patient devotion of all the faculties to secure it. But nothing is so fatal to honesty and virtue as the habits of easy living fastened by previous prosperity upon those who are suddenly left with their prosperity gone, but with their established tastes for luxury and comfort left, and with no honest means of gratifying them. I am very confident that our young people grow up with too careless a sense of the difficulties of success; with expectations that are not likely to be met; and with little preparation to encounter temptation when hardship drives their soft, irresolute spirits into its toils. It is because of the shrinking from the useful severities of labor and enterprises in new fields that so large a class of our people grasp eagerly at government employment.

"What, then, would the enlightened friends of reform in our Civil Service have? How would they have the offices in the gift of the government bestowed or obtained? What they desire, of course, is this: to have these offices filled by those best suited to their duties, and most capable of keeping the government machine in accurate, efficient, and economical order and activity. We have been so long ridden by the notion of 'rotation in office'—an absolutely fatuous principle in its application to the clerical and merely ministerial face of the government machine,—that we have come to think the offices of the government prizes in a lottery, to which every citizen has a ticket, and that it matters little into whose hands they fall. Rotation in offices requiring special training, experience, and fitness, is a folly that every merchant or corporation must know the madness of. The government business is not a school in which to educate blunderers and non-competents. It does not change the case that territorial, local, and party claims have for thirty years had an unblushing influence and allowance. I deny that any claim other than that of superior fitness exists, in any section of the country, to any office.

"But there are principles which ought to govern the Civil Service which would leave very few changes or appointments at the mercy of any new administration. First, that candidates should be selected, first and foremost, for fitness and character. Secondly, that they should be made, as much as possible, a class of persons expecting to devote their lives to the business, and so narrowed to the smallest possible number,—a plan by which office-seeking would cease to be the delusive and injurious disposition of a hundredfold more than can ever attain office, and a fertile source of political corruption. Thirdly, that promotion for merit and length of service should be the rule and not the exception, so that faithfulness might expect its rewards in the natural course of that which had been adopted as a profession; and, lastly, that long and faithful services should end in a retiracy on half-pay, like the military and naval commissions. Of course, I know that all this is opposed to the prevailing opinions or prejudices of the American people. But this is the very thing we are seeking to reform."

The speaker said that objections enough might be made to the method of administering the diplomatic and consular service. They should be made professions, entered like the military and naval service, for life, and subject to promotion for fitness and experience.

USES OF PARTY.

The speaker said that here was touched the real and obstinate objection to Civil Service reform. The country could not afford to diminish the interest in politics, and politics depended on party organization. He continued:—

"I freely admit the necessity of parties, and regard those Civil Service reformers who deprecate them, or purpose to diminish their influence, or to disorganize them, as Utopian and impracticable. What is party, in its legitimate sense and play, in our democracy? It is really the organization of the people about two poles involved in the constitution of the country, each of which has a legitimate right and necessity,

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and neither of which can safely be left unchecked by the power of the other. An opposition is necessary to the safety of every great policy. There are historical, temperamental, local, hereditary influences; why should we join one rather than the other of these parties? A man may not only be equally honest and equally respectable in either, but it does not follow that he is to desert his party because he sees that for the time the opposite one has better reasons for being in the ascendency. Let the light-weights, the people on the fence, the Jack Robinsons of the country, of which there are always enough, shift with the rolling of the ship, and take the side that is uppermost. But the solid men must stay where they have been early led to think the chief danger of the country lies, and watch against the incursion of federal power, or the perils of local independence, as they have been providentially made to think one or the other most in need of watching."

It would be urged, Dr. Bellows said, that either party which adopted the doctrine of Civil Service reform would be unsuccessful. The organizations would decay and the people would lose interest. Very probably the ignorant and nose-led would lose interest, but there would be no more melting at one end than crystallization at the other. The valuable vote would increase, not as fast as the worthless would decrease, but with a vastly favorable result. Besides, a party which went before the people with a sincere determination to carry out Civil Service reform would be surprised at the preparation which existed to receive its doctrine, and maintain it with votes. Nothing that was base and corrupt could surprise the speaker in the history of human nature or human politics, nor, on the other hand, anything that was lofty or magnanimous. Dr. Bellows concluded as follows:—

"Human nature is not so poor that only one, and that a low method of dealing with it, is practicable. The Civil Service reform is not too noble in its purpose and spirit to win the race. Make it noble enough, firm and absolute enough, and it will carry the country."

THE OTHER SPEAKERS.

Dr. Bellows then introduced Professor Theodore W. Dwight. Mr. Dwight said: "In looking over one of the prominent city papers lately, I was struck by an expression new to me, 'Civil Service Humbug.' I had heard of Civil Service reform, and the thought impressed me that it was time that matter was explained to the people." He cited as the remedies for a corrupt system of office-holding: The emancipation of the appointing power, which, according to the Constitution, lies with the executive, but which, by him, is transferable to the legislative, and thence to the judiciary; the establishment, as the foundation of a Civil Service reform, the three principles of examination to insure efficiency, rigid scrutiny as to reputation, and probation as to a final test; the development of the efficiency of officers. He upheld the justness of the President's Civil Service order, and said that without exclusive attention to the duties of an office, the holder of that office could not do it justice. Among some of the popular objections which he presented, he asserted that the idea that Civil Service reform was anti-Democratic was a mistaken one. It threw open the whole field to any man who would take the trouble to qualify himself for an office in it. To those who considered the scheme Utopian and impracticable, he had only to say, that experience had shown its practicability in other countries, and only a trial was needed to prove it practicable here. In conclusion he said that the movement must be carried by agitation, and although at first the popular response might be only as a gentle breeze, it would certainly increase into the gale which sweeps everything before it.

Oswald Ottendorfer said he regarded the great subject at hand as a self-evident proposition. He numbered among those who were preëminently practical many "with whom temporary victory is everything, regardless of the means by which or of the purposes for which it is secured." He had seen it claimed that Civil Service reform was incompatible with the existence and preservation of political parties. If this was a fact, he argued, and if political parties could only be kept alive by the indiscriminate use of public patronage, it was the duty of every intelligent, well-meaning citizen to exert himself to the utmost to throw down those parties. "We boast," said he, "that we march at the head of the column of political liberty; and if this insinuation is true, it is the grossest insult that can be cast in the face of a people. The American people are apt to laugh at the nations of the Old World, when they are unable to conduct their own affairs without assistance from a source not controlled by the will of the people." He referred to the recent elections in France, as having been the result of a series of political endeavors, which our politicians would have thought it madness to undertake. He was forced to acknowledge that, "as they are now, political parties cannot live without patronage," but that was no reason why they should be permitted to carry on their nefarious practices. He said: "Our political parties, constituted as they at present are, have no right to exist. If we are in earnest for the promotion of the object of this meeting, we should make our strongest resolves to smash the political machines throughout the country." He was glad to know that there were a few men, even among prominent officials, who, although their elevation to the positions which they occupy was due to political parties, were awake to the present abuses of the Civil Service, and were willing to try at least to remedy existing evils. All that was now needed was the enthusiastic approval of all intelligent citizens to bring about immediate and beneficial results.

Roswell D. Hitchcock said: "Small beginnings are not merely consistent with great results, but they are indispensable to them." He was aware that the advocates of Civil Service reform were called sentimentalists and dreamers. He desired to say that "history teaches us that the dream of to-day, if it is true and honest, is to be the battle of to-morrow and the victory of the day following." He condensed the whole matter in giving, as the great question before the American people, "Shall we have our government work done by the best men we can get, or by the best of the men who run with the machine that is first at the fire?" He would not say that there was either brain or talent in or behind the movement for Civil Service reform, but he believed that there is a sentiment which inspired it, and which would cause both political parties in their turn "to learn what hurt them." He wished to warn these parties that there was a thunder-storm forming, which would not be heard until the lightning struck.—*New York Tribune, Oct.* 19.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

[We cheerfully comply with the request of Mr. Karl Heinzen, editor of *Der Pionier*, to present this memorial to our readers. Those who wish to circulate it can apply for copies to him at Roxbury Station, Boston, Mass.—ED.]

Not only radical thinkers, but even very conservative statesmen of renown have long maintained that the soil, that part of Nature from which we all emanate and are nourished, ought not to be the exclusive property of individuals. Such a conclusion would also be reached by a correct conception of the meaning of "property." Only that can be rightly regarded and recognized as individual property which man has produced or gained through his own exertions without infringing on the equal rights of others. But Nature neither is, nor can she become, the product of human exertions. Man can only use her or make her useful, and all have an equal right to do this. Every association of free and reasoning men would doubtless act in accordance with these principles, if they intended to establish a commonwealth to-day in an unsettled territory or in a territory acquired by them in common. But primary social development, the consequences of which reach down to the present, was not shaped according to principles, but only according to the suggestions of greed and passion. Violence and oppression, arbitrariness and robbery, created the earlier conditions, and established laws and rights. And among these rights the privilege of private ownership in land is one, and one which, in the course of time, came to be guaranteed through custom, and finally recognized as a matter of course.

Whatever is unjust in principle cannot have a permanent existence; and whatever reason recognizes as a principle that stands the test of justice, must and will, in spite of all hindrances by historical institutions and arrangements, sooner or later force its way and be realized. Notwithstanding all the opposition and all the declarations of "rights" on the part of slaveholders and feudal lords, time-honored slavery and serfdom have at last fallen. In spite of their colossal power and means, and in spite of the "Grace of God," monarchies will fall and give place to republics; in spite of historical "rights" and the temporary recognition of these rights, the soil, now claimed by millions as their inviolable individual property, will in time become the common property of the people who live thereon, no matter whether this change be effected gradually and peaceably through gifts, expropriations, and alterations in the laws of inheritance, or suddenly and violently through general revolutions. In regard to that part of the land in the United States which is already in the hands of private persons, and is recognized as private property, we may leave to the future to accomplish the re-nationalization, and we do not propose to attack the rights of those persons; but we regard it as a most urgent necessity to apply the principle elucidated to those lands which are still the unappropriated property of the whole nation. After so many hundred million acres of the public lands have already been sold or given away, or, rather, squandered on greedy corporations and speculators, the remainder, at least, should be secured inviolate to the people, and should thus be preserved from the inevitable consequences which sooner or later grow out of the free and unlimited acquisition of ownership in land. For this purpose we desire that Congress pass resolutions in the sense of the following propositions:—

1. Henceforward no portion of the public lands shall be sold or given away, either to individuals or corporations.

2. A portion of land, comprising at least eighty acres as prescribed by the "Homestead Bill," shall be placed at the disposal of every actual settler, who is to pay for the use thereof a moderate yearly rental tax, to be determined according to the quality and desirability of the soil; this tax to be assessed after three years' settlement. The possession and use of the land shall be secured to the settler and to his direct heirs for so long a time as they cultivate it and live thereon. Furthermore, it shall be provided that smaller portions of land can be granted under the above conditions, in order to promote the settlement of non-cultivators and that no land may lie unused. Founders of manufactories, or merchants, whose wishes are limited to a house-lot and garden-lot, do not need extensive tracts of land as the farmers do who live by cultivating the soil.

3. The rental tax shall be applied, wholly or in part, according to its amount, to assist the indigent in settling upon lands they desire; they guaranteeing repayment of the amount so loaned, from their profits and personal property.

4. Lands needed for public squares, parks, institutions, roads, and forest culture, are to be reserved by the government.

5. All lands already sold and not cultivated up to a certain time shall be reclaimed by the United States. The owners shall receive the original price given by them. The sums needed for the repurchase of such lands may partly be derived from the rental tax.

6. An act of Congress, passed June 21, 1866, declared that the valuable public lands belonging to the United States, in the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, should be distributed only according to the regulations of the "Homestead Bill." But that act was annulled by the forty-fourth Congress in a resolution passed July 4, 1876; and this land, once secured to the people, was again brought into the general market. Accordingly the President announced by a proclamation, July 19, 1877, that on October 1, at the Land Office in Harrison, Arkansas, there were to be sold at public auction several hundred thousand acres of "valuable government lands." By such action the people in general are robbed of the benefits of free settlement on the lands mentioned, and even excluded from the purchase of any; for it is evident that only capitalists and speculators can avail themselves of the purchase of land in such large quantities. For the prevention of future sales of the lands above mentioned, the resolution of Congress of July 4, 1876, must be annulled, and the lands in the States mentioned, and belonging to the nation, must be again placed on the same footing as other public lands.

Among the practical grounds (wholly excluding the theoretical principle, and considering only the rights and the prosperity of the whole people) which have induced the undersigned to lay the foregoing propositions before Congress for appropriate action, we present only the following:—

The most pernicious aristocracy. and the most difficult of riddance, is a land-aristocracy. In the United States that still has an abundance of lands at her disposal, such an aristocracy cannot, as yet, make itself felt, nor a landless peasantry to do its bidding. But the beginnings of such formations can be traced here even now. Leaving out of consideration the extensive possessions of former slave-holders, we refer merely to the fact, that in Texas and throughout the West there are already farmers who own tens and hundreds of thousands of acres of the best land. Every farmer of this kind or his heir should be looked upon as an embryo "English Lord"; and such lordships will increase in the future proportionately with the settlement of the West and the enhanced value of land. At the same time, the capitalists and speculators will make it more and more difficult for the poor to acquire a homestead, by raising the price of land, bought by them in large quantities. Without some limitation or regulation of the disposal of land, such as we propose, it will, in the course of time, be as impossible to prevent an ever-increasing accumulation of land-property in the hands of a few rich persons, and, arising from this, a land-aristocracy, in this country, as it has been in England or elsewhere. When the West is so far cultivated that it possesses attractions enough to induce the settlement there of rich men of leisure, then as in England and Scotland, the hunting-bugles of a luxurious aristocracy may resound through their estates embracing whole counties, while around them a starving peasantry beg for alms.

Pernicious as the ownership of land is in the hands of an aristocracy, it threatens to become still more dangerous in the hands of ecclesiastical chiefs. Whoever contemplates the vast amount of landed property already accumulated by the Catholic hierarchy in some States of the Union, will comprehend the danger that will in future arise to liberty from the power of proprietaries of this kind, unless preventative barriers are put up in season.

Statesmanlike wisdom manifests itself in not allowing evils—the commencement of whose existence logic and historical experience must foresee—to arise and grow until they become intolerable and lead to dangerous crises; it will prevent them by timely removal of their causes.

A remoter reason for our propositions is based upon our interest in the maintenance of the Union. The prospect of a possibility—which cannot be denied—that the varying interests which prevail in the Eastern, Southern, and Western parts of the Union, may at some future time lead to a separation of these parts, as has already been once attempted by the South, has often presented itself to us. If the danger of separation should again threaten, it is to be expected from the West when that portion shall have increased proportionally in number of inhabitants; but this danger will forever be averted if the greater part of the West is and is sure to remain the inalienable property of the whole American people.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 17.

Wm. Blinkhorn, $1; Geo. Iles, $4.20; J. H. Philico, $2; J. S. Palmer, $10; Geo. D. Hanck, $2.72; John Ahrens, $1.60; Warren Griswold, $1.20; New England News Co., $18.28; J. A. J. Wilcox, $10; J. A. Gager, $2; Dr. H. K. Oliver, $40; Edwin Brown, $10; Geo. Molnar, $16.40; Dr. G. Frauenstein, $3.20; J. W. North, $3; D. Fitzhugh, $3.25; Geo. Allen, $2.70; A. C. Erkson, $5; Mrs. S. J. Cheney, $1; Hon. A. Taft, $3.20; Zina Eager, $3.20; W. J. Hill, 25 cents; B. R. Tucker, $10; W. B. Studley, $3.20; M. J. Safford, $4.70; Mrs. R. W. Duff, $7.49; A. Kimpton, $1.50; G. A. Atwood, $1; Albert S. Brown, $13.20; J. B. Tenney, $1; Mrs. E. S. Miller, $10; Mrs. Maggie B. Stone, $3.20; Mrs. J. A. J. Perkins, 25 cents; L. O. Bass, $10; Fanny Werts, $3.20; A. Folsom, $51.25; Prof. J. V. Mapes, $1; Mrs. M. C. Perkins, $10; Samuel Brooke, $4; W. H. Spencer, $20; Jane E. Curtis, $1; Dr. H. B. Clark, $30; J. W. Halliday, $3.20; J. M. Frost, 25 cents; W. E. Lukens, 20 cents; M. A. Shepard, $1.55; George Lewis, $3; J. S. Palmer, 75 cents; H. M. Smyth, $1; W. H. Jones, $3; Wm. Rotch, $20; Miss S. E. Dorr, $3.20; Samuel L. Young, $3.20; Mrs. E. L. Bigelow, $2 20; Dr. J. D. Peters, $15.50; American News Co., $7.95; E. W. Hooper, $3.20.

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The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 22, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, *Editorial Contributors.*

A CARD.

The Committee on the better establishment of THE INDEX, appointed at a meeting of its subscribers and friends last May, wish to enlist all the assistance they can to lay its claims before every liberal man and woman in our country. They have prepared a circular setting forth the method, motives, and objects of their action, and wish the names of all who are willing to assist them in placing it where it will do good. Please address the Chairman of the Committee, "Elizur Wright, P. O. Box 109, Boston, Mass."

THE FOLLOWING ANECDOTE of R[illegible] Emerson is certainly characteristic of that gentle seer and venerated man: "Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson addressed, twenty years ago, a literary society, during Commencement, at Middlebury, Vermont, and when he ended, the President called upon a clergyman to conclude the service with prayer. Then arose a Massachusetts minister, who stepped into the pulpit Mr. Emerson had just left and uttered a remarkable prayer, of which this was one sentence: 'We beseech thee, O Lord, to deliver us from ever hearing any more such transcendental nonsense as we have just listened to from this sacred desk.' After the benediction, Mr. Emerson asked his next neighbor the name of the officiating clergyman, and, when falteringly answered, with gentle simplicity remarked, 'He seemed a very conscientious, plain-spoken man,' and went on his peaceful way."

"IT IS NOW about fifteen years," says the *Tribune*, "since Bishop Colenso published his criticisms on the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, and brought upon his own head a storm of denunciation. He is now at peace, after years of angry controversy and litigation. Five years ago the Colonial Assembly passed an act vesting in him the property belonging to the See of Natal, and he found leisure to prepare two new works, in justification of his course. The cathedral congregation lately presented an address to him, and in his reply there were gleams of the controversial heat which is still glowing in him. He said that the time was not far distant when views like his own would be accepted in religion, like the conclusions of modern astronomy and geology. He expressed the belief that the new translation of the Bible would throw light on many dark places, and that the new lectionary would direct the attention of churchmen to some of the important conclusions of modern criticism."

IN A NEW BOOK entitled *Some General Ideas concerning Medical Reform*, Dr. David Hunt, of Boston, complains that the aim of the founders of our colleges has often been to establish institutions in which "Christian faith might dominate," and that the consequence of this voluntary submission to faith in the New England church has been a dearth of results in science and philosophy, like that caused by the oppressive tyranny of its Catholic rival. What else could be expected? Science and philosophy, if anything better than a fraudulent pretence, aim solely to discover the truth as it is, regardless of prejudice or prejudgment; and when the founders of colleges presume to dictate, in advance of investigation, that only such truth shall be discovered as bolsters up creeds born of ignorance, they simply create perpetual fountains of intellectual fraud. It is thus that Christianity has from the beginning debauched that *conscience for truth* which is the supreme glory and most priceless possession of humanity.

THE TEXAS INFAMY.

The outrage perpetrated upon Dr. Russell by the mob at Harrisville, Texas, solely on account of his being an "infidel," was briefly mentioned in last week's INDEX, as reported by the Boston *Advertiser*. We copy now a fuller account of this monstrous deed, taken from the Belton (Texas) *Journal*:—

There has been for a considerable length of time in the neighborhood of Little River Academy, in the lower edge of Bell County, an association of freethinkers, with Dr. L. J. Russell as their acknowledged leader and advocate.

We are informed that on Saturday night, Oct. 6, a man went to the Doctor's residence and told him he was a mover, and had his family at a camp on a branch a few hundred yards away; that some one of them was sick and must have his services as a physician immediately. The Doctor and the man repaired to the place, only to find three other men, with six-shooters in hand. Dr. Russell was ordered to divest himself of his clothing, which he did. His hands were tied in front of him, and were held by one of the party, who stood with a six-shooter in his right hand, while he held the rope in his left. Russell was told that he "must take a whipping"; that they believed he was an honest man and a good physician; but "by the help of God" they would put a stop to his career as a freethinker in that section of country.

They informed him that if he made a noise it would be at the peril of his life, and struck him one hundred licks, inflicting a terrible and excruciatingly painful castigation. He was then released and allowed to go his way, "but not rejoicing," by any means, as such treatment is compelled to be very humiliating to any man of high spirit and a just sense of honor about him.

We have known the Doctor for several years and have never heard anything alleged against him, except his connection with the freethinkers, which seemed to cause general regret so far as we have heard an expression.

We are no advocate of such a belief as seems to have brought about this trouble; neither are we an advocate of Lynch law; and justice demands that the unknown parties to this dark deed be arrested and caused to answer the State of Texas, that they may receive such punishment as may be prescribed by the laws of the land.

On Saturday, Oct. 6, the following advertisement was found near the place where the above deed was perpetrated:—

Notice.

"This is to certify that on Saturday night, the 6th of October, 1877, the Rev. Dr. Russell was called to see a mover's wife camped at this place, and on the Doctor's arrival three other men came out and captured him, and hit him a hundred licks with a leather strap, and let him loose on condition that he would not lecture or debate on infidelity any more in this county. Now a word to Nunnely, Posey, Marshall, and in fact to all the leading men of the infidel club: If any of you take his place, we will burn you out of house and home, and hang you until you are dead. If any man in this county is injured on account of what has been done, we will burn you all out. We have got fifty men to back us. Gents, we mean business. Infidelity has got to stop in this county as well as stealing."

Dr. Russell's own statement of the affair is contained in the following "Card":—

HARRISVILLE, Texas, Oct. 22, 1877.

EDITOR BELTON JOURNAL:

Dear Sir,—I wish, through the columns of the *Journal*, to make a full statement of the facts in regard to the lynching to which I was recently subjected.

On Saturday night, the 6th inst., a few minutes before twelve o'clock, a man called at my gate, and told me that he was moving, and that his wife had taken sick, and that he wanted me to go to see her. He said he was camped at Mr. Young's, near Mr. Barber's. I asked him what was the matter with his wife, and he said she was about to be confined. I caught my horse and we rode on together; we had some conversation on commonplace topics. He told me he was moving from the Brazos; that his family had been sick nearly all the year. After passing Mr. Barber's he said that his camp was a little way further up; that he left a young man at his camp, and carried his wife up to Mr. Young's house. We rode on till we got about half-way between Mr. Barber's and Mr. Young's, when my horse began shying, and he remarked, "That is my camp." I said that I would ride around on the other side, and, when I got round, he said, "I will lead him by," and caught hold of the bridle and turned his horse's head towards the fence and stopped. At that instant some one said, "Well, you've got back; did you get the Doctor?" "Yes," he replied, "I've got him." Some person on my left hand, whom I had not observed before, then said, "Throw up your hands, Doctor; we've got you." Something of similar import was said by another person at my right. I was told that, if I made any resistance or any noise, they would instantly shoot me. I asked, "What do you mean?" The man who held my bridle replied, "I'll tell you what it means: it means that we have got you out here to give you a good whipping. We are not going to kill or rob you, but we are going to give you a good whipping." I asked, "What have I done that you are going to whip me for?" He replied, "You are an infidel; you don't believe in the Bible, and you are leading weak-minded souls to hell." One of them said, "We were advised to kill you when we left home, but we think that a good whipping will do you this time; but we will kill you next time. Infidelity has got to be put down." One said, "We know that you are an honest man and a good physician, and we don't want you to leave the country; but we are going to put down infidelity, God being our helper." I was further told that the debate between L. W. Scott and myself should not come off; that I should write and stop it. Of course, all remonstrance was in vain; they had me completely in their power. They tied my hands, took me off my horse, carried me about one hundred yards from the road, stripped me, and gave me a most unmerciful flogging. Whom the parties were I have not the remotest suspicion. They were all men whom I never saw before, and would not recognize them if I should see them. I don't think that they were disguised in any way whatever, and they are evidently men who do not live anywhere near here. They told me that they had been after me twice before.

Now, Mr. Editor, I have been living here for the last eight years, and am intimately known by the best men of this neighborhood, and indeed, I may say, by the best men in the county; and in regard to my veracity, honesty, and qualifications as a physician, I am perfectly willing that they who know me best shall speak. But of my own individual rights, and the rights bequeathed by our forefathers to every American citizen—rights baptized by the blood of revolution, and guaranteed to us by the Constitution,—I wish to speak myself. It is true that I am an infidel; and, while it is true, it is equally true that belief is not a matter of choice. I cannot help believing as I do. It is true that I could say that I believe otherwise. Should a man be more respected for concealing his thoughts than honestly expressing them? Is not an honest avowal of opinion on all subjects what we have a right to expect from every man? If he fails to give it, is he not deceiving us? Is not the charge that I am "leading weak-minded souls to hell" an imputation against Him who made the mind rather than against me? Again, if the truths of Revelation are so glaringly apparent that the "wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err therein," how is it possible that I can deceive any one? Are there any who really think that the suppression of freethought and free speech in Bell County will "put down infidelity"? Are not those men, in their mistaken zeal, trying the old argument that failed in the hands of such men as Calvin, Torquemada, Pope Urban, and others too numerous to mention? These are questions which I earnestly desire the readers of the *Journal* to ponder well. They are capable of but one answer, and that answer is not difficult to find.

In all my public lectures and debates I have never given utterance to an immoral sentiment, as those who have heard me will testify. I have asked no man to believe as I do—compelled none to listen—promised no reward for belief, nor punishment for disbelief. I have taught what I conceived to be true. Truth I am ever ready to accept, let it come whence it may, and am willing to follow, let it lead where it may. Learn what is true in order to do what is right, should be the motto of all men. It is the rule by which I hope to be governed in all future time, and in the search for truth I demand that liberty of thought and expression which I am willing to accord to all men. DR. L. J. RUSSELL.

Who can read that letter, so simple, so manly, so marvellously free from all intemperate expressions under a provocation which is enough to make the blood of every decent man fairly boil and bubble with indignation in the recital, without sentiments of the deepest admiration and sympathy for the writer, and a heartfelt wish to see his equal religious rights vindicated against the fanaticism, malice, and cruelty of his persecutors? We envy the moral state of no one who can peruse that calm and moderate letter, evincing as it does in every line the self-respect and moral dignity of the true gentleman, and yet feel no impulse to protect him in the enjoyment of the most precious rights of the human soul. Is there to be no redress for such wrongs as these? In this nineteenth century, and in this land whose proudest boast is the possession of religious liberty by all its citizens, is there to be no means of maintaining free thought and free speech for men of irreproachable character like Dr. Russell, and of punishing such infamous violations of their rights as are above recounted? Are threats of arson and assassination, following positive acts of bloody scourging, to be suffered to extinguish the light of mental freedom in any part of this broad land?

Note that Dr. Russell speaks of his "own individual rights, and the rights bequeathed by our forefathers to every American citizen—rights baptized by the blood of revolution, and guaranteed to us by the Constitution." He seems to imagine that the "Constitution" (by which he evidently means the National Constitution) protects him in his "individual rights"; and this is a delusion shared by most liberals who are not lawyers. As a matter of fact, the Constitution of the United States does not guarantee to any citizen protection in his "individual rights"; and that is why the National Liberal League inserted the second plank in its Rochester platform. The nation claims Dr. Russell's supreme allegiance, even to the sacrifice of life itself, as against the claims of his own State of Texas; yet it turns him over to his own State alone for the protection which is the correlative duty inseparable from the allegiance it claims. If

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Texas is too much ridden by Orthodoxy to give him the protection he has a right to demand, the nation turns a deaf ear to his appeal for justice. What hideous unreason and immorality is this, to claim everything and give nothing! We are aware of the difficulties, inherent in the existing relations between State and nation, in the way of affording national protection against violations of individual rights; yet the way to obviate these difficulties will become very plain, just as soon as the principles of the Rochester platform are frankly adopted. If, for instance, Bell County were made liable, in case of the failure of local justice, to pay a fine of $10,000 or $100,000 to the national treasury for every such outrage as this assault on Dr. Russell, the "juries of the vicinage" would soon learn to give redress through the local courts. Without resorting to a "change of venue," the nation could easily compel every community to protect the personal rights of its own citizens, and yet refrain from all interference with the principle of local self-government. But it will remain an indelible disgrace on our American government, till the nation as such recognizes its own duty to afford the protection without which it has no right to demand allegiance.

It is an easy and cheap mode of evading the inexorable demands of justice in this matter to expatiate on the "curious state of civilization" which permits such outrages—to shrug one's shoulders and satirize the "semi-barbarism" of a State in which such deeds are possible. Such shallow evasions only excite indignation at the worse than "semi-barbarism" of the mind which is so obtuse to ethical considerations as to be capable of employing clap-trap of this nature, and of supposing that it can satisfy the intellect of any one over three years of age. *The nation which demands allegiance owes protection.* That is a proposition self-evident on its face; and it is the trick of a political Cheap John to dodge it by mumbling inanities about "curious psychological studies" and "semi-civilized communities." If the State is sovereign, then the individual cannot look beyond it for protection; but if the nation is sovereign, then it is meanness and disgrace unfathomable to exact supreme allegiance without rendering its only equivalent, personal protection. That is a species of reasoning not above the comprehension of the ordinary commercial understanding. "Nothing for nothing" is a rule as applicable in this matter as in the commonest bargain; and every man of honor objects to repudiation of the *moral* as well as of the *financial* obligations of the nation. The National Liberal League stands for principles which will certainly be at last adopted and incorporated into our political system; and every such case as this of Dr. Russell shows afresh the timeliness, justice, and pressing necessity of those principles and of the movement which has been started to give them emphasis in the public mind and conscience.

Texas is at a great distance from most of us, and human nature finds it difficult to radiate its sympathies very far. But Dr. Russell is not alone. The Orthodox Power is bestirring itself as never before to seize control of this nation, and it strikes blows which are not limited to Texas by any means. Mr. D. M. Bennett, editor of the *Truth Seeker*, has just been arrested in New York for sending "obscene *and blasphemous* publications through the mails." Now we have not a word to say about the first count in this indictment, provided it is sincerely brought and not made a cover for secret persecution of freethought; we shall simply watch and wait to see what evidences and proofs of obscenity are adduced, before making any protest on that score, since we emphatically and unqualifiedly approve of stringent legislation against the circulation of really obscene literature. But the prosecution of any man for "blasphemy" in New York city is a matter which vitally concerns all liberals alike. It is a new instance of the reviving intolerance of Orthodoxy, which liberals are very reluctant, as a general thing, to confess; and it warrants the most jealous susceptibility touching the freedom of the press. "Blasphemy" is just as much a purely invented crime as Sabbath-breaking or witchcraft; and it behooves all who prize the liberties of freemen to defend the press against every attempt, open or disguised, to put a gag-law into operation against the free publication of religious opinions. The fact that the prosecution of Mr. Bennett originates with Anthony Comstock, a bigoted representative of the Young Men's Christian Association, who has also just arrested in Boston Mr. E. H. Heywood, editor of the *Word*, on a charge of circulating "obscene literature," justifies no little suspicion as to the real object of those prosecutions. Believing as we do that Orthodoxy is mustering its forces and rapidly organizing itself for a renewed employment of legal means for the suppression of freethought, we believe also that liberals owe it to themselves and to their cause to make the National Liberal League a mighty power for the defence of their freshly endangered rights; and such startling cases of reviving persecution as these of Dr. Russell and Mr. Bennett ought to rouse a new, deep, determined resolve on the part of all who love mental liberty to join hearts and hands in the enterprise of rallying a great national party to the support of the Rochester platform. Friends, are you not yet ready?

HUMAN NATURE.

A few weeks ago, a superintendent of one of our city Sunday-schools held up a pear before the wondering gaze of the children, and said: "Children, you see this beautiful pear, with its russet and golden hues. It is very fair to look upon; but let me cut it open with my knife. Now see, the heart of it is all decayed. So, my little children, are your hearts. They are all rotten at the core." Another "slaughter of innocents," I cried. Sowing the seed of Calvinism in the fresh virgin soil, who can doubt what the harvest will be?

When the "infant class" is indoctrinated with such heart-rotten lessons, and the older youth are taught to sing,

"Oh, to be nothing,
Only to lie at his feet!"

or—

"Alas and did my Savior bleed?
And did my Sovereign die?
Would he devote that sacred head
For such a worm as I?"

Is it at all strange that, when these children become men and women, they are prone to believe their heart is rotten at the core; that they can do nothing of themselves because they are vile worms of the dust?

How this poor human nature of ours has been abused! Is there anything good in the natural man? It is robbed to adorn Christianity. Is there anything evil? It is the "natural" heart, rotten at the core. Christianity fillips pennies with the "natural" man, and, like the tricky gamin, cries: "Heads I win, tails you lose," and every time the natural man comes under.

Of course, human nature is imperfect. It has some dreadful sores. But why parade the weaknesses of human nature, like a crippled horse through the streets, exhibiting its spavins, wheezings, and pitiable diseases? At least we ought to keep these things blanketed from our little children as long as possible.

Granting that our human nature has its moral diseases which can only be cured by directing the eyes to them and doctoring them, even with the most drastic remedies sometimes, yet isn't this eternal smell of liniment about the blood-of-the-Lamb religion enough to sicken any sound man? If we were as free from sin as the angels, we believe that this everlasting talk about "miserable sinners in a sin-sick world" would almost make a sinner of us. Of course, the Christian would say to us: "It is not our fault if you are sickened by our gospel. Medicine is never agreeable to take. The trouble with you is, you are a moral pachyderm, a hard-shell sinner, or you would not be so insensible to the arrows of divine truth."

We do not think so, Christian brother. Have a little charity for us, for we need it. We admit that the Christian method of piercing the heart with a keen sense of its sin, awakening remorse, is quite essential, before you can right-about-face the sinner in the march of personal reform. We believe that Christianity has achieved very much by her methods toward the moral reformation of mankind. But it seems to us that she has exaggerated the depravity and helplessness of man and hurt man in her honest efforts to help him. While we would not recommend the old Stoic method as a substitute for the Christian method entirely, we do believe that the two should be combined. Let the preacher join the Christian's appeal to man's sense of sin, the old Stoic's appeal to his sense of virtue, and would not this pull at the doubled strand be a stronger power to lift the fallen? If the one method suited a St. Augustine, Luther, and Wesley, the other made an Antoninus, Seneca, and Epictetus; and who can say that there is not somewhat of the spirit of Epictetus as well as of Augustine in our modern human nature? It is evident there is, and the success of such men as Channing and Parker as moral reformers is largely due to the fact that they appealed to the sense of dignity and virtue in our human nature. They touched a chord that vibrated in quick response.

In the revulsion of feeling, however, from the old Calvinistic dogmas of the total rottenness of the natural man, have not the Unitarians and liberals generally swung to the other extreme and glorified this human nature of ours overmuch? Channing crowned all men king. Parker denounced slave-traders and sleek hypocrites; but, when he spoke of human nature, it was generally in compliments, and he, with Emerson and the most of the intuitionalist school, have pictured the "soul" in rosy colors, whose "instincts" are all divine and infallible.

It seems to us that while the Calvinists have abused human nature by kicking it, the Channingites have abused it by kissing it. The latter certainly is the more amiable fault; but it is not wise to spoil a child even with kindness. Human nature is not all good,—it is sometimes "deceitful above all things and desperately wicked," and deserves a cat-o'-nine-tails and six months in the reform school. A little more grape, Captain Bragg, in your liberal guns! If people do not deserve hell in the next world, it is because they get a little of it now and then in this. Human nature is good when it is good, and when it is bad it is bad; and let no man attempt to confound them by this sentimental, optimistic morality that sings: "Whatever is is right." Let us have done with such nonsense! Some things in human nature and human society we know are wrong, if we know anything; and, so far as we can see, they may be eternally wrong, and no sect of theological jugglery ought to cheat us into the belief that such wrong is right. So far as it does this, it hamstrings all effort at reform. See and say that man is a compound of sinner and saint. If it is a libel on the Creator to say that human nature is rotten at the core, it is no less a libel on common-sense to say that it is all sound at the core.

W. H. S.

EXTRACTS AND NOTES.

The instructive and popular writer, Professor William Mathews, in the chapter on "The Illusions of History" in his work entitled *Hours with Men and Books*, says:—

"Within a few years it has been found, by the discovery of the Sinaitic and other very ancient manuscripts of the New Testament, that some of its most admired passages are forgeries,—mediæval additions to the original text. It is sad to learn that the utterance of our Lord on the cross, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' is not to be found in some of the old manuscripts, and that the words in the Sermon on the Mount, in Matthew v., 44, 'Bless them them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you'—words which lie at the very foundation of Christian morality,—must be swept away from the sacred text."

But, lest in presenting these facts to the common reader he should offend the worshippers of the Bible, he adds:—

"To our mind the most cogent proof that the Holy Scriptures are from Him, is the fact that, while other histories have been found to swarm with errors, they, when subjected to the intensest, most microscopic scrutiny of modern criticism, have come forth from the ordeal substantially unscathed."

The perusal of the remarkable work *Supernatural Religion* might lead Professor Mathews to modify the latter statement. But he writes for the people, and must be cautious!

Mr. J. M. Peebles writes from Ceylon to the *Religio-Philosophical Journal*:—

"Buddhism is increasing in Ceylon. Awhile since Buddhist priests met the Methodist missionaries in an open public debate, lasting two days. The Buddhists gained a decided victory. I have the full and complete report of this discussion, which I shall publish on reaching America."

I hope Mr. Peebles will redeem this promise to the public. A fair report of a debate between Christian missionaries and Buddhist priests cannot but be interesting.

Many of the positions taken by Rev. Joseph Cook are quite unsatisfactory to his brother theologians. Rev. Washington Gladden, in his *Review of Joseph Cook's Theory of the Atonement*, says:—

"In Mr. Cook's own opinion, his theological masterpiece seems to be his re-statement of the doctrine of the atonement; but to those who look on more coolly from without, this judgment is open to some questioning. It may turn out, after a little space, that his credit as a philosopher has been damaged by his speculations on this subject more than by anything else that he has undertaken."

And yet Mr. Cook thinks he has "scientifically demonstrated" his view of the atonement as an "incontrovertible truth"!

Lecky, the brilliant author of *The History of European Morals*, alluding to the contrast between the treatment of men and women for unchastity, says:

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"Much of our feeling on these subjects is due to laws and moral systems which were formed by men, and were in the first instance intended for their own protection."

The *Sunday School Times*, speaking of Girard College, says that "Christian influences prevail there, and services of Christian worship are regularly and well conducted." When we consider that the founder of this institution specially required, in his will, that the students should be instructed in the principles of morality, but that no religion should be taught in the college, and that through Christian bigotry and priestly scheming Girard's will, in this respect was virtually broken, and the conditions on which he made the bequest entirely disregarded, one would suppose a Sunday-school paper would prefer not to call attention to the subject. But, perhaps it thinks the end sanctifies the means. That principle is not openly *defended* now, as it was in the early centuries of the Christian Church; but it is nevertheless still *acted* upon; and it is too evident that a larger number of zealous Orthodox theologians would not hesitate to deprive a freethinker of any right, if they had the power and thought they could thereby "advance the glory of God." B. F. U.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE AT ITHACA.

I.

The Liberal League of Tompkins County held an adjourned meeting at Library Hall last evening, to which the public were invited.

The President explained the purpose of the League, and its relation to the National Liberal League, by reference to their respective constitutions, as cited in our report of "A New Movement," in the *Journal* of Oct. 22. He particularly emphasized the independence guaranteed to the local association and its individual members by the following articles:—

The purpose of this association is to coöperate with the National Liberal League in effecting, by whatever means commend themselves to our individual judgments and consciences, the complete secularization of the government, both State and national; in securing equal rights with respect to religion, and in obtaining such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as shall guarantee these objects.

Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient coöperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

Prof. Oliver presented the report of the delegates to the recent Convention of the National League at Rochester. We give it in full:—

The Convention was large, earnest, and remarkably harmonious. Several hundred men and women were in attendance from remote parts of the country, and the audience, on the last of the three days' session, numbered nearly fifteen hundred. It was noteworthy for its intelligence and culture, and recalled the reunions of the old National Anti-Slavery Society,—an impression which the presence of such venerable apostles of freedom as Elizur Wright served only to make more vivid. The prevailing spirit of the meeting was excellent; better even than your delegates had expected. For of course, as in all reform movements, it embraced persons of all shades of opinion, many of them anxious to give prominence to their own pet ideas. Taking advantage of the free platform which had been assured them, a few irrepressibles talked about capital punishment, woman's rights, temperance, and the equally irrelevant subjects of orthodoxy, spiritualism, and materialism, and in two or three instances in a manner to offend good taste and good feeling. But the effect of this was only to bring out the overwhelming rebuke of the Convention, in speech after speech of assurance that the purpose of the League was not to discuss differences of religious belief, but was simply to secure the equal rights of all. The President also repeatedly declared that only the most wilful misunderstanding could consider the League as committed either for or against any form of belief or unbelief. It simply had nothing to do with creeds or religions except to obtain guarantees that both State and nation should protect every individual in the right to enjoy his own views in perfect freedom, and to be responsible for no one's else. The applause with which these sentiments were received left no possible doubt of the catholic tone of the assembly.

The practical work of the Convention was embodied in a series of resolutions, the essential principles of which are embraced in the following:—

Resolved, That, postponing to future conventions the addition of such planks on other issues as future events may render necessary or expedient, the National Liberal League now adopts, as its political platform for the Presidential campaign of 1880, these three great national principles of overshadowing importance:—

First—Total separation of Church and State, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution; including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all measures necessary to the same general end.

Second—National protection for national citizens in their equal civil, political, and religious rights; to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

Third—Universal education the basis of universal suffrage in this secular Republic: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public-school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

It was voted to postpone to next year the question of making independent Presidential nominations.

The Convention felt that, in the present breaking up of parties, when old issues are settled, and new ones of vital interest are pressing upon us for solution; when the times are ripe for a conscience-party, which shall seek political success only as the fruit of a moral success, of unswerving allegiance to principle,—the Convention felt that in the platform of such a party should be found the great principles of State secularization, protection by the nation of those whose supreme allegiance it claims, and universal education as the only safe basis of a republican government. It declared these principles, and left it to the individual voter to determine how far they ought to influence his own political action.

Now of these three planks, only the first is contained in the *Constitution* of the National League, and only the general statement of its principle in that of our own local League, which leaves all special measures to our private judgment to determine how far they are necessary results of that principle. Only to State secularization, equal rights in religion, and a constitutional amendment guaranteeing them, do we commit ourselves in joining the Tompkins County League. It should be understood, however, that the amendment sought is one which shall forbid the separate States, as Congress is now forbidden, to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The most plausible argument against such an amendment, as well as against those proposed in the other planks of the platform, is that it tends to curtail State rights, and still further to centralize power in the national government. But the only power curtailed is that to establish injustice, just as in the provision concerning *ex-post facto* laws and the obligation of contracts; and this, as citizens of the United States, we have clearly the right to insist upon. For in case of insurrection in any State the national government is bound, upon demand of the proper authority, to support the State government with the whole force of the army and navy. Any citizen is liable to be called upon to aid in such support, and is to that extent responsible for the maintenance of the State government. He may certainly demand, then, that the organic law of the land shall preclude his being compelled to enforce injustice.

The question was raised in the Convention what was meant by the "abrogation of Sabbatarian laws,"—a phrase which in its brevity seemed ambiguous, or at least obscure. The answer given by the President and indorsed by the Convention was clear, decided, and thoroughly satisfactory. The government is not to enforce the *religious* observance of Sunday "as the Sabbath," since this lies wholly beyond its province; but it is left free to continue it as a legal holiday; to continue or make all needed provisions for securing it still as a day of rest, on secular grounds; and, moreover, to preserve the peace and quiet of the day as a part of its protection of the equal religious rights of all its citizens.

The question concerning chaplaincies was not brought up during the attendance of your delegates. But they have no doubt that the spirit shown in the treatment of the Sunday question would govern this also, and all kindred special measures advocated. While the State would not be allowed to employ Chaplains as representatives of, or as committing it to, any special views of religion, there could be no objection to its providing men charged to attend to the moral welfare of its prisoners or its pensioners. Had the second amendment proposed—"national protection for national citizens through the United States Courts"—been a part of the Constitution during the last few years, our Presidents would not have been tossed on the horns of the dilemma either to violate the Constitution in the use of military force at the South, or to leave the weakest portion of our citizens helpless against their oppressors.

The educational amendment, while enjoining on the States, as many of these now do upon their towns, the maintenance of a system of secular public schools, and the compulsory education of all their children, would of course not permit infringement of private rights by dictation, on the part of the States, as to where a "good elementary education" should be obtained,—whether in the public, in private schools, or at home.

In conclusion, your delegates were convinced that the moral force which stood behind them in our own League, just organized with its carefully guarded and thoroughly catholic principles, enabled them to exert a not inappreciable influence upon the counsels of the national association, though their own spirit but reflected that of the great majority of those attending. They could not fail to see, however, that other organizations calling themselves "liberal," but really devoted to uprooting the religious faith of the people rather than to planting the seed of perfect freedom for all faiths, are ready to take the field whenever opportunity offers; and they became more firmly than ever impressed with the conviction that the Liberal League movement, in all its breadth, should be sustained and extended as much to oppose the bigotry of infidelity as the intolerance of superstition.

Mr. Giles B. Stebbins next addressed the meeting at length upon the principles of the League. An abstract of his remarks, which is crowded out to-day, will be given in to-morrow's *Journal*.

The President announced that the membership of the League had increased to fifty.

The meeting proceeded to complete its list of officers by the election of Mr. Charles H. White as Treasurer, and of Prof. William R. Dudley and Mrs. S. E. Johonnot as Councillors.

Adjourned to the call of the Directors.

Any persons desiring to join the League can do so by calling upon or addressing the President, Dr. Winslow, 11 East State Street, or the Secretary, M. E. Bishop, Esq., Wilgus Block.—*Daily Journal, Ithaca, N.Y., Nov. 6.*

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE AT ITHACA.

II.

The subjoined abstract of Mr. Giles B. Stebbins' address Monday evening, before the Liberal League of Tompkins County, was crowded out of our Tuesday's report. He said:—

The Christian Amendment movement, "to put God in the Constitution," or a religious amendment requiring a belief in the Sonship of Christ and in the Bible as a test of American citizenship, was a departure from the idea and spirit of our institutions. To-day this might prevail; to-morrow a Catholic majority might demand belief in the Pope, and so equal rights of conscience be repudiated. The Liberal League is not to build up or pull down any form of faith, but to guard the equal rights of all, and guarantee them in law and Constitution if necessary,—to see justice done to all. If we talk of excluding the Bible from the schools, it is held an infidel attack on the book; but it is not so. Rev. David Swing, of Chicago, who preaches to the largest Protestant congregation in that city, says: "The government has no more right to teach the Bible, than it has to teach the Koran," and that "no valuable moral results can ever come from reading a few verses hurriedly in a school-house, and social strife will be continually springing up from the practice." *Zion's Herald*, in Boston, the old Methodist newspaper, says: "The State deals only with temporal affairs," and that "the religious education of children may and should be remitted to the family, the Sabbath-school, and the Church." Thinking people of all classes are coming to see this. Here are six million Catholics to whom the Douay Bible is their sacred book. How unjust to demand that their children should hear our King James' Bible read in schools. In New Mexico a Catholic majority pass laws under which the Douay version is read in every school. Unjust of course, and the old Puritan blood boils in hearing it; but no more unjust than we are to them here. It may be said the ultramontane Catholics aim to destroy our school system at any rate. Be just to them and we are strong to resist such bad efforts. Have Jews and Freethinkers no right of conscience? Put the Bible out of school, and be just to all, and so help that liberty which helps us all to the truth.

At Des Moines, Iowa, in 1875, President Grant made a brief but golden speech to the people and the school children. He said: "Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the security of freethought, free speech, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not a dollar be appropriated to the support of sectarian schools; that neither State, nor nation, nor both combined, shall support institutions of learning save those unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical dogmas. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school. Keep the Church and the State forever separate." This is the aim of the League? Who can deny its justice?

Taxation of church property is another great step that must be taken. We have over *six hundred million dollars* invested in church property, and its exemption from taxes piles a heavier load on every poor man. This exemption fosters spiritual pride, and the building of costly churches covers the land with splendid mausoleums,—piles of stone and brick with carved and costly ornaments under which lies buried all spiritual life. Thinking men in every church feel this. From 1860 to 1870, the seating capacity of our churches increased but ten *per cent.*, while our population increased double that; but the cost of these churches increased one hundred and seven *per cent.* Tax them and this would cease, and tasteful simplicity take the place of gorgeous display, human fraternity of pious aristocracy, all for the benefit and spiritual culture of the people.

The Catholic Church property is over $150,000,000, and the Pope owns and controls it all; and it grows rapidly. It is evil and dangerous for any foreign power to own such vast property here. Tax all churches, Catholic and Protestant, and we are impartial and just, and we put a check to this evil.

These are the leading objects of the League, and they are important, timely, and needed. Carry out these objects, and all will see and acknowledge their good results.

This is but a brief sketch of the leading points of an address which commanded close and careful attention for nearly an hour.

The following is a list of the present members of the League:—

C. W. Ames, Prof. William A. Anthony, George Arnold, Dr. John E. Beers (Danby), Myron E. Bishop, Esq., Henry Bool, Prof. A. A. Breneman, Prof. George C. Caldwell, Daniel Coon, Prof. Hiram Corson, W. Dennis, Prof. W. R. Dudley, Arthur Falkenau, Prof. Willard Fiske, Prof. Isaac Flagg, Dr. B. W. Franklin, Calvin Gardner, Gardner C. Gifford (Ludlowville), William S. Gottheil, W. Hanford (Etna), Warren Hutchins, Willis A. Ingalls, Mrs. S. E. Johonnot, Zenas Kent, Merritt King, Esq., E. D. Larned (Groton), Prof. W. R. Lazenby, J. S. Lehmaier, Prof. B. P. MacKoon, Irvine Miller, H. B. Morris, D. B. Morton (Groton), Prof. J. E. Oliver, G. Frank Otis, F. H. Parsons, H. H. Philes, William D. Pitt (Groton), P. Ruditsch, T. P. St.

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John, George Schumm, E. H. Sellers, Prof. C. C. Shackford, Joseph Sinton, W. K. Sinton, Henry Stewart, A. L. K. Volkmann, Miss L. A. Wheelock, Charles H. White, Dr. D. White, Dr. John Winslow.—*Daily Journal, Ithaca, N. Y., Nov.* 8.

Communications.

IS SILVER HONEST PAYMENT?

What is honest payment, resolves itself into a question of interpretation of contracts. The contracts in question are promises to pay dollars. Of course a promise to pay dollars is exactly discharged by a manual delivery of the very thing promised, and the whole difficulty is solved by a correct answer to the question, What *is* a dollar?

The average business man and the "able editor" pressed for a categorical answer, will proceed to tell you that it is "anything that the supreme authority of the State," etc. Enough! Whoever commences the answer to such a question with "anything" ought to stop talking and go to studying. There is not another word in the language having a more definite and exact meaning. People do not trust their all to the keeping of a word whose meaning is "anything."

The dictionary is a good book,—a very good book. Where the interpretation of a contract involves merely the definition of a familiar word, the dictionary is entirely equal to the problem. When Webster made his, he was not so remiss as to leave undefined a word to civilized ears and eyes not less familiar than bread. Nor would it have been possible to get a community to select a *thing* into the terms of which they choose to translate and define all other values, if that thing were some nebulous "anything" the caprice of the hour might make it, or some complicated abstraction the understanding of which only learning and statesmanship are equal to.

The primary meaning of the word is, "A silver coin of the United States weighing 371¼ grains of pure silver." The secondary meaning is "The *value* of that coin." The value of a thing is that definite amount of another commodity for which it will freely exchange.

If the reader will be good enough to stop and ponder on these definitions till they possess him and get such a grip on his understanding that they will not slip away from him during the discussion, I will undertake to conduct him to a satisfactory solution.

This secondary meaning is the "Abstract Dollar," "The dollar of account," etc. But because it is "abstract," it has not become thereby an indefinite, vague "anything." It cannot in the nature of the case be an amount of value greater or less than what goes with the coin itself. It is by definition bound to that precise value; and, *cent* being by definition a hundredth part of that value, it is downright idiocy to talk of that coin being worth only ninety cents. It is worth one hundred cents *ex vi termini*.

There is a notion current that the supreme power of the State has such relation to this whole business as that it may rightfully thrust into existing contracts some other thing than the true meaning of its words,—may knock the dictionary into a cocked hat and carry the whole question away out of the reach of the common understanding. But among all the financial legislation, bad during the war and wicked since, let us be thankful that Congress has not made an assault upon the dictionary,—has not directly or indirectly declared that the silver coin minted since 1798 down to 1873, and stamped One Dollar, should no longer be in law, or in fact that *thing*.

It has declared at various times that certain substitutes should in specified ways have the same legal power in payment, and in 1873 it resolved not to issue any more of those coins. That is all. It should be remembered that the silver dollar has been the only fixed money definition and unit known to our law up to 1873,—that coin has not varied from the weight of pure silver originally determined on, not by so much as the one hundredth part of one poor scruple. Only the intellectual debauchery caused by the legal tender and other bad acts has made many good people suppose there are other ways of honest payment open for us than to stick scrupulously to the definition once for all established.

If under the threat of national dissolution it became necessary, as we supposed, for a time to legalize something else, and events were so strong that the legal tender could not be kept to the definition value, not the least hurt of those calamities has been the intellectual demoralization consequent on it. That act has made it possible to array much of the culture, respectability, and conscience of the country on the side of injustice, to carry into operation and effect the most colossal commercial wrong the world ever saw.

The discount on legal tender or the premium on gold during the years 1870 to 1873 (namely, about fifteen *per cent.*), is popularly supposed to measure the amount of inflation caused by government paper. That is a great mistake. Fiat money comes in direct competition with coin money, making less demand for coin, and so lessening its value or purchasing power. It therefore happens that carrying debentures created during that period, up to coin values, as they will be when that competition is removed, is a great hardship upon debtors,—a hardship that has not the excuse of military necessity. But statesmen tell us any attempt to right that by scaling down debts is impracticable. In that case, then, it is not injustice, but simply hardship and misfortune, and we are discussing only the ethical question.

True, we had the double standard, and both coins were declared legal dollars; but in every adjustment and readjustment of the ratio of the two metals, the silver coin was always the theoretic unit and absolute fixity about which the other revolved. Our ratio of legal equivalence being about three *per cent.* more favorable to silver than the European, took our full weight silver coins abroad. That accident made the silver coin no less the true unit and legal definition than did the accident of no coin at all in circulation during the greenback period. It is a great mistake to suppose that no wrong was done by demonetization, because for years the silver dollar was only a theoretic and only to a small extent the practical unit in use. It was still a dollar in theory and in law, and was therefore a potential dollar in practical effect by the whole distance of at least forty *per cent.* of the world's stock of precious metals. It was a reserve corps constituting forty *per cent.* of the world's monetary force ready to come to the front in an emergency. That emergency has come upon us when we need all the monetary forces possible to grapple with our enormous debentures, and Europe (our creditor) is trying to make us do it with gold alone. It is plain to see that with the competition of silver withdrawn from monetary use vastly more importance attaches to gold. It has a royal monopoly and values itself accordingly, and lords it over all other valuable things.

But the imputation is, that the silver dollar has come to be no longer an honest dollar, or the true dollar to pay debts with. The implication is, that the true dollar value has left silver and taken up its residence in the gold coin alone. If it has, it is by the force of the act of demonetization. I do not mean by the economic effect of the act, but by the direct legal force of change of definition. But I am not now discussing the legal effect of that act, but seeking to show that such a legal effect and the practical consequences was a legislative immorality. Nothing can be clearer than the right to repeal a law wrongfully enacted.

Now it is not denied that it is competent for government to establish a new definition; and if that definition is not made retroactive in its operation, perhaps no objection on ethical grounds can be made. But as to all contracts and promises to pay dollars made under a given monetary definition, it is a rank immorality to change the definition. The definition in force when the promise of the greenback and the great part of our bonds was made, was fixed in the only way it was ever attempted to fix a monetary unit; namely, by specifying the quantity of a particular metal. There is no question that those promises are honored by delivery of the silver coins answering the legal definition in force when they were made; precisely as a promise to deliver a ton of iron is by delivery of the identical thing. The value that goes with the iron or the coin will of course be determined by the economic law which determines all values; namely, supply and demand at the time and place of payment. As one or the other of those two forces predominates, will value go up or down. It is bound in the chain of that law as inexorably as the orbit of a planet is by the centrifugal and centripetal forces. Those two factors, and they alone, determine it, and it is no part of the duty of government either as debtor or sovereign to interfere with fair and natural operation of that law.

If it were true that the cost of production of the metal of which money is a denomination has become much less than ever before—if the experience of all the ages should be reversed and silver could be produced as cheaply as iron,—I hold that my promise to pay a hundred dollars, made when 371¼ grains of silver is the definition, and when it costs a full day's labor to get out metal for that unit, is honestly and honorably as well as legally discharged by delivery of one hundred of those coins, though at the time of payment a day's work will produce one hundred of them, and it would take them all to buy a poor cigar. It was no part of my promise that the purchasing power belonging to that metal during all historic time should remain one year longer. My promise was that I would deliver the coins, whatever their value, or their equivalent. It is puerile for the creditor to complain that he expected no material change would take place in its value. No more does a man who invests in land suppose that an earthquake will swallow it up. Both proceed upon the experienced stability of the particular thing in which he invests his capital. The fact that those metals have shown themselves the least liable to fluctuation in purchasing power of all other products, has caused them to be adopted as money, but gives no ground of right or duty to attempt their control by government. Industrial progress makes labor more and more productive, and so all products are rapidly cheapening as compared to a unit of labor. Invention, division of labor, better social order brings everything down, and money and debentures are at bottom investment in the money metals, and must take the same chances as all other forms of investment. Government is as much in duty bound to keep up the value of cloth or railroad stock as of dollars. Indeed, if there is to be any discrimination, wisdom and humanity require interference to keep up the value of vested capital rather than creditor capital, because it is more closely related to the productive industries. The creditor has no business to raise the question of value when I offer him the specific thing. That inquiry becomes pertinent only when I offer to pay in something else. In that case, market equivalence is the criterion of equitable payment.

One suspects a sinister twist in the fierce passion for "an honest dollar" that inspires the rhetoric of "able editors" and statesmen. There is suspicion of alliance with the creditor interest. For that is where it comes in. It is insisted that debtors shall not have the advantage of labor-saving inventions, superior skill, and a better social order. If the alleged decline in silver is due, as is now the current of European opinion, to the arbitrary act of Germany, it is no less a legitimate advantage to us. The act of payment in silver, that is, remonetization, will repair all the mischief in that direction. Our own arbitrary act contributed to that calamity.

Had our promises been made in pounds payable in London, honest payment would demand the English definition in force when the promise was made. No matter in that case to what extent foreign governments should combine to "bull" gold, we should be at their mercy. It is claimed that foreign holders of our bonds will be offended and disappointed. Our reply is, we made no promise that our dollars, when translated into pounds or marks, should yield any particular number of their money units. It is a phenomenon in the history of financial operations that one very powerful to influence values should join hands with his adversaries to "bull" the thing wherein he was "short." But such is the attitude of our government in its financial policy. The only way to restore the normal value to our monetary unit and regain the true and just equilibrium is to restore the old volume of coin-money by restoring the old definition.

E. D. STARK.

CLEVELAND, O.

[The whole reasoning of the above article hinges on Webster's definition of the dollar as "A silver coin of the United States weighing 371¼ grains of pure silver." Now Worcester is at least as good as Webster in the estimation of competent judges; and Worcester, in his edition of 1860—*before the war*,—defines a dollar as "A silver coin of Germany, Holland, Spain, the United States, Mexico, etc., of different values; that of the United States is 100 cents, or 4*s.* 2*d.* sterling."

In other words, the United States dollar, in the sense of the "contracts" referred to, must be not only a coin of silver, but also a coin equal to 4*s.* 2*d.* sterling. This will take more than 371¼ grains of silver to-day. We hold the remonetizers to the old definition more strictly than Mr. Stark himself. Let him tell us exactly how many grains of silver are equal to 4*s.* 2*d.* sterling TO-DAY, and we would not object to a silver dollar of that value, if it could be shown that the fluctuation in the value of silver had ceased. But we do object, on the ground of simple honesty, to paying off a debt of "dollars" in a coin worth less than 4*s.* 2*d.* sterling, *which is the dollar of the old definition.*

In reply to the rather severe insinuation against the editors of the country, we feel obliged to state that all our personal interests are exclusively with the debtor class.—ED.]

THE STATISTICS OF OPINION.

BY BISHOP FERRETTE.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT: It will be the duty of the legislature to provide for Statistics of Opinion, all puber individuals, whether male or female, being yearly required, at the time at which they pay their taxes, or would have to pay them if taxed, to record on a public register their opinion, or absence of opinion, or refusal to state the same, on such leading questions, having a bearing on the course of legislation, of which the legislature will yearly make a list; and in order that the Statistics of Opinion may not be falsified by undue influences, it will be the duty of the legislature to provide by suitable legislation for the confiscation of all property held in trust or otherwise, to be enjoyed on condition of professing a certain opinion rather than another, whether on religion or on politics or on other matters on which men, when not bribed, are apt to differ; and persons offering or accepting such bribes, beside other penalties to be determined by the legislature, shall be incapacitated to vote or be elected, or to hold any office of authority, trust, or honor under the State.

FROM A NEW SUBSCRIBER.

CLAYVILLE, Oneida Co., N.Y. Nov. 12, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I inclose $3.00 to pay for THE INDEX one year, commencing next issue.

I first saw THE INDEX in Meadville, Pa., eight years ago, and have read it more or less since; though my intended subscription has been put off until now. Reading THE INDEX influences a man to think for himself; and when he has once commenced to use his understanding in a search after truth, he will be a more consistent man in many respects. I am not a freethinker simply because freethinking is in opposition to Christianity, but because those things which conduce to human happiness—and which are evolved by the experience of generations—can better be reduced to practice by bringing our reason to bear upon them, than they can by bringing any antiquated faith into requisition.

I am willing to render any assistance to you and the cause, which my time and means will allow. After hearing Col. Ingersoll's lecture on "Liberty," in Utica, on the 14th inst., I think the people of this county will be better prepared to read THE INDEX.

Yours respectfully, W. H. JONES.

"IS IT NOT time that you paid me that five dollars?" said a farmer to his neighbor. "'Tain't due," was the reply. "But," said the farmer, "you promised to pay when you got back from New York." "Well, I ain't been," was the reply.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

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3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

GLIMPSES.

MR. S. B. CLARK has filled out the Executive Sub-committee of the National Liberal League for his own State of Kentucky by appointing the following persons as his associates: Mr. J. F. Reed, of Fern Creek, Dr. Robert Gilbert, of Waterford, Mr. Milburn Gunn, of Jefferson, and Mr. William P. Beard, of Taylorsville.

ACCORDING to the St. Louis *Times*, a "Liberal Lecture Association" has been formed in that city with a capital of $50,000, in shares of $50 each. The organization is completed as follows: A. Robbins, President; John S. Mellon, first Vice-President; S. L. Boogher, second Vice-President; M. Van B. Wisker, Secretary; and Josiah Anderson, Treasurer. Books for subscription to the stock are in the hands of each officer. C. D. N. Campbell, the lecture manager and business superintendent, was to speak on the subject at Mahler's Hall on the evening of November 18.

GOVERNOR RICE, of Massachusetts, repeats his offensive precedent of last year by incorporating into his "Thanksgiving Proclamation" a direct recognition of the "redemption of the world by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." Such encroachments of Christianity on the principles of secular government are multiplying on every hand; and yet too many liberals—good, easy souls!—think it folly to pay any heed to such trifles. It is our deliberate conviction that the measure of any man's radicalism to-day is the degree of his earnestness for State Secularization—the degree of his zeal for the principles of the Rochester platform. That question is sifting liberals to-day as with a sieve.

HON. RUTGER B. MILLER, of Utica, N.Y., a subscriber to THE INDEX almost from its origin, and occasionally a contributor to its columns, died recently in that city at an advanced age, to the grief of a very large circle of friends and admirers. He was one of the most eminent and respected citizens of Utica, which owed much of its prosperity to his ancestors and to himself. Col. Charles D. Miller, of Geneva, son-in-law of the noble Gerrit Smith, writes: "I take the liberty to send you the Utica paper noticing Rutger B. Miller's death, whose *philosophic life* is entirely ignored therein,—whose kindness, patience, and affectionate regard for all made his death peaceful and natural. He sympathized with Comte. But I think you knew him."

IN A VERY CORDIAL and interesting letter just received, Hon. George W. Julian writes: "I am delighted with the proceedings and evident success of the Rochester convention. I congratulate you, and I am glad that what the convention did was in no sense the work of politicians, but of the independent and untrammelled men and women who attended it, and whose judgment and conscience alone guided them. In speaking of politicians, you will of course understand me as meaning the office-hunting and trading class that have so long afflicted the country; for 'real politics,' and politicians in the true sense of the word, are exactly the things we most need. I have read the proceedings of the convention and your editorial comments with great satisfaction, and only hope that the work so well begun may be as well followed up. The cause has been admirably launched."

MR. BUSK, in his *Roman Legends*, relates this amusing anecdote of a great thaumaturgist of the Catholic Church: "Padre Vincenzo worked so many miracles that all Rome was talking about him, and the Father-General thought he would get vain, so he told him not to work any more miracles. Padre Vincenzo therefore worked no more miracles; but one day as he was walking along the street, he passed under a high scaffolding of a house that was being built. Just as he came by, a laborer missed his footing and fell over from the top. 'Padre Vincenzo, save me!' cried the man, for everybody knew Padre Vincenzo, and he had just seen him turn into the street. 'Stop there!' said Padre Vincenzo; 'I mustn't save you, as the Padre-Generale says I'm not to work miracles; but wait there and I'll go and ask if I may.' Then he left him suspended in the air while he ran breathless to ask permission of the Father-General to work the miracle of saving him."

THIS IS the caustic comment which the New York *Sun* makes on the Texas outrage: "We have frequently taken occasion to arouse the churches to the danger in which they stand, owing to the spread of modern infidelity of the scientific sort, and we have advised them to prepare themselves to meet the enemy. But everybody must severely reprobate the method of overcoming infidelity adopted by certain Baptists of Bell County, Texas. It seems that Dr. L. J. Russell of that county is an infidel, and also a man of prominence. The other night, some Baptist brethren, who were outraged by his scepticism, took the doctor from his bed to the woods, and, having stripped him, thus addressed the infidel: 'We know you are an honest man and a good physician, but we will tolerate no infidels in Bell County; so by the help of God, we will stop your career of infidelity.' They then gave him a hundred lashes on his bare back, set him at liberty, and posted a notice on a tree that hereafter infidelity in Bell County will be punished by the torch and halter. Whipping and hanging infidels will not, however, stop infidelity. The only way to do that is to meet and overcome its arguments, as we have urged the Baptists and the other denominations to do without delay." The *Sun* knows as well as any one that the only reason why the Baptists resorted to whipping was because they were themselves whipped in argument already.

LAST SUNDAY evening the question of ratifying the Rochester platform of the National Liberal League was presented before the Free Lecture Association at Loomis' Temple of Music, New Haven, and answered affirmatively, heartily, and unanimously by the audience. Free liberal lectures have been sustained for some four years in that Orthodox city, chiefly by the zeal of a little knot of earnest, self-sacrificing radicals who have set a most noble example to their brethren throughout the country; and their labors have not been in vain. It is now proposed by leading citizens of the place, including professors of Yale College and even (as we understand) ministers of the gospel, to sustain this winter a series of lectures on secular topics on Sunday evening, not in a church, but in a public hall! Of course this movement is designed to take the wind out of the radical sails, and break up the great audiences which have gathered weekly to the hall of the Free Lecture Association; but it shows that Orthodoxy has been successfully flanked. Moreover, as a result of similar labors, the school question has been raised in New Haven, and a committee of the Board of Education have just reported unanimously in favor of abolishing religious exercises from the public schools of the city. This reveals how much can be accomplished even by a few liberals who are in live earnest. The resolutions above alluded to, passed without a dissentient vote, were as follows:—

"*Voted*, That we cordially indorse the political platform adopted by the National Liberal League at Rochester, N. Y., October 26, 1877, as embodying principles which are beneficent, just, and vitally important to the welfare of the people; and that the National Liberal League deserves the sympathy of all good men and women in its effort to secure the incorporation of these principles in the United States Constitution.

"*Voted*, That we approve the endeavor to unite all liberal and patriotic citizens, without regard to their religious views, in a great national party pledged to the furtherance of these objects; and that we appeal to all who love justice, freedom, and equal rights to coöperate with the National Liberal League in this brave forward movement on their behalf."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

MR. EMERSON has an article upon "Demonology" in the *North American Review* for March. "Mesmerism," he says, "is high life below stairs. 'Tis a low curiosity or lust of structure, and is separated by celestial diameters from the love of spiritual truth. It is wholly false to couple these things in any manner with the religious nature and sentiment, and a most dangerous superstition to raise them to the lofty place of motives and sanctions. This is to prefer halves and rainbows to the sun and moon. Demonology is the shadow of theology; the whole world is an omen and a sign. Why look so wistfully in a corner? Man is the image of God. These adepts have mistaken flatulency for inspiration. Were this drivel which they report as the voice of spirits, really such, we must find out a more decisive suicide. I say to the table-rappers:—

> "'I well believe
> Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know,
> And so far will I trust thee, gentle Kate.'"

A NEW PRISON chaplain was recently appointed in a certain town. He was a man who greatly magnified his office, and, entering one of the cells on his first round of inspection, he with much pomposity thus addressed the prisoner who occupied it: "Well, sir, do you know who I am?" "No; nor I dinna care," was the nonchalant reply. "Well, I'm your new chaplain." "Oh, ye are? Weel, I hae heard o' ye before." "And what did you hear?" returned the chaplain, his curiosity getting the better of his dignity. "Weel, I heard that the last twa kirks ye were in ye preached them baith empty; but I'll be hanged if ye find it such an easy maitter to do the same wi' this ane!"

[For THE INDEX.]

Darwinism and Christianity

AS PRINCIPLES OF ACTION.

A DISCOURSE PREACHED AT HAVERHILL, MASS., NOV. 11, 1877

BY REV. W. H. SPENCER.

"For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now."—ROMANS viii., 22.

In this passage Paul was preaching wiser than he knew. Of course he could have had no conception of the universal application of his words. He was thinking how, for centuries, the spirit of God had been brooding over the Jewish mind, to beget the divine man, Christ Jesus. At last he was born,—but what a labor-pain it was! So much so, he says, that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." In the light of modern science we see that Paul's words are true in a wider sense than he ever dreamed. Darwinism shows us *how* Creation or Nature has groaned and travailed in pain from the dawn of life upon our globe until now, and she has brought forth age after age a higher and better order of beings.

This morning it is my purpose to consider the relation of Darwinism and Christianity. Is Darwinism, as some think, repugnant to Christianity as a principle of action? I undertake to say that it is not, and I shall endeavor to make my assertion clear to your minds.

I grant that both Darwinism and the philosophy of evolution (for they are not the same) are hostile to Christian theology; but are they antagonistic to Christian ethics and the highest individual and social morality? If Darwinism were hostile to the Christian gospel of sympathy, love, benevolence, and helpfulness, then I for one would be most bitterly opposed to Darwinism; but I aver that not only is Darwinism in general harmony with the ethics of Christianity, but that Christianity, as a great historic religion, is a beautiful illustration of the principle of Darwinism itself.

What is Darwinism? It is this expressed broadly: "Natural selection in the struggle for life." Or, to use Herbert Spencer's phraseology, it is "the survival of the fittest in the struggle for life."

Several laws are involved in Darwinism,—such as (1) the law of over-production; (2) the law of heredity; (3) the law of variety; (4) the law of sexual selection; (5) the law of change in the physical environment,—from all of which there necessarily results a struggle for life and the survival of the fittest. It would be aside from my subject to trace out the working of these various laws. It will be important only to touch upon them briefly so far as they relate to ethical Christianity.

The first law which Darwinism affirms is (as I said) the law of *over-production;* which means, simply, that there is a tendency among all animals and plants to overstock the earth. To give but one illustration of this law: It is said that a single codfish has been known to lay six million eggs. If these eggs were all to become adult codfishes, and the multiplication were to continue two or three generations, the ocean would afford no room for them. Some of them *must* die that some *may* live. Nature furnishes her own checks against this tendency to over-production. The earth is a generous mother, but her cupboard has its limits. She can only supply a given amount of food as well as room. If she has six million young codfishes to feed and only meal enough in her pantry for six individuals, why, it is plain that five million nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-four codfishes must go without their supper. This, very naturally, all object to doing; and so they vote upon it, and it is decided that they will fight it out on the line of superior strength, speed, and general fitness. Hence ensues a desperate struggle for supper and for life. Now, large codfishes, like ourselves, are fond of fresh fish, and like cannibals, they do not object to eating their fellows; and so perhaps six thousand great codfishes pursue the six million little innocents, and breakfast, dine, and sup off them until only six are left, and they are the ones whose fins are strongest, tails are longest, wits are keenest,—are, in short, the smartest individuals in the whole school. Nature has selected them, in the struggle for life, to grow up and perpetuate the species. What is true of codfishes, Darwinism affirms is true of all plants and animals. There is a constant tendency to over-production, a necessary struggle for life, and consequent survival of the fittest. Does Christianity deny the fact of this law? She might as well deny the fact of the law of gravitation. Does she say that this law is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity? I never heard that Moses, Jesus, or Paul ever said that it was wrong for a large codfish to devour a little one. No; but, you say, it would be wrong for a large man to devour a little man. Certainly; and the principle of Darwinism, when carried up to the relations between man and man, as I will show hereafter, does not imply that man shall behave like a great codfish, wolf, or hyena. By no means. To suppose that it does, is entirely to mistake the higher application of the principle of natural selection.

Do you say that Darwinism, even if true among the lower animals, is a cruel law, for it is the rule of might, the rule of the strong over the weak, sick, and helpless? This objection suggests some wise observations of M. D. Conway to the point, which I quote: "I was conversing," says he, "with some gentlemen on the subject of evolution in its purely scientific aspects. A lady sat listening, and when

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the others had gone, she remarked to me, 'Darwinism is a most horrible doctrine.' I was startled by her look,—there was pallor on her face and an expression of mental suffering. 'What is horrible?' I asked. 'Why, that doctrine you have been all talking about,—the survival of the strongest. It may be that it is the law of Nature that the weak should be trampled out by the strong, but it is dreadful.' Her eyes were filled with tears. I answered, 'I believe in no such doctrine as the survival of the strongest, nor do these scientific men believe it. They believe in the survival of the *fittest;* but mere strength is not fitness. The survival of the strongest were indeed a horrible doctrine; but all Nature is against it. Huge, monstrous things that were only strong—moving mountains of force, the mammoth and megalosaurus,—have perished because they were merely strong, and so not fit to survive; the lions have decreased before the lambs; and man, weakest of all animals at his birth, has been awarded the sceptre, because he was fittest through his power to love, to consider, to deny himself for others." Darwinism does not, then, as many suppose, enthrone mere brute strength; but it does crown *fitness* "lord of all." It declares that those plants and animals that are best adapted to their surroundings will stand the best chance in the race for life,—and who can doubt it is so! It is true, man, to gratify his fancy, may breed any sort of unnatural creature, such as the pouter and tumbler pigeons; but Nature only preserves those individuals and species that can best fight their way through the world. She ordains that the hawk shall pursue the pigeon, and the fleetest hawk shall catch the game and the fleetest pigeon shall escape; while the lazy hawk shall starve and the lazy pigeon shall be eaten; and thus, by selecting, generation after generation, the best hawks on the one hand and the best pigeons on the other, Nature succeeds in breeding a race of fleet and powerful hawks and pigeons.

Nature is thus a mighty breeder, because she selects from each generation those individuals that are strongest, fleetest, and fittest to live—lions with suppliest muscles, deer with fleetest foot, hawks with strongest claws, doves with longest wings, wolves with keenest scent, mollusk with hardest shell, bees with surest instinct, flowers with sweetest nectar, and birds with brightest plumage,—until she has succeeded in producing a superior race of animals and plants. In this struggle for life, it is not the *strongest* merely, but the *fittest* that win,—those that ought to live *do* live. If this stern discipline of Nature seems too severe, what, I ask you, would have been the result if there had been no struggle for existence among animals and plants? Look at the Mauritius, where there were no animals to prey upon the birds, and you will find large, clumsy birds, like the extinct dodo, that have lost the power of flight, if they ever had it. Look at South America, where there were no large carnivora, and there you will find the huge, unwieldly megatherium, now extinct, a sort of ground sloth, that crept from tree to tree on its hind feet and elbows, the most stupid and ugly-looking animal imaginable. South America never produced any splendid specimens of animals, nor Australia of birds, because they had no watchful and ravenous enemies to develop them by a struggle for life. Now, while it is true that in some cases the struggle for existence has been so severe as to produce degradation of species, it is also apparently true that whatever progress there has been in the type of animals and plants has been due to sharp competition. The secret of progress among all the lower animals has been the spur of hunger and the animal instincts, by means of which Nature has selected those individuals and species fittest to survive.

If this struggle for life seems like a stern discipline, it was the only method by which life on this globe could have been developed, ennobled, and perpetuated. Does Christianity deny that this struggle for life has been going on for ages? Does she deny, moreover, the fundamental principle of Darwinism, that in this struggle for life, the *fittest* to survive *will* survive? No; but perhaps I am again reminded that this rule of might, this crushing out of the weak by the strong is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, that teaches us to support the weak, succor the sick, and lift up the fallen.

But does Christianity deny that it is a *fact* that the strongest lion, fleetest deer, and generally the *fittest* plant, fish, insect, bird, and beast shall live? Darwinism simply affirms it as a *fact;* and if it be *unchristian* for a lion to eat a deer, or a wolf to devour a lamb, then I confess that the spirit of Darwinism is repugnant to Christianity; but I have never yet heard a dog called "unchristian" or infidel, because he delights to bark and bite. I repeat, that Darwinism does not teach that man should behave like a tiger, and tear in pieces the weak and crush out the helpless and downfallen. If people would read the works of Darwin instead of picking up an idea here and there from denominational papers and magazines, they might save themselves from many misapprehensions and vulgar prejudices. I admit that the law of Darwinism, as it applies to the *lower animals*, is rather the law of war than the gospel of peace on earth and good-will among animals; but it is not therefore *unchristian*, for the gospel of Christ teaches, not the duty of beast to beast, but of *man* to *man*. And this leads us to the question, how, according to the Darwinian principle, could man's moral nature have been developed? How could the sense of right and duty, the sentiment of sympathy, love, and unselfishness, and all the higher virtues, usually called "Christian,"—how could these virtues of civilized man have been developed by the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest? If it appears that the Christian virtues are exactly such virtues as "natural selection" would generate, then we must conclude that the spirit of Darwinism is not repugnant to the noblest spirit of Christianity. This is the pith of my subject, and I invite your closest attention.

If man had always been a solitaire, he would have acquired no ideas of right and wrong.

It is certain that the human race did not begin to be *moral* until they began to be *social;* and it is equally certain that men could not be social without, at the same time, recognizing certain relations among themselves as right and wrong. The social state demands and necessitates a moral state. Those actions which would plainly be harmful to the interests of the tribe would be condemned and punished, and certain other actions which would evidently be helpful to the tribe would be praised and rewarded; and thus would begin the slow evolution of a moral nature, which, through accumulated and inherited experiences from age to age, would evolve all those sentiments which belong to man as a highly social and civilised being. It is impossible to say *when* man began to be a moral being, because we know not when he began to be a *social* being; but it was probably in an age so far back that man was not *man*. Many inferior animals that are *social* exhibit the rudiments of a moral nature. Social animals mutually defend each other. Many birds, like wild geese, cranes, and many animals like rabbits, sheep, chamois, station individuals to watch and warn their comrades of approaching danger, and they are as faithful to their duty as was ever old Roman sentinel. Social animals show unmistakable signs of sympathy and love, and a sense of duty and sometimes a spirit of heroic self-sacrifice.

When a herd of buffaloes is attacked by wolves, it is said that they hastily form into a hollow circle, the strong males outside to defend the mothers, with their little ones, inside. Could man do more than that? Darwin tells us how "Brehm encountered in Abyssinia a great troop of baboons which were crossing a valley; some had already ascended the opposite mountain, and some were already in the valley. The latter were attacked by dogs, but the old males immediately hurried down from the rocks, and with mouths wide-opened roared so fearfully that the dogs precipitately retreated. They were again encouraged to the attack; but by this time all the baboons had re-ascended the height, excepting a young one about six months old, who, loudly calling for aid, climbed on a block of rock and was surrounded. Now one of the largest males, a true hero, came down again from the mountain, slowly went to the young one, coaxed him, and triumphantly led him away,—the dogs being too much astonished to make an attack." Was not that practicing the Golden Rule? It is certain that associated animals have sympathy and love for each other, and certain crude ideas of right and wrong: in short, the rudiments of a moral nature. Now, when we see that social animals inferior to man have certain moral instincts, we cannot doubt that the first animal that trod the globe erect, and was worthy to be called a man, possessed the social and moral instincts. History furnishes us with no race of men so low, that they do not possess some ideas of right and wrong.

What virtues were first developed? Those which were most useful to the community, or, rather, those which were deemed by savages most conducive to the welfare of the tribe. As, during rude times, no man can be useful to his tribe without physical bravery, this virtue is put in the very highest rank by savages. As the strength of the tribe depends on the unity of it, those virtues which would tend to cement that bond of union, such as loyalty, obedience, fidelity, truthfulness, mutual helpfulness, would be cultivated. But such virtues as prudence, temperance, and chastity, whose utility is not so apparent to the primitive man, were developed at a later stage in the evolution of the human race. But what I wish you to notice especially is, the operation of the law of Darwinism among races of men. The principle of struggle for life and survival of the fittest is just as applicable to man as it is to our six million codfishes or to any of the lower animals; but with this difference: that among the non-social animals, it is merely a struggle of individual against individual, while with social man, this struggle of individuals is subordinated to the interests of the whole body of individuals. The unit is the society. Among men, the principle of Darwinism is illustrated in the struggle of social units, of tribe with tribe, and race with race.

From the dawn of history we see race struggling against race, nation against nation, and what is the result? It is this: that the race that is on the whole the fittest survives. The conquering races of men have been the brave men, the strong men—the long-headed men, the men that were most virtuous, that is, most loyal to leaders, obedient to commanders, faithful to duty, and mutually helpful,—the men who were most vigorous in body and mind. Everywhere we see the higher races of men driving before them the inferior races. The red Indian, the Tasmanian, Australian, New Zealander, are fading out before the white race, because the latter is superior intellectually, morally, and physically, and therefore the best fitted to survive in the struggle for life between races of men. Perhaps you may remind me of the fact that Rome, enlightened, classic Rome, was once overrun by herds of Northern "barbarians." I grant it; and it was because Rome had become corrupt and weak and imbecile that she fell before the vigorous blows of those hardy sons of the North. They conquered because they were the best men, most virtuous and courageous, and fittest to survive. Does Christianity deny that there has been and there is, this struggle of tribe with tribe, race with race, and that everywhere we see the survival of the fittest? It is a *fact*, which Darwinism simply affirms.

Do you tell me that Christianity is opposed to this war of races, that instead of killing out inferior races, she sends her missionaries to the Sandwich Islanders, and to the degraded heathens far away, and prays for the reign of peace when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, spears into pruning-hooks, and nation shall war against nation no more? I grant it; but meantime the war goes on, and the inferior races are slowly dying out. But Darwinism, like Christianity, looks hopefully forward to the time when the struggle between races shall rise from a struggle of sword against sword to a struggle of the enlightened mind against the benighted mind; of the generous heart against the selfish heart; and of a world-wide sympathy against this narrow, clannish, sectarian sympathy and creed-bound love.

Although Darwinism recognizes this struggle of race against race, by means of sword and spear, Darwinism by no means tells us that this is the noblest kind of a struggle that man should engage in. Above this struggle of swords is the struggle of *ideas*, and we are now living in the age when mind begins to rule muscle.

I said that among savages and military peoples physical bravery is exalted to the first rank among virtues. Why? Because then courage was the most useful virtue. But in an agricultural civilization like ours, the warlike virtues are not so beneficial as those virtues which conduce to peace on earth and good-will among men. In a densely-settled community like ours, men *must* live at peace, or not live at all. It is everybody's interest to be at peace with everybody else; hence, these peaceful, social, amiable virtues, such as love, sympathy, benevolence, charity, chastity, helpfulness, so beneficial, nay, so essential to our happiness and prosperity, are regarded by us as the highest virtues, and for this reason they are taught in the nursery, in the school, church, press,—everywhere. I believe there is a direct, practical utility in all these so-called Christian virtues, and that they are good simply because they are useful; and because they are so essential, Religion has lent her sanction to them and baptized them as divine and sacred.

Now, I believe that Christianity is the religion of the Western nations, because its gospel of peace and good-will, love and self-sacrifice, are best-adapted to the demands of our agricultural civilization. Christianity has survived because its ethics were *useful*, and for no other reason. A religion grows, like everything else, because it is fitted to its surroundings.

Think you a band of Comanche Indians would adopt Christianity? No, indeed! They demand a Christ who carries a tomahawk, and whose gospel is, not blessed are the peace-makers, but blessed are the war-makers; their Christ is, not he who turns the other cheek to the smiter, but he who hits his enemy on both cheeks at once and scalps him alive. Christianity is not adapted to a horde of nomads and warriors. It is the religion of our thickly-settled agricultural civilization, because its ethics are best fitted to our social needs.

Christianity did not drop down out of the clouds a full-blown miracle. It started from small beginnings, away back in Judaism, the Persian, Egyptian, and Roman religions, and it has grown, little by little, to be what it is to-day. Christianity, as a religion, has had to struggle for its life. In the first three or four centuries it grappled in one long death-struggle old Paganism, until finally Christianity (half-Paganized) triumphed. Why did it conquer? For the simple reason that its dogmas and ethics were a little better adapted to the religious demands of the age.

And this religion that we call Christianity is struggling for its life to-day, and it only lives because it is adjustable to the changing demands. See how some of its principles have been modified within three centuries! It was once thought Christian to burn heretics; to hang witches; to disparage knowedge; to keep Saturday evening as sacred as Sunday; to disfranchise people who did not belong to some religious society; to compel people to attend church; to eschew all ornament on the person, and suffer no music in the churches; to teach children the catechism in the public schools; to doff the hat to the grave parson, and pass out the brandy-bottle to him when he called to inquire after the "state of your soul."

The truth is, this Christian religion of ours is silently modifying its faith and practice to fit the new demands of the new age. It is just as truly struggling for its life as ever did plant or animal. What is it struggling against? Not against a great historic religion. Mohammedanism is far away, in Africa and Western Asia; Buddism is in China; Brahminism is in Hindoostan. Christianity has nothing to fear from these or any historic religion; but it has an enemy nearer at hand, and that enemy is Science. There is a deadly conflict between Science and Christian theology; and if Christianity survives, it will be because she is able to drop her narrow dogmas, her sectarian spirit, her irrational creeds, and re-adjust herself to the expanded wants of mankind. When I say that there is a struggle between Science and Christianity, mark you, I do not say that there is any conflict between Science and Christian ethics; but I do say that there is a life-and-death struggle between scientific truths and Christian theology. And where is this conflict? It is every man's mind who thinks. The arena of battle is the mind itself, and this brings me to the last thought of my discourse. We have seen that the principle of Darwinism, that is, the struggle for life and survival of the fittest, is true of plants and animals below man, and when we come up to social man it becomes a struggle between tribe and tribe, race and race. Now, let us see how true the principle is when carried up into the realm of pure mind.

Suppose you were brought up in the Calvinistic faith and were taught that there was a fiery hell where a merciful God plunged unbelievers hereafter. You believed it firmly. That thought, then, roamed

around through the green fields of your mind monarch of all it surveyed. Then you had no doubts, no struggle of beliefs. But years pass by; a change has come. Something which you once heard or read changed the environment, introduced a new idea into your mind, the idea that a good and just and loving and merciful God, could not and would not damn anybody eternally for believing what he could not help believing. Then, what happens? There are two hostile ideas in your mind, the old one of a hell-fire God, the new one of a humane God. The new thought is timid at first, as new thought always is. It trembles before the old idea that it can hear roaring afar off. But as the days go by, the young thought grows stronger and bolder. It ventures out of its secret corner in the mind. It sees now the old lion-thought in the centre of the plain, on a cliff of craggy granite, shaking defiance from his hoary locks. See, the two ideas are approaching, gnashing their teeth, with many a savage growl. They crouch face to face, they spring at each other, and fiercely grapple in our life-and-death struggle. It is indeed a struggle for life, and be sure, if you will let them alone, the fittest idea will conquer. Sometimes the new idea kills the old one outright; sometimes he mortally wounds him and suffers him to go off and die a lingering death in the bush; sometimes (and this is the worst result) people separate their conflicting ideas, and cage them up until both die of starvation, or they carefully cosset one until it becomes a mere living skeleton. Do not do this, I pray you. Doubt, I know, is not pleasant, but it is the cross every one must bear who would win the crown of truth. What is doubt? When two antagonistic ideas meet and grapple, *doubt is simply the pain of that struggle.* It is, indeed, almost unendurable sometimes, as every earnest, brave thinker has realized. Oh! the wounds of that mental struggle, the panting exhaustion, the bloody sweat, the gloom of hope, the laceration of heart, when two hostile ideas meet in the arena of mind, and bury their teeth in a death-grip. It is painful, but it is often the only road to truth. It is Nature's law and gospel. Out of the conflict of individual plants and animals, higher species have been evolved; out of the conflict of savage tribes, civilized races of men have sprung; and it is only through conflict of ideas in every mind, that error and superstition are destroyed and knowledge and truth become triumphant. People do not understand this law of thought-evolution. How many in our midst try to shut their minds against the advent of any new species of truth! No sooner do they see a new idea approaching than they seize their old idea in terror and flee with it to the inner sanctuary and cry back, "Begone! ye dragon Doubt; thou art the Devil, come to kill my sweet poodle Faith; begone, I say!" And thus they stop all mental struggle, and hence all healthy growth and natural evolution of ideas.

Can they not see that the struggle for existence has been the spur in the flanks of ever-ascending life? If Nature could have stopped the struggle she would have dead-locked the wheels of Progress. When she partially succeeded her offspring were abortions. As in those countries, like the lands of Polynesia and South America, where life had least to contend against we see arrested development; so in these minds where there has been no great struggle of thought in the search for truth, you will find nothing higher than ideas of megatherium type. As Nature has ordained that without a struggle for life, then no noble life, so she has ordained that without a mental struggle, then no noble character or highest human thought. We *must* bear the pain of doubt, or we shall never catch the splendid visions of divinest truth. It has been so, is so, will be so, world without end. Then do not, my friends, fear the conflict of thoughts. The old ideas will not die until the new are better fitted to survive. *Have faith in the integrity of law.* If the principle of struggle for life has led to the survival of the fittest (and the fittest have generally been the highest and best) in the world of matter, can you not trust the free action of that same beneficent law in the little world of your mind?

Now, because of this struggle of ideas in every individual thinking mind of our age, there is an "irrepressible conflict" between physical science and Christian theology that will, at least, greatly modify the popular religion; yet I cannot see that there is any considerable antagonism between the ethics of Darwinism and the ethics of Christianity. On minor points, such as this too common indiscriminate charity, glorification of the submissive virtues, etc., they may conflict; but not on essentials and fundamentals in morals. If Christianity teaches us to do unto others as we would be done by, so does Darwinism teach the same Golden Rule among men. That nation, it says, shall conquer and prosper which best practices equality, justice, humanity, and the primal virtues that "shine aloft like stars."

If Christianity teaches us to observe the Golden Rule for Christ's sake, Darwinism tells us to obey it for Humanity's sake. If the one says do it in order to reach heaven hereafter, the other says do it in order to make heaven here.

If one says do it as a means to an end, the other says do it as an end in itself. Hence, though Christianity and Darwinism may differ as to the motives and the means (whether we aim to save our own souls hereafter, or to save all souls here, and let the hereafter take care of itself), they are agreed in this: that it is right to better the condition and character of men on earth; and to that end they can cordially join hands and labor to promote and practice temperance, honesty, purity, benevolence, brotherly sympathy, and mutual helpfulness everywhere among all men. Both agree that the Golden Rule is a good rule, and let each emulate the other to apply it best, and so illustrate the great law of struggle for life and survival of the fittest.

"Say not, the struggle naught availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been, they remain.

"If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you possess the field.

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain;
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

'And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front, the sun climbs slow,—how slowly!
But westward, look, the land is bright."

[For The Index.]

A LITTLE BIT OF A THING.

Boston, Nov. 12, 1877.

Sir,—I send you the brief statement below, not for any immediate purpose that I expect it to serve, but in the hope that it may direct your attention to what I sincerely believe a real sign of the times, and well worth watching.

Frederic Beecher Perkins.

On the evening of October 16 last, I delivered in Boston a lecture on Voltaire, in which I showed that he was thrown into a furious antagonism to all Christianity, by seeing and feeling the evil workings of the only kind of Christianity that he had experienced; to wit, the French Roman Catholic Church. I also illustrated the stock charges against Voltaire, by quoting similar ones brought against Luther, in books by the late (Roman Catholic) Archbishop Spaulding, of Baltimore. And I "preluded" (*a la* Rev. Joseph Cook) by an appeal for honest municipal government in Boston.

In the next week's issue *The Pilot*, a Boston Roman Catholic weekly paper, claiming the largest circulation of its class in the world, printed the following editorial:—

"Mr. Frederic Beecher Perkins, nephew of Henry Ward Beecher, delivered a lecture on 'Voltaire' last week in Boston, and said he proposed to 'rub off some of the dirt that has been heaped upon him so long.' His lecture was a cheap rant, evidently delivered for the purpose of airing his views on local politics, and perhaps of lifting himself into notoriety in view of a certain vacant office. This Mr. Perkins, whose only hold on fame is the 'B' in his name, holds an obscure office in the Public Library of Boston, and exalts himself as a coming martyr in these words: 'If certain people can have their way, I shall be turned out of the insignificant office which I hold; but that is no matter. I long to have a clean government over this splendid city. I don't want a Democratic hat nor a Republican pair of boots. I want a good hat and a good pair of boots,' and so on, and so on. Mr. Perkins reverses the story of the ostrich; he is buried in the sand, but he thinks every one is looking at him. It would serve him right if some Democrat went round to the Library and picked him out with a needle. But no,—don't be afraid, Perkins; no one will trouble you,—only don't be too sassy. And take our advice; drop Voltaire, and turn your charity nearer home. Why don't you pick a little of the dirt off your uncle?"

To this I answered in the following communication, which, after the tone of the editorial, I was surprised that *The Pilot* should be so fair as to print:

"Editor of The Pilot:—

"I request you to print, as a matter of ordinary fairness, the following, in reply to your peculiar editorial of this week, about me:—

"1. I cannot be advertising myself, as your intimate, for a 'vacant office' (the Library Superintendency?); for, as you can easily find out, nothing could more effectually cut me off from any chance for that place than what I am doing.

"2. The views of *The Pilot* on corrupt city government are, I think, mine. If, therefore, they are right, you should not speak with comtempt of them; if wrong, you should change yours.

"3. Your reference to a relative of mine was aside from my argument, and, I think, a mistake in point of manners. On reflection, I think you will admit this. It would be curious to see an influential religious newspaper imitating the small boy's revenge: 'I can't lick you, but I'll make faces at your sister.' But I am right proud to have Mr. Beecher as a relative, and I would at any moment risk whatever man can risk upon my absolute conviction of his absolute purity of character.

"4. It was controversially weak to attack me instead of my subject. Your article looks as if you followed the old lawyer's recommendation to his pupil: 'If you have no case for the defence, abuse the plantiff's attorney.' Such personal attacks were the reproach of Voltaire's opponents and of himself. You will hardly wish to go on record as justifying the practice in Boston in 1877.

"Lastly. Please give me in a practical shape, the guarantee you seem to offer that I shall not be turned out of office. It might be some comfort, under your contempt, to have your protection.

"Frederic Beecher Perkins."

With this appeared the following second editorial:

"On another page we publish a reply to *The Pilot*'s criticism of last week from Mr. Frederic Beecher Perkins. This gentleman feels outraged at our personal arguments; but he forgets that at times this objectionable course is quite necessary. When we find a man flinging mud on creeds and parties, it is quite allowable to investigate his personality in order to find his authority. This gentleman began to preach charity to Voltaire, in doing which he spared no slur on the Catholics; and tacked on to his lecture was a tirade on local politics, in which he insinuated dishonesty and rascality and personal hatred of him by the Democrats of Boston. 'If they gain the election, I shall lose my office,' he cries; quite forgetting that the party now keeping him in office is the one he maligns. Mr. Perkins has threatened *The Pilot* with a newspaper fight. We are quite ready, Mr. P."

Now I personally am content with the record thus made up, and am safe in abiding by the judgment of any editor, or other gentleman or lady, on the right and wrong of the case, on its aspect as a newspaper phenomenon, and on the question of courtesy or discourtesy. For myself, therefore, I make no complaint. But the attack, little thing as it is in itself, seems to me singularly interesting as a symptom; and as the editor has distinctly refused the acknowledgment I asked of him, and justifies himself in full, I desire to draw as much attention as possible to the significant and dangerous proposition which *The Pilot*, by immediate and necessary implication, maintains, to wit:—

He who publicly discusses themes which Roman Catholics do not wish discussed, or in a manner which they dislike, shall be attacked and abused personally, *and so shall his friends.*

Now, bad intentions need not be imputed to the editor; but this proposition is insolent and base. But, what is much more important, this is that same ancient pedal bass of terrorism, which has been the reproach of the Roman Church for centuries. A sect whose periodical organs will deliberately justify such doctrines now is a sect whose violence will always extend to the limits of its power.

The attack itself, on one obscure person, and on one relative of his, is a little bit of a thing. But the very naturalness, and spontaneous, voluble ease with which the personalties flew out, proved the established familiarity of the doctrine; and this doctrine is by no means a little thing. The term "freedom of speech" has not retained of late much sacredness of meaning, although there are certainly those who maintain full use of it themselves. But is it so that now we must ask leave of a Roman Catholic editor, before venturing to select a theme for public discourse? It may be dangerous in Boston to attack the Roman Catholic practices of France a century and a half ago, or to read to Protestants the printed and published utterances of a Romanist prelate about the greatest Protestant teacher and reformer, for Boston is believed by many to be a Democratic, Irish, Roman Catholic city. But who would have supposed any Roman Catholic editor so unwise as to say so? He is no priest, for certain!

There are a good many Protestants yet. And some of them think now that the vigorous and telling attacks of the Roman Church upon the heart and brain of our American nationality—our common schools—are a threat that already grows full loud, and that means danger. But if the Romanists feel so sure of the schools that they can take a step further and assume publicly to set the limits of their liking to freedom of speech, assuredly the foundations of our national life are seriously altering.

And how interesting is the false position into which his mistake in principle, has betrayed the editor himself! Mr. John Boyle O'Reilly, the editor of *The Pilot*, was transported as a felon for boldly trying to free his own country and his own people from the dominion of England,—a dominion which, however now mitigated, has often been an abominable tyranny. It is not strange, for it is human; but it is a shame, to see him, in the free country—for I believe it is free yet—which has welcomed him, and admired and in some measure rewarded his merits and abilities,—it is a shame to see him turn round and exercise on others the nearest approach that the case will permit, to the very same kind of wickedness that he hated so, and risked his life against. F. B. P.

[For The Index.]

WHAT IS THE SHAKER SYSTEM?

What *is* the Shaker system? is the first thought arising in my mind. The world, in which we live, is a large world, containing many nations, each nation many sects and people. Is it the Shaker idea and faith that all of these should become ascetics, celibates, Shakers in this world? It is not. What then *is* the "Shaker system" that they, as religionists, would aim to inaugurate? It is the God system of sowing and reaping the human race. The harvest is the end of the world, and the end of the world is the harvest of mankind. Two distinct and dissimilar operations, two orders, result from this condition of humanity: the civil government of a nation, which, according to Shaker religious faith, should be dual—male and female,—to begin with; woman and man, citizens, equal in wants, duties, and functions, conjointly making the laws, and unitedly administering them. But as no two things can exist in one and the same place at the same time, so neither can men and women occupy in two families—the private family and the public family—at one and the same time. The man or woman who has a private family to care for, cannot neglect that duty without being worse than an infidel to some false theology. They should not, while thus burdened, assume to care for or to rule the national family. He, or she, who is married, careth for husband or wife, how to serve and please, and how best to conserve family interest. Let all such stay at home, not for one year, as was the Jewish rule, to comfort wife or husband, but so long as that relation and its duties exist. In short, when a people have progressed beyond the patriarchal family relation, they should develop a class of intellectual celibates, who do not marry individually, but who marry the State, the State becoming their family. This is under a natural law of evolution that has hitherto been overlooked, disregarded, or ruin-

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ously violated. In all governments we have had *man* with *man*, working in governmental relations what is unseemly and destructive to private and public virtue; passing laws that are not just; class legislation; stealing; public sexual immorality; husbands and fathers being away from their proper sphere, the family homestead: hence result private vice, private divorce, family quarrels, and public wars. What else could result? Will not a tree bring forth its appropriate fruit?

In the God element, in humanity, is the germ of a new earth, new civil government, having no theological fighting God, Christ, nor chaplain, but RIGHTEOUSNESS in all the relations of human beings with each other, and with themselves individually. When society evolves a class of men and women, as now in England, in whom the *Westminster Review* declares that the marrying instinct has died out, these should fill the houses of Parliament and halls of legislation; these should enact righteousness: first, a law relieving all who have private families from public burdens; second, a law of citizenship endowing male and female as citizens; third, a law of property, giving the land of the nation to the people of the nation, and securing its just distribution and possession; fourth, a law of population, setting forth the physiology of reproduction, its rule of right, with appropriate checks and restrictions; fifth, the law of digestion, or the assimilation of food,—the kind, quantity, and quality that is scientifically right and best for the individual and the nation; sixth, the law of association, under which no one should live for himself or herself, in family, society, or nation, but each live for all. In each family and society, there should be a throne of judgment, unconditionally deferred to by the unit or individual. This would end private feuds and strifes; seventh, nations, when organized upon these principles of righteousness, can recognize a law of nations that would be God's justice and right incarnated, a supreme court of arbitration, all the nations commencing by universal disarmament. War creates war; it begins with warlike preparations. The girl, with her doll baby, is learning the rudiments of maternity. The boy, with his toy fife, drum, and gun, is a germinal warrior. Cease to *think* war. Learn to think peace, and nothing but peace. Let the decision of the parent, the majority, the court of arbitration for nations, be as the fiat of the Almighty, or as the Persian-Medo decree of humanity, that a nation shall no more revolt from the decision of the grand Supreme Court of arbitration for nations, than law-abiding Americans revolted from the revolting decision of the United States Supreme Court, that "the black man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect."

Thus much for the new earth, under the Shaker system. Shall we try it?

Respectfully yours, F. W. EVANS.

A MANLY HERETIC.

THE REV. JOSEPH MILLIKIN RESIGNS HIS POSITION AS A MINISTER IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—HE HAS CEASED TO BELIEVE IN ALL THE DOCTRINES OF CALVINISM, AND WILL NOT BE PARTY TO A TRIAL FOR HERESY.

Letter read to the Presbytery of Columbus, Ohio, at its October meeting.

MR. MODERATOR AND BRETHREN OF THE PRESBYTERY OF COLUMBUS:—

When in 1862 I was licensed and afterward ordained by the O. S. Presbytery of Oxford, I sincerely accepted the standards of the Church "for substance of doctrine." But I feel bound in conscience to state that more years and longer subjection to the influences that form and modify belief, have bred in me convictions so much at variance with those standards that I can and ought to remain in the ministry no longer.

For years I agreed with the many ministerial and other friends with whom I counselled, in the opinion that, as I had always been candid and free of speech, both in public and in private, I could properly, and indeed should, preach so long as Presbytery did not warn me that I was outside the limits of permissible liberty in doctrine. Two things made the advice the easier to follow: I was not a pastor, and I knew that views like mine were held by a large and fast increasing number of ministers in the Presbyterian and other Orthodox denominations. But now the greater positiveness of my convictions, and various indications in the Presbyterian and other churches, make my position in the ministry illogical and impossible. I must be honest, and known to be honest, in this matter; I must be free to speak out what I believe, as occasion arises. It would be intolerable to be merely tolerated; and, in view of many and recent examples of the sins and passions attending trials for heresy, I shall be a party to no such trial. For you and for myself, then, I gain much and avoid much by this voluntary, explicit declaration; *viz.*, that I am unorthodox as to many of the doctrines and inferences from doctrines essential to the Calvinistic and Orthodox systems. I cannot give here my beliefs, and it would avail nothing if I could. For your purposes and mine it suffices to say that I do not believe, and cannot pretend to believe, many things that a Presbyterian minister is rightfully expected to believe, teach, and conform to.

I think it due to all concerned to add that whatever God sees in my heart, there is nothing in my outward life making me unworthy your continued fellowship; that I have heresy to avow, not vice to confess. And as for my beliefs, they are neither the cause nor consequent of indifference to religious truth, or decay of religious feeling. I am not a mystic, drifting, befogged, nor a materialist, with the soul frozen out of me. I have beliefs that are as strong and dear as yours to you. God; Christ, in an incomprehensible way his Son, and, as an undeniable fact, his revealer and our helper; righteousness and duty; the endless life to come,—my faith in all this has been always growing in certainty, preciousness, and motive power; and God hasten the coming day when no man shall have a less and no church require a longer creed than that!

The Church has in it too many whom I love and reverence; it has had in it too many of my dead. There are crystallized about its very name too many of my best thoughts and purposes, for my leaving it to be other than unspeakably painful. But it is not so painful as would be living disloyal to what to me is truth, in a false position, and not free with the intellectual as well as spiritual liberty wherewith Christ has made us free.

I know that Presbyterian law admits no demission of the ministry,—self-avowed deflection from its doctrine involving discipline of the same sort as does conviction on trial for drunkenness or lewdness. But, in fact, if not in law, the ministry can be resigned, and I hereby give up the rights and privileges, and loose myself from the duties and obligations pertaining to and binding upon me heretofore as a minister of the Presbyterian Church. I have no need, I am sure, to ask that the action to be had in my case be prefaced with a statement of the fact that it results from my own wholly unsought avowals.

For the great and manifold kindness I have received from my brethren during the fifteen years that are gone I shall always be most grateful, and I know I can trust to its continuance. My college duties have kept me personally a stranger to most of this Presbytery, but the loss has been mine, and I have felt it as a loss. But some day we shall all know God and each other far, far better than now. Meantime it remains that we follow whereso He seems to lead,—if need be, by paths seemingly lonely and lying far apart.

The severance of no outward bond can prevent my remaining in heart and with great respect, your brother,

JOSEPH MILLIKIN.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Oct. 2, 1877.

WHO WILL BE THE NEXT POPE?

"Who will succeed Pope Pius IX.?" is a question which is now discussed in European political circles. It was currently reported that the late Cardinal Sforza was the most promising candidate at the time of his death; but now Cardinal Panebianco is most frequently mentioned for the honor. It seems to be generally conceded that the next pontiff will be an Italian. Of the seventy members of the college of cardinals, forty of them are Italians, the rest being scattered among the other European nationalties. This supposition is also strengthened by rumors of expressions which have fallen from the pope's lips, and further by the belief that he has created enough cardinals *in petto*, and invested them with the suffrage, so as to control the election. Cardinal Panebianco is said to have been nominated by the pope, in his secret councils. He was born in 1808, and elevated to the cardinalate in 1861. He is seventy years of age, and one of the considerations in his favor is said to be that he is in poor health. A Roman correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* says if he should be elected, he would be an ultra-reactionist. "He would admit of no compromise on the question of the education of the Roman Catholic laity, and would protest against mixed schools in Catholic States, and require the training of Catholic children in Protestant countries exclusively by the priesthood. He would put the papacy, in fact, in collision with all the governments of the world, for there is not one of them now, not even Spain, that tolerates clerical interference in domestic affairs." It is extremely probable that in the event of the election of such a man, Germany would attempt to interpose the *veto*, which Bismarck laid claim to in 1872, and which would undoubtedly be concurred in by Italy, and possibly by France and Austria. Much depends on the character of the man who shall succeed the present Holy Father. All the world will be interested spectators in the event, and will be eager learners of the characteristics and intentions of the new pope. It is thought that the elevation of Panebianco would precipitate an international-papal crisis and widen the breech between the mitre and the crown.

It is said that Cardinal Pecci might have been in the line of immediate succession, had he not been of such a compromising tendency and so liberal in his views, and had he not been relegated to the archbishopric of Perugia and kept there by the jealousy of Antonelli. To put him out of the catalogue of available candidates he has been shelved with the appointment of Camerlengo. By virtue of this office of grand chamberlain the duty of convoking the College of Cardinals for the purpose of electing a pope on the death of Pius IX., devolves on him, and he has much incidental influence on the subject. In order to curtail his power, the old rule that allowed ten days to elapse after the death of a pope before cardinals were called together has been set aside, and a new one established requiring him to summon the college within twenty-four hours, and before the interment even. Cardinal Pecci is sixty-seven years old, and is said to be a man of power, cool, deep, with a keen insight into character, stern and resolute, and always noted for his influence over others. It was for this latter trait, it is said, that Antonelli dreaded him at Rome, well knowing that he would soon undermine his authority and sap his influence with the pope.

Panebianco's chances are thought to be the most promising; but if a combination veto is made and is effective, it is doubtful if his election can be recognized, and without such recognition by the powers, he would not fare well on the papal throne. He is an uncompromising ultramontane. Prussia will be his bitterest foe. He will not abate zeal for the perpetuation of the present *regime*, and this will, in the eyes of the enemies of the temporal pretensions of the papacy, be prejudicial to his success. But, if the hierarchy has fixed upon him, it is exceedingly doubtful if he will not take the chair spite of all opposition. The policies between which he will have to make choice, the uncertainty of which constitutes a very great contingency to his election, are, first, either to renounce Pio Nono's course and promote every species of humanitarian progress, abandon the proscriptive and persecuting dogmas of the past, encourage education to its widest range, inculcate universal charity and fraternity, adopt the principles of a free Church in a free State; or, second, oppose systems of universal education, the commingling of children of all faiths in public schools, unlimited explorations in the field of speculation and scientific research, and to insist on conforming social and political life to the Roman standard, and of making the papal edicts and dogmas the test of religious and secular truth. His training and habits will incline him to the second alternative. The world at large would prefer to see the first one adopted and enforced.—*Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.*

VOLTAIRE.

Voltaire is becoming a very live topic, with the approaching centennial celebration of Voltaire's death in 1878, and the handling of the great wit by Mr. F. B. Perkins of the Public Library in his lecture last night foretells somewhat of the manner in which the verdict of the past century will be redressed by free and independent scholars and thinkers. He would use neither whitewash nor blacking, the lecturer remarked, but "rub off a little of the dirt that has been heaped upon him so long." If it were asked what is the use of explaining Voltaire, the answer was, "He was the foremost leader of free thought and free speech in that century which was the parent of this, and in that country whose action secured the national existence of this." It appears that the Roman Catholics do not get over the barbarous rage with which they execrate Voltaire. In 1815 they dragged his remains from the grave and flung them into a common sewer, and this year a book is published to attack the proposed Voltaire centennial; for the abuse in which Mr. Perkins furnished a very close illustrative parallel in a dreadful description of Luther's immoralities and debaucheries, from the writings of the late Archbishop Spaulding, of Baltimore, a highly respectable Roman Catholic prelate. Mr. Perkins touched off this first gun in the Voltaire centenary with some spirited preliminary remarks on a topic of the day after the manner of Rev. Joseph Cook, urging citizens to their political duties. The Voltairean politics of the present day were thus expressed: "If certain people can have their way, I shall be turned out of the insignificant office which I hold; but that is no matter. I long to have a clean government over this splendid city. I don't want a Democratic hat nor a Republican pair of boots. I want a good hat and a good pair of boots. I don't want a Democratic government nor a Republican government. I want an honest, good government." There was this sort of longing for honest government at the bottom of Voltaire's bitterness, according to the lecturer, against society toward the end of the seventeenth century. "Just as we might say in Boston, the words of the ordinance expressly called for a practical printer, and a mere politician was nominated. Such was the state of things that infuriated Voltaire. He himself suffered its abuses. Oppression maketh a wise man mad; how much more a sensitive and extravagantly irritable poet and man of genius! He struck at every abuse and wrong he could reach." Evidently there is to be some preaching to good purpose on texts furnished by the Voltaire centenary.—*Boston Globe.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

NOW.

Ever hoping more than loving,
On the future still we muse,
Midst its vision-flowers roving,
But to cull the saddest hues.

What we seek is now abiding,
What we hope for nearer found;
Heart with heart in love confiding,
In our own shall peace abound.

Enough is now of good and beauty,
Enough of truth for trusting hand;
A loving faith, an active duty,
Heed no distant vision-land.

Naught but hoping brings desponding—
With deeds we build the surer way;
For the Future, true responding,
Is but the reflex of To-day.

A. O.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 24.

E. D. Stark, 25 cents; Dr. L. P. Babb, $3; M. B. Linton, $1.50; C. W. Paige, $1.50; George Riker, $2; Mrs. M. H. Parry, $2.30; A. Oborne, 25 cents; F. W. Evans, 50 cents; C. W. Chadwick, $13.20; T. J. Crouse, $1.60; J. W. Braley, $3.20; A. P. Prichard, 10 cents; J. L. Whiting, $10; G. H. Foster, $3.40; Clark & Co., $8.34; John Zismer, $3.20; Warren Emerson, $14.40; Mrs. Sarah Emerson, $22.80; Mrs. G. E. Letcher, $3.20; Thomas Tasker, $3.20; E. B. Wolcott, $10; Charles Ellershaw, $1.50; W. E. Lukens, $1.10; T. C. Leland, 10 cents; Col. Chas. D. Miller, $1; Miss E. J. Leonard, $3.20; Mrs. M. J. Barker, $3.20; J. J. Dooley, $3.20; J. Lupton, $1; Cash, $4; Josiah Goodling, $1.60; P. S. Crowell, $3.20; Dr. O. Martin, $1; Darius Lyman, $23.50; Lizzie E. Dorr, $10.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 29, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognises no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, *Editorial Contributors.*

A CARD.

The Committee on the better establishment of THE INDEX, appointed at a meeting of its subscribers and friends last May, wish to enlist all the assistance they can to lay its claims before every liberal man and woman in our country. They have prepared a circular setting forth the method, motives, and objects of their action, and wish the names of all who are willing to assist them in placing it where it will do good. Please address the Chairman of the Committee, "Elizur Wright, P. O. Box 109, Boston, Mass."

ANNOUNCEMENT: CLUB TERMS.

Until January 1, 1879, THE INDEX will be sent for a year to clubs of five or more NEW SUBSCRIBERS on receipt of $2.20 each, in advance, instead of $3.29, the regular cost of subscription. This is an excellent chance for all our friends to join in a vigorous effort to increase the circulation of the most earnestly radical journal in the United States, and thereby to advance the common cause. It is only just to show due public appreciation of the efforts of its friends, and we shall therefore (unless explicitly requested to the contrary) publish the names of all who send us clubs under the arrangement, with the number of new subscribers obtained by each. Shall there not be a little generous emulation to help forward the struggling cause of religious freedom?

F. E. ABBOT, *Editor.*

EVERY NOW AND THEN it becomes necessary for us to remind our many kind correspondents of our absolute inability to write many letters. To attempt it would totally prevent the fulfilment of pressing and immediate duties; and we trust that no one will infer intentional neglect, much less any failure of the respect due to the writers. The day has not hours enough, however rashly the night is shortened, to do justice to our correspondents. Will they not, one and all, do us the justice of excusing the silence we cannot possibly help?

THIS POST-CARD, dated Ann Arbor, November 16, is very pertinent to the questions raised by Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith and Mr. B. F. Underwood: "Mr. Underwood's question might be answered, in part, by leaving out the *t* and putting it: 'Why is unchastity *venal* in one sex, not in the other?' For the rest, an answer might be found in the proverb, 'It is a wise child that knows its own father.' *Unknown and irresponsible parentage*, not domestic tyranny, is at the bottom of the difference. In fact, most questions of social ethics turn more or less on that of population,—which is the last, I suppose, that radicals will ever consent to take up.—A."

THE ESSAY of Hon. Elizur Wright, read at Rochester and published a fortnight ago in THE INDEX, has excited so much admiration that several correspondents have urged its publication in pamphlet form. Col. Charles D. Miller, of Geneva, N.Y., writes: "Enclosed is $1.06, for which send equivalent in INDEX of 15th instant, containing Elizur Wright's article—a 'State Paper.'" The Directors of the National Liberal League had already deliberated on the republication of this masterly essay in pamphlet form, and would have taken this step immediately if other and imperative demands on the treasury had not compelled delay. Cannot this delay be obviated by the liberality of appreciative readers?

THE MORAL CLIMATE.

Among the most potent causes affecting the peculiar character and social development of races, modern science reckons the influences of climate. Neither in extreme cold nor in extreme heat have those races been developed to which civilization owes its origin; they have flourished chiefly in the temperate zone. The length and rigor of Arctic winters depress the intellectual life of the tribes which inhabit the far North, by compelling them to struggle desperately for a bare subsistence, and forbidding that accumulation of wealth and that consequent enjoyment of leisure which are indispensable to mental productivity. So, also, in the far South, Nature discourages the intellectual evolution of mankind, though in a very different manner; the prodigal exuberance of the soil forestalls the necessity of labor to procure food, while the high temperature renders clothing and house-shelter comparatively useless; hence the mind lacks stimulus, inventiveness finds no scope for its achievements, and man is content to lead an almost purely animal life, being freed from the stern pressure of those wants which in less favored regions compel him to mental alertness and fertility of contrivance. It is only in those parts of the globe in which labor is absolutely necessary, yet is easily able to provide more than is required for immediate consumption, that wealth accumulates, leisure becomes possible, and civilization appears. Not only in these ways, but equally in many others, climate plays an enormously important part in human evolution; and some eminent thinkers, like Dr. Draper, are inclined to consider it the chief or even the sole factor in producing the peculiar characteristics of different races. Without going to this extreme, or overlooking the concurrent action of other causes, it remains true that physical climate exerts an influence on human nature altogether unsuspected by those who refer creation to the arbitrary "will of God."

Now physical climate finds its analogue in subtler and finer conditions than those affecting the temperature or humidity of the atmosphere, the relative duration of the seasons, the configuration of the earth's surface, the annual rain-fall, the fertility of the soil, etc., etc. There is a moral climate, so to speak, created by the human institutions into the midst of which men are born—the human environment which surrounds us all with prepotent social influences, yet of which we think as little as we reflect on the air we breathe or the sunshine we enjoy. Infinitely more than we imagine are our characters shaped and our destinies determined by these things of which we are scarcely conscious.

By far the larger part of the opinions we hold, of the sentiments we are stirred by, of the ideals we aim at, come to us by inheritance as naturally and as inevitably as the cut of our faces or the color of our hair. We are born into them; we seldom think our way out of them; if we do, it is only in consequence of exceptional mental vigor and perhaps at the cost of a battle with our surroundings which may easily end in the sacrifice of much that we hold most dear.

For example, the public opinion of our own age and country operates upon us all with tremendous and yet invisible power; it exerts a pressure upon the mind which is never relaxed at any moment, and which, though it may be and often is resisted, tells all the same upon the quality of our inward life. The expenditure of the very energy with which we brace ourselves to resist it exhausts, impoverishes, saddens,—ennobles in some directions and deteriorates in others,—destroys the harmony and rounded beauty of a natural development, as the trees along the southern shore of Lake Erie are blown permanently out of shape by the prevailing wind, conquerors in the struggle though they are.

The moral environment is well-nigh omnipotent in this coercive influence over the individual; it constitutes a spiritual climate from which he can in nowise escape; few indeed (the universe be praised that some such can be found!) possess vitality enough to maintain the rights of an independent individuality in healthiness and happiness, and to shape their own lives and characters in obedience to an ideal that transcends and contradicts its mighty moulding influences. He who can do this without being fatally warped in the process is a natural miracle. Failures to succeed in the attempt strew the ground in all directions, appearing in the eccentricities, foibles, follies, the extravagances and conceits and miserable moral distortions of many who essay to be reformers. They are not necessarily to blame; they are only spiritual consumptives, out of harmony with their immediate moral environment, and of natures not powerful enough to bring themselves into harmony with that nobler moral environment of the future which they are yet vaguely and yearningly striving to apprehend. "In the world, and yet not of it," because inhabiting that superior realm of ideas and ideals of which the world of to-day is only a stammering prophecy—of how few souls, alas, and yet how great, is that the just biography!

Few as they are, even this poor world of to-day knows enough to love them as a dog loves his human friend, with dumb, beseeching eyes full of unutterable things; laying his patient head on his master's knee and waiting for the caress with a pathos of wistful longing that moves even to tears. Ah, there is something in this humanity of ours—eternally hungry for that which appears not, and trudging painfully after the Golden Age that flies before it like the horizon—which looks up into the vastitudes of this universe with all the speechless eloquence of that poor dog, and mutely testifies of a climate in which it might indeed grow to be something more than canine. The dream of that climate is one which refuses to be dissipated, even under the exorcisms of an exultant prose-philosophy—refuses even to be shamed out of existence by the Orthodoxy that pretends to interpret it with all the assurance of Joseph before Pharaoh, and that would fain break its solemn silence with a hideous dissonance of devils and gold-harps, shrieks of the damned and eternal psalm-singing of the saved—aye, refuses to be vulgarized and put to flight even by the charlatanry of impostors who have learned the thrifty trick of trading on it, and do their miserable best to make honest people turn away from it with disgust as a device of sharpers and knaves. But it is a dream which abides, and will abide so long as characters now and then appear among men whose presence is a living proof of a Moral Climate far finer and purer than any social environment known to history or experience hitherto.

ABOUT JAPAN.

Professor Clark, of Amherst, Mass., has made a visit to Japan and is improving his opportunities to tell what he thinks of the country. The Professor does not hesitate to pronounce the people barbarians, and concludes that all they need is Christianity (which they are all ready to accept as soon as offered) to advance them to the perfections of our civilization. Of course we should not presume to question this encouraging and confident view of the case with one who is so well qualified to know what he affirms. And yet we must confess that, according to his showing, barbarism is better than we have been accustomed to suppose.

"It is a very easy thing," the Professor says, "to earn a living there in eight hours a day." Evidently our labor-reformers will have to dispense with this plank in their platform, if they emigrate to Japan. Is it not a sign of barbarism that it is there? "The Japanese," continues the Professor, "are the most contented people in the world. They have brought farming to great perfection, though they know nothing of the science of farming. The finest gardening can be seen there. They work the precious metals in a most beautiful manner. They make $40,000,000 worth of silk yearly, and spin and weave it by hand. They make a varnish of the poison sumac that will stand hot alcohol, but yet they know nothing of chemistry. They use no meat but chicken, but have all kinds of vegetables. They get forty bushels of wheat and sixty bushels of rice per acre. They can beat the world in grafting and in the planting and growing of forest trees. There is no people so capable of putting out of their heart) every bit of conceit. If anybody can teach them anything, they want to learn it." That is not so bad, after all, for barbarians.

In another address, Professor Clark further informs us that he believes "this people are to exert a mighty influence in the evangelization of the world. They believe in eight hundred thousand gods. The Mikado is the vicegerent of the gods to save the people from their sins." Orthodox Christianity holds there are three gods,—or four if we count his Satanic majesty. The Japanese, it appears, are much better provided for. This, we remember, was the argument of one of these pagan people to the missionary who wished to convert him. The doctrine that the Mikado is the vicegerent of the gods to save the people from their sins, or the consequences of them, would seem to be very suggestive of the Christian atonement, and justifies in some degree the assurance of the Professor that they are prepared for the reception of Christianity. "All who have known Japanese in this country," he says, "can testify to their wonder-

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fully genial natures and the regard for right which they habitually put in practice. During all my intercourse with Japanese students, I never heard any complaints of immorality; their conduct has always been exceedingly correct, and all their instructors have attested to their disposition to do nothing they knew was wrong."

This is certainly quite confounding testimony in regard to these barbarians. We should think that Japan must be the paradise of teachers and professors, when we consider the insubordinations which this class have frequently to contend with from those under their charge,—the pranks, annoyances, and insults which they are prone to perpetrate upon their instructors, and the cruel hazing upon their companions, and the immorality which often prevails in our schools and colleges; the indifference to and neglect of their opportunities. We are not sure but that it might be well to send some of these young students of Japan to our educational institutions as missionaries to those in pursuit of knowledge within them; of due respect for proper authority, for character, and good behavior. There is no doubt but good would come of it, if it were possible to forget that they are barbarians and we are Christians. But that is something which could not be expected. How could it? The Professor says of these young students with respect to temperance: "They smoked very much, and often, a peculiar pipe; but when told that it was a useless, foolish habit, the smoking-room in the new college at Bappro for the use of the students became vacant and unused, and no more smoking was seen. The same is true of their habit of drinking saki, or rice beer, which is drank extensively, but not commonly to excess." Anti-tobacco and anti-intoxicating liquor societies, it appears from this, are likely to find but small occasion for work or enthusiasm among these barbarians, as compared with what they find among Christians. It would seem, in view of this, advisable for them to cultivate as little association with Christians as possible, since (according to very reliable report) the influence of Christian civilization in such countries has been to increase rather than diminish these vices.

"These are the men," the Professor remarks, "of noble aspirations and of great capacity, who above all other people are destined to aid in Christianizing China; for the educated Japanese read the Oriental languages readily, and then are willing to perform whatever is right according to the light they have."

It is an interesting matter for speculation, admitting that these barbarians are as ready for Christianity as it is claimed, whether they would be any better for receiving it. We are sorry to aver that we suspect there is here and there a Christian in good and regular church standing who is not disposed to practice the right according to the light he has. This seems at least to be the explanation of such pious frauds as Winslow, Gilman, and others of their type. The Japanese, we are told, show no extravagance in building their temples. In this respect it is clear they have much to learn from us. If they should become Christians, we have no doubt they would begin to improve their religious architecture, and learn the art of building tall-spired and elegantly furnished churches without anything to pay for them.

Among the principles of their religion are the following: "1st. Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country. 2d. Thou shalt clearly understand the principles of heaven and the duty of man." Of course no further proof is necessary that the Japanese are barbarians; and, as Christianity has nothing else left for its energies and resources, perfection having been attained within its own dominion, it is very proper it should invade that of others and begin at once to convert them. It will be rather disappointing, though, if it should turn out at last after all the expenditure devoted to the effort that Japan should prefer its own religion, as has been the case generally in respect to other countries in which an incalculable amount of zeal and money have been spent in the same worthy enterprises; or if, as has also been the case, the last condition of the converted people should prove to be worse than the first.

Let it be understood that the foregoing casts no reflection upon and implies no distrust of the introduction of railroads, telegraphs, and schools, and such missionary agencies of our civilization in those countries. The Professor seems to attach but a secondary importance to these. The burden of his plea for these benighted people is in the interest of Orthodox Christianity, which we should consider of so little value to them that it would not be a serious loss, if indeed it would not be most fortunate, if it could be omitted altogether. D. H. C.

EXTRACTS AND NOTES.

"We have warned the people repeatedly that the Supreme Court of Heaven was in session; that the All-seeing Eye was fully cognizant of the affairs of men. Verily, 'things done in secret' are being 'proclaimed upon the housetops.' Where are the Tweeds, the Winslows, the Halls, the Spencers, the Gilmans? These men, who stood high in society, several of them church-members, are now known as criminals. The sifting is still going on in all grades of life. The Great Day of Judgment is even now. Sins in high places have been winked at too long. 'Beware, lest ye fall,' therefore, should be declaimed from every rostrum in the land."—*Banner of Light, Oct. 27.*

The *Religio-Philosophical Journal* evidently thinks too many Spiritualists are apathetic regarding, or even disposed to cover up, fraud practiced under the name of "mediumship"; and, after quoting the above paragraph, comments as follows:—

"Yes, we think we have heard about that court. It is a very just and impartial court, and there is no appeal from it. That All-seeing Eye, too, how handy to have it prying around into the affairs of our Orthodox neighbors. It is such a comfort to feel that our Christian friends can be brought up with a round turn by this Eye and turned over to the 'Court of Heaven' for trial.

"As Spiritualists, some of us have no use for this Court or that Eye. We are on a more advanced plane. We acknowledge allegiance to the 'Higher Law' (whatever that is), and feel that right and wrong are only relative terms, and that all the mean, dirty tricks, frauds, and swindles we perpetrate, are necessary to our development. Verily, 'things done in secret' (down cellar and through trap-doors for instance) are being 'proclaimed upon the housetops'; but then the religious opinions of a rascal make a great difference in our judgment of him; if he is a Spiritualist, why 'the poor fellow, is not responsible'; 'low, undeveloped spirits have misled him'; or he is being '*persecuted*' by the wicked unbelievers."

Tickell wrote on the death of Addison the following lines:—

"He taught us how to live, and, O how high,
The price of knowledge! taught us how to die."

A Western friend, some time ago, handed me the following lines, written for his father's epitaph. They are in my opinion an improvement on the above quoted:—

"A man he was, whate'er his fault might be,
Who worshipped justice, loved humanity;
The world his country, all mankind his kin,
His love included all who dwelt therein.
How to live right with steadfast aim he tried,
And recked but little in what mood he died."

Says Albert Barnes, in his able and candid *Lectures on Christianity*:—

"The dominion of the Koran is *the dominion of a book*,—a silent, still, speechless thing, that has no will, no armies, no living energies, no chain spot, no cannon, and yet it exerts a power which the monarch and the conqueror never wields. It lives, too, when monarchs and conquerors die. It rules advancing generations, and subdues their wills, too. It moulds their opinions, leads them to temples of worship, and restrains their passions with a power which monarchs never wielded. It guides them in life, and is the last book which they consult or call to remembrance on the bed of death."

This is the sort of argument which the Christian clergy make use of to show that the Bible must be a superhuman production. Will it not apply quite as well to the Koran?

A friend who has been to the Black Hills writes me thus:—

"The Black Hills are the biggest fraud ever imposed upon a financially distressed public. The thousands of impecunious fortune-seekers who have visited that country, and who, like myself, have left it forever in disgust, will probably be glad to back that opinion. Nature plays as many pranks as anybody. She has sometime or other 'been on a drunk,' and in a spirit of diabolical levity she blew out a little 'dust' and a few patches of gold-bearing quartz and scattered it in spots over a rough, obscure corner of Dacotah, in order to play a wicked joke on the American people and some John Chinamen. Her handmaid, old dame Fortune, directed the steps of a few of her favorites to all of those 'spots' that were of any value, and the wealth was all gobbled up before I and several thousands of others had got our carpet-bags packed. The joke cost me about $600 in hard cash."

A correspondent of the *Investigator* writes:—

"I know sturdy old infidels who have been about all their lives with 'T. P.' on their shoulders as a chip for some Christian to knock off. When the belligerent Christian comes along and does it, then follows one of those heated controversies, which are always the same, and are nothing but a 'jaw' about the merits and demerits of Thomas Paine. I know of one fighting Christian who used to end such talks very effectively with the contemptuous expression, 'Oh! Tom Paine is your only stock in trade.'

"The constant prominence which we give to the name in our publications tends to confirm this feeling among our opponents. The time was when the constant and virulent attacks upon the man and his works, from all sides, rendered this necessary for his defence, in every issue of our infidel publications. But that old time has passed by. The intelligent portion of the Christian people and press have of late years refrained from such assaults, and have seemed more disposed to recognize in some measure his service to humanity. With this view, it would seem useless that with every issue of our papers there should be from one to half-a-dozen articles about Thomas Paine."

The writer of the above evidently thinks that justice to Paine and appreciation of his services do not require that he shall be put forward as the great representative of freethought to-day. In this respect he is unquestionably correct. B. F. U.

Communications.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE MOVEMENT.

THE CATTARAUGUS COUNTY RATIFICATION MEETING.—MRS. STANTON'S LECTURE ON "OUR GIRLS," AND SOME ENCOURAGING WORDS FROM HER.—WHAT OUR FRIENDS ARE DOING AND WHAT IS REQUIRED OF THEM.

EDITOR INDEX:—

It looks now as if our Liberal League ratification meeting, to be held at Randolph, Dec. 8 and 9, would be a large one. There are a number of very intelligent and earnest freethinkers residing at Randolph, and they are making liberal arrangements to accommodate all who may attend. A number of private houses will entertain visitors free, and the hotels will give board for a dollar per day. Judge McCormick and Dr. T. L. Brown have agreed to be present; and we also expect Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York city, and W. S. Bell, of New Bedford, Mass. Elder F. W. Evans, of Mount Lebanon, has also been invited, and it would add much to the interest of the occasion if he should accept the invitation. Large meetings attract much more attention than small ones, and I hope all residents in Western New York and Western Pennsylvania who indorse the Rochester Liberal League platform will attend this gathering.

The citizens of this town a few evenings since enjoyed a grand literary entertainment, listening to a lecture from Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The subject was "Our Girls," and it was a lecture full of food for thought. It was, of course, delivered from her liberal religious stand-point, and contained many telling hits against old Orthodox notions. It is encouraging to learn that such radical thoughts are everywhere received by the people with evident approbation.

After Mrs. Stanton left here, she had occasion to write me about her trunk that was left behind, and I will take the liberty to quote a few lines from her letter:—

"That paper of Elizur Wright, which I have just read, ought to be printed in tract form and scattered through our land. It is grand. My little INDEX follows me from point to point. It has travelled in my wake from Maine to Texas. It cheers many a lonely hour for me, waiting at depots and in dreary hotels. What a blessed peace that mind enjoys, emancipated from the glum and mystery, the traditions and superstitions of the popular religion! Blessed are they who through ostracism and persecution have been the pillars of light to lead some of us through the wilderness of doubt to the happy land! I feel highly honored to see my name in the list of Vice-Presidents of the National Liberal League; but I have not done enough for liberal religion to merit the distinction. The subject grows on me every day in magnitude and importance."

Mrs. Stanton says, in relation to Mrs. Neymann, of New York, and the paper she read before the Liberal Congress:—

"I shall take the earliest opportunity to make the acquaintance of Mrs. Neymann. I have enjoyed reading her paper in THE INDEX."

I am pleased to inform the readers of THE INDEX that a number of Liberal League State sub-committees are already appointed, and in many places the question of organizing local Liberal Leagues is being agitated. But I am sure our cause demands more energetic action from its friends than it is receiving. To get organized one thousand Leagues this year, we must organize about eighty-three a month. Can we do that next month? Reader, commence the work in your own town. H. L. GREEN.

SALAMANCA, N.Y., Nov. 20, 1877.

THE COMING RELIGION.

"Great Pan is not dead! He may have sent up a cry of despair, as he saw the doors of the Temple of Humanity closed upon the world and sealed by the dreamers of the Orient; but he has only been slumbering these many centuries. New prophets are now heard in the land. A new evangel is ringing in the ears of man. No signs are seen; no wonders talked of; no miracles performed; and yet all is not well with the followers of the lowly Jesus. They tremble at every sound; they peer anxiously into every thoughtful face; they scan the titles of books as they drop moist from the press; they organize 'sham battles' to try the strength of their defences; they provoke discussion that they may discover the mettle of their opponents; they proclaim aloud *their* perfect trust in *their* scheme of salvation; they protest they fear naught, though not thereunto interrogated. *All is not well with them!* Great Pan has turned over in his sleep! 'Universal humanity' is showing off the torpor of its nineteen centuries rest."

Such thoughts as these flitted through my mind as I entered Standard Hall last Sunday, and sat down on the outskirts of the vast assemblage that filled

the auditorium. One would have imagined himself in the presence of a great social reunion. The loud murmur of greetings, the glad, smiling faces, the cordial grasps of the hand, the inquiries, the recognitions, the friendly glances, the red cheeks and bright autumn costumes, the anxious demand for seats, the quick, restless movement of gloved hands seeking to add grace to attitudes, the comfortable, easy, and at-home appearance of the thousand gathered there, proclaimed at once the existence of an admirably *earnest and sympathetic understanding*. What! are these worshippers? you ask yourself. Is this a *religious* society? Is it not a concert or a social gathering? Surely they do not mean this to take the place of "church"? Why, yes, it must be so; for there, the organ is sending forth its silver tones, first soft and sweet, then loud and louder. All is hushed and quiet in the hall below. It surely does look like church. Suddenly a strong chorus of male voices fairly leaps upon the air. The effect is grand. Between the pauses the silence in the hall is almost painful. The assemblage now wears a look of sober earnestness. Not a hand moves; not a chair creaks. It surely *does* look like church.

But see, a short, vigorously-built, broad-browed, quick-spoken man of about thirty-eight, with a pale but pleasant, bearded face of the Jewish type, has entered the hall and taken his seat upon the platform. As the chorus ends, he steps forward and looks the assemblage calmly in the eyes for a moment. If respect can be measured by the silence with which they awaited their teacher's first word, that respect must border closely upon veneration. In fact, during his entire address, the greater eloquence was among the listeners. Not that Prof. Adler is not an earnest and forcible speaker, but his auditors outdo him both in force and earnestness. However, he has the "making" of an eloquent speaker in him, and only needs practice. As it was, he clung closely to his reading-desk with one hand and rarely raised the other; but once or twice the fire within overcame the bonds of diffidence, and the speaker's hand fell hammer-like upon the desk, clenching the argument most effectually.

He spoke of the progress of the liberal cause, the decay of the old faith, struck hard at the dogmas of hell, sin, total depravity, *et id genus omne*. He showed how intellectual progress had been impeded; he drew attention to the pitiful condition of American universities managed in the interests of Protestant denominations; praised Prussia for her liberty of research in all the scientific questions of the day; sneered at "Christian geology and astronomy"—as well he might,—and called upon the members of his society to entrust their children to him for religious culture—not in the myths and superstitions of orthodoxy, but in the bright and glorious principles of morality, and ended his discourse by calling upon his followers to give up all thoughts of retreat and to press on to victory, which surely awaited them.

Prof. Adler's society is no longer an experiment. Orthodox Judaism will have to confess this. Nay, more; the Orthodox, of all religions, unless they be wilful-blind, cannot deny that another star has gone up, this time not in the East, but in the Western sky, and that, if they will but follow this star, it will surely come and stand over the "Temple of Humanity." INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD.

NEW YORK, Nov. 5, 1877.

FROM A NOTE-BOOK.

In the best kind of teaching, the truth taught absorbs all the attention and the teacher is forgotten; that is a small banner of truth that does not hide the man that holds it up.

Stating a question well is half the answer.

A sound effort is heard farthest when musical, and so the most effective form of truth is poetry.

The imperfection of all attempts, so far, to explain and unify Nature is, that they take note of too few principles; and so in vain try to thread the facts we see on the few lines of philosophical connection as yet discovered. A tree nowhere in its structure presents either a straight line or a continuous curve; yet trunk, limbs, boughs, and leaves embody geometry. We must wait some centuries for an application of Euclid to botany.

Those unfortunate men who, in early life, assume the vows and offices of dogmatic religion, whose tenets their minds afterward outgrow, may be likened to young animals captured and caged. At first kindly nurtured, theirs is a pleasant state; but soon they find the cage a cage, and the ability to get food outside of it gone.

How much truth there is in that early similitude of knowledge as a tree! Whoever comprehends it has the heart of liberty in him. Knowledge does not increase like a honeycomb, cell simply added to cell; but like an oak whose every year of growth implies not only addition but complete transformation of structure. Nothing is fixed but the axis, from whence the branches and boughs spread as if they felt they had all space to expand into. A stripling a season or so old, is beautiful in its way; but, would it be wise to uproot it, shelve it in a museum, and declare it to represent a finality as to oak-possibilities?

Confession, when wrong-doing has been serious or mean, should not always be made. However sincere repentance may be, any one to whom the *whole* of a tale of sin has been told, can never get over a secret repugnance to the sinner. It is a help in trying to amend that others think an offender better than he is. The corrosions of shame and remorse are often usefully increased by the retention of the story of wrong; when confession has been made, a relief comes merely from that, which should not be earned so cheaply.

Agreeable, intelligible expression, embraces the power of thought; that is, increases the effective percentage of it. If a thinker of poor delivery or obscure manner improves his style, as far as others are concerned, it is as if he thought twice as much or twice as well.

No one now who demurs at theism, but admits the great usefulness and value of an ideal personification of the universe in its intelligent aspect,—if this be truthfully done with loyalty to fact. The essence of the atheist's (or agnostic's) complaint is, that the ideas of God which are held even by the most refined religions, do not correspond with the ideas of Nature which a wide and judicial survey of the universe gives a student of it.

The pride of an interpreter sometimes rises above that of a lawgiver. I have known a spectator say of a sunset that it was tawdry, when sunsets should certainly create the canons of taste. This reminds me of the ultra-Sabbatical Scotch dame who, when referred to the Gospel which tells how Jesus plucked ears of corn on the Sabbath, said, "Well, I never thought any the better of him for that."

The play of vice against vice is an interesting one to watch. The avaricious man would like to be ostentatious but for the expense. Conspiracies and impure sins are largely restrained by want of confidence.

"Possible," like "choice," and other terms, is one that implies human ignorance. From a necessarily imperfect knowledge of forces at work in a particular case, we imagine certain consequences and call them possibilities; but the actual past, present, and future are all there is of truth.

Friend M. is a very sensible man. He makes good verses; yet I knew him intimately a year before he said a word about them.

The education that merely imparts information is defective. Above that is the training of the judgment; of the power of testing and balancing evidence; of detecting fallacies and sophistry. The intellect is not a mere cupboard, but an instrument for the discovery of truth to be vitally assimilated.

Instruction, intellectual and moral, is usually given too soon in life, so that matters of transcendent importance lose their interest before the reason which is needed to grasp them matures. One of the compensations for an education coming late in life, by one's own effort or otherwise, is, that the wonderfulness and suggestiveness of truths come to the mind undampened by any early and useless familiarity.

As the clergy deem the truths they teach of supreme value, and admit that they are not easily understood, why do they not leave children alone, and submit their doctrines only to those who have reached full intelligence? If they have confidence in their "truths," this plan might produce the "lively faith" in their flocks so earnestly sought. Or, would this postponement not have other and less agreeable results?

Friend F. looks at the system of things only through his own immediate atmosphere, and is often bitterly pessimistical. When he loses money or has a quarrel with anybody, his friends say, "Now the universe will catch it."

We cannot imagine additions to space or time, but we can to matter and motion. Space is unequally occupied by matter; and if all space were as full as some space is, there would be more matter than there is now. So with motion; some matter, as the equators of the spheres, moves more swiftly than other portions; if all moved as rapidly, there would be more motion than at present exists. From this line of thinking, as we can add ideally to matter and motion they cannot be infinite in amount, though diffused through infinite space.

Self-consciousness is the great mystery which baffles inquiry. I make this query about it with much diffidence: May it not be that part of the mind is conscious of another part, and not all of all,—so that, strictly speaking, there may be no self-consciousness, and that what is so-called does not differ in kind from consciousness of eternal things? G. I.

MONTREAL, October, 1877.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XIX.

In the review of Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, by Thaddeus B. Wakeman (republished in THE INDEX of July 12, 1876), we have from Mr. Wakeman an epitome of scientific classification, from his latest and present point of view. There is in it, mere epitome as it is, an important advance upon anything contained in his larger work, *Extension and Enlargement of the Positive Classification of the Sciences;* and this we may take as the latest bulletin from the grand corps of scientific advance, on this subject of classification. It is introduced incidentally, to found an objection to Mr. Spencer's treatment of the doctrine of evolution, and the whole passage containing the epitome in question is as follows:—

"1. The point of the first objection appears from glance at the common or positive classification of the sciences, which may be condensed as follows:—

1. THE MINERAL KINGDOM.	Astronomy, 8. Physics, 7. Chemistry, 6.
2. THE VEGETABLE KINGDOM.	(Protistology.) Vegetal Physiology, 5. (Botany.)
3. THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.	Animal Physiology, 4. (Zoölogy.)
4. THE HUMAN KINGDOM.	Sociology, 3. Morality, (Ethics) 2. Psychology (Education) 1.

"Now, it is claimed that the great laws of gravity, correlation, and chemical combination make the synthesis of the mineral, *i. e.*, the material kingdom and its special sciences, and that evolution has no place there; that "stones do not grow," and that fluids and gases are like them in that respect; that the crystals and vapors are formed, but never *evoluted* from each other; that the attempt to apply this law to inanimate matter, is an attempt to *biologize* the cosmos, just as materialism is the reverse error of applying the laws and properties of matter to vital and mental phenomena."

What Mr. Wakeman here calls the *common* or *positive* classification means Comte's classification as expounded and improved upon by himself (Wakeman); and the point that I refer to, as advance, is this reference of the grand divisions or groupings of the sciences, to the three (or four) kingdoms of Nature. Of course this relates only to the natural or concrete sciences, omitting the abstract sciences (logic and mathematics); but within this range it has the advantage of great simplicity and naturalness. Just this salient point of common knowledge, the division of Nature into three kingdoms, familiarly known by the whole world, is the most available point of departure, in the practical education of the world into higher scientific discriminations; and it is a stroke of genius with Wakeman to have brought back all the more high sounding, more profound, or more specific distributions of science, to this simple and practical starting-point. But it is not this alone, nor even mainly, for which I would commend it. The point of still greater importance is, that it virtually plants the whole business of classification upon the secure and appropriate basis of scientific analogy. The showing of this tendency or fact will be deferred for a more special treatment, to another article. At present, and as preliminary, I wish to call attention to the two very different orders of mind which are dealing with science, and with this subject of classification, and to the results which come from that difference.

The two classes of thinkers referred to may be called the simple-minded and the figurative-minded people. The simple-minded, among scientists and thinkers, will take naturally to departmental, descriptive, and general science; the figurative-minded to "aspectual," comparative, and special science (with a new and transcendental generalization growing out of the minutest special and particular). The simple-minded people, whether in common life or in science, are far the more numerous. They are the commoners.

> "The primrose, by the river's brim
> A yellow primrose was to him,
> And it was nothing more."

The figurative-minded are those who span the distance between one simple observation or one department and another, and trace resemblances in the midst of differences, and so trace out and delight in likenesses and analogies. They are comparatively few in number, and are called transcendental and incomprehensible. This term, transcendental, is not confined to philosophy, but is invading science also. Comparative anatomy is called, also, Transcendental Anatomy. Hickok speaks freely and frequently of transcendental science. The simple-minded or departmental scientists are apt to suspect the figurative-minded and comparological of being visionary and unsafe; the latter to despise the former as narrow-minded and commonplace. Cuvier stands representative of common or descriptive science in the department of natural history; Oken of comparological or transcendental science in the same sphere. Cuvier has led the great army of natural history investigators, and Oken has fallen into neglect; and yet, Oken had a far deeper insight into Nature than Cuvier. It is said that for a little time Cuvier became the disciple of Oken, but the analogical atmosphere was too attenuated for him to breathe long, and he sank back to the more commonplace range of observation and thought,—better fitted for the earlier stage of the development of any science. Oken was before his time, and did not fully understand himself. Scientific analogy was *intuited* rather than *discovered* by him; but his fundamental thought was the larger truth, and through universology it will be reproduced and *precistonized*. Agassiz said, speaking of Oken, that his thought dominated Germany for thirty years, but that analogy is not (was not) yet *sufficiently understood* to be made the basis of classification. He always believed that it would be so understood in the future. Richard Owen and St. George Mivart may be mentioned as living representatives of the transcendental school in science, the subdominant school of to-day, but destined to be the dominant school of a later stage of scientific development.

There remains to be mentioned a still smaller school of scientists, hardly yet distinctly defined to the popular apprehension, but paramount in rank to all others—*Integralists*, those who are equally at home upon the common plane of science, and upon the transcendental plane; who know and clearly discriminate the difference between them, but who accept and aid to develop both, and out of their conjunction and inter-relationship and inter-action, to evolve the total fabric, and to construct the completed temple of the sciences. Integralism is still more largely, if not more closely, allied with universological methods than comparology, and cannot be adequately attained to by any other method. Aimed at by the omission of scientific analogy, and so of universal comparology or transcendental science, the result can only be, at the best, pseud-integralism; analogous with the best music which can be acquired and exhibited without the knowledge of "harmony."

Scientific classification, to be complete, must, it is clear then, cover the whole ground. A classification of mere departmental and descriptive science is only a basis, foundation (platform or pedestal) for transcendental science, as the main elevation; and then for integral science, first as the dome and then as the entirety of the completed temple. Departmental and descriptive science give the mere facts and classifying laws of science; comparative or transcendental science gives the *meaning* of the facts and the *rationale* of the laws; or the soul of the facts and the

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reason of the order of their correlations. And, in fine, integralism colligates and makes entire the whole structure; or adds that element of unity, which in art, is so much insisted on. It is this which furnishes the philosophy of the sciences; or, in a word, sciento-philosophy.

Observe, in the next place, that departmental-and-descriptive science deals, in predominance, with the qualitative properties of things; weight, color, sound, taste, smell, form, etc., those aspects of being which a child would first observe and distinguish (with the addition of mere count); and that comparological-and-transcendental science (as developed universologically) deals, in preponderance, with the quantitative properties of things,—taking its departure wholly from unism, duism, and trinism, the *qualitative* extracts of the primal *quantities*, one, two, and three. Now it is Spencer who has clearly pointed out the fact (exceedingly important, though as yet hardly put to any use) that science progresses, and that its development is *characterized* by its transition from the predominance of qualitative to the predominance of quantitative considerations.

It may now be said, in universological technicality, that qualitism is the naturismus of science (and unismal); that quantitism is the scientismus of science (and duismal), and that qualita-quantitism (or the conjunction, inter-relationship, and inter-action or mutual modulation of qualitism and quantitism) is the artismus of science (and trinismal).

It must not be understood that because Spencer has discovered and emphasized the higher grade and rank, in science, of quantitative considerations, that he has, therefore, discovered or distinctly perceived that new and grander and totally distinct development of science (comparological and transcendental) which is wholly derived from the essential attributes of quantity (embodied representatively in the first three numbers one, two, and three.) On the contrary, he has wholly failed to seize the spirit even of Oken's elaboration, which is a John the Baptist of this ultimate transcendental comparology. The quantity which Spencer appreciates is still *mere quantity;* the naturism of quantity; the analogue of *mere count*, within the naturismus of science, as above specified—not the qualitative extract or spirit of quantity—universological—which is the scientism of quantity.

Rigorously speaking, neither Comte nor Spencer nor Wakeman gives any place to comparology. By inexpugnability and overlapping, comparative science, in a lower sense (never in the higher or transcendental sense as here defined), crops out, with all of them; but they must rank, as classifiers, by what they clearly are, by explication; not by what they may chance to seem to be, by implication.

THE IMPOLICY OF REPRESSION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

However widely you dissent from my views and methods of reform, I am sure you agree with me in the faith that conscientious thought, freely expressed, is needed in every community; that what stimulates inquiry and increases knowledge should be encouraged; and that efforts to stifle investigation are unwise and retributive. Twenty years ago next February, in the house of William Lloyd Garrison, 11 Dix Place, Boston, I was inducted into anti-slavery work by that then derided but now justly honored American citizen. Since then, for negro emancipation, peace, woman's enfranchisement, temperance, labor and love reform, I have incessantly worked, at a pecuniary loss which leaves me to-day heavily in debt to special friends, but which gives me assurance that, regardless of self, I have striven earnestly while in this world to make it better. To-day I am held as a criminal under United States law on the complaint, not of one who knows me or favors the beneficent objects to which my life is devoted, but of a person from another State, a prominent exponent of prevailing unreason, who, unable to answer my arguments against social evils, intends to silence me by fines and imprisonment. While lawfully and peacefully at work November 2d in Boston, as I had momentarily left the chair from which I was presiding over a public convention to transact business in an ante-room, a stranger sprang upon me, and, refusing to read a warrant or even give his name, hurried me into a hack, drove swiftly through the streets on a dark, rainy night, and lodged me in jail as a "United States prisoner." Beyond the vague charge of "circulating obscene literature," it was not until the next morning, from another officer who kindly permitted me to read the warrant, that I learned why I was imprisoned, for what, and that the rude stranger was "Anthony Comstock, special agent of the United States Post-Office Department," who even then made no specifications, but kept the books on which the charge was made under his own lock and key until I was arraigned for examination November 13, before Mr. Hallett.

Whether the forms of law can with impunity be overridden in ways by which any citizen might be kidnapped, taken out of the State, to Canada, or thrust into an insane asylum; by whose permit this man personates national authority and supervises our mails in the interest of sectarian intolerance, I will not now inquire. Neither will I ask why the United States clothes with its great powers a "special agent" to interfere with lawful business, and forge signatures to decoy letters, one of which Mr. Comstock wrote me under the name of "E. Edgewell," the following extract from which I printed in *The Word*, October, as genuine:—

"Press on as you are going, and be sure in the end justice will be done you. It is a long lane that has no turn. You have labored hard, but many eyes have followed your efforts."

Nor will I dwell on the spirit of the man indicated in this extract from a letter written to Hon. C. L. Merriam, M. C., by Mr. Comstock to induce him to vote for the "law" under which he conspires against the liberty and lives of American citizens:—

"There were four publishers on the 2d of last March; *to-day three of these are in their graves, and it is charged by their friends that I worried them to death. Be that as it may, I am sure that the world is better off without them.*"

I will not now multiply facts to show that, masked under Federal law and the sacred forms of religion, we have here incarnate Intolerance to which neither pro-slavery savagery, Puritan bigotry, nor High-Church proscription, nothing this side of mediæval inquisitions will furnish a parallel.

When Southrons invaded the freedom of the mails to suppress anti-slavery publications, which they called "incendiary literature," the Union rang with denunciations of the outrage. The same spirit of tyranny which assailed reformers then, now labels exposures of social evil "*obscene* literature"! Mr. Comstock's attempt to suppress *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* for ventilating clerical "scandal," the disgusting details of which afterwards filled American newspapers; his imprisonment of George Francis Train seven months in Ludlow Street Jail, and of John A. Lant eighteen months in Albany Penitentiary for criticisms of reigning sensualism; his infliction of fines and costs amounting to five thousand dollars, on Dr. E. B. Foote, for publishing physiological facts that all people, young and old, should know; and his recent arrest of D. M. Bennett, editor of the New York *Truth Seeker*, for "obscenity and blasphemy," should open all eyes to the relentless war he wages upon honest writers and publishers who favor theological and social reform. Twenty years, before the intelligent eyes and pure minds of New England citizens, have I pursued my work unmolested, except by sporadic mobs from the streets which all reformers have to encounter; never before was my ability to use intelligent and chaste language questioned. Now I am gravely arraigned for "obscenity" by a money-seeking exponent of sectarian repression who comes from "nest-hiding" Brooklyn!

My object in writing *Cupid's Yokes* was to promote discretion and purity in love by bringing sexuality within the domain of reason and moral obligation. As I expressed it on page 17 of the last edition, "I appeal" from the reprehensible sensualism of to-day "to the wiser future which will *demand* that the reproductive instinct be inspired by intelligence and placed under the dominion of the will." Whatever of truth it contains is above the reach of any court to adjudge. The more they suppress it the louder it will speak. My opinions may be right or wrong; but dearer than the reforms on which I have staked what there is of this world to me; dearer than the loved one with whom I have the honor to share a home; than the children we rejoice in; than life itself, is my right to seek TRUTH and proclaim it; is the "liberty of unlicensed printing" which, since the days of Milton, by all English-speaking nations has been held in special reverence; is the natural right of American citizens to acquire and impart knowledge which in my person is now assailed. If my liberty and life are needed to teach non-thinking people the sacredness of that right, they will be cheerfully given. But are you willing, Mr. Editor, that the United States Government shall continue to sanction the persecution of opinions to which Mr. Comstock ignobly devotes it? Shall Federal Law, ennobled by the humane impulses of Lincoln, Sumner, and Garrison, by siding with repression become hostile to progress and repulsive to every right-minded citizen? E. H. HEYWOOD.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

So has long been called that prayer which Jesus recommended to his followers, when they asked him to teach them how to pray. If we are to give it any attention, this prayer is certainly entitled at our hands to an unprejudiced, all-sided, fair examination. Such an examination will, I think, lead us to about the following understanding of it, as being, although an under-expression of what the prayer contains, yet accurate as far as it goes.

The prayer is addressed to the Invisible Unity that binds together the phenomena of the universe, and which is felt to be leading them towards the production of right and kindness, and so is called our Father. It is no series of self-seeking requests; but rather a series of aspirations, of desires, expressed in the presence of the Invisible Unity, first for mankind, afterwards for ourselves. One sees this at once, when he considers the character of the opening wishes: they are no petitions for personal gifts. The first, "Hallowed be thy name," is the expression of a desire,—not the desire that men may show a respect for the name of God whenever they hear it mentioned; nor that they may reverence a theological personality; for the whole tendency of Jesus' teachings shows him to have been indifferent to such ideas as these,—but the desire that men may reverence the divine power wherever they see it working. The second wish, "Thy kingdom come," is to say, "Our desire is that the divine rule, the rule of right may dawn on the earth." The third, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," is to say, "We long to see the time when all men shall obey the rule of right."

We now come to the personal desires. The first of these, "Give us this day our daily bread," is no request to a mighty person to hand us down bread out of heaven. Common-sense ought to show any one that it was not spoken, and never was understood in any such sense. It is simply to recognize that the environment, being fitted to and provoking and responding to our efforts, has in the past furnished us a moderate subsistence such as is favorable to the development of character, and to express the hope that the same moderate subsistence will be continued. It recalls the prayer of Agur, which was no doubt familiar to the hearers of Jesus: "Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me: lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Eternal? or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God." The real object of desire in both prayers is character; and the thought underlying them is that the favorable medium for the growth of character is a moderate and continued supply; neither poverty with its worry on the one hand, nor flush prosperity on the other.

The next clause, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors," is to express the desire that our misdoings of the past may be trampled down, put out of sight, their evil effects nullified in our spiritual life; even as we try to put out of sight, turn into good, the injuries that others do us. It is undoubtedly a serious matter for even the most forgiving of us to utter this desire; and to the man who does not wish to conquer his natural revengefulness it of course sounds like mockery. The next clause, "Lead us not into temptation," is the expression of the dread lest such conditions of our environment as those which, occurring in the past, have been the occasion of our doing wrong, should in the future recur to us. This is a dread which one would think any one would feel who had acquired that reasonable distrust of his moral strength which experience should teach most of us. The next clause, "Deliver us from evil," is to say, "We earnestly desire that, if the temptation does come, we may successfully resist it, and not do wrong." The last clause, "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever and ever," is the expression of that awe which any man of imagination and of sense of grandeur in things outside of himself, must feel in contemplating the universe, and feeling something of its vastness, unity, and orderly march.

The foregoing is an attempt to express in the language of modern exactness (and inadequacy because exactness) the very same feelings which in the original prayer are expressed in the language of poetry and religion. These are feelings which a man to whom good and evil are alike cannot share in; but which it would seem that any man, whatever his views of the philosophy of good and evil, who feels within himself the desire to overcome wrong and to do right, must sympathize with. Such desires, fervently felt, expressed in spontaneous manner by a man who cared nothing for philosophical speculation, in an age when men did not dream of being on their guard against anthropomorphic expressions, but spoke as they found it natural to, inevitably took the apparent form of petition to a person. That quality in this prayer, so far from being its body and substance, is only an accident in expression, and is not the thing to be looked at, which is the feeling that lay below the expression. RUFUS WEEKS.

SUMMIT, N. J., Nov. 12, 1877.

HAD NO FUN IN HIM.

One of the members of the Methodist Conference, recently held here, was out for a walk at an early hour one morning, and while on Howard Street he encountered a strapping big fellow, who was drawing a wagon to the blacksmith shop.

"Catch hold here and help me down to the shop with this wagon, and I'll buy the whiskey!" called the big fellow.

"I never drink," solemnly replied the good man.

"Well, you can take a cigar."

"I never smoke."

The man dropped the wagon-tongue, looked hard at the member, and asked:—

"Don't you chew?"

"No, sir," was the decided reply.

"You must get mighty lonesome," mused the teamster.

"I guess I'm all right,—I feel first rate."

"I'll bet you even that I can lay you on your back," remarked the teamster. "Come, now, let's warm up a little."

"I never bet."

"Well, let's take each other down for fun, then. You are as big as I am, and I'll give you the under hold."

"I never have fun," solemnly answered the member.

"Well, I'm going to tackle you, any way. Here we go!"

The teamster slid up and endeavored to get a neck hold, but he had only just commenced to fool about when he was lifted clear off the grass, and slammed against a tree-box with such force that he gasped half a dozen times before he could get his breath.

"Now you keep away from me!" exclaimed the minister, picking up his cane.

"Bust me if I don't!" replied the teamster, as he edged off. "What's the use in lying and saying that you didn't have any fun in you, when you're chuck full of it! Blame it! you wanted to break my back, didn't you?"—*Detroit Free Press.*

POPULAR SUFFRAGE has been put to a singular test in a village of Awa Japan. The neighborhood was harassed by a midnight robber, whom nobody could detect. The head of the hamlet summoned the entire male population under his charge and directed every man to write the name of the person whom he suspected and to deposit the ticket in a box. Fifteen ballots bore the name of Abe Tanihei, the rest being blanks. The man whom everybody distrusted was so overcome with astonishment that he made full confession and went to prison. Never before in the history of popular government was a thief elected with such unanimity.—*Tribune.*

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient coöperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1877. WHOLE NO. 415.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

GLIMPSES.

REV. S. W. SAMPLE, of Meadville, Pa., wrote as follows to Mr. Green, in response to an invitation to speak at Randolph: "As I believe in the principles of the National Liberal League with all my heart and mind and soul and strength, it is with pleasure that I accept your kind invitation."

SUBSCRIBERS in New York State will bear in mind the approaching convention of the Cattaraugus County Liberal League at Randolph, December 8 and 9. It is called to ratify the Rochester platform, and will probably be a large gathering. Elder F. W. Evans, of Mt. Lebanon, N. Y., Rev. S. W. Sample, of Meadville, Pa., Judge R. S. McCormick, of Franklin, Pa., Mr. D. M. Bennett, of New York City, Dr. T. L. Brown, of Binghamton, N. Y., Mr. H. L. Green, of Salamanca, and others, are engaged as speakers; and Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York City, Mr. W. S. Bell, of New Bedford, Mass., and E. D. Stark, Esq., of Cleveland, O., are hoped for.

MR. JOHN C. BUNDY, manager of the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* of Chicago, wrote thus to Mr. H. L. Green on the twelfth of November: "The Liberal League movement has my hearty support. I shall do all I can to further its work. Care will have to be used not to antagonize the thousands and ten of thousands of very liberal souls in the church-fold who can be made to work in the movement at the right time, if the thing is properly handled." There is no little wisdom in these words; only let it be remembered that "the thing will be handled" by the liberals themselves as individuals, since a free platform gives them the opportunity to be antagonistic or catholic, just as they choose. We hope they will all learn to choose to sink their irrelevant differences out of sight.

EVERY SUCH experiment as that described below, in the *Tribune* of November 30, should be watched with anxious hope by all who have learned that the moral education of children, so conducted as to harmonize with scientific truth, is disastrously neglected by liberal parents and guardians everywhere: "Professor Felix Adler has established a school which he intends shall be to his Society of Ethical Culture what the Sunday-school is to the Christian Church. The children of his followers are to meet him for instruction on Monday and Tuesday afternoons, for an hour and a half. The boys are to come on Monday and the girls on Tuesday. Professor Adler says he proposes simply to impart unsectarian religious instruction to the children. He will begin his work with studies of religious history and lead his pupils on until they can comprehend the philosophy of ethics. Professor Adler says that he is trying an experiment, and he declined to admit visitors to the class Tuesday. About a dozen Hebrew lads were present."

SAYS THE NEW YORK *Tribune* of November 30: "St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church, in East Twelfth Street, was thronged yesterday at the annual mass of the Catholic Union. Cardinal McCloskey was in the sanctuary on a raised dais. He was attired in full Cardinal's robes, including the scarlet beretta. The celebrant of the mass was Father Lynch, of St. Ann's Church; the deacon, Father Hayes, also of St. Ann's, and the sub-deacon, the Rev. Mr. Cormick, of St. Francis Xavier's College. The assistants of the Cardinal were Vicar-General Thomas S. Preston, the Rev. P. F. Dealy, S. J., of St. Francis Xavier's Church, and the Rev. Father Farley, secretary to the Cardinal. Father Dealy preached on the teachings of the Catholic Church. He looked with alarm on the increasing cry for secular education. Education should never be separated from religion; especially in this country, where youth was surrounded by so many evil influences. The popular literature of the day did not seem to be in harmony with religious principles. It absorbed men's attention too much in science and the pursuit of material things. Science, as opposed to religion, was the root of great evil." It would be far more true to say that religion, as opposed to science, is the root of great evil; for it is religion opposed to truth, and must bear all the fruits of falsehood.

THE NEW YORK *Herald* of November 21 thus fittingly noted an event which has excited pleasure wherever free-thought has reached throughout the world: "It is now nearly nineteen years since Charles Robert Darwin published his remarkable work, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, and although his fame has been sounded all over civilization, his theory, or a portion of it, accepted by nine-tenths of the scientists of the world, it was only yesterday that one of the great universities of his native land formally put the seal of its recognition upon his great labors in geology, botany, zoölogy, and all the branches of palæontology. The same influence which came so near making Galileo a martyr must be held to account for the tardiness of this recognition, the fear of Christian clerics that this painstaking inquirer's science was bound, if tolerated, to upset Revelation. Withholding the privilege of writing D. C. L. after his name was not a great persecution, and doubtless did not afflict Darwin much; but it shows that, for all our progress, the old leaven of intolerance can still rise even in Cambridge. For forty years Darwin has been a profound searcher after the inner and olden secrets of life in Nature. The scarlet gown which he donned yesterday was emblematic of a great triumph, a fit supplement to the many honors he has received from the purely scientific world. It was 'the missing link' to the chain of his renown. He may not have fully proved that 'man is descended from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears,' but he has told us so much of the history of life on our planet that the number of educated people who would dare to contradict him is growing painfully small."

MR. P. V. WISE, President of the St. Joseph (Missouri) Liberal League, devised a most admirable manner of celebrating Thanksgiving Day, by calling a meeting to ratify the Rochester platform. He issued the following "Proclamation" in the local papers, which is just as legal, and many times as rational, as the proclamations of usurping Church-and-State Presidents and Governors:—

Proclamation.

The Liberals will have a Thanksgiving too.

All men and women who believe in the final triumph of GOOD over EVIL; all who have faith in humanity; all who desire the enjoyment of universal mental liberty, the equal and just taxation of *all* property, except national, State, county, and common school; all who desire the complete separation of Church and State, the total secularization of our public schools, and that the State shall give every child a *practical* common school education; all who favor human progress and individuality, and feel thankful to the indomitable spirit that actuated the great men and women who so courageously contended for the right against the minions of error, despotism, and superstition in the past, and through whose labors and sacrifices we have the knowledge and liberty that we enjoy in this age; all who toil, are heavy laden, and whose wages have been cut down, will assemble at Turner Hall on Thursday, the 29th day of November, in the year of our independence 102, at ten o'clock, forenoon, *sharp*, to ratify the action of the first Congress of the National Liberal League held at Rochester, New York, in October last, and to give our earnest and warmest sympathies and thanks to all members of the human family who are struggling for more liberty and light throughout the earth. There will be a *live* sermon or address suitable to the occasion. Every friend of humanity, and especially the workingmen, are cordially invited by the St. Joseph Liberal League.

We shall wait for the report of this meeting with no little interest. The "live sermon" was to be by the evidently very "live" President.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

YOUNG DR. TYNG'S church is elegantly described by an Orthodox paper of the most cultivated sort as "a soul-trap," in connection with a story of a little boy who looked over the banisters in the morning, and called out to the servant: "Julia, is there a rat in the trap?" illustrating how anxious Christians ought to be about their converts. This notion of trapping people into religion is something new; heretofore, the devil has been given a monopoly of traps, snares, and other trickery. But Tyng's ways are some of them undoubtedly cunning, and suggest the comparison. For instance, every Friday morning he gives a breakfast to intemperate men whom he and his workers are trying to reform, and every Sunday afternoon at four there is a special service for them in the chapel, followed by a free supper, where from five hundred to seven hundred ragged tramps crowd the large dining-hall, and are supplied with biscuits, sandwiches, tea, and coffee. He gets hold of the body, observe, as a "purchase" for reaching the soul. —*Springfield Republican.*

TWO SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS in Cussawago, Penn., have been fined and imprisoned for laboring on Sunday under an obsolete statute bearing date 1794. The men were not charged with disturbing their neighbors, but simply with working. We find the incident reported in the *Examiner and Chronicle*, and agree with it heartily in its condemnation of this act of bigotry: "Unless people wish to see Sunday given over to desecration and completely secularized as in Europe, such laws as the one which has been raked up from some rusty old statute-book of Pennsylvania must be repealed."—*Christian Union.*

Free Religion.

A DISCOURSE.

BY REV. L. K. WASHBURN.

I regard Free Religion as the religious demand of this age. It stands for innovation, for something new. It is opposed to Christianity. Free Religion is the belief that God has something more to reveal, and man something more to learn. Free Religion is the logical result of free inquiry and liberty of conscience. It is the world's latest Protestantism. It is a larger interpretation of the rights of the soul. It is infidel to everything beneath it, to nothing above it. Free Religion means departure, reform.

The mind of this age may be divided into conservative and radical tendencies. There exist in religion two forces: one progressive, the other opposed to progress. The radical mind—active, full of hope, and looking forward—is strong, daring, and aggressive. The conservative mind—passive, full of fear, and looking backward—is weak, cowardly, and on the defensive. Radicalism believes in the present; conservatism, in the past. The radical mind is open; the conservative mind is made up. The former says to science, We accept your spirit; the latter says to fable, We adopt your letter. The radicalism of the soul is expressed in Free Religion, the conservatism in Christianity.

Free Religion believes in going ahead, in exploring the *unknown*, in making better laws, better churches, better men. Christianity believes in standing still, in worshipping the known, in obeying the laws and customs of the past which it holds as of divine origin. Free Religion sees in the great glories of the past prophecies of greater glories in the future. For every large soul, it reads the soul larger. Man is only an expression of man-*kind*, an index. Nature is the whole of what he is a part. The present is the past grown older and wiser; it is time better understood. Free Religion is religion grown older and wiser; it is God and man better understood. The highest fruit of a religion is a better religion. We are to honor the Christian protest for the liberty it secured the world. It is not for the result that the Reformation produced, but for the precedent it established, that we value it. We respect the Protest, not the Protestantism, of the Reformers. *That* is the only true reformation that allows itself to be reformed. Free Religion is the assertion of man's rights, of man's freedom. It is humanity in freer relations with man and in truer relations with the universe. It is human life not bound by creeds, not limited by customs. Its attitude is not that of submission, but that of independence. It accepts the fate of Nature, and would live in obedience to it. Living is growing. Life is utterance. Seeds yield increase. Trees bear fruit; flowers, beauty. All Nature grows its proper harvest. The life of man is for the growth of man. Birth is pledged to attainment, as spring to autumn. New meaning breaks old forms, as new wine old bottles. It is expansion that breaks the cell. It is a larger faith that bursts the creed. It is a better idea that destroys belief. To grow is to leave behind; but we gain more than we lose. The tree cannot mature in the acorn; to be a tree it must come out of the acorn into the atmosphere. So the soul must have place to expand, and the free help of Nature, in order to reach its maturity. Development is revelation. All growth is from God.

A man, to be himself, must be infidel to others. We cannot live better than the world around us, without denying its culture. All progress is denial of authority. Our duty is to the present, not to the past. It is true ambition to aspire to a better life. This is what Nature does. Her best life lives to-day, and in *that* she is greatest. Improvement is true reverence. We honor our ancestors when we *live* better, *think* better, and *do* better than did they. That is a false veneration that builds a ship after the model of the *Mayflower;* that erects a house of Puritan architecture; that lives as they did in our grandfathers' days. Our forefathers showed their sense when they respected their own ideas. That is the lesson that Plymouth Rock inculcates. It is not a symbol of attainment; it is the rude attempt, the apprentice hand, that foretells the column of beauty, the full power of liberty. No form is so perfect that it shall be copied forever; no method so fit that it shall never be supplanted. Life is progress; the world must be emancipated from models. Candles may be run in moulds, but not human beings.

For four thousand years, according to the data of history, has man been stumbling over the same old roots of imitation; and more than a hundred nations have broken their necks over this one error. Not more than one man in a thousand million men has passed this point; and, when he stopped, the next fifty generations felt themselves in duty bound to fall over his dead body, rather than go outside of it. If the path of right is so narrow that it will not allow a man to walk in it, in God's name, let us widen it! Reason was given man to be exercised, not to be stifled. Destroy that, and you dwarf man to a brute. Take reason away from man, and you take all that is noble in him; it is the motion from the air, the hue from the flower, the light from the sun. Reason bids man throw off his false reverence of customs, and embody his life in higher forms. Reason is radical. It does not believe that goodness is all known, that greatness is all dead, and that man's whole duty is to worship the former and weep over the latter; but it points him forward, and says, "There are holier truths to be learned, loftier heights to be reached, and a better humanity to be lived." The conservative sits in his theological ark, and thinks it the only safe vessel. He denies every natural method, and

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regards every new thing as a *bad* thing. He looks upon life as an enemy to man, and calls everything he cannot understand the devil. He walks around the walls of his belief, and thinks he performs the circuit of the universe. The conservative imagines that truth is all corked up in his creed, and that he has a specimen of God in his theological cabinet. He calls immortality a little longer time to eat and drink, and has no higher idea of heaven than a place where Christians will rejoice over the miseries of infidels and congratulate themselves upon their security. He sings of the stars as though they were lighted tallow candles, and speaks of the firmament as though it was the ceiling of the earth. He makes not sandals for his God, but brogans; and talks of spirits as though they were engaged in earthly pursuits. His thoughts never go above the tops of the trees, and the highest aspiration of his soul is to make his neighbor like himself. The Christian's idea of religion is something that ought to suppress freethought and inquiry, get possession of the government, control legislation, govern the schools, regulate public libraries, and run the world generally. The Christian believes in schools, if he can teach them; in books, if he can write them; in governments, if he can administer them; in laws, if he can make them; in churches, if he can preach in them; but he is opposed to anybody else having anything to do with politics, literature, education, or religion.

Christianity is the religion of an earlier experience. Free Religion is the religion that now is. It demands human freedom; freedom for man's feet that walk the earth, and for man's thoughts that search among the stars. It demands the right to appeal from statement to fact, from dogma to truth. It demands individual goodness. Let a man be honored for the good he does. Free Religion is not to be known by its theology, but by its humanity. It has no idea of God which it wants worshipped by the world, no bible which it wants read as a sacred book. It has no day that it regards as holier than another; if we do right every day, which day will be the Sabbath? It has no scheme by which to save mankind; salvation is the heart educated, *perfected*, not changed. It has no manner of worship, no method of praise. We meet together to hear a man, not to appease a God. We come for new ideas, not to observe old forms. Obedience to our best thoughts is the truest sacrament. One man's *dying* for the world will not save it. Every man must *live* for it, or it will be lost. Free Religion, while it will try to deepen the affection that preserves the virtues of a good life, the name of a good man, will also work to destroy the superstition which clings to our affection for men, and to our reverence of their virtues.

The magic of a name is not sufficient to keep the world in innocence and purity. There is no power in amulets, because there is no belief in the devil. That is sacred which is in the soul, not that which we pin on the sleeve. Ornaments are not worn today to keep away witches. A cross on the bosom is not a symbol of the religion in the heart; neither are charms around the neck protections to virtue. The soul must arm itself; and when that is strong in the principles of right, no power can prevail against it. It is what we think, not what we hear, that protects us.

Free Religion is a faith grounded in the knowledge of the universe and in the hope of the soul. It is a life founded upon the lives of all brave, noble men and women. It is the religion which the freethought of this coutry has made too broad for churchcraft and too pure for priestcraft. It is the religion of the soul. It meets the present with a brave heart, the future with a brave hope. It puts no fetter on man. Its liberty is as broad as the possibility of human nature. It is a sad fact, which all history confirms, that when freedom grows old it becomes a tyrant. No religion had birth in a wider liberty than Christianity; no religion has used oppression with a sterner hand than the Christian religion.

Free Religion, to preserve itself, must sacrifice numbers to liberty. Everything must be done *by* man *for* man. Better for us to keep our freedom, than to win the whole world for disciples by losing it. Aristocracy, wealth, and power are always conservative; freedom, democracy, and radicalism are always young. They die in the soul before the soul dies. This strange destiny is produced by fear. Nature is overcome by luxury and old age. When the Puritans left England, they fled from oppression; they soon became oppressors. Let us be willing to be surpassed. Our only safety is to give the prerogative which we claim. We must invite criticism. If our faith will not stand, it is not sound. If we cannot defend our position, let us abandon it. Free Religion should aim to be just rather than victorious. The soul must honor the highest life. Franklin is surpassed; electricity now plays beneath the ocean's depths, and sports across every continent. Jefferson and Hamilton never saw our political triumphs in their farthest thoughts. The Pilgrim Fathers never dreamed of the religion that to-day constitutes the best and noblest life of America. Duty changes with progress. Our respect belongs to our age. The failures of the past claim none of our grief. The glory of the past adds nothing to our deeds. We are saved by our own efforts; we are lost by our own faults. Egypt throws no shame on our successes; Rome throws no lustre on our reverses. Away with borrowed virtue, vicarious purity, atonement by proxy! We stand or fall by our own choice. Let the world have more than one pattern; let it make more than one style of man. Let us honor the mighty virtues of the past, but let us also excel them. It is our duty to live better than did our ancestors; our duty to claim every right and good thing that will lift us socially, politically, or morally.

Free institutions are to make free men; and when the principles of our government are vindicated, liberty will be the grandest word of our political or religious life. Free Religion, while it warns the world of the danger of assuming authority, must heed the warning. The accumulation of land, money, or ideas is the birth of despotism. Wherever there is a creed, an estate, or a fortune, that belongs to class, family, or sect, there is the bud of oppression. Is America to be only Europe's heir? Is freedom's grave to be dug by freedom's sons? Politically and religiously we are approaching a monarchy. Too many Americans are playing nobility. They will soon act in earnest. America has now to fear one-man power at home. Every religious sect in the country has already its denominational pope. Every church is looking towards Rome. A creed means, so far and no farther. When thought is restrained, liberty begins to die.

The power of Bible-caste that is so dominant in our land—this mongrel Catholicity—must be broken up. It is opposed to all advancement of true religion. Freethought is the only honest thought. The sectarian names given to Christianity are only different perfumes put into the common body of beliefs to suit different religious noses. Every Christian Church is purely and terribly sectarian. Each one would build its altar so as to speak its own peculiar belief; it would have its building in the shape of its faith; and, if it could control it, would make the bell ring out the Thirty-nine Articles, the fall of man, the day of judgment, hell and endless misery, and all the heathenism of Christian theology.

Free Religion stands for the eternal in religion, for the virtues that are common to all humanity. It stands for a religious liberty and a religious life. It demands that all men shall have *equal rights in the justice of man*, and *equal rights in the justice of God*. It stands for the religion in *us*, not for a religion that we are to join. I can adopt no man for my authority. I must be my own authority, or be without. God cannot come to me through another. I must have him at first hand. No man is an agent for God, and the samples of divinity that pious houses send around the country are only chips broken from some idol of the world. Free Religion has no worship but thinking of divine things. If there is anything sacred, it is a human soul: and if there is anything that man has no right to direct, it is that soul's thought. If God is ever with us, it is when we are thinking of him. The temple in which the soul worships is not built with hands. Man is as holy as God. The thought which separates them is profane. We must not divide the oversoul. God has but one name. There is but one kingdom of heaven, for human and divine. God does not say to man, "This is mine," and, "That is yours." He has not made one place for man and another for himself; God and man live together. Free Religion is the religion which man has by nature. It is no separate experience, no part of life; it is his whole experience, his whole life. There is no particular season of human existence when God visits the soul; no hour set apart for his coming. There is no time when he does not appear to man; we are always conscious of divinity.

The duty of this age is not to make forms for men, but to break what they already have; to free man from the bondage of a creed, and give him the freedom of the world. The Free Religion of the age, arrayed against the Christian dogmas, is not another attempt to enslave the world, not a change of idols, but a movement against all idolatry. It is not to stop with a ten days' march, but to go on forever. It is pulling out as well as setting out; showing what is false as well as telling what is true. It is the weeding element in religion. I know that many regret that hard words are used against Christianity, and *we* regret that hard words *must* be used; but the hardness of the words is their truth. They would not be hard words if they were false. Truth is always hard towards error. The Sermon on the Mount was hard to the Pharisees; the Emancipation Proclamation was hard to the slave-holder: and so Free Religion is hard to Christianity. But we do not ask, Is it *hard?* but, Is it true? is it just? is it right? It is hard to wound human hearts; but it is our duty to tell the truth. It is hard to take human life; but it is our duty to protect our homes and families. It is hard to attack the religion of our fathers; but it is harder to leave our children to learn a lie. This is the reason that Free Religion attacks Christianity: because the true interests of the soul demand it. It is the religious demand of to-day, and we must not be false to Truth out of respect to Falsehood's gray hairs. The only safety for liberty and truth is the downfall of Christianity; and the only way to avoid taking the sword in their defence in the future, is by being honest, and fearlessly speaking the truth in the present. I am not talking to hear the echo of my voice: I am uttering the conviction of every free heart in America. I know, if it be necessary to put human life between the true and the false, that mankind will spring to the sacrifice; but a brave word may prevent a hard blow, and an honest stand against the dogmas of the Church may prove easier than armed resistance of its tyranny. It is a small thing for one man to say to another, "Thou art the Christ"; but, when it is declared that this man is Almighty God, that his words are infallible, and that only by believing this are we good and worthy of honor, it is an insult to truth and every instinct of our souls; and every man that has one spark of Nature's fire left burning in his heart should proclaim the declaration a lie, an outrage upon humanity, and a reproach to the name of God. It is a sad sight to see men and women clinging in this age of progress and truth to a human idol, kneeling before a God that is no larger than their own forms, forsaking their own manhood and womanhood, and depending upon his assumed merit to stand in the place of their own moral worth. It is sad to hear a minister, man-grown, pray to this human idol, address his petitions to a being that has been dead over eighteen hundred years, and ask that he will give mankind blessings which only self-denial and moral purity can bring. We can imagine delusion going no farther.

The religion of to-day that opposes this idolatry demands that men and women be honest to their convictions, true to the God that speaks in their own souls, and above giving support to this false and base worship. If the *Church* fears the truth, let the world publish it on every corner. If *ministers* will not preach the truth, then let *men* do it. The time has come for honest words and for honest action. We know that Christian churches are dedicated to no high purpose; that no new thing will ever come from Christian pulpits; that Christian ministers are hired to put out the light of truth; and that only the death of Christianity will give freedom to the world. Then our duty is to kill Christianity; kill it with a better religion; kill it *with the truth*,—that sword of God that sooner or later will sever every Christian Church. The religion that says one man is savior is a false religion. All men are saviors; all truth lights the world; all virtue saves mankind. I believe in self-religion, self-atonement, and self-salvation. This religion wants no man-god, no book-god, no creed-god. Christianity says to other forms of idolatry, "My Christ is better than your Christ, my Bible is better than your Bible, my creed is better than your creed; I am the only authorized agent of Deity, and he has revealed to me alone the way, the truth, and the life."

I honor all great men; they stand next to God, and have saved much to the world that smaller men would not have dared to defend; but no man is great enough, nor can be great enough, to stand to this age for God. I love all good books; they are the true wealth of the world, the most sacred and most precious testament of the human mind; and those books wherein man has written his thoughts of God, of brotherly love and hope,—those books of religion which nations have written and which nations have read,—are doubly sacred and precious; but no word of human heart, however pure and true, is the infallible word of God. I respect the faith of mankind and the expression of its faith in words, defining its relation to God and man; but no expression can be broad or true enough to accommodate the growth of human life and the change of human belief; and so every creed that is set up as the final and full expression of human faith is certain to be cast down. Every man, every book, every creed, that is removed from its proper and natural sphere, is in the way of man's progress, and blocks up the road to truth; and it is man's duty to remove them, asking not, Shall I offend men by my act? but, Shall I do right if I do not remove them? I believe that the religion that is free from Christian names and associations, that cares not for Church or dogma, will yet redeem the world from the idolatry that covers the earth with its base worship; that free religion will redeem bound religion, and save the truth, while it destroys the idols in Christian churches. I do not say what weapon the new faith will use; but that God will put into its hand a sure one, I most sincerely believe. If it is really in earnest, it will conquer; but we shall not succeed by being indifferent, and letting the world take its course. We must direct its course. Faith must fight,—fight what it believes to be wrong; and if we mean our faith we shall prove it by every word we utter, and every act we perform.

The Old World was satisfied to paint virtue or carve it, and then worship its work; but this age must make it living and make it speak. We cannot kneel to the gods of Greece,—to that once pious marble that was the embodiment of power, love, and truth, on whose brow a nation hung its praise, at whose feet a nation offered its vows and put up its prayers; and although Greece, in making her God-images, made man more divine, yet we cannot accept her stone idols, her marble Jupiter, and answer the religious demand of to-day by going through with the ceremony of Grecian worship. We cannot bow to a man dressed up to look like God, who was deified by superstitious faith, and whose divinity was a heathen ideal: and while we honor the human nature of Jesus, and thank the Jewish people for preserving his manly words, we cannot accept the Christ of Hebrew fancy, and answer the religious demand of the soul by calling him Lord and Master. We want no Lord and Master, no slaves. We want brave and noble men,—men who do right because it is right, who tell the truth because it is the truth. Religion to-day demands manhood of men and womanhood of women; not faith in heathen fancies, not thoughts for heathen altars. We do not want man to do those things which he can square by somebody's else idea of right, but what his own soul says is right: I am to follow my own thought, no matter what lies in the way. Do you tell me that I ought not to speak against other forms of thought, of faith? But I *must*, if I have a different thought, a different faith.

Christianity is not the judge of man; man is the judge of Christianity. The soul is not to ask the Church, "Am I right?" The Church is to ask the soul. Human hearts are purer than human altars, and souls are higher than priests. The world is better by its life, not by its worship. The millennium will not be when everybody is a Christian, but when all are good and true; not when Christ comes in the clouds of heaven, but when there is "on earth peace, good-will to men." Men say, "Why attack the Church? Why say anything against Christianity? Wait, and everything will come out right." But everything will not come out right, if we wait. How long would the Pharisees have asked God to wait before he sent Jesus into the world? How long would the slave-holder have asked Garrison, Phillips, and Parker to wait before they denounced slavery and demanded its abolition? How long would Catholi-

cism have asked Luther to wait before he protested against its sensualism and oppression? Shall we wait to do right? Is there any particular hour set apart for right-doing? Yes! It is this hour. If man had waited for God to plant and reap for him, he would have starved, as he deserved, centuries ago. God never does man's work. *Wait* is not the word for earnest men, but work. Let us have no compromise with wrong, no treaty with tyranny; but make wrong surrender to right, and tyranny abdicate in favor of justice. We must have a higher standard of life. We want man compelled to duty, not by law but by conscience. He must make duty his law, and obey it as the supreme command of God. He must be pure himself, not seek for legal purity. He must be better than society requires, better than the Church demands. He must live so as not only to be able to look in the world's face, but in the face of his own soul, without a blush. We are not to have a life that men call pure and above reproach, but a life that we *know* is above reproach. Let all come up to *their own* ideas of right, live as well as they know, and leave other ideas to take care of themselves. Too long has the world taken some one's estimation of this life, who lived in a manner too base to know the worth of human life. Solomon, who, according to some Bible writer, was "wiser than all men," cried, "All is vanity"; but had he said, "All is vanity that I have found in my licentious course and dissipated life," and warned others not to follow his example, posterity would have thanked him for the confession, and respected his words of warning; but all is not vanity, only to Solomons. All is reality to true men and women; and it is time that we put the true above the false, by placing the words and lives of the upright men and women of the world before the soul, instead of the vile example and false words of a vile and false Hebrew king. The Christian Church, so long as it stultifies the soul by making it believe that its Bible is a compilation of God's truth, is the enemy of true religion.

I want no religion that depends upon what one man said, upon what one book holds. I want the religion of all men, as far as I can know it. Jesus was a good man; so was Epictetus, so was Socrates, so are thousands good men to-day. The things that men and women do in the name of religion shame our human nature; the things that ministers say in the name of Christ shock our moral sense. We cannot enter a Christian Church without a feeling of degradation. We have a sensation of stooping in such a place. What is called worship of God is only silly adulation of a man. One would think there was no God, to hear Christians in their acts of praise. Jesus Christ means Jesus God to every Christian Church in America; and to speak of Jesus as a man is considered blasphemous. Christianity may be the true idolatry, but it is hardly the true religion. There is something supremely ridiculous in the Christian Church sending missionaries to believers in the one God of Nature, to convert them to the doctrine of the Trinity and human idolatry. Christianity virtually says, there is no God,—only a Jesus. Free Religion acknowledges one God, and *no substitute* for God. It honors all men who deserve honor, and helps all who deserve help. If those persons who go to church to worship God would do it, instead of worshipping a man, they would deserve the world's respect. If those persons who go to prayer-meetings would spend the time that they now waste in professing and praying religion, in practising it, if they would go about doing good two hours of the week, instead of going to a meeting to ask the world to see how pious they are, they would then have some claim to the regard of honest men. If men and women who lament the evils of Free Religion, and tell what bad men infidels are, would be better themselves, the world would have more faith in their Christianity. Religion begins at home. It is false to assert that only one man has been nailed to the cross to give life to humankind. Did every risk of life for truth and humanity deserve the name of Christ, crosses would spring from the ground thick as flowers, and every land be covered with these tokens of renunciation. Sacrifice is old and new, and men have died for country, for love, for faith, ever since the world began; and the offering is as pure and hallowed now as eighteen centuries ago.

We are forever trying to reach some ideal height of the past; and, in our assay to touch our idol, we surpass it. We have to whisper our thoughts when they are not compliments to our follies or superstitions; but I wish to say aloud, that real life was never so high and pure as at this hour. The ideal height that we should strive to reach is ahead, not behind; not an individual attainment, but a personal aspiration; not what some other has done, but what we think ought to be done.

The religious demand of to-day is religious truth, and men who dare speak it. Better that the truth should sever the Church, than that a lie should be told to keep it together. If the truth would prove everything that we now hold holy and sacred false and base, we must still say, "Let us have the truth."

When Lord B—— died, a person met an old man who was one of his most intimate friends. He was pale, confused, awe-stricken. Every one had been trying to console him, but in vain. "His loss," he exclaimed, "does not affect me so much as his horrible ingratitude. Would you believe it?—he died without leaving me anything in his will,—I who have dined with him, at his own house, three times a week for thirty years!"

"Have you poached eggs?" inquired a customer of a colored restaurant-keeper in Mississippi. "Yes, sah; all our eggs is poached,—leastways de chickens dat laid um is," was the reply.

IS RELIGION DYING OUT?

A DISCOURSE BY REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM ON GOD AND THE CHURCHES.

After having read a chapter from the Hebrew ecclesiastics and a selection out of the Persian anthology, the Rev. O. B. Frothingham preached an impressive sermon on the unfruitfulness of formal religion. The eloquent speaker's audience was large, attentive, and seemingly highly appreciative.

In the course of his sermon the preacher said, in substance, that he laid particular stress on the words "formal religion," the religion of custom or convenience, as contradistinguished from the religion of thought. Real religion is the inspiration of life, not the limitation of it. No one is weaker for giving force to his best ideas or sweetest hopes. It never injured any one to have a mind open to the most delicate impressions, looking upward to the highest happiness. True religion makes people worshipful, thoughtful, pure of character. The formal religion that people practise without thinking—call it Jewish, Christian, or what you will,—in becoming a mere formality is converted into a real clog. A great question with denominationalists is how to reconcile religion with the progress of the age. The best way to do that, according to the preachers, is to put life into the form; fill the vase, but do not break it; keep up the force on the machinery, do not strain it. It is never recognized that the machinery may be worthless and rusty, and therefore require to be broken up. The speaker alluded to an able article on religion which lately appeared in one of the daily journals, and drew inferences therefrom which tended to illustrate his argument that the usefulness of formal religion is gone.

NO FEAR OF HELL.

People no longer fear hell and the devil; they do not look to the Judgment Day with fear and trembling, nor live under the authority of what is called divine law. With the decay of belief we see religion go one way and the world another. Religion is no longer the educator of the people; it may be found among the most ignorant of the mass, who throw themselves on the protection of the priests, and not on the strength of intellect. No solution of the anomalous struggle between religion and intellect presents itself excepting this: that religion must disappear before the march of a cultivated, higher intellect. The force of discipline would, it was claimed, greatly aid the work of progress. The examples afforded by the merchant, the railroad, the army and navy, were used to illustrate the line of argument and to show the necessity of the economy of time; and it was urged that the discipline of the army and navy is the noblest education and the grandest to which the race has been subjected. It is a machine to do great and noble works.

WHY BUSINESS MEN DO NOT ALWAYS SUCCEED.

Why, it was asked, do business men fail? Because really they are not business men. They are feeble, infatuated, and carried away by some special scheme. They were men who expected assistance from the clouds, calling upon the Church or the priest to aid them. Finally, when they see that the God whom they called upon did not respond, and the Christ they cried out to could not be relied upon, they become sceptical of the efficacy of formal religion, which failed them because it is false, and they failed because they were not practical. In New England, half a century ago family worship was the custom with the head of nearly every family. It is said that in those days families were more happy and parents received greater respect than now. If so, was this due to family prayers or to the peculiar make-up of society in the long ago? At present, in this great city, that exact discipline of old times is not brought to bear in domestic circles. The heads of families have their own affairs to call them away, and children leave home sooner than they did formerly. If anything is wrong now in society, must the remedy come from the reëstablishment of family prayers? Not so; but by considering society as it is, and applying a remedy suitable to its wants. A Greek sage has said that those sitting down to food must remember that there are two to be filled, the body and the mind; therefore, the physical and intellectual wants of society must both be attended to.

RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

On one side religionists claim that the public schools make atheists, and on the other that the influence of religion in them is cramping the power of education. The Catholic Church says that the schools cannot flourish without its benediction, and the Protestant Church contends that if the Bible is taken from the schools religion will be lost. But in the din of this controversy, the people are beginning to know that learning is not necessarily associated with any particular dogma or denomination. Their Catholicism, Protestantism, the Bible, priests, and parsons, all stand in the way of progress. They throw all the higher responsibility of the scholar away with the mumbled prayer. Is it possible that this should have the power of quickening the mind or of making the pupil more fit to meet the Master? The public schools will not be perfect until they are completely unsectarian. There must be no priest, no pastor, no sacrament, no Bible in them. The whole question must be to rationally educate the young mind for the best enjoyment of an intellectual life. The office of teaching must not be condemned to a subordinate; let religion lift its hand off and leave the results to conviction only. The intrusion of formal religion breeds sectarian strife. We have Catholic and Protestant text-books, histories, interpretations of the sciences and all the rest, none of them having a comprehensive view of their subjects, and all bent on imposing their own peculiar views upon the American youth. This is an outrage of indescribable magnitude; it is a doing against which every man in the country should array himself. We know that history, philosophy, and the sciences need not be sectarian; that Romanism, Protestantism, the Greek Church, all are but sects; that they are ethically the same and seeking identical interests. In the light of this knowledge of truth, the books put into the hands of our boys and girls should not be on the side of Romanism or of Protestantism, but on the grounds of eternal truth. Unless the schools be anti-sectarian they must degenerate, and can never fulfil their mission to educate Americans.

GOD IN THE CONSTITUTION.

Certain people believe that we would be more happy by constitutionally avowing ourselves a Christian people; that our not saying this by the voice of Congress leaves us in the place of outlaws among nations. The opponents of this measure think it is illogical, useless, and unconstitutional, having nothing whatever to do with the working of the laws. The idea that the avowal of Christianity in the Constitution would make the American people more happy or prosperous is absurd, and it is hard to believe that any set of men could entertain such a frenzied notion. What expectation is there in the heart of the people that this alteration of the Constitution would make the millions better off? Many of them are unable to read it, and more who cannot understand the meaning thereof. It is needful that Americans should call their attention from abroad and fix it sharply at home. Let religion appoint no chaplains in the army, navy, or legislature upon whose idle prayers the ignorant should depend; appoint no Sabbath to be kept in any particular way other than that of the general desire. Let religion set no fast or feast days, telling people when they ought to be sorrowful or glad. The people can find these things unerringly enough for themselves. We have not had an opportunity, because of the struggles between Church and State, to see what an unsectarian government could do. Let the State mind its own affairs and religion bless the world as best it knows how.—*N. Y. Herald, Oct.* 29.

HON. RUTGER B. MILLER.

The Hon. Rutger B. Miller, an old and honored citizen of Utica, died this morning at his residence in this city, in the seventy-third year of his age. Mr. Miller's health has been failing for some time, and his death was not wholly unexpected, but it sends a thrill of grief through the community, while it recalls the events of a rare and exceptional life.

The family from which Mr. Miller came has linked its fortunes inseparably with the history of Utica. Rutger Bleecker, his grandfather, owned almost the whole tract of land on which the city now stands. His father, Morris S. Miller, represented this district in Congress from 1813 to 1815, during the most exciting period of the last war with Great Britain. He was also a Judge of the Common Pleas under the first Constitution. It is not too much to say that the Miller and Bleecker families contributed more than all others combined to lay the foundations of our local prosperity.

Rutger Bleecker Miller, the subject of this sketch, was born in Lowville, Lewis County, on the 28th of July, 1805. His boyhood was passed in Utica, where, in school, he early developed a strong taste for study. Later he was placed in the Catholic College at Montreal, where he graduated with high honors. He afterwards spent some time at Yale College, continuing his study of the classics. His fondness for Latin was very great. To the last year of his life Horace and Cicero were his companions, and in his young manhood he was the peer of any college professor in his scholastic attainments. He graduated at the Old Litchfield Law School, which half-a-century ago was widely celebrated. He then returned to Utica, and entered the law-office of Hiram Denio, where he remained for some years. Thus thoroughly equipped, he entered upon the practice of his chosen profession; but the management of a cumbersome estate and his natural fondness for purely intellectual pursuits occupied his time, and prevented him from seeking distinction at the bar. Soon after entering on his professional duties Mr. Miller was married to Miss Mary Seymour, the eldest daughter of the late Henry Seymour and sister of Horatio Seymour.

In 1829-30-31, Mr. Miller served as one of the trustees of the village of Utica. In 1832, he was elected to the Assembly, and to his efforts in that year Utica owes the passage of her city charter. He was averse to office-holding, but he consented to serve in the legislature that he might bring Utica into the list of cities. He also consented to act as an alderman in the first Common Council elected under the charter. In 1836, Mr. Miller was elected to Congress to fill the vacancy caused by Judge Beardsley's resignation. He served with great credit, and established a high reputation among the old school of politicians, who remembered him kindly while they lived. Mr. Miller also served for a time as clerk of the United States Court. These honors he gained without striving for them before he was twenty-five years old. But for nearly forty years he neither sought nor would he take places of preferment. He was a Democrat of the most pronounced type. The Jeffersonian doctrine of State rights met his thorough and hearty approval. He was a deep student of politics. He carried his opinions to their logical conclusion, and never trimmed his sails to catch the breath of popular applause. As late as 1872 he stood out almost alone in this community against the indorsement of Greeley's nomination, and gave his vote and influence to the O'Conor electors. The desire for success never changed or modified his convictions. He knew what he believed, and was quite as ready to maintain his faith in the storm as in the sunshine.

His business relations with Utica were of the most

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important character. He erected the block on the lower corner of Genesee and Whitesboro Streets, the block on the corner of Liberty and Genesee Streets, the dwelling-houses on the corner of Devereux and Genesee Streets, the house where Senator Conkling now resides, the old mill, and very many other buildings. When it was proposed to extend the Albany & Schenectady Railroad to Utica, he embarked heartily in the enterprise. It was vigorously opposed by many of our leading citizens. They argued that it would interfere with the stage business; that it would lessen the patronage of the hotels; and that it would eventually diminish the population of the town. It is hard for the present generation to understand that such arguments were received with favor only a few short years ago. But they were, and all the power which Rutger B. Miller, John Butterfield, Charles A. Mann, and two or three other enterprising citizens could command, was required to combat them. Mr. Miller was also largely instrumental in building the Black River Canal, and in making Utica the outlet of the Chenango Canal.

Before and above all, Rutger B. Miller was a philosopher. As he advanced in life he retired more and more from an active participation in affairs, but he never lost his keen interest in what was going on about him. Prosperity did not lessen his desire for the welfare of the poorest, and adversity did not sour his cheery nature. By his own fireside, in his own home, he was indeed a host. A good husband, a most loving father, a genial friend, a brilliant talker, he had few equals in the social world. His reminiscences covered a wide range. As a boy he sat on the knee of John Randolph, of Roanoke, and witnessed the great horse-race in which *Eclipse* won his laurels. As a young man he was the friend of Calhoun, of Clay, of Webster, of Jackson, and the other giants who lived in those days. He was on terms of personal intimacy with Winfield Scott. But while enjoying the friendship of those who differed with him in politics, he never hesitated to maintain his opinions with a strength and fire which compelled admiration even when it did not carry conviction.

In the evening of his life the calm philosophy which he long ago espoused, satisfied and comforted him. In no fear of death he passed through the valley of the shadow. His name will be remembered and honored while the city which he helped to found holds its place.—*Utica Observer, Nov.* 12.

RUSSIAN SOCIALISM.

The mode of operation of the propagandists was so simple as to be extraordinary. The real origin of the society (or rather its introduction into Russia, for it is undoubtedly an off-shoot from the commune of Zurich and Paris) is a matter of doubt; but as fast as members were enrolled here they bound themselves to give all their property into the common fund, and devoted themselves to the making of converts to the doctrine of the propaganda. These were simple: First, everything was to be broken down. There was to be no individual property, no religion, no government, no laws, and no class distinction of any sort. Everybody was to return suddenly to the condition of Adam and Eve, excepting in the matter of clothing. Then, all starting even, all were to work.

It seems incredible that such ideas could captivate educated and refined people of recognized position and great wealth; but some of the best-known ladies in Russian society, and some of the wealthiest and proudest men in the Empire, in all the principal cities, and many of the smaller towns, actually gave up their position and wealth, and became units in the headless body. Beginning among the higher classes, the movement spread downward, and a strong effort was made to secure an army of work people. While many of the members retained their former habits of life ostensibly, and sought to influence those with whom they were naturally thrown in contact, many others were too impatient for this mode of working, and sought positions as workmen and workwomen in the great factories near Moscow. In the seven factories of Shibaef, Gorratchef, Nosof, Tulief, Sokolof, Lazareff, and Rochfort, all in the neighborhood of this city, numbers of these emissaries have been at work for two or three years—employed by day as factory hands, having assumed the names and dress of common people,—and have industriously disseminated their doctrines, both by word of mouth and by means of books which the society procured from Paris, Dresden, and Zurich.

Singularly enough, the first news received by the government was from a workman in the factory of Shibaef, who brought to the police authorities a number of books which had been given him by a young girl, Mlle. Vassilieff, who was an agent of the society there. This was in April, 1875, and the police, by carefully working on the information given, managed to arrest privately Miles. Vassilieff and Barrinoff. It was evident that these girls were involved in a conspiracy, and the whole force of the government was soon employed looking for the conspirators. Soon after, news was brought in a similar manner that at Lazareff a young girl, calling herself Anouska, was propagating the views of the commune. She was arrested and proved to be Mlle. Bardina, a daughter of the well-known General Bardina. Other arrests followed from time to time, and the more the police discovered the wider the conspiracy was seen to be. Prince Tzitzianoy; Michael Djabadary, a Georgian nobleman; Tchekoedze, also a member of a noble family; Mlle. Olga Lubatovitch, daughter of a councillor of State; Mlles. Kaminskaya, Chorjevsky, Figner, Alexandrevna, Vedensky, and Georgielskay, and Messieurs Karadschve and Gamkrelidze were among the most prominent who have been brought to trial, all of them belonging to families of distinction and position.

All these ladies (for such they are by birth and education) are between eighteen and twenty years old, and yet all of them left their homes, and, assuming peasant names and the peasant garb, sought and obtained employment in the factories and lived with the work people. In almost every case they were looked upon with suspicion by their mates, as they were unable to disguise themselves fully; but they persevered, and actually made many converts. One of them in her zeal went into the barracks, where the men sleep, night after night, and distributed her books, reading them to those who could not read. She was betrayed to the overseer by some of the men, and summarily discharged in disgrace for her immodesty, without being suspected at the time of treason.

While the society was thus industrious in making proselytes it was equally pitiless in striking its foes. Numberless corpses have been found, during the past two years, of persons who have met death in some horrible shape, and in nearly every case a paper has been found attached to the body on which was inscribed in rude characters, "It is thus we punish traitors." How many such assassinations there have been is only recorded in the secret archives, for the government keeps such details as privately as possible; but the tradition spreads among the people in spite of this care, and it is whispered everywhere that the propagandists have found another victim whenever another corpse is found. One of the latest of these assassinations of which I have heard was that of a young student in Odessa, who was literally drenched with vitriol and so burned to death. On his neck was one of the placards by which it is supposed the society designates its recreant members or those who, it is feared, will prove recreant.

But these are not the only ones who have to fear such a death. Last September a beautiful young girl, a daughter of the late General Andreevsky, met with an even more horrible fate at the hands of the propagandists. General Andreevsky was formerly the chief surgeon of Prince Worontzoff, then the military governor of Caucasus. He afterwards occupied the same position under Prince Bariatinsky, but some years ago left the service, and died about the year 1874. His widow, who was the Princess Toumanoff, went some time since with her youngest daughter to Tiflis. The elder daughter is married to Prince George Shervadshedze, son of the ex-reigning Prince of Abhasia, in the Caucasus. Mme. Andreevsky made her residence on the banks of the Koura, and was engaged in settling the estate of her brother. She had noticed for a considerable time that her daughter was *distraite* and nervous, but was unable to learn the cause. There had been company in the house through the early part of one evening, and about eleven o'clock Mlle. Andreevsky stepped out of the drawing-room across the hall to ask a servant if he cleaned her boots. Her mother heard the question, and expected to see her return in a moment; but she did not, and was never seen alive afterward. It was as sudden as though the earth had swallowed her. Search was made after a little time, and the next morning her body was found in the Koura, thirty versts below. It was found that she had been strangled and then trampled to death, her whole body being broken and torn to shreds. No trace was ever found of her murderers, or clew to the motive or mode of the murder, excepting such as her private desk disclosed. In it were found papers showing that the propagandists had made strenuous efforts to induce her to join them, as she was worth over 250,000 roubles in her own right. It seemed that she had finally refused to do so, but had been intrusted with so many of the secrets of the organization that it was not thought safe to allow her to live.—*Moscow Letter to the New York World.*

AMONG THE REQUESTS for prayers presented at the Tabernacle the other day was one "for an old gentleman, *very careful to provide for the wants of others*, but who neglects his own soul." We confess to a liking for the character here so briefly described in outline. We should like to make the acquaintance of that venerable man and enjoy his society. We feel sure that we should like him a great deal better than another person not "careful to provide for the wants of others," but constantly whining about his own soul, and selfishly seeking his own salvation in some other way than by doing his full duty to his fellow-men. We are at once reminded of the instructive story of Abou Ben Adhem, who could not tell the angel whether his name should be written in the book of those who love the Lord, but who only aspired to be written as one who loved his fellow-men. "And lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest." We advise the brethren to let that old gentleman alone and turn their attention to a different class of subjects. He may be enjoying a higher state of spiritual health than they themselves. He may be unconscious of a soul, as a healthy man is of a stomach or a liver. At any rate, we feel sure that he has the root of the matter in him, and is better fitted to teach in the Tabernacle than some people who press to the front. He shall teach here, and the lesson that he teaches is the same that Jesus taught, who rebuked all manner of selfishness, and instructed his followers that service was the best test of discipleship.—*Boston Herald.*

IT WAS a genuine five-year-old young politician rebuking his sister of three: "Can't you pray better than that, Kittie? It's mean of you to pray just for your relations and nobody else. Now hold up and let me show you: 'God bless papa and mamma and Aunt Fanny and me too, and the whiskey ring and Sammy Tilden, and give the whole of 'em new hearts, so that everything'll go straight and nobody get mad and nothing come to pieces. For Jesus' sake, amen.'"

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

FREETHOUGHT.

What does he gain who dares to trust
In God's impartial love,
Leave blinded Faith in whirling dust
And Reason's pinions prove?

No thunder hovers overhead,
No mountains bar the way,
And Nights, unhaunted by a dread,
Are intervals of Day.

The jarring of unmeaning words
Rages, unheard, below;
'Tis only Heaven-aspiring birds
Bring him Earth's memories now.

He owns the highest realms of light
To which he can aspire,
And with a child's admiring sight
Feasts innocent desire.

No more a grim malicious Fiend
Lurks under every bliss,
Nor is his hope's scant harvest gleaned
Where yawns Death's dark abyss.

For he has learnt no more to fear
The tyranny of lies,
But, testing truth, can still revere
Life's joyous mysteries.

Oh! is it not a priceless gain
To break Delusion's yoke,
And know that no predestined bane
With our first sigh awoke;

But Truth, who dwelleth in the Light,
Bids us his wisdom prove,
And search the secrets of His might
To find unfailing Love?

R. B. HOLT.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE UNATTAINED.

BY ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

Alone, alone, we solve all doubt;
Alone, we work salvation out,
Casting our feeble hands about;

For human help, for human cheer,
Or even for a human tear,—
Forgetting God is always near.

We live, we breathe all unexpressed;
Our holiest, noblest in the breast,
Lie struggling in a wild unrest—

The poet in his highest flight
Sees ranged beyond him, height on height,
Dreams that elude his utmost might.

And beauty born of highest Art
Slips from the painter's hand apart,
And leaves him aching at the heart.

The sweetest face hath never brought
Its sweetest look; the deepest thought
Is never into language wrought;

And music borne by echo back
Pines on a solitary track,
Till faint hearts cry,—Alack, alack!

The quaint old litanies that fell
From ancient seers, great hearts impel
To nobler deed than poets tell.

The great God knocks upon the door,
Ready to run our chalice o'er,
If but the heart will ask for more.

Onward, where lights supernal shine—
Onward, with no unmanly pine
Our royal Amaranths we twine.

The wine-press must alone be trod,
The burning ploughshare pressed unshod;
There is no rock of help—but God!

CANASTOTA, N. Y.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 1.

Wm. Coleman, $1.50; J. G. Walker, $4.67; A. S. Wheeler, $5; E. W. Gunn, $1.25; Rev. A. B. Camm, $3.75; George Stickney, 20 cents; Francis J. Goodwin, $3.20; A. E. Macomber, 25 cents; W. C. Gannett, $50; W. L. Coffenbury, $3.20; D. K. Hall, $6.94; Dyer D. Lum, $1.60; Chas. D. Gambrill, $3.20; H. W. Moore, $3.20; E. W. Hitchings, $3.20; Dr. John Winslow, $1; J. D. Frost, $23.20; Henry T. Rogers, $3; W. H. Ovington, $3.25; W. Constantine, 80 cents; J. Van Rae, 10 cents; Mrs. Julia A. White, $1.50; John Bouiware, $1; W. H. Campbell, $3.20; D. W. Cooke, $5; H. Andriessen, 50 cents; C. Ladynski, $1; M. H. Howard, $1.05; Dr. Jos. P. Robbins, $3.20; Herman Lieber, $15; G. E. Corbin, $1.20; Junkerman & Haas, $1; S. G. Corray, $6.40; Leopold Goepper, $3.20; J. L. Stoddard, $1.10; M. A. Hoering, 10 cents; J. C. Allen, $1; Clara M. Holmes, $3.20; T. M. Newcomb, $3; Miss H. E. Stevenson, $3.25; C. A. Thompson, $2.

All receipts of cash will be acknowledged as above, and no other receipt sent unless specially requested. Persons who do not see their remittances acknowledged within three weeks after sending, will please notify us.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N. B.—Orders for Tracts or single numbers of THE INDEX which are *not on hand* will, if of small amount, be otherwise filled to the same amount without further notice.

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

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THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FREY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, *Editorial Contributors.*

A CARD.

The Committee on the better establishment of THE INDEX, appointed at a meeting of its subscribers and friends last May, wish to enlist all the assistance they can to lay its claims before every liberal man and woman in our country. They have prepared a circular setting forth the method, motives, and objects of their action, and wish the names of all who are willing to assist them in placing it where it will do good. Please address the Chairman of the Committee, "Elizur Wright, P. O. Box 109, Boston, Mass."

ANNOUNCEMENT: CLUB TERMS.

Until January 1, 1879, THE INDEX will be sent for a year to clubs of five or more NEW SUBSCRIBERS on receipt of $2.20 each, in advance, instead of $3.20, the regular cost of subscription. This is an excellent chance for all our friends to join in a vigorous effort to increase the circulation of the most earnestly radical journal in the United States, and thereby to advance the common cause. It is only just to show due public appreciation of the efforts of its friends, and we shall therefore (unless explicitly requested to the contrary) publish the names of all who send us clubs under the arrangement, with the number of new subscribers obtained by each. Shall there not be a little generous emulation to help forward the struggling cause of religious freedom?

F. E. ABBOT, *Editor.*

A CARD from B. F. Underwood, received just after we went to press last week, informs us that he lectured at London, O., Nov. 25; at Nevada, O., Nov. 26, 27, and 28; at Riverton, Ill., Dec. 1 and 2. He lectures at Milan, Mo., Dec. 4, 5, and 6; at Fairfield, Ia., Dec. 8 to 12; at Red Oak, Ia., Dec. 13 to 21; at Lincoln, Neb., Dec. 23.

THE ARKANSAS Executive Sub-committee of the National Liberal League has been completed as follows: John Ahrens, Chairman, Monticello; W. D. Killian, Lacy; R. F. Foster, Monticello; S. J. Matthews, Monticello; D. H. Rousseau, Star City. Mr. Ahrens writes that the liberal element is strong in Arkansas, and that a local League is soon to be formed in Monticello.

ANOTHER liberal journal has issued its first number—*Payne's Age of Reason*, of New York. It aims to represent "infidelity," and begins by sweeping the country clear of all its predecessors as follows: "The fact is, there is not an avowed liberal newspaper in this country to-day, and so far as we can learn there never has been one." Our readers will please take notice that no such paper as THE INDEX was ever published—it is a myth. It is evident that the editor of the *Age of Reason* has not "learned" very "far" as yet,—probably because he has not lived down so late as the nineteenth century, but still resides in the eighteenth.

WE ARE very glad this week to welcome Mr. Albert Warren Kelsey, of St. Louis, among our editorial contributors. Careful readers of THE INDEX will remember many striking articles from his pen during the last five years; and that which he contributes to our present issue will be certain to command their attention. Men who have strong convictions, and who know how to express them with force, clearness, good taste, and courtesy, are precisely the writers whose coöperation we most earnestly covet in this journal; and that Mr. Kelsey belongs by right in this class will be disputed by no one who is competent to appreciate his present paper. No doubt some of our readers will dissent from it. Very well: let them excel him, if they can, in these respects, and they shall have no cause to complain of want of hospitality for their thought in THE INDEX. A fair field and no favor—that can always be had here.

"OBSCENE LITERATURE."

Two resolutions reported to the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, by Mr. B. F. Underwood, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, acquire new significance and force in the light of recent events. They were as follows:—

Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefiniteness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate in thought or language the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognized principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

Resolved, That we cannot but regard the appointment and authorization by the government of a single individual to inspect our mails, with power to exclude therefrom whatever he deems objectionable, as a delegation of authority dangerous to public and personal liberty, and utterly inconsistent with the genius of free institutions.

These resolutions, which were shown to us by Mr. Underwood before he reported them to the National Liberal League, commanded our cordial sympathy and approbation at the time, and command it even more to-day, when the need of such principles is more than ever apparent. The arrest of Mr. D. M. Bennett for circulating "obscene *and blasphemous*" publications, by an agent of the Young Men's Christian Association who has been clothed with extraordinary power over the mails by a special act of Congress, shows that the suspected purpose of perverting this power to the disguised persecution of freethought is no mere chimera of the imagination, but rather a serious danger which threatens the freedom of the press and ought to make clear to all liberals the necessity of defending their own equal rights before the law. What right has any United States official to prosecute any man for "blasphemy" under United States statutes? Is not such an oppressive act a proof that Church and State are not yet practically separated in this country, and that the cause of the National Liberal League is the cause of every individual freethinker? Is it not a proof that the national Constitution, secular though it is in every line, fails to protect adequately the equal religious rights of the citizens, and is in urgent need of amendment in order to protect them? How can any candid mind fail to acknowledge the rightfulness and practical need of just such a movement as that which the National Liberal League was organized to promote?

We are aware (and we deeply regret the fact) that the prosecution of D. M. Bennett raises a *mixed question*, and that the cunning conjunction of "obscenity" with "blasphemy" in the indictment will inevitably and lamentably operate to the injury of the defendant in the community at large, and even with the better and more cleanly-minded portion of the great liberal party. There is no more fondness for "obscenity" in the majority of liberals than there is in the majority of Christians; and whoever asserts that there is makes himself guilty of a foul and wicked slander. Yet it is a familiar artifice of the Christian party, with some honorable exceptions, to assert a necessary connection between so-called "infidelity" and "immorality," and by means of this villainous falsehood to excite wide-spread suspicion of all whose honest devotion to truth places them outside of the churches. Unjust as it is, this suspicion lays a double duty upon every liberal to keep himself above all possibility of being charged with immorality, either of act or of word; for if he suffers himself to be smirched, there are multitudes all ready to cry out, "See what a vile set these liberals are!" and a part of this calumnious reproach falls even upon the best and purest. When a "scandal case" occurs among Christians, it is regarded, as it ought to be regarded, as involving ignominy to the parties actually guilty, and not to their associates in belief; but when anything scandalous is done or said by a liberal, the unrighteous prejudices of the public incline them to impute the blame not to the offender as an individual, but rather to his religious opinions.

For these reasons, every writer for the liberal press who has a keen sense of honor will feel himself peculiarly called upon to avoid any and every expression which violates the recognized laws of decency. If, however, he is insensible or callous to this obligation of honor, and allows himself to be tempted into indecencies, he has no just right to call upon his fellow-liberals, whose cause he has publicly disgraced and upon whose heads, as above explained, he has drawn a most undeserved odium, to defend him in these indecencies. The principles of free thought, free speech, and a free press, precious as they are, give no right to violate the unwritten but well-established canons of public propriety; and it is nothing but effrontery to invoke them as a sufficient justification for offences against it. There is no justification for such offences; and any liberal who is guilty of them is the worst enemy of the liberal cause. Whether committed by Christians or liberals, such offences ought to excite disgust, and do excite it in every mind which has no natural or acquired love of dirt; and, for one, we repudiate emphatically all obligation of defending any person who betrays the noble cause of intellectual liberty by abusing his own liberty so far as to insult the purity of his readers.

In what we have said above, let no one misunderstand us as prejudging the case of Mr. Bennett or of Mr. E. H. Heywood, who has also been arrested on a charge of circulating "obscene" publications. Until they have been adjudged guilty, they must be presumed to be innocent; and we are even ignorant of the specifications of the charges brought against them. Moreover, all that we have said above concerns only the moral, and not the legal, side of their case. If they have really fallen into what the unprejudiced public conscience shall pronounce "obscene" in fact, we shall not say a word against the moral judgment which must be entered against them in that court; but when suit is brought against them in the courts of the United States, we have many words to say against any judgment which may be entered against them there.

1. In the first place, nobody, not even Anthony Comstock himself, will pretend that either Mr. Bennett's *Truth Seeker* or Mr. Heywood's *Cupid's Yokes* is an "obscene" publication in the sense of being primarily designed to excite lewd passions or to corrupt the public morals. Mr. Bennett has published his paper, beyond all question, for general purposes highly honorable to himself and useful to the community; he has sought to uphold principles which are just and righteous, and to propagate what he believes to be *true* respecting religion. That he has intended to deprave or corrupt the public mind, we utterly disbelieve; on the contrary, his whole course gives the lie to any such supposition. Similarly, Mr. Heywood has written and published his pamphlet to advocate what he himself positively believes to be a higher and not a lower morality. Although his "free love" theory of morals, as set forth in this pamphlet, is one which we just as positively believe to be false, one-sided, logically ridiculous, and morally mischievous in all its tendencies, nevertheless we concede his full and entire right to plead his case as best he can before the public, and should consider it equally an absurdity and a crime to invoke the aid of the law in putting down a theory which will most assuredly put itself down, and all the more quickly in proportion as it gets unprejudiced consideration. In other words, both these men have intended to do good, and not evil, by their publications; their motives have been honorable, and not base; and the law cannot punish them, or suppress their publications, without coming itself under the just condemnation of all who prize the just freedom of the press. Their publications do not belong in that vile class of "obscene literature," expressly intended to make money for its propagators by pandering to the passions of the young and the inexperienced of both sexes, which alone ought to be suppressed as a manifest crime against those whom the community is bound to protect.

2. If either Mr. Bennett or Mr. Heywood is condemned, it can only be on the score of alleged obscene expressions occurring *incidentally* in pages devoted mainly to the advocacy of the writers' sincere opinions. Whether any such incidental expressions can be shown to be obscene, or not, is a question on which we do not feel called upon to express any opinion whatever. The ground we take is that all publications should be judged by their *manifest main intent*, not by any incidental expressions whatever; that, if this main intent is not self-evidently a depraved and depraving one, the law should not interfere at all; and that, even if some of the expressions complained of should be justly adjudged obscene, it would be an act of oppression, and a most dangerous infringement of the freedom of the press, to suppress the publications as a whole, or to inflict legal penalties on their publishers.

The justice of this position will be apparent on the very slightest reflection. If it is to be ruled by our courts of law that every book, no matter what its main intent or character, shall be suppressed, if it

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contains a single expression which may fairly be adjudged obscene, then a large part, and the most valuable part too, of all English literature must be absolutely discarded! What would become of Shakspeare, of Milton, of nine-tenths of the great classics of all languages? Nay, put the case which will touch most nearly the wofully misled parties who are active in these prosecutions: *what would become of the Bible?* There is more obscenity in the Bible than in almost any other book of the size that can be named; and we protest against the suppression of the *Truth Seeker* or of *Cupid's Yokes*, merely on account of alleged obscene incidental expressions, unless the Bible is also suppressed on the same ground. There has got to be common sense in this matter, and in the long run there will be. It will not do to suppress every book which may contain really obscene expressions; and if the courts undertake to do it, then they should be compelled to do impartial justice in this matter, and not only imprison D. M. Bennett and E. H. Heywood, but Anthony Comstock himself, and everybody else who has helped to circulate the Bible. Fair play, gentlemen prosecutors! The guillotine at last cut off the head of Robespierre himself: let his fate be a warning to you!

Even on the ground of "obscenity," therefore, it would be a most unjust and impolitic course to convict these defendants,—yes, even if it should be overwhelmingly proved that their publications do contain some incidental expressions of an obscene character. If this is the case, the higher court of the public conscience will pronounce all the condemnation they ought to receive. But, on the ground of "blasphemy," to punish these men would be an outrage so bold, and in these latter days so perilous, that it would make them martyrs at once, and multiply the effect of their works beyond all calculation. It would be an act demonstrating to the most careless that Orthodoxy is resorting to measures of sheer desperation in its conflict with modern thought and scientific truth. This we believe; but the consolation is that, when any bad cause is driven to desperate measures, its end is near.

COMMON-SENSE vs. COMMUNISM.

Evolution is not revolution, as some of our rabid reformers appear to believe. Every age is but the result and inevitable outgrowth of its predecessor. The fatal fallacy which underlies such arguments as the "Plea for Communism" (published in THE INDEX of Nov. 15), is the belief that it is possible to reconstruct modern society *de novo*. The admirable article in the same number of this journal, by the Hon. Elizur Wright, entitled "Republican Taxation," contained the annihilating answer to all such crude opinions of the mutual relations of human beings as must be held by sincere communists.

As it is not easy to improve upon Mr. Wright's concise statement, which will bear repetition and the most thoughtful consideration, we reproduce the brief paragraphs in which he sums up the actual facts of the case, thus: "In civilization, as the race advances in the creation of material wealth by the use of natural forces and division of labor, property tends inevitably to distribute itself more and more unequally. . . . It is of no use to talk, as some honest reformers do, of taking capital out of the hands of its proprietors, or the wages of labor from the dominion of the law of supply and demand. The acquisition of property is an attribute of human nature, one of its grand passions, to be governed but not eradicated. It is capable of the noblest uses and applications. The comfort of it is the natural and just reward of labor. If Nature had made mankind equal like the working-bees, communism would doubtless be the right thing. But inasmuch as human individuals differ from each other almost as much as all other animals put together, the righteous regulation of individualism is all that can be aimed at. To prevent fraud and theft by taking capital out of the control of its owners, is like trying to prevent occasional murder by the universal application of strychnine. What can be done, and what only waits the more general diffusion of knowledge to be done, is to secure the protection of individual property in its natural and necessary rights, and to instruct its owners in those social and patriotic duties which give to property a large part of its possible value."

This question as to the proportional distribution of the results of labor is older than civilization, and almost coeval with humanity. The Ninevites under Sardanapalus, the Grecian Helots, and the peasants of old Rome, doubtless discussed it, as did the Israelites at Babylon, or before Moses led them out of Egypt. Always and everywhere the laboring producer has been dissatisfied with the scanty portion allotted to him over and above his daily needs. The dissatisfaction has consisted in the standard adopted as the minimum measure of comfort to be tolerated by the average workingman. History only repeats itself, in a different way, and the analogical method and inductive philosophy alike forbid us to believe that future ages can do more than perfect the present system which the experience of past generations has proven to be the best for humanity at large.

The whole idea of the commune is founded upon a false assumption, inasmuch as it presupposes that men are *unselfish*, and willing to work as hard for their race, as a whole, as for themselves and their wives and families. Such certainly is *not* the case; nor is there the slightest reason for believing it ever will be.

Communism is defined by Worcester as "community of property"; that is to say, the denial of the right of individuals to the *exclusive* possession of more than the air they breathe, the food they eat, the clothes they wear, and the ground they stand upon. It is evident that this principle applies as well to the right of a man to have and to hold the person of one woman as his wedded wife, as to his home or horse. Not that women are to be regarded in the same light as property, but that the primal unit of modern civilization, the monogamous family, is rather based upon property and the laws governing its inheritance than upon monogamy. Even polygamy does not do away with the modern usage of dividing an estate among the children of its deceased owner. But communism strikes straight at the very root of the family relations, and thus it is nearly always the case that modern communists are found to be "Free Lovers." The Oneida Community is a logical instance in point. Children there are not *permitted* to know their own parents. A mother must not ask to have the exclusive charge of the babe she has born into the world; and for a man to monopolize the possession of a single female is frankly admitted to be impossible, and the very desire is stigmatized as "selfish." Now human nature, as at present constituted, will not accept such conditions of existence except in the very rarest and most exceptional instances.

No instinct of ordinary human nature is stronger than the desire to accumulate a personal fortune, except perhaps that of perpetuating a family; and communism must first extirpate each of these two natural traits of character before it can hope for success. Plato in his *Republic* has sublimated the communistic idea, even going so far as to advocate the very theory regarding community of wives and children adopted by the Oneida Communists. He puts into the mouth of Socrates, in the fifth book, the following words: "The law, I said, which is the sequel of this and of all that has preceded, is to this effect: "*That the wives of these guardians are to be common, and their children also common, and no parent is to know his own child, nor any child his parent.*" But, farther on, in the same book, Plato confesses that "we are unable to prove the possibility of a city being ordered in the manner described." Now what was impossible when Plato lived is again held up, after all the centuries which have since elapsed as the *modern* millennium. To quote the author of the "Plea for Communism": "Common sense teaches that communism would educate and develop the physical, intellectual, and affectional nature of humanity, and the people would live in love and peace, instead of the wars and strife which now afflict society."

It is the old, old story over again: there is nothing novel or original in the plan. *Legislation* is to remake human nature. Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia;* St. Augustine in his *City of God;* John Locke's *Constitution for the Better Government of the Carolinas;* Cicero in his *De Republica;* Jean Jacques Rousseau and Jean Paul Richter; Goethe in Germany; Milton in England; Fourier in France,—have, in one way or another, given expression to every form of the communistic idea, and still ordinary human nature will have none of it; and whether under a St. Simon in France, or a Brigham Young in Utah, or even under the democratic principle of a "Brook Farm" organization, in Massachusetts, the invincible "individualism" of mankind reasserts itself and claims its inalienable right of independence.

If Plato could but reappear to recognize the bastard progeny of his ideal State, he would again, perhaps, repeat that "royal lie" in which, however, there is more of truth than will ever be crammed into modern communism:—

"Citizens, you are brothers, yet God has framed you differently. Some of you have the power to command, and these he has composed of gold, wherefore also they have the greatest honor; others of silver, to be auxiliaries; others again who are to be husbandmen and craftsmen he has made of brass and iron; and the species will generally be preserved in the children. But, as you are of the same original family, a golden parent will sometimes have a silver son, or a silver parent a golden son. And God proclaims to the rulers, as a first principle, that before all, they should watch over their offspring, and see what elements mingle in their nature; for if the son of a golden or silver parent has an admixture of brass and iron, then Nature orders a transposition of ranks, and the eye of the ruler must not be pitiful towards his child because he has to descend in the scale and become a husbandman or artisan, just as there may be others sprung from the artisan class who are raised to honor and become guardians and auxiliaries. For an oracle says that, when a man of brass or iron guards the State, it will then be destroyed."

A. W. E.

A CANADIAN LIBERAL LEAGUE.

From the November issue of the Toronto *Freethought Journal*, the new Canadian monthly paper so ably edited by Messrs. Evans and Hargrave, we learn that the Liberal League movement is extending itself to Canada, with reference to the separation of Church and State in the Dominion. The proposal to take up this great issue at the approaching convention of the Canadian Freethought Society commands our heartiest sympathy, and we append in full the call for this convention, signed by President Evans and Secretary Hargrave, both of whom were present as delegates at the Rochester Congress, and were welcomed to seats in it by a cordial and unanimous vote of the convention:—

Canadian Freethought Convention.

A mass Convention of the freethinkers of Canada will be held in Albert Hall, on Tuesday and Wednesday, Jan. 22 and 23, 1878, when it is hoped a very large number of the freethinkers of Canada will be present for the following reasons:—

1st. Honest freethinkers are now debarred from seeking their just rights in any Canadian Court of Law, or from any place of honor or emolument requiring the taking of the Christian oath, while the dishonest hypocrite, by taking the oath prescribed by law, may cheat or despoil the freethinker, whose very honesty has been a bar to success.

2d. The immense amount of church property exempt from taxation in Canada, and consequently receiving to that extent aid and support from the State, makes it incumbent upon freethinkers to take measures for the entire separation of Church and State. At present this is only so in theory, for the simple fact that millions of dollars of extra taxation are paid by the people that should be paid by the Church, conclusively shows that practically there is now in Canada the closest union between Church and State.

3d. The exclusion from our public schools of every shade of theology that the children of all may receive the best practical and secular education, without the introduction of the Bible or other sectarian books. In a community of mixed religious beliefs every good citizen should bestir himself to obtain this end.

4th. For the more thorough organization of the freethought element of Canada, whereby the freethinkers of the Dominion may become united and known to each other. The freethinkers of Canada are sufficiently numerous to make their wishes respected in the councils of the country, and therefore the fault is theirs if they do not procure the remedies for their legal, social, and other disabilities their position, numbers, and influential character at once demands. In *union there is strength.*

In making the above call for the second convention of the freethinkers of Canada, the officers of the Canadian Freethought Society are not unmindful of the fact of the thoroughly independent character of freethinkers generally. Unlike the members of religious bodies they do not give play to the mere emotional part of their humanity, and consequently there is always absent from their proceedings every element of blind enthusiasm. But in asking for thorough union of freethought its promoters are only asking for the propagation and continuance of that which has only just sprang into life from the smouldering ashes of former persecutions. Let the freethinkers of the Dominion testify by their next convention that freethought in Canada is a living entity, worthy of the respect of its numerous enemies, and prepared to claim forever the esteem and gratitude of its many friends. J. ICK EVANS, *Pres. C. F. S.*

W. J. R. HARGRAVE, *Cor. Sec.*

THE NEW YORK *Sun* states, as an illustration of the inconsistencies of professional Christians, that, in a certain fashionable up-town church last Sunday, $16,000 were subscribed for foreign missions, while in the four weeks previous a charitable association had applications from five thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight families for relief from starvation. A visiting committee found in the Sixth Ward thirteen hundred persons without shoes. It was the sight of such inconsistencies as these that prompted Ebenezer Elliott, England's poet of the poor, to write:—

"Their Bibles for the heathen load our fleets;
Lo! gloating eastward, they inquire, 'What news?'
'We die,' we answer, 'foodless, in the streets.'
And what reply your men of Gospel views?
Oh, 'they are sending bacon to the Jews.'
Their lofty souls have telescopic eyes,
Which see the smallest speck of distant pain,
While at their feet a world of agonies,
Unseen, unheard, unheeded, writhes in vain."

Communications.

"RADICAL REVIEW" FOR NOVEMBER.

The *Radical Review* for November, 1877, is a book of six hundred and twenty-four fair and solid pages,—pages, too, for the most part, full of excellent reading for intelligent and thoughtful persons. Indeed, in attempting to write any appreciative notice of it, one is led first of all to express surprise that the editor can *afford* to give his readers so much for their money. If (as I sincerely hope is far from being likely) Mr. Tucker should finally be forced to discontinue the publication of his exceedingly valuable quarterly, one cannot but surmise that such a literary catastrophe will be owing largely to his too great liberality in dealing with his patrons as respects the quality and quantity of the banquet which he periodically spreads before them. To carefully husband his resources, that he may indefinitely prolong the noble enterprise on which he has so gallantly ventured, is the advice which spontaneously slips from the pen that here would call attention to this third number of the *Radical Review*.

There is a galaxy of unusually splendid star-papers in this number, which shine with a lustre sufficient to distinguish any magazine on this or on the other side of the Atlantic. I refer to the first, fourth, eighth, and ninth articles, severally by Henry Edger, Samuel Johnson, John Weiss, and E. H. Heywood.

Mr. Edger discusses "Prostitution and the International Woman's League." The motto with which the writer prefaces his paper is pregnant with needful counsel to all who enter the arena of controversy. It is from Richard Congreve: "Human questions need for their effectual study to be regarded from all points of view, and from all points of view simultaneously." In other words, he who fails to understand and appreciate his opponent's position cannot be supposed to understand his own, and might better lay down his pen. I wish Mr. Edger's paper might be read by every Woman's Rights champion, and by every one who undertakes to discuss the "social question." After that, it should be read by every intelligent man, and especially by every man who would be a good husband and father. Among the more striking passages in this altogether admirable essay are the following: "Morality and religion are to find in this our day a new logical anchorage ground. The various social relations will repose, in a fast approaching future, on a new ideal. Fictitious solutions of the various social and moral problems will be replaced by demonstrable solutions." "There are marriages which a really delicate moral sense will esteem infinitely baser, more impure, and in every way more wicked, than whole classes of extra-legal intimacies; and some of these intimacies that are immeasurably farther removed from prostitution than are vast numbers of legal marriages." "Society needs that all useful members be adequately sustained, and all their real wants adequately provided for." "For the sake of the better future, . . . woman must still condescend to perpetuate the race." "There can be no possible solution of the question of prostitution save in the social installation of a higher and much higher, moral ideal than any now recognized." "It is within the conjugal bond itself that *restraint* is most important. We need in fact an entirely new ideal of the marriage relation." "The influence which woman can exert upon public opinion in the drawing-room is incomparably more powerful than that which she can wield from the platform."

Samuel Johnson's paper on "Transcendentalism" is, I think, by far the grandest essay on that subject which has been presented to American readers since 1842, when Emerson read his famous lecture in the Masonic Temple in this city; and in some respects Mr. Johnson's production is superior to Mr. Emerson's. He has a masterly grasp of his subject, and his exposition of what Transcendentalism is, as well as his vindication of it as a method of thought, is simply superb. His style of writing is beyond praise, being full not only of the power of reason, but of the fervor of feeling and the beauty of imagination. Mr. Johnson is not only a philosopher, but a poet: he sees at once with the eye of the intellect and the eye of the soul. He has a mind which, while it is incapable of slighting the scientific method, is capable of perceiving its limitations, and of indicating its necessary antecedent and supplement. Mr. Johnson holds that "analysis of thought as essential and primal leads to the recognition of certain *ground-forms* of thought as universal, and therefore as known only by *transcending* the observation of facts. . . . Such ideas as unity, universe, law, cause, duty, substance, permanence, are thus affirmed to be *intuitively*, or directly perceived; because while not to be accounted for by any observed and calculated data, they are yet *fundamental*, and must be referred to *organic relations of the mind with truth*." Hence Mr. Johnson affirms that "on this intuition the sciences rest; by this they live, and move, and have their being." It will not do to attempt to quote from, or to give an outline of, this remarkable essay: it should be read entire by every one interested in the important discussion between science and intuition.

John Weiss' paper on "The Spirit that was in Jesus" shows that it is entirely possible for an audacious radical to have a fine appreciation of the wonderful Galilean. I think that Jesus himself would have been delighted to sit for such a portrait of his essential character, and to know that it was to be handed down the ages for all his friends to admire. I should not wonder if, after all, the true "holy sepulchre of our Lord" should be discovered by the investigating radicals, and Jesus be brought thence where he has lain so long and put on the only real throne from which it is possible for him to receive the enduring homage of mankind. Mr. Weiss also has in this number an exquisite poem on "The Preacher's Love-Vacation."

In "The Great Strike: Its relations to Labor, Property, and Government," E. H. Heywood appears in a *rôle* wherein, I think, he must prove exceptionally pleasing to those whose attention he has been wont to challenge. It is that of a calm, judicious, and weighty reasoner upon subjects that he has long considered and much talked of. It has never been my fortune to see a piece of writing from Mr. Heywood's pen, so worthy to arrest attention and so powerful to lead, persuade, and convince the reader as this. It shows the best points of his really admirable brain and heart. I am sure that this strong, brave, dispassionate, and eloquent paper will make some of his friends wish that he would be content to do more of this work and less of some other kinds. Mr. Heywood is a man of unusual ability, and a real natural leader of men. How important that all such should be free from the least taint of fanaticism; that their most daring radicalism should be tempered by an indispensable modicum of conservatism! Mr. Heywood's article should be taken as an antidote to Tom Scott and Mr. Grosvenor.

Mr. Morse's "Chips" are never dry, and he has a large pile of them in this number, which furnish an excellent dessert to the bountiful repast which precedes them.

A. W. S.

MINGLED PRAISE AND BLAME.

PARKMAN, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I have read your paper at intervals since its commencement in Toledo, and the *Radical* previously. The present year now near its close, I believe, I pay half the price of subscription on the single copy that has found its way to this corner of the world, and take the paper after it has gone the round of the community; usually getting it a week or two after the date of publication, and occasionally missing a No. altogether. I plead broken health and chronic poverty as an excuse for not having been a full and regular subscriber from the first.

I regard THE INDEX as actually *leading* the religious thought of the age. Moreover, it is, so far as I know, the only paper in the land or the world which, in the discussion of religious questions and topics, deals primarily and fundamentally with the *nature and truth of things*. Considering the proportion of the people in this section whose religious conceptions and theological views are mainly in accord with its fundamental tenets—theoretically at least,—this township ought to furnish a list of fifty subscribers to such a paper, leaving such as do not feel able to take it entirely out of the question. Yet, such is the indifference among liberals in regard to anything and everything pertaining to religious thought and culture, that I doubt if one-tenth of that number would reward a special and thorough canvass. Here as elsewhere, generally, I think, the Orthodox are the only class of people who, as a class, seem to attach any special importance to their religious convictions.

I have been greatly interested, and not a little edified, in the discussion of "The Scientific Method in Religion," particularly that phase of it recently presented in the shape of what may be stated as "Science vs. Transcendentalism" in your columns. Agreeing with the position of THE INDEX in the main, there yet seems to me to be great and important truth on the other side not yet fully brought out and clearly defined; though the subject has been most ably handled on both sides thus far, and in a most excellent spirit. That religion can ever become an unmixed blessing to the world, or in this or any other age of general intelligence a blessing at all, on the whole, except as it adopts the "Scientific Method" in settlement of questions coming within its jurisdiction, particularly to the extent of the *how* and the *wherefore* of applying the principles of its requirements to actual life in society, is to my mind beyond question or doubt. But, admitting this, it seems to me equally certain that there are questions, or rather conceptions or intuitions—or whatever word best expresses that something which language is utterly inadequate to express fully,—concerning which the SOUL alone is authority, and its utterances *oracular*; questions which are in their very nature super-scientific, in any sense in which science is known and applied, or, as representing the intellect, the understanding, the reasoning powers of man, *can* be applied—preceding and transcending all intellectual conclusion and scientific demonstration, and, in the absence of which, leaving man as he is in other respects, all development and progress must inevitably tend in the direction of increased facilities—though by a more and more polished process—for ever-grasping selfishness and refinement of cruelty. But I have not space to particularize. I hope the subject will not be allowed to rest without further elucidation in your columns.

The one single important failure on the part of THE INDEX, to deal comprehensively and justly with a question of great and absorbing interest, that I remember to have noticed, appears in an editorial in the 2d of August No., headed "THE RIGHT OF RIOT." Had my reading of this article constituted my sole acquaintance with the paper, I fear I should have found it difficult to feel any further interest in its behalf, or in behalf of any Free Religious or Liberal League of which it was the accredited exponent and organ.

According to my observation—and that of a respectable and, in these latter days, rapidly increasing number of other people, not altogether of the baser sort, as well,—it is not an unusual thing for the general press of the country, with a great flourish of trumpets in behalf of "Constitutional obligations," "vested rights," "protection of property," "law and order," and the like, to array itself on the side of the oppressor when there is power, in opposition to the claims of natural justice and the common rights of human nature, at whatever point the irrepressible conflict involved breaks out into open and violent rupture,—as in the nature of things it must, sooner or later. I am an old-time abolitionist; and, having drank in something of the spirit and logic of that great movement at an early age, I instinctively resent and despise and execrate whatever is tainted with that treasonable and cowardly, though in many quarters respectable and popular heresy,—more particularly when it manifests itself in connection with a public profession of especial devotion to the requirements of freedom and humanity.

Fortunately, however—for me at least, and for the interests of a free and natural religion, so far as my limited influence might go towards helping or hindering the circulation of the paper,—I had long ago become convinced of its high character and aims, and that its editor is really one of a thousand, not only in point of ability and integrity, but of a broad and generous and self-sacrificing philanthropy, as well. And I can but feel assured that if his labors in another and different field of thought and activity had not been of so constant and absorbing a nature as to preclude his giving the attention necessary to become familiar with the evil nature and oppressive workings of the unjust and unnatural system of things, out of which the late strike grew, and out of which, if allowed to continue, other disturbances similar in character, but of vastly more extended and disastrous results, are sure to follow, he could not have failed to perceive the fallacy of attempting to fix the responsibility at the point of outbreak, and fasten the stigma wholly, or mainly, upon the parties immediately concerned, or to cure, or even mitigate the evil by an appeal to the bayonet or the hangman's rope.

There are several points in the editorial in question, which to my perception will not bear close scrutiny. The position that a riot—as there defined—is necessarily "a thing of infamy," does not seem to me to be at all tenable, except by a line of argument that logically places all armed revolutions in the same category.

But I have already transcended my prescribed limits, and fear I am trespassing too freely upon your valuable space. I had designed but the briefest reference to this matter in this communication. But, as one of your correspondents recently said, "the subject grows."

Whatever may be said as to the real character of the strike, at least, one good effect of the sudden and simultaneous uprising of so large a body of men, over so great an extent of territory, is already manifest in the discussion it has aroused throughout the country, concerning the *rights* of labor,—a subject having hitherto attracted but little attention. This is a great gain. The sparks emitted by the clash of honest opinions on the field of earnest and *free* discussion light the way of truth. Moreover, the interests involved in this question seem to me to be closely allied to those to the advocacy of which THE INDEX is so ably and manfully devoted. The material and spiritual rights and interests of humanity are essentially *one and inseparable*. On the other hand, the assumed right to invade the realm of honest toil and industry, and by superior ability and tact, through trained foresight and sharp practice made legal and respectable, monopolize and control the fruits of other men's labor, the means of material subsistence and comfort, and of mental development and culture, is exactly identical in character, and in essential moral effect, with that of dominating and lording it over the soul in matters of faith and conscience in the name of God. On either side they stand or fall together.

In this last half of the nineteenth century, these two questions—the rights of labor and the rights of conscience—are up for a serious hearing, and will down at no man's bidding. The latter, demanding full and thorough consideration on its merits, feeling strong in the truth and sure of the result, is, in the main, cool, collected, and dignified,—patiently, hopefully, and confidently biding its time. The former, more importunate and threatening in its attitude, because nearer the pressing and imperative needs of every-day life, and therefore cannot wait, is, I think, up for immediate settlement, at all hazards and at any cost,—the leading feature of which settlement must be the recognition by government and society of the right of labor, whether of hand or brain, to the fruits of legitimate industry, as against all claims of railroad kings, millionnaires, stock-gamblers, speculators, and monopolists, whatsoever. This to my mind is, beyond doubt, the *real meaning* of all labor-strikes, riots, disturbances, whether, on the part of the actors launched with definite conscious purpose, or stung to reckless outbreak and blind resistance by actual privation and want, and a human sense of wrong and outrage. Whether or not there is enough of wisdom and justice among the wealthy and ruling classes, and enough of comprehension of the true nature and source of their wrongs, and of a just and enlightened spirit in seeking the remedy, on the part of the toiling masses, to effect a peaceable solution of the problem—if, indeed, our day of grace is not already past,—will, I feel sure, depend largely on how far, and the degree of power and authority with which the radical press and pulpit—we have nothing to hope from the conservative and time-serving—shall proclaim and enforce the sentiment of the heaven-inspired declaration that *Righteousness exalteth a nation*, while sin is not only a reproach, *but a source of imminent and infinite danger* to any people.

But I am again forgetting that my pen is running counter to space not altogether unlimited.

Respectfully yours,

J. H. PHILLCO.

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THE SILVER DOLLAR.

WEST MERIDEN, Ct., Nov. 23, 1877.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I think our friend, Mr. Stark, should have based his silver argument on the *statute* definition, instead of a *dictionary* one. In this case, the original statute definition nearly coincides with that of Webster.

In our first coinage act, April 2, 1792, the dollar of 371¼ grains pure silver (416 standard silver) was made the *unit*. The amount of alloy was subsequently changed (making 412½ grains standard); but, until 1873, the United States dollar always contained 371¼ grains pure silver, and was a legal tender in the discharge of all money obligations. (The gold dollar became also legal tender in 1849.) In 1873, silver was demonetized,—some say surreptitiously. It is said that President Grant, who signed the bill, did not discover the fact of demonetization until a year after the act.

This act of 1873 prohibits the issue of all gold and silver coins, except such as are therein authorized. In the authorized list, the old silver dollar is omitted, and the gold dollar retained, and the unit of value transferred to the latter. In the Revised Statutes, issued soon after, the section which created the old silver dollar was dropped, and the gold dollar declared the unit of value. (*v. Section* 3511, *Rev. Stat.*)

Hence, all obligations to pay coin, made prior to the act of 1873, can be discharged in the silver dollar of 371¼ grains pure silver, which was the unit of value to that date.

All coin obligations exceeding $5, made since the act of 1873, must be discharged upon the basis of the gold dollar as unit, unless otherwise specified in the contract.

All United States bonds issued prior to 1873 are contracts whose principal and interest are payable in *coin*. As gold and silver coin were both legal tender at the issue of these bonds, our government has the option to pay in either metal. United States bonds issued since 1873 state specifically that the interest is payable in gold or silver coin *of the standard value of the United States in June*, 1870. As in June, 1870, both gold and silver were legal tender, we must conclude that *all* United States bonds may be legally paid in either metal.

The same is true of all private coin contracts made previous to 1873.

But if silver dollars are not coined, how can debtors take the benefit of their *option?* They will be compelled to pay in the dearer metal,—made dearer by no fault of theirs, but by the demonetization of silver in Germany, the subsequent course of the Latin Monetary Union, and the consequent demand for gold.

Let silver be remonetized and made legal tender in full, and there is every reason to believe that the consequent demand for it will raise its price nearly, if not quite, to that of gold. Even those of our political economists who are not in favor of remonetization admit this,—D. A. Wells for example; and they admit also our *right* to pay in silver.

So there is no real reason to suppose that either debtor or creditor will be injured by payment being made in the terms contracted. Some creditors may fall of anticipated gain, expected to accrue from the rise of gold, from its continually increasing demand.

The predicted return of our bonds from Europe will probably never take place; or, if it does, not for the reasons assigned. But if it did occur, we could not surely be greatly harmed by having a larger portion of our debt held at home. Now about one-half, I think, is held abroad, so that the interest paid annually abroad on our public debt is not far from $100,000,000. Besides this, about $50,000,000 are paid on railroad and other bonds held abroad, and as much more expended for foreign travel.

But I am making my letter too long, and must close.

Yours,

EMILY J. LEONARD.

MR. NEVILLE ON MATERIALISM.

I always read the short and pithy letters of H. Clay Neville to THE INDEX with great interest. The form of impatient protest in which many of his comments on the tendencies of modern thought shape themselves is highly provocative, and I yield to an impulse, before felt, to offer a few suggestions in reply. Mr. Neville's dissatisfaction with the ultimate conclusions of the scientific school is not unusual nor difficult to understand. Most of us have probably felt the same doubts,—doubts which on closer reflection, it seems to me, we must decide to be quite irrelevant to the main issue. We have to bear in mind that Truth cannot always wear a beneficent aspect; and part of her work is iconoclastic. She must destroy as well as reveal. When, therefore, any new thought or system is presented to our consideration, we are to determine, not how far it coincides with preconceived notions, nor to what extent it adds support to life-long and cherished convictions, but whether it is in itself *true*. Having once become convinced of its truth, we have then made it the test and standard for whatever errors of judgment or delusions have preceded it.

For instance, having once admitted the truth of materialism, we are bound to discard the old notions of life and duty which do not accord with it, as so many mistakes and foolish fancies. That often we cannot do this without great pain and sorrow, without an "agonizing protest of every instinct of the soul," argues nothing against the new belief, but only proves how deep-seated superstitious hopes have become, when their uprooting seems to tear up every vestige of faith and joy, and ruin even life itself.

I understand Mr. Neville's position to be this. He will, if need be, grant the truth of materialism; but he will never pretend that he likes it. He will always consider himself in some sense defrauded. He accepts the doctrine in much the same fashion as one receives an unwelcome guest, acknowledging its claims and merits, and consigning it to some cold upper room of "the intellect" quite set apart from comfortable family uses. Mr. Neville writes: "I do not say that materialism is false, but I do say that it does not meet the great spiritual wants of the human race." Now does it not necessarily follow that, if the materialistic conception of the universe is the true one, it must meet all man's natural wants? Is it reasonable to suppose that these natural wants will not be responded to in some way? As for those so-called "spiritual wants," are we not justified in concluding them to be in great measure superficial, wants which have arisen through long ages of intellectual coddling, and in no way representing actual necessities? If the doctrine of materialism is true (and I confess to sharing Mr. Neville's very evident hope that it is not),—but if it is, then may we not rest secure in the trust that it contains a completer solution of the problem of life than any ever offered in the sweet hope of immortality or conjured from the fantastic workings of our inner consciousness?

Farther along Mr. Neville says: "If materialism is true, the human mind has wrought a sublime miracle in conceiving a destiny for itself so much nobler than that which Nature has given it." The fine and finished satire of this sentence is thoroughly enjoyable, and does much to atone for the slight gap in its logic. What is Mr. Neville's warrant for supposing that, because she has failed to provide immortality, Nature has therefore fallen below the human mind in the projection of a noble destiny for man? Are we so sure that the hope of immortality is the highest incentive to human action, and the noblest aspiration of which man is capable? On the contrary, is it not becoming a serious question whether this confident expectation in another and better life is not enervating in its influence over both thought and morals? On general principles, is not any ethical system which endeavors to allay present distress and unhappiness by pointing to some future compensation, unsound in theory and unsafe in practice? Man has been a heavenly-minded creature quite long enough. It is time he bent his gaze earthward. The conviction that "heaven is his home" has in many cases, led him to feel only a tenant's interest and care for his present establishment.

"Materialism is the belief of despair," says Mr. Neville; but surely the doctrine is not to be blamed for this. It is not accountable for the reaction which comes from the rejection of older and more illusory creeds. When a new truth fails to make real the vain and delusive expectations fostered by old dogmas, ought we not to wait and see if it has not new beauties and inspirations of its own? Harriet Martineau did not find a materialistic creed to be one of despair; and if she is one of the "few hardy natures" whom such a religion suits, we cannot but wish the number would increase. She made it the basis of a life devoted to the service of mankind, a service in which she never tired or lost enthusiasm. Contrasted with the rich and fecund growth of those creeds whose root and nourishment lie in the imagination, and whose topmost branches we fondly allude to as "spiritual aspirations," the doctrine of materialism may seem very barren; but its barrenness is one which, if turned to right uses, may be made to blossom like the rose. Materialism may have no heaven to offer us, no God to explain, but it surrounds us on every side with opportunities for work; and if it does no more than teach us a stern self-reliance, a love of work for work's sake, of humanity for humanity's sake, its lesson will have been most salutary. Under the old *regime*, we have become somewhat effeminate in our ways and fastidious in our tastes. The new order is more Spartan in its methods, and cares more for the whole than the individual. It is just possible that man and his little hope of a future life are not such important factors in the great sum of race and world-development as he is wont to think.

CELIA P. WOOLLEY.

CHICAGO, Nov. 23, 1877.

THE ROCHESTER PLATFORM.

FRIEND ABBOT:—

1.—*Technically* women are citizens, even as they are human beings; *practically* they are not.

Where the full rights of citizenship—voting and office-holding—have been claimed under the Constitution, the courts have ruled that, if the *letter* concede such rights, the *spirit* does not. It was not the design of the framers of the American Constitution to change the relative position of the sexes, as they have stood for ages under the British Constitution. Primogeniture and slavery also remained. The rights of male citizens are denied to female citizens, and will continue to be denied, until a distinct recognition of women as citizens, *equal with men* in all the processes of framing and executing the laws is made by Constitutional amendment. The cost to procure such amendment will be less than to obtain the recognition under existing legal conditions.

2.—A Constitutional declaration that by inherent rights the *land* of America belongs to the *people* of America, and that by law each citizen shall be secured a portion thereof, would be of force against wages, slavery, and vested rights of corporations and capitalists,—as the declaration, that all are born free, was against the vested rights of slaveholders and oldest sons. It is an axiom in law that, where public and private interests conflict, the public is paramount. And so of Nation and States. A warrantee deed to all the people would be a reiteration of the right of eminent domain.

Highways, railroads, canals, and intestine wars override all vested rights of individuals and corporations.

In our providential nation, the march of human rights, by Constitutional amendments, is towards the axiom that human beings have inalienable rights that neither fraud nor force can subvert, except temporarily.

When the conquering legions of Sherman swept onward in their march to the ocean, the inhabitants of plantations, villages, and cities saw that the inscription on his banner conflicted with their State rights, the decision of their courts, and their dearly-loved vested rights in human beings.

Human chattels were freed, but just so far as those freed men and women are not put in possession of land, their freedom is imperfect,—the march to the sea not finished, intestine war between capital and labor continues, the American Revolution is still in progress, chattel slavery is displaced by wages slavery,—and as the *American Socialist* judiciously puts it: "Thus far our representatives have failed to deal wisely with social and economic problems. They have not known how to settle great questions without resort to force. Neither party, nor both combined, had the sagacity to abolish slavery without violence; and they do not know how to adjust the claims of capitalist and laborer with or without violence; nor to institute equitable commerce; nor to institute representative money; nor has State or Church succeeded in arresting the development of dangerous classes, constituted on one hand of 'the mighty marauders of the money market,' and, on the other, of a hireling labor contingent. On the contrary, crime is increasing; pauperism is increasing; commercial revulsions and bankruptcy are increasing; monopoly is increasing; labor-strikes, lock-outs, and riots multiply. We are following the same road that England has travelled; and, but for our larger territorial area, our landless class would be as great as that of England, and, like England, we should have our hereditary professional pauper and beggar class.

"This is a down-hill road, and must end somewhere,—either in a war of extermination, as in France when the land was redistributed; or our obvious perils may at last open our eyes to the fact of this antagonism of interest which sets every man against his neighbor and also divides society into hostile classes, and at the same time, perhaps, sets us to inquire whether this antagonism is a final necessity of human relations, and whether Unity of Interests may not also become a practical fact."

Land limitation is possible, feasible, in any State, without the Constitutional amendment. That is a great point gained to start with. It is a grand idea, and, like "*Vote yourself a farm*" in the days of Jackson, it would be a rallying cry to unite all reformers and liberals.

Please ponder the matter deeply, calmly. Limit the quantity of land to be owned by one citizen, *on the ground* that they who take the *land* of a citizen take the *life* of that citizen. Life and land are inseparable.

We are off the track: let us get on, without bloodshed, violence, or spoliation, which are sure to ensue if we neglect our duty.

No existing vested right would be infringed by a land limitation law. The land of the monopolist would be subdivided among heirs, and the sale of the overplus would increase the number of freeholders. None would be harmed or disturbed. It would fall upon the public mind like dew from heaven, quietly, peacefully; but, with the certainty of death, it would begin to produce practical results from the hour of its enactment.

Suppose Vanderbilt's millions had all been invested in land like Wadsworth's, in the Genesee flats, the best part of the State of New York, a land limitation law would, upon his demise, simply necessitate its redistribution.

Vanderbilt wanted to keep his property together,—to entail it. Is that best for the country? Who has the best right to the land of the American nation, and to determine its uses,—a dead man or living Americans? Shall departed generations—dead people, ghosts in the spirit world,—in their ignorance and selfishness, legislate the elements of existence away from the existing generation of living men and women? SOVEREIGN PEOPLE, let it not be!!

Should all land-owners, at death, dedicate their lands to form parks to raise wild beasts, as is done in England to the extent of affecting the food question, what would the decisions of our Legislatures be in the matters of the invested rights of the dead *versus* the right to life on the part of the living?

F. W. EVANS.

THE COST OF EUROPE'S STANDING ARMIES.—A short essay, entitled *The Question of Money*, has recently appeared in Paris from the pen of M. de Girardin, in which it is made to appear that all existing governments, excepting those of England and America, are fast hastening to a bankrupt condition. This is caused mainly by the elaborate armies and fleets which a mutual suspicion compels all the powers of Europe to maintain as a standing threat to all encroachments of their neighbors. The result is that Europe is one vast camp, the soldiers of England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia, costing those governments about $500,000,000 annually. England's army of 106,000 men costs $53,256,160; France's 480,000 men, $112,913,298; Russia's 575,000 men, $137,034,925; Germany's 412,000 men, $92,764,603; Italy's 205,000 men, $37,176,086; and Austria's 273,000 men, $47,705,914. The support of the various navies also costs $135,000,000 a year, of which England expends $60,000,000; France, $35,000,000; Russia, $24,000,000; Germany and Italy, $7,500,000 each, and Austria, $5,000,000. M. de Girardin concludes from the estimate of naval expenses that the danger of universal insolvency will never be removed until rulers shall cease to prosecute their search for an armament which no projectile can pierce and a projectile which no armament can withstand.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

GLIMPSES.

A MEETING of all friends of the Liberal League movement in Boston and vicinity will be held at Paine Hall, Friday evening, Dec. 14, at 7.30 o'clock. A full attendance is desired, and all interested will be welcome.

THE FOLLOWING Executive Sub-Committee of the National Liberal League for the State of South Carolina has been duly constituted: P. W. Fuller, chairman, D. B. Derasure, John Janes, and W. B. Stenhouse, all of Columbia, and A. R. Ahle, of Lexington.

REV. W. S. MESSNER, of Davenport, Iowa, has just left the Presbyterian communion, frankly assigning a change of belief as the cause. His request to have his name stricken from the rolls appears to us to be an example of the true and most dignified course in such an exigency.

MR. GLADSTONE has written an article for the *Nineteenth Century* in which he advances the theory that the so-called "color-blindness," now noted in exceptional instances, was once a common condition of the human race, and that the capacity to distinguish colors is a comparatively recent acquisition.

THE TOMPKINS COUNTY Liberal League announced a Ratification Meeting at Ithaca, N. Y., for last Monday evening, December 10; and THE INDEX will probably receive a report of its proceedings by and by. We are informed that this League includes twelve of the Professors of Cornell University.

MR. ROBERT C. SPENCER, of Milwaukee, member of the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League for Wisconsin, has issued a capital circular for the efficient organization of that State, suggesting that "it is desirable to form State, Congressional, County, and Township Leagues, auxiliary to the National Liberal League." We urge all our Wisconsin friends to coöperate with him heartily in this excellent object.

THE FIRST LIBERAL LEAGUE of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has declared itself auxiliary to the National League, and taken out a charter accordingly. Its officers are—President, Robert C. Spencer; Vice-President, E. B. Wolcott; Secretary, Wm. A. Boyd; Treasurer, Wm. P. Merrill; Executive Committee, H. G. Benjamin, John Bentley, Arthur Bate, W. H. Sherman, H. H. Oldenhagg. There are thirty or forty Leagues in the country which have not yet affiliated themselves with the National League, and we trust they will all take this step, in order to secure greater influence for the movement as a whole.

ACCORDING to the *Tribune*, "it is stated that Colonel Robert Ingersoll has been challenged to a theological discussion in London, Dublin, or Chicago, by the Rev. Tresham D. Gregg, of Dublin. Mr. James Rea, formerly United States Consul to Belfast, says that Dr. Gregg is willing, if defeated in the contest, to retire from his work of propagating the gospel, and to withdraw from circulation his numerous theological works. On the other hand, if Ingersoll is beaten, he must forever afterward hold his peace against the Christian religion, and must also withdraw from circulation his book and other anti-orthodox documents."

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from Mr. Frank Hermance, New Haven, Conn., on behalf of the Free Lecture Association, 685; from Miss Philena Carkin, Concord, Mass., 8; from Mr. Charles A. Simpson, Saxonville, Mass., 42; from Mr. Franklin Goodyear, Cortland, N. Y., 50. Total thus far acknowledged—9,651. The list received from Mr. Hermance is the largest yet returned; and collectors of signatures may well be encouraged in their efforts in other localities, when they see what success can be won by men in earnest. Why will not other liberal societies take up this petition, and by division of labor multiply the present list of signers by many thousands?

THE NEW YORK *Tribune* declares editorially, in its issue of December 8, that "the old party of Freedom" [by which it means the Republican party] is "still the party of the Churches and the School-Houses." If there had been less church and more school-house in it, it would never have become so corrupt as it is to-day. But the Democratic party is even worse. The permanence of free popular institutions in this country depends on the possibility of combining all good citizens in support of a government which shall know nothing of "Churches," but shall make "School-Houses" the underpinning of the whole republic. A party which should devote itself to the efficient protection of equal citizen-rights, religious as well as civil and political, to universal popular education, and to the honest administration of public affairs for the public good, is the one great need of American politics. If the people are incapable of originating and sustaining such a party, they are incapable of continued self-government, and must at last submit to such masters as Fate shall impose upon them.

THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION at Washington furnishes to the press the following dispatch concerning education in Germany: "The German Workingmen's Congress, held at Gera, Germany, in October last, unanimously resolved to petition the government that the standard of popular education be considerably raised, and that instruction in all the popular and higher institutions of learning be made gratuitous. The Congress also desires that the employment of children in factories be strictly forbidden, and the laws concerning the attendance of 'Fortbildungsschulen' (review schools, of three years' duration, for all graduates of elementary schools who do not enter secondary or technical schools) be vigorously enforced. The project of a new school law for Prussia has been prepared by the Minister of Public Instruction. It is believed that the bill will pass the Landtag this session. This bill changes denominational into undenominational schools, and makes religion an optional branch of instruction. The supporters of denominational schools petitioned the emperor not to sanction the bill if it passed the Landtag. The emperor declared that he would not sanction this or any other bill tending to abolish religious training in schools. He deems religious training essential to a good education."

OUR MILWAUKEE friends are not inactive in the good cause, as testified by the printed post-card, issued for a Ratification Meeting last week and only just received here, as follows:—

Liberal League Meeting.

Wednesday evening, Dec. 5, at half-past seven o'clock, in Boynton's Lower Hall, corner Milwaukee and Mason Streets, in furtherance of the following objects; *viz.*:—

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights; to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

All persons in any manner interested in the above principles are invited to attend, and if favorable to the movement, are requested to lend it their active support. ROBERT C. SPENCER, *President*.
WILLIAM A. BOYD, *Secretary*.

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MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.—President, Robert C. Spencer; Secretary, William A. Boyd.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the First Liberal League of Milwaukee.

[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

A JEWELLER in New Haven, Conn., has a remarkable watch made by a foreign watchmaker, which Mark Twain describes as follows: "It comes nearer to being a human being than any piece of mechanism I ever saw before. In fact, it knows considerably more than the average voter. It knows the movements of the moon and keeps exact record of them; it tells the day of the week, the day of the month, and the month of the year, and will do this perpetually; it tells the hour of the day and the minute and the second, and even splits the seconds into fifths and marks the division by 'stop' hands; having two stop hands, it can take accurate care of two race-horses, that start not together, but one after the other; it is a repeater wherein the voter is suggested again, and musically chimes the hour, the quarter, the half, the three-quarter hour, and also the minutes that have passed of an uncompleted quarter hour,—so that a blind man can tell the time of day by it to the exact minute. Such is this extraordinary watch. It ciphers to admiration; I should think one could add another wheel and make it read and write; still another and make it talk; and I think one might take out several of the wheels that are already in it and it would still be a more intelligent citizen than some that help to govern the country. On the whole, I think it is entitled to vote; that is, if its sex is the right kind."

THE NEW silver quarters have the device, "In God We Trust," but not the half dollars. No confidence in Him for any sum greater than 25 cents, evidently. —*Ex.*

On Science.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT BIRMINGHAM, OCTOBER 1, 1877, AS PRESIDENT OF THE MIDLAND INSTITUTE.

BY PROF. JOHN W. TYNDALL.

A magnet attracts iron; but when we analyze the effect we learn that the metal is not only attracted but repelled, the final approach to the magnet being due to the difference of two unequal and opposing forces. Social progress is for the most part typified by this duplex or polar action. As a general rule, every advance is balanced by a partial retreat, every amelioration is associated more or less with deterioration. No great mechanical improvement, for example, is introduced for the benefit of society at large that does not bear hardly upon individuals. Science, like other things, is subject to the operation of this polar law, what is good for it under one aspect being bad for it under another. Science demands above all things personal concentration. Its home is the study of the mathematician, the quiet laboratory of the experimenter, and the cabinet of the meditative observer of Nature. Different atmospheres are required by the man of science, as such, and the man of action. The atmosphere, for example, which vivifies and stimulates your excellent representative, Mr. Chamberlain, would be death to me. There are organisms which flourish in oxygen: he is one of them. There are also organisms which demand for their duller lives a less vitalizing air: I am one of these. Thus the facilities of social and international intercourse, the railway, the telegraph, and the post-office which are such undoubted boons to the man of action, react to some extent injuriously on the man of science. Their tendency is to break up that concentrativeness which, as I have said, is an absolute necessity to the scientific investigator. The men who have most profoundly influenced the world from the scientific side have habitually sought isolation. Faraday, at a certain period of his career, formally renounced dining out. Darwin lives apart from the bustle of the world in his quiet home in Kent. Mayer and Joule dealt in unobtrusive retirement with the weightiest scientific questions. None of these men, to my knowledge, ever became Presidents of the Midland Institute or of the British Association. They could not fail to know that both positions are pests of honor; but they would also know that such positions cannot be filled without grave disturbance of that sequestered peace which, to them, is a first condition of intellectual life.

There is, however, one motive power in the world which no man, be he a scientific student or otherwise, can afford to treat with indifference, and that is the cultivation of right relations with his fellow-men, the performance of his duty, not as an isolated individual, but as a member of society. Such duty often requires the sacrifice of private ease to the public wishes, if not to the public good. From this point of view the invitation conveyed to me more than once by your excellent senior Vice-President was not to be declined. It was an invitation written with the earnestness said to be characteristic of a radical, and certainly with the courtesy characteristic of a gentleman. It quickened within me the desire to meet in a cordial and brotherly spirit the wish of an institution of which not only Birmingham, but England, may well be proud, and of whose friendliness to myself I had agreeable evidence in the letters of Mr. Thackray Bunce. To look at his picture as a whole painter requires distance, and to judge of the total scientific achievement of any age the stand-point of a succeeding age is desirable. We may, however, transport ourselves in idea into the future, and thus obtain a grasp, more or less complete, of the science of our time. We sometimes hear it decried and contrasted to its disadvantage with the science of other times. I do not think that this will be the verdict of posterity. I think, on the contrary, that posterity will acknowledge that in the history of science no higher samples of intellectual conquest are recorded than those which this age has made its own.

One of the most salient of these I propose, with your permission, to make the subject of our consideration during the coming hour. It is now generally admitted that the man of to-day is the child and product of incalculable antecedent time. His physical and intellectual textures have been woven for him during his passage through phases of history and forms of existence which lead the mind back to an abysmal past. One of the qualities which he has derived from that past is the yearning to let in the light of principles on the otherwise bewildering flux of phenomena. He has been described by the German Lichtenberg as "*das rastlose Ursachenthier*," the restless, cause-seeking animal, in whom facts excite a kind of hunger to know the sources from which they spring. Never, I venture to say, in the history of the world, has this longing been more liberally responded to, both among men of science and the general public, during the last thirty or forty years.

I say "the general public," because it is a feature of our time that the man of science no longer limits his labors to the society of his colleagues and his peers, but shares, as far as it is possible to share, with the world at large the fruits of inquiry. The celebrated Robert Boyle regarded the universe as a machine; Mr. Carlyle prefers regarding it as a tree. He loves the image of the umbrageous Igdrasil better than that of the Strasburg clock. A machine may be defined as an organism with life and direction outside; a tree may be defined as an organism with life and direction within. In the light of these definitions, I close with the conception of Carlyle. The order and energy of the universe I hold to be inherent, and not imposed from without, the expression

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of fixed law and not of arbitrary will, exercised by what Carlyle would call an almighty clock-maker. But the two conceptions are not so much opposed to each other after all. In one essential particular they at all events, agree. They equally imply the interdependence and harmonious interaction of parts, and the subordination of the individual powers of the universal organism to the working of the whole. Never were the harmony and interdependence just referred to so clearly recognized as now. Our insight regarding them is not that vague and general insight to which our fathers had attained, and which, in early times, was more frequently affirmed by the synthetic poet than by the scientific man.

The interdependence of our day has become quantitative, expressible by numbers, leading, it must be added, directly into that inexorable reign of law which so many gentle people regard with dread. In the domain now under review men of science had first to work their way from darkness into twilight, and from twilight into day. There is no solution of continuity in science. It is not given to any man, however endowed, to rise spontaneously into intellectual splendor without the parentage of antecedent thought. Great discoveries grow. Here, as in other cases, we have first the seed, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear, the last member of the series implying the first. Thus, as regards the discovery of gravitation with which the name of Newton is identified, notions more or less clear concerning it had entered many minds before Newton's transcendent mathematical genius raised it to the level of a demonstration. The whole of his deductions, moreover, rested upon the inductions of Kepler. Newton shot beyond his predecessors, but his thoughts were rooted in their thoughts, and a just distribution of merit would assign to them a fair portion of the honor of discovery.

Scientific theories sometimes float like rumors in the air before they receive definite expression. The doom of a doctrine is often practically sealed, and the truth of one is often practically accepted, long prior to the theoretic demonstration of either the error or the truth. Perpetual motion, for example, was discarded before it was proved to be in opposition to natural law; and, as regards the connection and interaction of natural forces, prenatal intimations of modern discoveries and results are strewn through scientific literature.

Confining ourselves to recent times, Dr. Ingleby has pointed out to me some singularly sagacious remarks bearing upon this question which were published by an anonymous writer in 1820. Roget's penetration was conspicuous in 1829. Mohr had grasped, in 1837, some deep-lying truth. The writings of Faraday furnish frequent illustrations of his profound belief in the unity of Nature. "I have long," he writes in 1845, "held an opinion almost amounting to conviction, in common, I believe, with other lovers of natural knowledge, that the various forms under which the forces of matter are made manifest have one common origin, or, in other words, are so directly related and mutually dependent, that they are convertible, as it were, one into another, and possess equivalence of power in their action." His own researches on magneto-electricity, on electro-chemistry, and on the "magnetization of light," led him directly to this belief. At an early date Mr. Justice Grove made his mark upon this question. Colding, though starting from a metaphysical basis, grasped eventually the relation between heat and mechanical work, and sought to determine it experimentally. And here let me say that to him who has only the truth at heart, and who in his dealings with scientific history keeps his soul unwarped by envy, hatred, or malice, personal or national, every fresh accession to historic knowledge must be welcome. For every new-comer of proved merit, more especially if that merit should have been previously overlooked, he makes ready room in his recognition or his reverence.

But no retrospect of scientific literature has as yet brought to light a claim which can sensibly affect the positions accorded to two great pathfinders, whose names in relation to this subject are linked in indissoluble association. These names are Julius Robert Mayer and James Prescott Joule. In his essay on "Circles," Mr. Emerson, if I remember rightly, pictured intellectual progress as rhythmic. At a given moment knowledge is surrounded by a barrier which marks its limit. It gradually gathers clearness and strength until, by-and-by, some thinker of exceptional power bursts the barrier and wins a wider circle, within which thought once more intrenches itself. But the internal force again accumulates, the new barrier is in its turn broken, and the mind finds itself surrounded by a still wider horizon.

Thus, according to Emerson, knowledge spreads by intermittent victories instead of progressing at a uniform rate. When Dr. Joule first proved that a weight of one pound, falling through a height of seven hundred and seventy-two feet, generated an amount of heat competent to warm a pound of water one degree Fahrenheit, and that in lifting the weight so much heat exactly disappeared, he broke an Emersonian "circle," releasing by the act an amount of scientific energy which rapidly overran a vast domain. Helmholtz, Clausius, Thomson, Rankine, Regnault, Favre, and other illustrious names are associated with the conquests since achieved and embodied in the great doctrine known as the "Conservation of Energy." This doctrine recognizes in the material universe a constant sum of power made up of items among which the most Protean fluctuations are incessantly going on. It is as if the body of Nature were alive, the thrill and interchange of its energies resembling those of an organism. The parts of the "stupendous whole shift and change, augment and diminish, appear and disappear, while the total of which they are the parts remains quantitatively immutable—immutable, because when change occurs it is always polar—*plus* accompanies *minus*, gain accompanies loss, no item varying in the slightest degree without an absolutely equal change of some other item in the opposite direction. The sun warms the tropical ocean, converting a portion of its liquid into vapor, which rises in the air and is recondensed on mountain heights, returning in rivers to the ocean from which it came.

Up to the point where condensation begins an amount of heat exactly equivalent to the molecular work of vaporization and the mechanical work of lifting the vapor to the mountain-tops has disappeared from the universe. What is the gain corresponding to this loss? It will seem when mentioned to be expressed in a foreign currency. The loss is a loss of heat; the gain is a gain of distance, both as regards masses and molecules. Water which was formerly at the sea-level has been lifted to a position from which it can fall; molecules which had been locked together as a liquid are now separate as vapor which can recondense. After condensation gravity comes into effectual play, pulling the showers down upon the hills, and the rivers thus created through their gorges to the sea. Every raindrop which smites the mountain produces its definite amount of heat; every river in its course develops heat by the clash of its cataracts and the friction of its bed. In the act of condensation, moreover, the molecular work of vaporization is accurately reversed.

Compare, then, the primitive loss of solar warmth with the heat generated by the condensation of the vapor, and by the subsequent fall of the water from cloud to sea. They are mathematically equal to each other. No particle of vapor was formed and lifted without being paid for in the currency of solar heat; no particle returns as water to the sea without the exact quantitative restitution of that heat. There is nothing gratuitous in physical nature, no expenditure without equivalent gain, no gain without equivalent expenditure. With inexorable constancy the one accompanies the other, leaving no nook or crevice between them for spontaneity to mingle with the pure and necessary play of natural force. Has this uniformity of Nature ever been broken? The reply is, "Not to the knowledge of science." What has been here stated regarding heat and gravity applies to the whole of inorganic Nature.

Let us take an illustration from chemistry. The metal zinc may be burnt in oxygen, a perfectly definite amount of heat being produced by the combustion of a given weight of the metal. But zinc may also be burnt in a liquid which contains a supply of oxygen,—in water, for example. It does not in this case produce flame or fire, but it does produce heat which is capable of accurate measurement. But the heat of zinc burnt in water falls short of that produced in pure oxygen, the reason being that to obtain its oxygen from the water the zinc must first dislodge the hydrogen. It is in the performance of this molecular work that the missing heat is absorbed. Mix the liberated hydrogen with the oxygen and cause them to recombine, the heat developed is mathematically equal to the missing heat. Thus in pulling the oxygen and hydrogen asunder an amount of heat is consumed which is accurately restored by their reunion. This may be taken as prefatory to a few remarks upon the voltaic battery.

It is not my design to dwell upon the technic features of this wonderful instrument, but simply to illustrate by means of it the further play of the principle of equivalence and conservation, and to show the varying shapes which a given amount of energy can assume while maintaining unvarying quantitative stability. When that form of power which we call an electric current passes through Grove's battery zinc is consumed in acidulated water, and in the battery we are able so to arrange matters that when no current passes no zinc shall be consumed. Now the current, whatever it may be, possesses the power of generating heat outside the battery. We can fuse with it iridium, the most refractory of metals, or we can produce with it the dazzling electric light, and that at any terrestrial distance from the battery itself. We will now, however, content ourselves with causing the current to raise a given length of platinum wire, first to a blood-heat, then to redness, and finally to a white heat. The heat under these circumstances generated in the battery by the combustion of a fixed quantity of zinc is no longer constant, but it varies inversely as the heat generated outside. If the outside heat be *nil*, the inside heat is a *maximum*; if the external wire be raised to a blood-heat, the internal heat falls slightly short of the *maximum*. If the wire be rendered red-hot, the quantity of missing heat within the battery is greater, and if the external wire be rendered white-hot, the defect is greater still. Add together the internal and external heat produced by the combustion of a given weight of zinc, and you have an absolutely constant total. The heat generated without is so much lost within; the heat generated within is so much lost without, the polar changes already adverted to coming here conspicuously into play.

Thus, in a variety of ways, we can distribute the items of a never-varying sum; but even the subtle agency of the electric current places no creative power in our hands. Instead of generating external heat we may cause the current to effect chemical decomposition at a distance from the battery. Let it, for example, decompose water into oxygen and hydrogen. The heat generated in the battery under these circumstances by the combustion of a given weight of zinc falls short of what is produced when there is no decomposition. How far short? The question admits of a perfectly exact answer. When the oxygen and hydrogen recombine, the heat absorbed in the decomposition is accurately restored, and it is exactly equal in amount to that missing in the battery. We may, if we like, bottle up the gases, carry in this form the heat of the battery to the polar regions, and liberate it there. The battery, in fact, is a hearth on which fuel is consumed; but the heat of the combustion, instead of being confined in the usual manner to the hearth itself, may be first liberated at the other side of the world. In my youth I thought an electro-magnetic engine which was shown to me a veritable perpetual motion,—a machine, that is to say, which performed work without the expenditure of power.

Let us consider the action of such a machine. Suppose it to be employed to pump water from a lower to a higher level. On examining the battery which works the engine we find that the zinc consumed does not yield its full amount of heat. The quantity of heat thus missing within is the exact thermal equivalent of the mechanical work performed without. Let the water fall again to a lower level, it is warmed by the fall. Add the heat thus produced to that generated by the friction, mechanical and magnetical, of the engine, we thus obtain the precise amount of heat missing in the battery. All the effects obtained from the machine are thus strictly paid for; this "payment for results" being, I would repeat, the inexorable method of Nature. No engine, however subtly devised, can evade this law of equivalence, or perform on its own account the smallest modicum of work. The machine distributes, but it cannot create. Is the animal body, then, to be classed among machines? When I lift a weight, or throw a stone, or climb a mountain, or wrestle with my comrade, am I not conscious of actually creating and expending force?

Let us look to the antecedents of this force. We derive the muscle and fat of our bodies from what we eat. Animal heat you know to be due to the slow combustion of this fuel. My arm is now inactive, and the ordinary slow combustion of my blood and tissue is going on. For every grain of fuel thus burnt a perfectly definite amount of heat has been produced. I now contract my biceps muscle without causing it to perform external work. The combustion is quickened and the heat is increased, this additional heat being liberated in the muscle itself. I lay hold of a fifty-six pound weight, and by the contraction of my biceps lift it through the vertical space of a foot. The blood and tissues consumed during this contraction have not developed in the muscle their due amount of heat. A quantity of heat is at this moment missing in my muscle which would raise the temperature of an ounce of water somewhat more than one degree Fahrenheit. I liberate the weight, it falls to the earth, and by its collision generates the precise amount of heat missing in the muscle. My muscular heat is thus transferred from its local hearth to external space. The fuel is consumed in my body, but the heat of combustion is produced outside my body. The case is substantially the same as that of the voltaic battery when it performs external work or produces external heat. All this points to the conclusion that the force we employ in muscular exertion is the force of burning fuel and not of creative will.

In the light of these facts the body is seen to be as incapable of generating energy without expenditure as the solids and liquids of the voltaic battery. The body, in other words, falls into the category of machines. We can do with the body all that we have already done with the battery,—heat platinum wires, decompose water, magnetize iron, and deflect a magnetic needle. The combustion of muscle may be made to produce all these effects, as the combustion of zinc may be caused to produce them. By turning the handle of a magneto-electric machine, a coil of wire may be caused to rotate between the poles of a magnet. As long as the two ends of the coil are unconnected we have simply to overcome the ordinary inertia and friction of the machine in turning the handle. But the moment the two ends of the coil are united by a thin platinum wire a sudden addition of labor is thrown upon the turning arm. When the necessary labor is expended its equivalent immediately appears. The platinum wire glows. You can readily maintain it at a white heat, or even fuse it. This is a very remarkable result. From the muscles of the arm, with a temperature of one hundred degrees, we extract the temperature of molten platinum, which is many thousand degrees. The miracle here is the reverse of that of the burning bush mentioned in Genesis. There the bush burned but was not consumed; here the blood is consumed but does not burn. The similarity of the action with that of the voltaic battery when it heats an external wire is too obvious to need pointing out. When the machine is used to decompose water, the heat of the muscle like that of the battery, is consumed in molecular work, being fully restored when the gases recombine. As before, also, the transmuted heat of the muscles may be bottled up, carried to the polar regions, and there restored to its pristine form.

The matter of the human body is the same as that of the world around us, and here we find the forces of the human body identical with those of inorganic nature. Just as little as the voltaic battery is the animal body a creator of force. It is an apparatus exquisite and effectual beyond all others in transforming and distributing the energy with which it is supplied, but it possesses no creative power. Compared with the notions previously entertained regarding the play of "vital force," this is a great result. The problem of vital dynamics has been described by a competent authority as the "grandest of all." I subscribe to this opinion, and honor correspondingly the man who first successfully grappled with the problem. He was no pope in the sense of being infallible, but he was a man of genius whose work will be held in honor as long as science en-

dures. I have already named him in connection with our illustrious countryman, Dr. Joule. Other eminent men took up this subject subsequently and independently; but all that has been done hitherto enhances, instead of diminishing, the merits of Dr. Mayer. Consider the vigor of his reasoning. "Beyond the power of generating internal heat, the animal organism can generate heat external to itself. A blacksmith by hammering can warm a nail, and a savage by friction can heat wood to its point of ignition. Unless, then, we abandon the physiological axiom that the animal body cannot create heat out of nothing, we are driven to the conclusion that it is the total heat, within and without, that ought to be regarded as the real calorific effect of the oxidation within the body." Mayer, however, not only states the principle, but illustrates numerically the transfer of muscular heat to external space. A bowler who imparts a velocity of thirty feet to an eight-pound ball consumes in the act one-tenth of a grain of carbon. The heat of the muscle is here distributed over the track of the ball, being developed there by mechanical friction. A man weighing one hundred and fifty pounds consumes in lifting his own body to a height of eight feet the heat of a grain of carbon. Jumping from this height the heat is restored. The consumption of two ounces, four drams, twenty grains of carbon would place the same man on the summit of a mountain ten thousand feet high. In descending the mountain an amount of heat equal to that produced by the combustion of the foregoing amount of carbon is restored. The muscles of a laborer whose weight is one hundred and fifty pounds weigh sixty-four pounds. When dried they are reduced to fifteen pounds. Were the oxidation corresponding to a day laborer's ordinary work exerted on the muscles alone, they would be wholly consumed in eighty days. Were the oxidation necessary to sustain the heart's action concentrated on the heart itself, it would be consumed in eight days. And if we confine our attention to the two ventricles, their action would consume the associated muscular tissue in three days and a half.

With a fulness and precision of which this is but a sample, did Mayer, between 1842 and 1845, deal with the great question of vital dynamics. We place, then, food in our stomachs as so much combustible matter. It is first dissolved by purely chemical processes, and the nutritive fluid is poured into the blood. Here it comes into contact with atmospheric oxygen admitted by the lungs. It unites with the oxygen as wood or coal might unite with it in a furnace. The matter-products of the union, if I may use the term, are the same in both cases; *viz.*, carbonic acid and water. The force-products are also the same,—heat within the body, or heat and work outside the body. Thus far every action of the organism belongs to the domain either of physics or of chemistry. But you saw me contract the muscle of my arm. What enabled me to do so? Was it or was it not the direct action of my will? The answer is, the action of the will is mediate, not direct. Over and above the muscles the human organism is provided with long whitish filaments of medullary matter, which issue from the spinal column, being connected by it on the one side with the brain, and on the other side losing themselves in the muscles. Those filaments or cords are the nerves, which you know are divided into two kinds, sensor and motor, or, if you like the terms better, afferent and efferent nerves. The former carry impressions from the external world to the brain; the latter convey the behests of the brain to the muscles.

Here, as elsewhere, we find ourselves aided by the sagacity of Mayer, who was the first to clearly formulate the part played by the nerves in the organism. Mayer saw that neither nerves nor brain, nor both together, possessed the energy necessary to animal motion; but he also saw that the nerve could lift a latch and open a door by which floods of energy are let loose. "As an engineer," he says with admirable lucidity, "by the motion of his finger in opening a valve or loosening a detent can liberate an amount of mechanical energy almost infinite compared with its exciting cause, so the nerves, acting on the muscles, can unlock an amount of power out of all proportion to the work done by the nerves themselves." The nerves, according to Mayer, pull the trigger, but the gunpowder which they ignite is stored in the muscles. This is the view now universally entertained. The quickness of thought has passed into a proverb, and the notion that any measurable time elapsed between the infliction of a wound and the feeling of the injury would have been rejected as preposterous thirty years ago. Nervous impressions, notwithstanding the results of Haller, were thought to be transmitted, if not instantaneously, at all events with the rapidity of electricity. Hence, when Helmholtz, in 1851, affirmed, as the result of experiment, nervous transmission to be a comparatively sluggish process, very few believed him. His experiments may now be made in the lecture-room.

Sound in air moves at the rate of one thousand one hundred feet a second; sound in water moves at the rate of four thousand feet a second; light in ether moves at the rate of one hundred and ninety thousand miles a second, and electricity in free wires moves probably at the same rate. But the nerves transmit their messages at the rate of only seventy feet a second, a progress which in these quick times might well be regarded as intolerably slow. Your townsman, Mr. Gore, has produced by electrolysis a kind of antimony which exhibits an action strikingly analogous to that of nervous propagation. A rod of this antimony is in such a molecular condition that when you scratch or heat one end of the rod the disturbance propagates itself before your eyes to the other end, the onward march of the disturbance being announced by the development of heat and fumes along the line of propagation. In some such way the molecules of the nerves are successively overthrown; and if Mr. Gore could only devise some means of winding up his exhausted antimony, as the nutritive blood winds up exhausted nerves, the comparison would be complete.

The subject may be summed up, as Du Bois-Reymond has summed it up, by reference to the case of a whale struck by a harpoon in the tail. If the animal were seventy feet long, a second would elapse before the disturbance could reach the brain. But the impression after its arrival has to diffuse itself and throw the brain into the molecular condition necessary to consciousness. Then, and not till then, the command to the tail to defend itself is shot through the motor nerves. Another second must elapse before the order reaches the tail, so that more than two seconds transpire between the infliction of the wound and the muscular response of the part wounded. The interval required for the kindling of consciousness would probably more than suffice for the destruction of the brain by lightning or even by a rifle bullet. Before the organ can arrange itself, it may, therefore, be destroyed, and in such a case we may safely conclude that death is painless.

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

THE ROMAN PROGRAMME IN CANADA.

The readers of Mr. Parkman's *Count Frontenac* need not be told how thoroughly the Canadian government was under the Papal rule in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but it has been reserved Mr. Charles Lindsey, of Toronto, in the current *North American Review*, to tell us what the Ultramontane movement in Canada is at the present time, and his statement of facts is an instructive commentary on the way in which Romanism deals with civil institutions. Canada has for a long time been regarded at Rome as "the eldest son of the Church." The City of Quebec is the proud mother of sixty dioceses, and the province of Lower Canada is now specially demonstrative in its obedience to Rome. The man who has done the most to encourage this Ultramontane movement has been Mgr. Ignace Bourget, Bishop of Montreal for thirty-six years, whose resignation took place in 1876. He accepted the new departure at Rome, and publicly rejoiced over the Papal *Syllabus* of 1864. The Roman Episcopate in Canada have unitedly "approved everything the Pope approves, and condemned everything that the Pope condemns." With this policy, which has been thoroughly indorsed at Rome, the Canadian press, so far as it belongs to the Roman Church, has been made the mouthpiece of the Bishops, and whenever it has dared to differ from them in the least point, the particular journal has been quickly extinguished. The spirit of this new movement is indicated in one of Bishop Bourget's pastoral letters. He says: "No one is permitted to be free in his religious and political opinions; it is for the Church to teach her children to be good citizens as well as good Christians, by instilling into them the true principles of faith and morals, of which she alone is the sole depository. . . . Her divine mission is to teach sovereigns to govern with wisdom and subjects to obey with joy." A Jesuit priest of Montreal, Father Braun, puts the Bishop's principle into practice in words like these: "Protestantism is not a religion; Protestantism has not a single right." And the tenure by which Canadian Protestants hold their present religious liberty is whatever voting majority they can bring against the ignorant disciples of these intolerant priests.

The strong point which Mr. Lindsay makes is the attempt of the Roman Catholic Episcopate of Quebec to control elections to the House of Commons at Ottawa and to the legislature of the Province of Quebec. As late as 1867, the Bishop of Montreal taught his clergy that they should be neutral in all questions which did not involve religious privileges. Even as late as 1871, the Bishops had not agreed upon any common plan for the control of the elections. But this policy was distinctly changed in September, 1875, by the joint letter of eight Bishops, who claimed for the clergy nothing less than the absolute direction of political elections, and this letter has furnished the basis of an entirely new programme. The letter has been three times approved at Rome, the third time by the Pope himself; and when the Roman Catholic laity remonstrated, the Préfet of the Propaganda assured Bishop Lafleche that the doctrine contained in it was "perfectly sound and conformable to the teachings of the Holy See." The only result of the appeal to Rome was that the Bishop of Three Rivers had the happiness of bringing back with him to Canada a special brief from the Pope, dated Dec. 18, 1876, which gave a complete victory to the Ultramontanes. It is nothing but the same contest of the civil and ecclesiastical authority over again which prevented the development of Canada in the reign of Louis XIV., with the difference that the Pope, and not the Grand Monarch, is the arbiter of affairs.

When the priests attempted to put their instructions into practice, they made themselves liable to the charge of having used undue influence at elections. In 1873, the election in Charlevoix County was contested, and finally set aside, on account of the clerical intimidation of the voters. The Judge before whom the case was tried took the ground that, voting being a moral act, the conduct of the voter comes under the canon law of Rome, and sustained the priests in their threats against the people; but when the case was carried to the Supreme Court, it was easily shown by the Judges that "on the principles of common law and on the construction of the statute, of which we entertain no doubt, we cannot for a moment doubt that it is our duty to declare that undue spiritual influence is prohibited by the statute." It was shown in the court that the clergy had threatened to withhold the sacraments from the people unless they voted for the clerical candidate, and that the candidates were pledged beforehand to the Roman policy. One witness said: "My religious belief as a Catholic is that those who act in opposition to religion and their pastors go to hell when they die." "I was afraid," said another witness, "if I voted for M. Tremblay, I should be damned." At least one priest told his trembling flock that to vote for a liberal was a mortal sin. The people were to vote according to their consciences, but it meant according to their consciences enlightened by the instructions of the Bishops of Quebec. When the case was brought before the Supreme Court, it was so clear that a general system of intimidation had been practiced that the election was declared void. This court in Canada practically settles the law by its decisions, and accordingly it is the special object of hatred on the part of Roman ecclesiastics. The same judgment as to clerical intimidation was pronounced in other Canadian courts, but the Bishops endeavored to intimidate the Judges in at least one case, by insisting that Catholic Judges cannot in conscience administer such laws as control the parliamentary elections of Quebec, and have placed such Judges as are Romanists in a position of difficulty. The Bishop of Rimouski dared to press this point of conscience, and to defend his priests for their political interference, and Mr. Lindsey wisely says that "if a single Bishop has already embarrassed the highest court in the country, the united episcopate will no doubt hope to achieve a more signal triumph in the future." The result is, that the issue raised between the ecclesiastical and civil powers has developed into an open rupture. The Bishops, on the one hand, supported by Pius IX., claim the right to direct the clergy to use spiritual censures to compel electors to vote against their own wishes; and, on the other hand, the civil law, interpreted by a court from which there is no appeal, says that elections carried by such undue influence are null and void. Some slight modification of the position of the Bishops has been made by a new joint letter, read in the Canadian churches Oct. 21, in which they disclaim the intention of invading the domain of political parties; but the pastoral still claims that the Church is superior to the State, and the Roman population, one-fourth of whom can neither read nor write, are still terror-stricken by the violent denunciations of their priests.

The whole story is an instructive illustration, across the border, of what may be expected among ourselves when the Roman Catholics outnumber and can outvote the Protestants. The position of equal liberty to all, which is the Protestant maxim, means rank heresy to an Ultramontane, and political liberty is no safer in the hands of Roman Catholics here than it is in Canada. Is is rare that the mask of Romanism is so thoroughly taken off as it has been in the Canadian Provinces; and yet many separate instances of clerical influence on the part of Roman priests over their flocks, before election, are familiar to our readers in cities and larger towns. The end is not yet in the United States, and the present conflict in Canada is an instructive foretaste of the spirit in which modern Romanism meets the liberties granted by republican institutions.—*New York Times, Nov.* 26.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

In 1857 the mutinies broke out. The movement was at first regarded as a mere military revolt. It was soon perceived, by those at least who like myself were thrown among the native population, to be a national rising, and a rising against us not so much as English as Christians. There was a universal impression among all classes, both educated and ignorant, Hindu and Mohammedan, that our government intended their conversion to Christianity. As the English government had from the commencement of its rule not only itself abstained from any interference with the native religion, but had discouraged, at first actively, and later passively, the efforts of the missionaries,—that such a belief, so opposed to the truth, should have arisen, is from the English point of view, very surprising. It may be accounted for, but the explanation would carry me from my subject. The belief, from whatever cause it had arisen, was universal, and sufficiently strong to unite in common hostility to Christianity and Christians both the Hindus and the Mohammedans, a union which had hitherto been regarded as impossible. Christians, of whatever race or color, native as well as English, were equally obnoxious, and, when found, equally murdered. Toward the conclusion of the mutiny a very remarkable change of feeling was in many places exhibited. Our destruction had seemed so complete that our sudden recovery appeared to the natives, ignorant as they were of our unseen resources, to be miraculous. They thought like the heathen of old, that the Lord of hosts, the God of battles, the powers that then governed the affairs of men, were on our side; that our dominion was ordained of high, and should be submitted to. The Hindu mind is susceptible of such impressions; they are in harmony with the spirit of its religion. There arose among many of the Hindus a desire to embrace Christianity,—to adore that God who was now triumphant. Had this desire met with encouragement, large portions of the population would have embraced Christianity; but it did not, and it died out. With the complete restoration of order and the return to former conditions of life, the enthusiasm which had excited it subsided, and the opportunity was lost forever. The suppression of the mutinies was followed by great changes. The rule of the East India Company was abolished and India brought under the direct control of the Crown. The immediate effect of the change was little. In India, except in name, it was not perceptible, but

formed, as the opening of the overland route had previously done, the commencement of a new era. It was the first of a series of changes that have entirely altered European society in India, a result partly, perhaps principally, due to its having been attended by the development of the railway system. The changes have to some extent affected the natives. They move more, they read more, they know more, they think more. Among the richer and educated classes the ideas of modern Europe have penetrated their tone of thought, and to some slight extent their habits of life have been modified by them. The number of Christians has greatly increased, but the increase is confined to the Europeans. There are more English soldiers, more English officials, more English traders, and the railways have introduced English artisans, and unhappily, as an indirect effect, also another class, formerly unknown, European vagrants whose numbers, degraded condition, and occasional atrocities have at length compelled the interference of the government for their repression, as a source of political danger. But among the native population Christianity has made no progress. There are more missions, more missionaries, more money spent in the work of propagating the gospel, and not less zeal displayed, but there have been no corresponding results. There are no converts. The gospel has been preached far and wide, but it has met with no acceptance, nor, save to the missionary mind, which hopes against hope, are there any indications that it will do so; rather the contrary. Among the Mohammedans generally, and among certain classes of the Hindus, there has arisen of late years a religious revival, the effect of which is hostile to Christianity. In place of an indifferent or defensive attitude one of aggression has been substituted. Of their present failure to make converts no men are more conscious than the missionaries themselves, but they do not on that account consider that their labors have been unproductive. Some among them think they can perceive some mental movement among the natives, which they regard as a forerunner of their acceptance of Christianity. Others who do not perceive such movement, or who like myself differently interpret it, are content with knowing that they have scattered the good seed "thrown the bread of life on the waters," and await with a simple faith that time when God shall cause the seed to germinate, the bread to return. But the future is a matter of speculation; we can speak with confidence only of the present. The present failure of the missionaries is indisputable. To what is this failure to be attributed?—*Fraser's Magazine.*

SECTARIAN EDUCATION.

Our Roman Catholic friends object to the public schools as "godless"; theirs we are left to infer are godly. In their schools the young are nourished with pure doctrine, are guarded from error, and taught the lessons of duty and charity. So confident are American Catholics of the superiority of their educational system that they have made every possible effort to secure for it the aid of the public funds. Here and there, as in Minnesota, they have obtained the control of district schools, and have supplied them with their own text-books. Fortunately a text-book is occasionally issued which discloses the spirit of their teaching without disguise. Such a one has lately come under our notice, which has appeared not in far-off Minnesota, but of all States in the Union, in Maryland, where it is claimed the Church illustrated its tolerant spirit in the early legislation of the colony. The volume is one of a series entitled, *Familiar Explanation of Christian Doctrine, adapted for the Family and more advanced Students in Catholic Schools and Colleges*, published in 1875 by Kreuzer Brothers, Baltimore, and sanctioned by Archbishop Bayley. Lesson XII. is called, "No Salvation Outside of the Roman Catholic Church." The questions and answers run thus:—

Question. "Since the Roman Catholic Church alone is the true Church of Jesus Christ, can any one who dies outside of the Church be saved?" *Answer.* "He cannot."

Question. "Did Jesus Christ himself, assure us most solemnly, and in plain words, that no one can be saved but of the Catholic Church?" *Answer.* "He did when He said to His Apostles, 'Go and teach all nations,'" etc.

Question. "What do the fathers of the Church say about the salvation of those who die out of the Catholic Church?" *Answer.* "They all, without exception, pronounce them infallibly lost forever."

A little farther on may be found the following:—

Question. "Are there any other reasons to show that heretics or Protestants who die out of the Roman Catholic Church are not saved?" *Answer.* "There are several. They cannot be saved, because, 1. They have no divine faith. 2. They make a liar of Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost, and of the Apostles. 3. They have no faith in Jesus Christ. 4. They fell away from the true Church of Christ. 5. They are too proud to submit to the Pope, the Vicar of Christ. 6. They cannot perform any good works whereby they can obtain heaven. 7. They do not receive the body and blood of Jesus Christ. 8. They die in their sins. 9. They ridicule and blaspheme the mother of God and His saints. 10. They slander the spouse of Jesus Christ—the Catholic Church."

Again, page 97:—

Question. "Now, do you think God the Father will admit into heaven those who thus make liars of His Son Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost, and the Apostles?" *Answer.* "No; He will let them have their portion with Lucifer in hell, who first rebelled against Christ, and who is the father of liars."

Question. "Have Protestants any faith in Christ?" *Answer.* "They never had."

Question. "Why not?" *Answer.* "Because there never lived such a Christ as they imagine and believe in."

Question. "In what kind of a Christ do they believe?" *Answer.* "In such a one of whom they can make a liar," etc.

Question. "Will such a faith in such a Christ save Protestants?" *Answer.* "No sensible man will assert such an absurdity."

Question. "What will Christ say to them on the day of judgment?" *Answer.* "I know you not, because you never knew me."

Again, page 104:—

Question. "Are Protestants willing to confess their sins to a Catholic bishop or priest, who alone has power from Christ to forgive sins? 'Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them.'" *Answer.* "No, for they generally have an utter aversion to confession, and therefore their sins will not be forgiven throughout all eternity."

Question. "What follows from this?" *Answer.* "That they die in their sins, and are damned."

These are the lessons instilled by Catholic teachers in the minds of American youth. A Protestant girl goes to one of the famous Catholic academies of Maryland, and soon learns of her parents, brothers, and sisters that the Christ in whom they believe is no true Christ, and that they will all "die in their sins, and be damned." This is not the teaching of an obscure priest, but of Archbishop Bayley, who is next to the American cardinal in churchly dignity. A Catholic school worms out of the public treasury an appropriation, and this is the faith to the building up of which the money is applied. The Protestant Episcopal Convention of Georgia, whose attention was called to this doctrinal teaching by Bishop Beckwith, resolved that it should be read, for warning, to all the congregations of the diocese. The bishop has done a valuable public service, and we here give these facts, brought forward by him, the benefit of a still wider circulation. We are sure our readers will agree with us in the opinion that schools in which such lessons are taught are schools to be shunned by all right-minded Americans, and that the Church which sanctions them by an archiepiscopal *imprimatur* is not entitled to be the educator of the American people.—*Harper's Weekly.*

VETOING A PAPAL ELECTION.

We noted the fact the other day, that the old rule requiring the lapse of ten days between the death of a pope and the summoning of the conclave of cardinals for the election of a successor, had been arbitrarily set aside, so that the college can be convened within twenty-four hours after the death and before it is officially or credibly announced that the pope is dead. The object of this change is to give the papists an opportunity to defeat those powers who may wish to veto or circumvent the election of a distasteful candidate, and also, so that the Italian cardinals, who live within twenty-four hours' ride of Rome, can come together and elect a successor without the let or hindrance of the powers. That it may be seen how the veto powers may thus be defeated, read the following from *Macmillan's Magazine.*

"When cardinals conspire to carry a man upon whom they have set their hearts, they do not resort to clumsy and transparent tricks. They try bold and ingenious plans. The imperial veto, for instance, has often been turned to account to clear the way for a man who, if proposed at once, would not have the slightest chance for election. A man is put up who is known to be obnoxious to one of the powers. He receives within a few of the requisite number of votes, and is at once blackballed by, say, the Austrian representative. Another candidate, obnoxious to France or Spain, is then put up, voted for, apparently, with great spirit, and vetoed by a French or Spanish cardinal; and the course is thus cleared for the nomination of the man whom the majority of the conclave have set their hearts upon electing, and who has till now, therefore, been kept in the background. The veto can be exercised but once, and the object of these manœuvres is to draw the sword from its sheath. France in 1823, wished to keep Leo XII. out of the papal chair; but a veto, if it is to be recognized by the conclave, must be put in before the canonical majority has been attained, and the scrutators, knowing the intention of the French cardinals, and knowing also how the majority of the cardinals intended to vote, counted in Leo with such adroitness that he was pope before the representatives of the veto power could open their mouths to protest. Innocent X. was elected with a French exclusion over his head. Clement VIII. was excluded in three conclaves by the Spanish veto, and yet elected after all, and, to make his triumph complete, elected over the head of the Spanish nominee. Cardinal Santorio, the Spanish candidate, had, upon paper, the necessary majority of two-thirds of the college. His election was apparently secure. His friends carried him in triumph from his cell to the Pauline chapel to receive the adoration of the cardinals. The conclavists plundered his cell. The pope-elect graciously forgave all his enemies, and selected as his title that of Clement VIII. But his opponents, although in a minority, and apparently in a hopeless minority, detected at the last moment signs of a weakness in the ranks of the victorious party; and meeting in the Sistine chapel, one of the boldest of the Roman nobles, Cardinal Colonna, rose, and in a voice like Jove, declared: 'God will not have Sanseverina, neither will Ascanio Colonna.' These bold words of Colonna turned the scale, and when the votes came to be counted the cardinal of Sanseverina instead of having thirty-six votes had only thirty, and Cardinal Aldobrandino, although only put up as a supernumerary candidate, became pope, and to emphasize his victory over the Spaniard, took the title which Sanseverina had claimed as his own,—that of Clement VIII. It requires boldness and address to carry a candidate in the face of a veto and of a majority like this; but if the man is popular with the college the wit of twenty Italians pitted against that of one generally ends in the defeat of the veto and majority alike."

Hence, if the Austrian, French, and German representatives can be kept out of the college, it is evident that the designs of the ultramontanes must be consummated. Perhaps the powers, however, with common sagacity, have their agents in Rome, now, to assert their rights immediately upon the death of Pius IX.—*Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.*

SHAKSPEARE AND THE QUEEN.—There is a story afloat in the newspapers which is worth repeating. According to tradition Shakspeare played the part of a king with a peculiar grace and majesty. One day when the queen was in the theatre, Shakspeare mimicked royalty so well that Elizabeth, who was always ready to have a little fun, whispered to her ladies that she would try if she could not turn this pretended monarch into an awkward fellow enough at a moment's warning. Accordingly at a critical point in the scene, the queen (who was sitting just over the stage, which was then held to be the place of honor) let her handkerchief drop at the feet of Shakspeare. Her mischievous Majesty expected to see the actor start and redden and lose his cue. Instead of that he finished his speech with all his usual power, and without seeming to notice the handkerchief. Then, stooping and picking it up, he gave it back to the queen with a bow, in which there was indescribable mixture of dignity and homage, saying, as he did so, these words to his train of stage courtiers:

"But ere we get to horse and ride away,
Let us pick up our sister's handkerchief."

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

THE GODS.

When, oped the portals of a temple proud,
The Priest drove far the awed and vulgar crowd,
The uninitiated standing hushed around
Within the untilled, consecrated ground.
As if, forsooth, their eyes profane might see
A radiant glimpse of Present Deity!

Seclusion is the shield of gods of earth
And heaven; the common eye,
Admitted, mars their deity.

Shrines, holies, penetrated with a cloud,
Of mystic incense godhead ever shroud,
The deities celestial ne'er were seen,
The Priests' taboo and menace intervene,—
Their earthly worshippers must kiss the dust,
And from the Hierarch take his gods on trust.

When eyes profane investigate the shrine,
Silence and vacancy alone are there;
The gods dissolved have melted into air,
For stupid Awe alone sees forms divine.

B. W. BALL.

[For THE INDEX.]

GOD.

What need is there of any printed book
To tell of God, when we have eyes to look?

What need is there to tell us he is wise?
His work defineth wisdom to our eyes.

What need is there to tell us he is great,
Since we have bowed so often to his fate?

What need is there to tell us he is good,
While our young mouths are tasting of his food?

What need is there to tell us he is near?
Have we not felt him with a longing fear?

What need is there to tell us he is far?
Can we not trace him in the distant star?

Of all that breathe, is there one man so wise
To know what is not patent to all eyes?

HARVEY HOWARD.

CASH RECEIPTS.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 8.

Wm. P. Chambers, $16.40; John Consaulus, $3.20; W. H. Crowell, $4.40; E. Mitchell, $2; George J. Adams, $9.70; Peter Hartmann, 25 cents; Warren Griswold, 50 cents; Emma Ives, 10 cents; Z. L. Hungerford, $1; Caroline B. Kingman, $3.20; Chas. G. Schaedel, $3.20; George Thorn, $4.50; George W. Stevens, $3.20; L. G. Felch, $13; T. B. Harned, $1.50; Mrs. M. E. Bird, $14.04; James Purinton, $3; J. F. Smith, $1.60; A. T. Lilly, $1.25; Cash, $2.50; James Thompson, $3.20; Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, $4; William Barbour, $1; George Schumm, $2; Mrs. Charles Goodspeed, $3.20; Mrs. L. C. Sleeper, $3.20; E. A. Sawtelle, $3.20; C. J. Higginson, $3.20; C. R. Woodward, $6.40; J. Vankoe, 10 cents; F. M. Sanford, $3; Joseph May, $3.20; A. D. Sellers, 10 cents; Gen. Robert Avery, $3.20; C. A. Simpson, $1; Rev. M. J. Savage, $3.20; J. D. Frost, 15 cents; W. P. Wilson, $1.70; Clark & Co., $10.96; J. C. Kearns, $2.50; W. J. Potter, 25 cents; Charles Buffum, $10; Col. Chas. D. Miller, $3.20; Hon. L. W. Billingsly, 50 cents; J. M. Forbes, $3.20.

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The Index.

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A CARD.

The Committee on the better establishment of THE INDEX, appointed at a meeting of its subscribers and friends last May, wish to enlist all the assistance they can to lay its claims before every liberal man and woman in our country. They have prepared a circular setting forth the method, motives, and objects of their action, and wish the names of all who are willing to assist them in placing it where it will do good. Please address the Chairman of the Committee, "Elizur Wright, P. O. Box 109, Boston, Mass."

ANNOUNCEMENT: CLUB TERMS.

Until January 1, 1879, THE INDEX will be sent for a year to clubs of five or more NEW SUBSCRIBERS on receipt of $2.20 each, in advance, instead of $3.20, the regular cost of subscription. This is an excellent chance for all our friends to join in a vigorous effort to increase the circulation of the most earnestly radical journal in the United States, and thereby to advance the common cause. It is only just to show due public appreciation of the efforts of its friends, and we shall therefore (unless explicitly requested to the contrary) publish the names of all who send us clubs under the arrangement, with the number of new subscribers obtained by each. Shall there not be a little generous emulation to help forward the struggling cause of religious freedom?

F. E. ABBOT, *Editor.*

WE HAVE already noticed Rear-Admiral Maxse's lecture against "Woman Suffrage" in these columns. It challenges the attention of all who wish to form a dispassionate opinion on that subject, no matter how fully persuaded they may now be in their own minds; for it is terse, direct, strong, and not to be dismissed with a supercilious shrug of the shoulders. For Admiral Maxse himself we entertain the highest respect, both as a thinker, a writer, and a man; and although we differ from him in the general conclusion, we believe he has told no little truth in these honest pages of his which woman-suffragists hurt their own cause by evading. One of these days we may state the reasons here why we have failed to be convinced by Admiral Maxse's vigorous paper; but meanwhile, since he offers it to the American public through THE INDEX, desiring his arguments to be thoroughly canvassed on this side of the water, we hope that his little book, advertised on our last page, will find wide reading and close examination.

THE QUESTION of equal religious rights, as between theists and atheists, threatens to introduce division and discord among Freemasons. In our issue of November 1, it was stated that the constitution of French Freemasonry had been changed by expunging the requirement in its members and candidates of a belief in Deity. This action has led to the unanimous adoption of the following resolution by the grand lodge of Freemasons in Ireland: "*Whereas*, the grand lodge of Ireland has received official notification that the grand orient of France has altered the first article of its constitution from its previous form, and omitted therefrom, as one of its fundamental principles, belief in the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, the grand lodge of Ireland hereby resolves that the grand orient of France having, by such alteration, rendered admissible as members of lodges within its jurisdiction persons who do not believe in the existence of a personal Deity, has thereby caused a breach in the foundation of ancient masonry, and acted in violation of the first great principle of the order: therefore, the grand lodge of Ireland hereby declares that it cannot continue to recognize the grand orient of France as a masonic body, and it hereby directs all lodges working under the Irish Constitution to decline receiving as masons any person hailing from the grand orient of France, or from any subordinate lodge under its jurisdiction."

A TEST CASE OF EQUAL RIGHTS.

Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, of Peoria, Illinois, has risen within the past year or two to great prominence in this country as an orator on the political "stump" and the lecture platform. Brilliant, imaginative, witty, and independent, he has the art of captivating mixed popular audiences to a quite unprecedented degree; and, were it not for his somewhat audacious "infidelity," there can be no doubt that he would have been fairly buried beneath the bouquets of his admirers.

But the Evangelical believers of the land have not yet learned the lesson of equal rights. Mistaking their efficient organization for numerical superiority (which is by no means assured to them), they have raised a hue-and-cry against Colonel Ingersoll which may yet react upon them in a way they little expect. There are more who sympathize with him than the churches like to admit; the question is not yet positively decided where the majority lies; and any attempt at proscription may possibly end in irremediable damage to the prestige of Orthodoxy.

Without pretending to a knowledge on this point which we do not possess, we wish to allude to two recent manifestations of Orthodox insolence, with reference to Colonel Ingersoll, which illustrate the painfully degraded position in American society which liberals as a class are content to occupy. Their equal rights are not only denied, but loudly and publicly scoffed at; and they receive this treatment with all the submissiveness of the man who, smitten on one cheek, turns the other meekly for a repetition of the insult. If Christians had a real respect for their own gospel, this mild and cowed demeanor would extort their admiration and applause, for it is the very conduct which is prescribed in the "Sermon on the Mount," and which they hear inculcated theoretically from all their own pulpits. As a matter of fact, however, Christians practically disregard their own impracticable ethics, and feel the same hearty contempt for those who neglect to vindicate their rights which is felt by the unregenerate. Equal rights in religion will never be established till those to whom they are denied show the very un-Christian but wholly indispensable temper which refuses to submit passively to oppression. Every enlargement of public liberty has been won by the stubborn old Anglo-Saxon spirit that resents and resists the spirit of despotism; and freethinkers, until they learn this stern lesson of resistance to the haughty and domineering power which now imposes on them the most humiliating disabilities, must make up their minds to endure as best they can the insults which follow in the wake of their own supineness.

The first of the two cases we allude to is that of the Berlin Mission, in connection with which Colonel Ingersoll's name has been prominently mentioned. Read a few of the press-notices which have chanced to fall under our eye.

A Washington dispatch to the Chicago *Times* early in November said:—

"Bob Ingersoll is here, waiting to be summoned to the State Department and sent to Berlin as Minister. There has been the usual amount of lying about this appointment, as about all others of any importance. A Peoria friend of Ingersoll telegraphs here privately that Ingersoll told him before he left Illinois that he was to have this mission. When Ingersoll arrived here, he was informed by several of the Illinois delegation that they had recommended him for the German mission, but as yet it has not been offered him. He has not received a word from the State Department on the subject. Secretary Evarts is represented as having said to Senator Oglesby and several Congressmen that the President intended to give the mission to some Illinois man, and asked for any suggestion the delegation might wish to make. A consultation was held among the members, and they decided to suggest Colonel Ingersoll as a good man for that office. There is no doubt that the delegation in Congress would like to see Colonel Ingersoll appointed; but a majority of them are opposed to making a formal recommendation with the case of Pennsylvania before them. Secretary Evarts was accordingly notified that, while the delegation had no name to present formally, they were of the opinion that Ingersoll's nomination would be very acceptable if the President were disposed to appoint him. These facts were communicated to Colonel Ingersoll at Peoria, by telegraph by a Congressman, and from the report grew the rumor that Ingersoll had received the appointment. Colonel Ingersoll says that, should he be appointed, he would accept; but he does not wish to put himself in the attitude of seeking the place."

On this report the New York correspondent of the Montreal *Witness* expressed the following flattering opinion:—

"There is an ominous report this morning that Colonel Bob Ingersoll, the blatant and offensive atheist lecturer and writer, is offered the mission to Germany by his old friend, President Hayes. That Ingersoll was invited to dine on Sunday at the White House almost immediately after Hayes took possession of it was regarded as an evil omen, as also his prominence in electioneering for the Republican party. The recent announcement made by him that he was going to reside in Washington indicated that he was going to follow the President like an evil genius, and perhaps it was a desire to get rid of this distressing proximity that induced the offer of an important foreign mission, if it has really been made. But only think of committing this whole Christian Republic to the deep, deep disgrace of being represented in the German Empire by a clever, loud, contemptuous scoffer at the Christian religion and the Bible! We may hope that if such an intensely foolish, and, I might say, criminal nomination is made, the Senate will not confirm it. But the traditional policy to exclude religion from politics may land the nation in even such a deep disgrace as this. Certainly no politician would venture to place opposition to Ingersoll on the ground that he is an atheist."

The Boston *Congregationalist* declared itself on the question as follows:—

"In our humble opinion, Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll is one of the last men to be appointed to any such representative a position as that of United States Minister to Germany. We should be happy to see his nomination emphatically rejected. We say this on other than merely religious grounds, though those ohght to rule him out."

The Jacksonville (Illinois) *Journal*, if more polite, was equally explicit:—

"The President has left the matter of selecting the representative of the United States at Berlin's court to the Illinois delegation in Congress. It is said that they are about equally divided between Hon. Jehu Baker and Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll. Recognizing the scholarly attainments, the political experience, the eloquence, and the party service of both these distinguished statesmen, we hope the avowed atheistical principles of the latter will militate against his appointment as the representative of our Christian nation."

The Boston *Post* fell into line as follows:—

"The religious community rises as one man to demand that he shall not be sent to Berlin to represent a Christian people."

Of course, the Brooklyn *Catholic Review* was bound to be a little more complimentary than any Protestant paper:—

"The country has been threatened with a great disgrace, but it now appears that we are to be saved from this ignominy. It was reported, and generally believed, that the notorious infidel, 'Colonel Bob Ingersoll,' had been offered the German mission by President Hayes. This would be rather worse than it would be for Queen Victoria to send Charles Bradlaugh to represent her government at some foreign court; for Bradlaugh, bad as he is, has the education and the manners of a gentleman; while Ingersoll is as coarse and ignorant as he is profane and vicious. There might have been a certain appositeness in sending Ingersoll to meet Bismarck; but the great Chancellor is no longer supreme at Berlin, and our Illinois ruffian would be sadly out of place in a court where at least the decencies of life are still observed. But the story now is that the appointment is not to be made. While it was supposed to be probable, however, we did not observe in the secular press any objections to it on the ground of the atheism and vulgar profanity of the man. When it suits the purpose of the secular press, it asserts that this is 'a Christian country.' The assertion is true only as far as it is true that this is a Catholic country. The Christianity that exists here outside of the visible or invisible pale of the Catholic Church is not worth talking about."

And so on. It need not be said that we should never dream of asking the appointment of any man to public office on the ground that he is a disbeliever in the Christian religion, which would be exactly as wrong in principle as to ask an appointment on the ground of belief in it; though we should like to see the principle fully and practically recognized that such disbelief is no bar to office in this country. But the fact is evident to all who do not wilfully shut their eyes to it that no man who is prominent for his outspoken "infidelity" (so-called) can to-day enter political life in any other capacity than that of a cat's-paw to pull Christian chestnuts out of the fire—his services gladly made use of, but himself treated with ill-concealed scorn. The Christian Church claims proprietary interests in the State to the extent of being scandalized, if any known and prominent non-Christian ventures to claim equal rights with Christians in the matter of office-holding.

The other case alluded to is that of some lectures which Colonel Ingersoll recently delivered in Utica and in Albany. In the latter city, especially, his lecture created a veritable "tempest in a teapot." One of our Albany subscribers (to whom we return cordial thanks for numerous clippings from the local press, some of which were racy in the extreme) wrote as follows under date of November 27: "Everybody appeared to be delighted,—in fact, wildly enthusiastic,—at hearing truths told which they had, no doubt, often thought, but were unaccustomed to hear plainly and honestly told. The Orthodox, of whom there were many, did not seem to know they had listened to anything sinful, until afterward so

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informed by their spiritual leaders, who sent to the Young Men's Association, under whose auspices the lecture was given, the card a printed copy of which I enclose. . . . One probable outcome of the affair will be an invitation extended to Colonel Ingersoll to address our citizens again within a few weeks."

The Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association, however, scared by the Orthodox clamor, published the following preamble and resolution in the Albany *Times* of November 23:—

"WHEREAS, In a public lecture delivered under the auspices of this Association, Nov. 15, 1877, Col. Robert G. Ingersoll made a violent and unwarrantable attack upon the religious belief of a large portion of this community, thereby alienating the friends of the Association and bringing its management under criticism; therefore

"*Resolved*, That while the Young Men's Association does not indorse the sentiments of its lecturers and does not hold itself responsible for their utterances, and while it maintains the broad right of freedom of opinion and of speech, it nevertheless regards the lecture of Colonel Ingersoll as a violation of the confidence reposed in him by the lecture committee. In the judgment of this committee no lecturer has a right to present, on the lyceum platform, extreme partisan views on any subject upon which the community is divided; still less has he the privilege of indulging in bitter denunciation of the most cherished and sacred beliefs of the great majority of his audience. This board of managers highly appreciate the liberal patronage extended to the Association by this community, and in the future entertainments which it offers to the public will endeavor to please its friends while giving occasion of offence to none."

The same journal, on the next day, published also this "Protest," signed by twenty-three of the local clergy:—

"TO DR. MOSHER, PRESIDENT:

"*Dear Sir*,—The attention of the undersigned has been naturally and necessarily attracted to the fact, and to the comments of the newspapers upon the fact, of Mr. Robert Ingersoll's lecture delivered in Albany on Thursday last, under the auspices of the Association of which you are president. Among the comments especially noteworthy is the statement of two of the leading newspapers 'that hereafter no lecture course in Albany can be complete without Colonel Ingersoll.' In itself, illogical, inconsequent, and irreverent, coarse without strength, destructive without suggestiveness, the lecture deserves no notice. The right of an individual to such thinking, if it be considered a right, and if it can be called thinking, may well be conceded to anyone who counts such operations of the brain thoughts; and the right to utter such thoughts in their crudeness, which the law denies to the profane man in his oaths, to the libertine in his licentiousness, or to a traitor in his sedition, may perhaps better be tolerated for its general harmlessness than be dignified with denial or repression. But the whole matter assumes, in the judgment of the undersigned, a far more serious attitude when such a speaker is accepted, indorsed, and introduced by an Association composed of, and appealing for support and sympathy to, educated, intelligent, believing men, and when we are threatened with the same Mr. Ingersoll as the *sine qua non* of Albany lecture courses in the future. Having no controversy, therefore, with Mr. Ingersoll, the undersigned protest against the wrong done to the foundations of Christian civilization and society, as well as to Christian belief and the Christian institutions, by the protection thrown over such open and avowed blasphemy on the part of the Young Men's Association in introducing, and so far indorsing the opinions and expressions of such a man. Scientific unbelief; the earnest struggles of a thoughtful mind for light; the utterances, however startling, of a seeker after truth, who has lost his way,—even these ought not to find expression and indorsement from a general association, relying upon the good-will and sympathy of a Christian community. But that the Association should invite such a speaker as Mr. Ingersoll is known to be, is, in the judgment of the undersigned, an insult and outrage to a large proportion of the citizens of Albany, which the Association cannot safely repeat, and against which we earnestly and decidedly protest.

"William Croswell Doane; Walton W. Battershall; Irving Magee; John McC. Holmes; J. Livingston Reese; Frank Rogers Morse; Edgar T. Chapman; Fred. G. Grannis; S. L. Morrow; Samuel E. Smith, Rector of Holy Innocents; J. W. Thompson, Pastor North Pearl Street Methodist Episcopal Church; Philip Krohn, D.D., Pastor Hudson Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church; J. S. C. Sawyer, Pastor Ash Grove Methodist Episcopal Church; D. L. Schwartz; Richard Temple; James Haughton; Edwin Coan; Anson J. Upson; Henry Darling; Thomas Kelly; D. K. Bartlett; William S. Smart; Edward Selkirk.

Though I did not hear the lecture, yet I have read and heard enough respecting it to prompt me to most emphatically protest against it, as an outrage upon the Christian community and most injurious in its influences. R. W. CLARK."

"Bishop McNeirny writes:—

"The protest which you were kind enough to place in my hands yesterday, and which, at your request, I herewith return, is well-timed. I sincerely hope that it may have the desired effect of inducing the officers of the Young Men's Association to disavow the shocking utterances of Mr. Ingersoll, and of protecting the citizens of Albany from similar insult and outrage in the future.

"Obliged to leave the city at an early hour this morning, I have no opportunity of conferring with the reverend clergy of the city. Their sentiments, however, I am sure are quite in harmony with mine. In the nature of the case, there can be but one opinion in regard to it.

"FRANCIS, *Bishop of Albany*."

Now the whole point of these remarkable proceedings, so far as they are worthy of notice here, is that they expose, to all but the mole-blind, that widespread *denial of equal rights in religion* which so many radical optimists complacently assume to be impossible in the United States. A man of Colonel Ingersoll's genius can ride over it; but less meteoric liberal lecturers are simply crushed out of sight by it, to the unspeakable detriment and retardation of the liberal cause. Observe that the resolution above quoted declares that, "in the judgment of this Committee, no lecturer has a right to present, on the lyceum platform, extreme partisan views on any subject upon which the community is divided." Yet this same Committee advertise Rev. Joseph Cook in their course for the evening of January 10 as "the most prominent opponent of modern infidelity." How is this? As the above shows, Albany is divided between Christianity and so-called (but mis-called) "infidelity"; yet the opponent of Christianity is publicly disowned, while the "opponent of infidelity" is still welcomed and advertised as such! What precious consistency is this! As to "coarseness," "denunciations," etc., Mr. Cook utterly distances Colonel Ingersoll; nay, there is not a "ribald blasphemer against Christianity" in the country who can equal the former in malignant and vulgar detraction of the beliefs he opposes or of those who hold them. Yet denunciation of "infidelity," carried even to the extent of falsehood and malicious slander, is received with applause on the public platform, while outspoken but kindly-spirited criticism of Christianity excites a storm of abuse. We demand the public recognition of *equal rights* as between the "infidel" and the Christian; we demand the application of one just and equal rule to both; and we say plainly that the first principles of self-respect imperatively call upon all liberals to make the same demand. Not to make this demand with all the earnestness of men and women who defend the dearest prerogatives of their humanity is—we know not whom we offend by the word—*pusillanimity*; and it wins from the Orthodox just what it deserves—*contempt*. The greatest good of the Liberal League movement will lie in the wiping out of this reproach against the liberal cause, and the birth of a virile self-respect for which it has languished too long. Have not our equal rights been trampled upon about long enough?

EXTRACTS AND NOTES.

The following decision of Grand Master McCurdy, of the Grand Lodge of Michigan, was approved by the Grand Lodge of the State, July, 1873:—

"We as Masons do not undertake to decide questions on which theologians themselves do not agree. The Bible, square, and compasses are recognized lights in Masonry; and we have no more right to demand that the Mason or the candidate shall declare what he believes to be the origin or the nature of the Bible, than we have to require him to declare what he believes to be the origin or the nature of the metal in the square. The former we leave to the theologian and to every man's conscience; and the latter to the chemist and to every man's investigation. The use we make of these Masonic lights *do not require* that these questions be mooted or decided by us." [*Masonic Law of Michigan*, 1874.]

That is sensible; but in some of the States the decisions of the Grand Masters and the action of the Grand Lodges have been less in harmony with the enlightenment of the nineteenth century; while requirement of belief in God, as a mere formality, is everywhere in this country insisted on as a condition of initiation into the mysteries of the Order. Let liberals either withdraw from the Order, or else use all their influence inside of it for the removal of the religious qualification. True, in most cases it means nothing, but it ought to be abolished, if for no other reason than that the more narrow and bigoted members of the fraternity shall have no chance to interfere with any brother's religious belief. At a recent convocation of the French Free-Masons, it is stated, the clause of the Constitution of the Order which read—"Free-Masonry holds to the principle of the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul"—was, by a very large majority, changed to read—"Free-Masonry holds to the principle of an absolute freedom of conscience and to the brotherhood of mankind. It excludes no one on account of his belief."

Freethinkers should be the very last persons to adopt the manners and habits of the camp-meeting. Let him who aims to be a teacher of advanced thought in this age, and who wishes to exert an influence not limited to an ignorant, undiscriminating few of his own party, treat opponents with respect and courtesy, and criticise their beliefs with candor and fairness. Radicalism does not consist in a bitter spirit and violent language. To impugn the motives of others; to treat habitually the opinions of opponents with contempt and ridicule; to indulge in offensive personalities and violent declamation,—is characteristic of the fanatic and the demagogue, not of the true radical, whose views come from profound thought, careful reasoning, and extensive acquaintance with the subject of his study.

In her little work, *What Think Ye of Christ?* Gail Hamilton thus alludes to the Smith sisters, of Glastonbury, Conn.:—

"All the world has had its laugh at them, and there is certainly something very droll in the idea of two quiet gentlewomen at the head of a regiment of Jersey cows making a stand against the whole constituted United States Government, almost as droll as it was for a handful of Boston folk to throw overboard a cargo of tea in the face of the British Empire a hundred years ago. But it is not in the least droll; on the other hand it seems to me altogether admirable, that fifteen years ago, in the refined conclusion of their country parsonage, for their own interest and amusement, two sisters, the daughters of an obscure, cultivated, country clergyman, should set about the translation of the Old and New Testaments. Their idea of the work, so far as I know, was wholly original, and is certainly reverential, scientific, and valuable. They determined to make what should be purely a translation and not at all a commentary. They would not put upon the sacred word any private interpretation. They resolved not to go astray after literary graces, not even after perspicuity and harmony, but simply, as the Germans say, to *overset* into one language an important book written in another. If the word hell was used twenty times in the Hebrew, they used the corresponding word twenty times in English, and did not attempt to vary the style by calling it hell in one place and the grave in another,—making thereby the Word of God of none effect by their traditions. When the Psalmist said of the starry heavens impressively, 'No speech nor language: their voice is not heard,' the Misses Smith did not consider it polite or necessary to contradict him, as King James' translators were forward to do, by affirming that 'there is no speech or language where their voice is not heard'; and I am free to confess that I am very impatient to see this new translation, which I understand is now going through the Hartford press; and I trust the solid men of Glastonbury will find some more ancient way of fighting for their principles than driving the Misses Smith's cows to pound, and so permit these good ladies to correct their proofs in peace."

Saya Gunning, in his work *Life-History of our Planet*:—

"What was the court of justice among your ancestors a few hundred years ago? It condemned to death one of the first physicians of England for the crime of raising a storm by sailing over the sea in a sieve, in company with two witches on broomsticks; and King James of pious memory graced by his presence the tortures of the execution. Justice! why there *was* such a sense in the English mind in the time of James the First, and it demanded that Dr. Fithan, of spotless life, for the crime of brewing a storm in a sieve, should be burned for a few minutes by men, and then through the æons of eternity by the merciful God! Justice, the sense of what is just between God and man, so slow in coming, has not yet come into the minds of men in the third sense, the sense of what is just between *man and animal*. The injustice and cruelty to animals, so characteristic of the races called civilized, will be held in future ages as one of the crowning vices of a more primitive humanity."

The following advertisements read rather strangely to us in these times:—

"A very likely negro woman that has a child of about six weeks old, to be sold either with or without the child. Inquire of the printer hereof."—*New England Weekly Journal (Boston), April* 9, 1733.

"*To be sold*. A likely negro wench, about twenty-five years of age, that can do all sorts of household work, especially cookery; is very hearty and strong; has proved her faculty at propagation, and is very fluent in the English language. Inquire of the printer."—*Boston Evening Post, Sept.* 10, 1774.

B. F. U.

BEES ARE FOND of pleasant odors and bright colors, and, in the opinion of Sir John Lubbock, have been largely instrumental by fertilizing the beautiful flowers in increasing their numbers. The most lovely flowers, he states, have attracted bees, and consequently the finest blossoms of the year have been cross-fertilized each by the other. Thus, for century after century, flowers have been growing more and more beautiful. From these tastes on the part of bees, also, it has in the course of long years come about that the plants which bloom by day have bright colors and a sweet smell. Similarly night-plants, although as a rule colorless, are yet often powerfully scented; the reason being that they are fertilized by nocturnal moths which have a sense of odor fully as delicate as that of bees, and, like bees, are fond of honey.

Communications.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF ORTHODOXY.

The intensely eulogistic newspaper echoes of an intensely eulogistic biography of Rev. Dr. Kirk, recently published, bring to my mind an interview I once had with the subject of it. When his translation of Gaussen's *Theopneusty* appeared, I read it with great eagerness, having already sought in vain for adequate grounds of the doctrine of scriptural infallibility. This book, published in 1841 or thereabouts, asserted with the utmost confidence, and assumed to demonstrate, the divine inspiration, and the consequent infallible correctness, in fact and doctrine, of the entire contents of the Old and New Testaments. The high reputation of the translator would have sufficiently commended this work to the confidence of the Orthodox public, but its soundness was also vouched for in an introductory notice by Rev. Dr. Woods, of Andover Seminary.

The book, however, seemed to me not only to fail of proving what it assumed to prove, but to abound in false assumption, fallacy in place of argument, and misquotation. Errors of the last sort were so abundant and palpable, that I thought I would inquire respecting one of them of the reverend editor and translator. So, taking the book to Dr. Kirk, I pointed to a passage quoted as scriptural evidence in proof of some assertion of the author, and inquired where in the Bible that passage could be found. The question seemed a puzzling one. After searching his memory in vain, Dr. Kirk said he would go up stairs and examine the original French. Returning, he showed me that the passage marked by the author as a quotation was much longer, and said that, "thinking it did not look exactly right, he had thought it better to omit the latter portion." Well, I asked, "But your amended quotation, where is that to be found?" He was obliged to confess that it contained fragments of three texts, taken from different places, and pieced together to seem like one declaration. I asked if either of those passages, in its original place, affirmed the doctrine which the compound was represented as affirming. He admitted that neither of them did so, and did not attempt to defend either his own unconfessed abridgment of a work purporting to be translated in full, or the author's unscrupulous dealing with Scripture in the attempt to prove his church-doctrine scriptural.

Dr. Kirk was, no doubt, eminent in piety, and in what the Church calls "saintliness," more accurately entitled "other-worldliness." He possessed fair average mental ability, and had acquired a fair average measure of intelligence. But it probably never occurred to him to apply either the ability or the intelligence to the work of discovering how far his theological system was founded in truth. That system (according to his teachers, and the teaching under which his generation grew up) was to be *assumed* true, and the appropriate work of ability and intelligence in the clergy was to make it appear true to their hearers and readers. Confident assumption on the part of teachers is one of the most effective modes of convincing the ignorant. Gaussen's *Theopneusty* was great in pretension and fluent in quotation, and had naturally much weight with readers who, prepossessed in favor of its conclusion, never attempted either to sift its pretensions or to verify its quotations. Probably it was these very qualities which made the diffusion of the work in this country seem desirable both to Dr. Kirk and Dr. Woods. The latter would, no doubt, have approved the action of the former in covering up and smuggling away any *obvious* incorrectness of quotation. On the other hand, probably neither of them ever thought of gauging their commendations of the work by its correctness in argument, or of objecting to any particular misstatement which would *seem* sound and prove effective to the majority of readers. Their business, as church-members and ministers, was to gain partisans to their particular theology and ecclesiasticism. The end would sanctify the means.

C. W. K.

A WORD FOR MATERIALISM.

Mr. H. Clay Neville, in a short and terse article in THE INDEX of Nov. 15, says of materialism, after conceding its intellectual strength, that "morally it must ever be weak and defective while human nature remains essentially what it is." Certainly, it cannot afford the highest incentive to those who do not accept it intellectually, who look to a future, supermundane existence as the complement of this, as the sphere in which is to be enjoyed the greatest measure of happiness possible. But while this is true, it is no less true that to those who reject the idea of a future conscious existence, who regard all the themes of "heaven" and "summer-land" as mere unproven fancies, baseless dreams,—to such as these, the doctrines of materialism afford the means of as high and pure enjoyment, of as much, yea, of ten-fold more, happiness *here*. To me, materialism is an inspiration to the highest, the most earnest endeavor for humanity. I know not how it may be with others; but for myself I can say that I have seen more of real happiness, of quiet, true, unalloyed joy, since the doctrines of materialism became for me living truths, than I had in all the years before. I know that it has been to me a beneficent belief. It has given me broader, more catholic and liberal views. It has made me more charitable, and has cooled the fierce vehemence of my temper.

Mr. Neville says that "materialism is the belief of despair and the paralysis of the finest moral energies in human nature." How so? Despair of what? Is it of human goodness? Does not materialism claim more of that goodness for man than any other doctrine? Does it not claim that the mission of man is happiness, and that the way to be happy ourselves is to make others happy? Is this not in effect saying that he (Mr. Neville) only works for the right, only expends the "fairest moral energies" of his nature for the benefit of his fellows because he believes that he will live eternally in some future world? Is it not a confession that, if this incentive were removed, he would lapse into utter selfishness? I do not believe this of the gentleman, yet it is just where the logic of his argument leads. There is no evasion of this.

Again, the gentleman says that, "If materialism is true, the human mind has wrought a sublime miracle in conceiving a destiny for itself so much nobler than that which Nature has given it." How has it conceived so much nobler a destiny than Nature has given it? What is the popular idea of the future life? Is it not viewed simply as a place of sensual enjoyment; a place given as a compensation for the sorrows of this? What work has human thought projected for itself in that ideal world? Has it thought of this future "home" in any way ennobling? Has it not always been looked forward to as a mere place of rest, of idle enjoyment, of idle psalm-singing? I see not where the "sublime miracle" is wrought in conceiving of such a purposeless future for the race. It would be a work of supererogation to show how immeasurably superior to this is the destiny given to humanity by the philosophy of scientific materialism. Quite likely it will not satisfy "the great mass of men and women." Still the child will cry for the moon, but it may not have it, and as it grows older and wiser it will seek something more attainable. So with humanity. It will some day learn that at the most these dreams of a heavenly future are but "hopes," and then it will turn its eyes earthward and seek to perfect itself and find its happiness here.

"Destroy the idea of the *permanence of character in some conscious form*, and its sacredness, its beauty, is irreparably marred." This is puerile. Is the rose less beautiful because its petals wither and fall in a day? *Does not this very fact of its transitiveness enhance its value in our eyes?* Would not the flavor of the luscious peach pall upon our palates if it were to remain there forever, or even for the space of a twelvemonth? In short, does not this very fact of the mutability of all things give them the major part of the value which they possess? We are told that the body is the casket of the soul. Is the casket less beautiful or lovable because the electric flash or the bullet may lay it in the dust to-morrow?

One quotation, and I am done for the present. This quotation shall serve as an answer to the closing paragraph of Mr. Neville's letter. There is much, bearing upon this subject, which I would like to quote; but the space in THE INDEX is precious, and I will not further trespass upon the patience of its worthy editor. But to our quotation:—

"Just as no single atom or smallest conceivable particle of matter can disappear or be destroyed in the life of Nature in general, so not the smallest deed or most insignificant thought of a man can perish or be lost in the general life of mankind. For both propagate themselves in unending sequence, by virtue of the impulse given by them, just as the oscillations of the surface of a piece of water produced by a falling stone vibrate onward in constantly larger and weaker circles. And although this movement itself must by degress be lost or come to rest, just like these oscillations, it has in the meanwhile set free a certain number of other (physical or intellectual) movements, which on their part renew and continue the same action. Thus the life of the individual is at the same time the life of humanity, and the life of humanity that of the individual! Whoever cannot or will not allow this great truth to suffice for him, whoever is unable to find in it a sufficient impulse to virtue and honesty, *will also be incapable of being kept permanently in the right path by any external force or agency.* Neither philosophical nor religious creeds are capable of furnishing even distantly an equivalent for it, or of replacing by means of their mixed egotistical and imaginary motives that firm moral position which the individual must attain by the recognition of the imperishableness of his being in connection with humanity at large."—*Büchner's "Man, in the Past, Present, and Future, p. 226.* Italics mine.

E. C. WALKER.

FLORENCE, Iowa.

ANOTHER WORD FOR MATERIALISM.

EAST BOSTON, Mass., Nov. 17, 1877.

MR. EDITOR:

Sir,—Your correspondent, H. C. Neville, in THE INDEX of Nov. 15, makes an attack upon materialism, to which, although no proof is adduced to support his position, I feel inclined to reply, seeing that from the pulpit we occasionally hear similar utterances. It is evident, in the first place, that H. C. Neville must in youth have had very strongly impressed upon his mind what he considers to be a fact, that there is a future life; and in still later years found out by investigation of some kind that materialism is so sound in its position as to seem unassailable, and thus accounting partially for his statement that materialism is a belief of despair. The fact of materialism presenting the elements of *truth* seems to afford him no satisfaction. Doubtless to our friend, and such as think with him, materialism may appear hopeless; but to me this is only the case where the brain, unduly imaginative, has figured out for itself a course of future life satisfying all the unconsummated desires of this life, which might have found satisfaction under a materialistic treatment, thus rendering the human being less likely to run into the error that this life is an incomplete one.

The fling against materialism, that it destroys the noblest aspirations, seems to imply a most prejudiced view of it. H. C. Neville, by being generous enough to admit that it may be irrefutable, gives ground for hopes that on this point he may yet make some concession. I would ask if he considers that there is conflict between the aspirations of man and the new inculcations of science? I maintain that the exercise of our faculties toward the possible good and improvement of society by possible and provable means is better than the possible good and improvement of society by uncertain and improvable means. Doubtless progress has been made in the past, and by people who have believed in future spiritual existence; but, at the same time, destruction seems gradually to be overtaking the belief in immortality, accompanied with the warning that the chimeras of the past afford no beacon light for the guidance of the future. Were it possible to think myself a believer in a God, I have little doubt that, instead of considering the belief in a future life a noble aspiration, it would seem the dictate of a thankless and dissatisfied disposition, chiefly suiting the sluggish and apathetic nature. By being more fearless, not afraid to contend with what is termed evil, and willing to accept life with its inevitable responsibilities, men would feel more contented with this life, and not importune for a life which there does not seem the slightest evidence to believe in.

If by H. C. Neville's statement that, if materialism is true, the human mind has wrought a sublime miracle in conceiving a destiny so much nobler than Nature has given it,—if he means that the imagination in its conception of a life so much happier than our life is evidence of immortality, I would urge that some proof be given that the conception will ultimately be realized. The Pope and his cardinals conceived that there was no other explanation to be given in regard to our terrestrial sphere but bare assertions of its immobility; and so, satisfied that they were right, they hurled all the contrary-minded to perdition nearly as fast as the earth was hurling them onwards through space. I would remind our friend, before accusing materialism, that the absurdity of a conception is no evidence of its truth. There is on the part of materialism a belief that man may be made *here* much happier through a better method; though we do not assume to effect this in realms we know nothing of, to work and act towards securing this result on this earth seems evidence of being spurred by a noble aspiration.

H. C. Neville says that, to round out this life into its most perfect spiritual symmetry, man must create an imaginary state of being following this. If he would allow it to stand thus, to round out this life into a more perfect symmetry man must conceive an imaginary state of being, we might agree.

Still further he remarks: "Destroy the idea of the permanance of character in some conscious form, and its sacredness and beauty are irreparably marred." Will he specify one mode of existence which is permanent in character? Even human beings, as conscious human beings, began to be.

In conclusion, let me urge that materialism seems to be the belief of hope for the future, curing the apathy which shows itself to be allied so closely with belief in immortality. Materialism, relying upon the real and adopting self-reliance, is making the effort to introduce what seems to me the only means to secure the progress and advancement of mankind, and is at least entitled to the credit of possessing noble aspirations.

DAVID KIRKWOOD.

THE SILVER QUESTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Tempted I am to launch into a disquisition on definition. All our woes come of bad ones. A good definition is better than precious stones or much fine gold. Armed with a good definition of matter or spirit, I will bring Materialists and Spiritualists into perfect accord. But observe! No adequate definition is possible except in *terms outside its own category*. For example: if matter and spirit are two categories comprising all being, then is there no possible definition of either except in terms of the other.

All reasoning depends on definition; but it is a mistake to suppose that the validity of my silver argument in THE INDEX of Nov. 22 depends upon the doubtful issue of the "war of the dictionaries." It is also a mistake to suppose the definition I adopted carries only the weight of a great lexicographic authority. Because I wished my argument should have a general literary force and effect, as well as a law-logical one, and because I wished to emphasize the importance of *definition*,—this made me eulogize "dictionary" and build upon it. A careful thinker should have discovered that my definition had the backing of "the statute in that case made and provided."

It is an office assumed by all governments to define its own monetary unit. Ours did that by act of Congress nearly a century ago. I only took so much of Webster's definition as embodied the definitive portion of that act; and I marvel that my appeal to "dictionary" should be construed as building upon one lexicographic authority as against another. You and I are just as competent as either of those dictionary-makers and their coadjutors are, to construct a definition,—at least *I* am, and you will be by a little special study! Let us to it then.

Value, like weight, or any other form of force or *meta*-physical thing, can be known only by the sensible, material substance to which it relates. To define a unit of weight by the use of weight-terms alone would be only to multiply words about it. To say a pound was so many ounces or such a part of a ton would not help. You are only giving the quantitative relation between weight-terms,—which is all well enough for some purposes, but useless if the

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question is whether the pound, ounce, ton, and all the weight-terms have not come to have a greater or less meaning this year than they had last, while preserving just the same numerical relations among themselves. But when we go outside the weight-category and employ *space*-terms, and say a pound is that "amount of weight that goes with so many cubic inches of pure water," you have a scientific definition. So we define a unit of time by the length of a pendulum.

To define a unit of value in money-terms (which are value-terms) is to be trammelled up in that vicious circle that makes nonsense of most of the newspaper reading on this subject. To say a dollar is one hundred cents is only another way of saying we employ the decimal terminology in our monetary system. To define by giving foreign money names that are its equivalent gives useful information, indeed, and adds value to the dictionary-maker's book; but it forms no part of a scientific definition.

But since "all roads lead to Rome," let us see if under Worcester's guidance we cannot come *via* England to the same conclusion. Then a dollar is "a certain value equivalent to four shillings twopence sterling." That makes it necessary to treat the English shilling as our unit; and we must go over the ground with it we before travelled with dollar.

What, then, IS an English shilling? Lest we split on the dictionaries, we will let them all slide, and go directly to the act of Parliament. I have not its *words;* but I go into any broker's shop and get the *thing* those words describe, and we can derive the words from *it*. Take an English shilling,—scrutinize it, analyze it, and weigh it, and then define. You will find it *coin*,—*silver*,—87.6 grains 924½ fine. Our dollar is 412½ grains 900 fine. Translate and you have $.225. Now arithmetic—.225×4 1-6=936. So while Worcester's definition is correct in *form* and *substance*, it is off over six *per cent.* in quantity.

There is no escape from this but by denying that the silver-coin stamped shilling, and issued from the mints of Great Britain, has the true shilling value. You may claim that the British unit is pound, and that this is, and since 1816 has been, exclusively a gold coin; while her silver coins are what are called token or subsidiary coins, and not definition coins: that is, coins that derive an arbitrary value within the British dominions by sheer force of legislation, which declares them to be legal for certain aliquot parts of the unit to a limited amount.

But I must not enter upon "subsidiary coinage" and the double or single standard to show the wickedness of changing from the double to the single,—when the change causes (or, if you prefer, *accompanies*) a change in relative value of the two metals, much as I may desire it. I fear I have already drawn too heavily on your time and patience. Much study has convinced me that right views and sound legislation on this subject is the paramount need of the hour. Your ringing and brave words on religious freedom and scientific religion thrill me through and through; but when I see how much morality, social progress, and civilization itself is involved in the currency question, all other questions shrivel into insignificance. It pains me, too, that THE INDEX, to which more than all other periodicals I am indebted for right thinking on high themes, should drift into the current of respectable journals on the wrong side, and leave the truth to be vindicated by publicans and repudiators.

It seems to me exceedingly strange that all intelligent people do not comprehend that a money-word simply denominates a definite amount of a specified metal; that this is the only definiteness possible; that the nature of the case admits of no fixity or definiteness of any value-word except as we adhere to a specified amount of a particular commodity (which commodity has been in England since 1816 exclusively gold, but with us both gold and silver); and that the *value* of the commodity so adopted must be left to the operation of economic laws, whose unimpeded operation *is* justice, order, and social progress.

Will you be good enough to re-read my former article? Italicize the words "another commodity" in the fourth paragraph, and erase the period in the fourth line from top of the third column.

E. D. STARK.

CLEVELAND, O., Nov. 24, 1877.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

MR. EDITOR:—

In an excellent article in THE INDEX of November 15, over the name of Ingersoll Lockwood, New York, occurs the following sentence: "Was the voice of the pulpit, Protestant or Catholic, raised to condemn human slavery in our land until the burning words of our Parkers, Phillipses, Smiths, Garrisons, Browns, rang through the North and roused the people to a sense of its glaring iniquity?" Parker, Phillips, Smith, and Brown, are good anti-slavery names; and so are Jackson, Quincy, May, Pillsbury, Burleigh, Whipple, Foster, Wright, and a host of others, to enumerate which would fill the columns of THE INDEX to the exclusion of other matter.

But it was WM. LLOYD GARRISON who in his young days with fiery pen attacked slavery and the slave-trade in Baltimore, and was condemned to imprisonment in that city and to pay a fine of a thousand dollars, before any of the names above recorded were heard of by the public.

It was WM. LLOYD GARRISON afterward in Boston who lifted the trump of the *Liberator* to his lips, and sounded the blast "I will be heard," and rallied around him the anti-slavery host, startling the whole South, and causing "each particular hair" on the head of each particular slave-holder "to stand erect like quills upon the fretful porcupine."

It was WM. LLOYD GARRISON who first, in the history of the world, proclaimed the duty of emancipation unconditional and immediate, causing South Carolina and Georgia to shriek in mortal terror, "TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR HIS HEAD!" words which remained on their statute books until slavery ceased, and which perhaps remain there still.

It was WM. LLOYD GARRISON who was stripped of his clothing in the streets of Boston in obedience and subserviency to the slave power, and nearly torn to pieces by "the property and standing" of that city, and found a refuge from the broadcloth in Leverett Street Jail.

It was WM. LLOYD GARRISON upon whose head fell the thunders and anathemas of the pulpit, which accused him of all vices and crimes, and denounced him as the worst man living for the offence of loving liberty for all men equally.

It is not in good taste, in speaking or writing of anti-slavery worthies, to put the name of Garrison second to any other; it implies an inadequate knowledge of the history of the movement to do so. It is as if, writing of Revolutionary generals, one should say Generals Lee, Gates, Green, and Washington; or as if on a list of the Presidents, Washington should be named after some of his successors; or as if in writing of the inception of Christianity its propagation were attributed to the preaching of Peter, James, John, and Jesus!

In writing of American abolitionists, any time during the present century, the name of WM. LLOYD GARRISON is entitled, always, to stand first upon the record.

D. S. GRANDIN.

UPPER GLOUCESTER, Me., Nov. 20, 1877.

"IMPROVING THE OCCASION."

EDITOR INDEX:—

Talking of funerals recently with a liberal-minded man, I asked whether, if he thought it proper and right for a freethinker to prescribe ceremonies for his funeral in accordance with his convictions, such ceremonies would not be agreeable to his near relatives and friends. My friend thought it unfair for a man to cause his dearest friends to suffer annoyance and mortification for the sake of opinions which they do not concur in. In view of the proneness of Orthodox ministers, when called upon to officiate on such occasions, for persons who have never manifested any anxiety to avail themselves of "the means of grace," to "improve the occasion" by appropriating to themselves and their creeds every desirable subject, even on evidence as slight as words spoken during delirium or prostration of mental energy, this reply does not strike me as the highest possible view of the case. If you think the subject of enough general importance, I wish you would talk about it in THE INDEX. Very truly yours, S. W.

LA FAYETTE, N. J., Nov. 19, 1877.

[Have a man's "near relatives and friends" any right to save their own reputations for orthodoxy or even their own feelings, by making him appear to the world what he was not? Our own opinion is that such friends as these deserve the very slightest consideration. Something is due to truth as well as to love; and we cannot conceive anything more abhorrent to an upright man than being compelled, by foolish or weak-minded relatives, to give his posthumous influence in favor of what he believed, while living, to be false. This is to belie his best part—his honest and truthful thought; and, little as he may care what his survivors may do with his worn-out body, he ought to have a "ghost" that should rise, haunt, and torment those faithless ones that made him a traitor to his own soul. Since no man knows the future or its possible mischances, we take the liberty to leave it on record here that we denounce in advance that man as a slanderer who, after we are dead, shall dare to say that we ever sought refuge from the consequences of free thought by resuming the beliefs we have outgrown forever. We may become insane, idiotic, or intellectually paralyzed; but it will take that miserable fate to make us unlearn what we have learned. Nothing but insanity could ever convert us to Christianity again.—ED.]

PERVERTED LIBERALISM.

There is one form of liberalism, so-called by its representatives, that I regard as the most unhappy state of thought and feeling into which human nature can be warped. That is, this snarling contempt for everything held sacred by people of more religious reverence that some narrow-minded, coarse-grained freethinkers exhibit. Many persons who claim to be representative liberals are the greatest burdens that true liberalism has to carry. They bring reproach on the cause wherever they go, by their bigotry and littleness of soul. Those chronic haters of every form of religious thought and feeling are to be found throughout society to-day, venting their anti-religious spleen to the disgust of all refined and liberal-minded people. Their scepticism has taught them hate rather than love. They have the false idea that they must fight everybody and everything, or prove themselves faithless to the cause of mental freedom.

Some of these pugilistic sceptics seem to think that the whole past must be unceremoniously knocked out of existence in order to save the world from superstition; and they go about on their knightly mission, attacking every institution that claims any history,—calling all other persons cowards and time-servers who do not join in their fanatical crusade. That many of those who represent liberalism to the religious world are of this type is one of the principal causes of the churches' repugnance to freethought. They see this perverted form of freethought and are naturally alarmed at its dangerous tendency. Good, sensible people who see only destruction and moral chaos in the crude ideas of these iconoclastic reformers, learn to look with suspicion on everything associated with liberalism. And were this state of thought and feeling the final result of freethinking, it would be something to fear and oppose. Better have Christianity in the Constitution and public schools than have this type of destructionists rule society. (If this be treason, make the most of it.) I say, emphatically, that those so-called liberals who have learned only to hate the churches and all forms of religion, who have not grown into some broader life of sympathy with the universal soul of struggling humanity, are no more capable of doing justice to their fellow-men, or of promoting the true welfare of society than are the most bigoted advocates of the constitutional establishment of Christianity.

I have not time to be as explicit on this subject as I should like to be. I mean just what I have said, and that it shall apply to all persons claiming to be liberals who construe liberalism to mean contempt for Christians and Christian institutions; but no earnest, thoughtful effort to construct out of such material as the world offers a better state of society than now exists. Let us not learn merely to despise, but to excel our opponents. H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON USURY.

Clergymen, especially the mass of the lower clergy, have generally the virtue (such as it is) of a cheap good-Samaritanism. They are glad to see the poor have plenty, at least plenty of pudding,—not culture for the mind, not that, but pudding for the belly; and, ignorant (as they commonly are) of the laws which govern trade, they often hit upon the crudest devices in their endeavors to alleviate distress. Their prohibition of usury (never formally rescinded) is a case in point; a measure which, if it were in any way possible, must produce a total stagnation of business. We need not inquire of the wisdom or unwisdom, justice or injustice of interest. Interest is one link in a chain, a necessary factor of our economical system. Interest may be abolished one day; but when (if ever) that takes place, property must disappear along with it. Property implies usury as the dial implies shadow. Vainly do priests and popes anathematize. In vain does Jehovah thunder from the peaks of Sinai. What must be will be, the gods notwithstanding.

Yet demagogism (even clerical demagogism) is never meaningless. There is a truth concealed behind this nonsense. Schopenhauer says that kings ought to begin their addresses, not, "We by the grace of God"; but, "We the lesser of two evils." Well, so it is with every institution. Proudhon proves, with tedious iteration, that property is not sacred. Of course not! Why, even Mrs. Grundy only half believes in that absurdity! No such thing is sacred. No such thing is tolerable, except by reason of the worse intolerableness of the alternatives, as in the summer we make the streets muddy to avoid the dust. CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

SLANDER IN CHURCHES.

DENVER, Col., Nov. 20, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I find the following in the *Compiled Laws of New Mexico* (published in 1865), under the head of "Crimes, Punishments, etc.," page 404:—

"Slander in churches (*Injurias en los templos*): an Act punishing slander used in churches. WHEREAS, various ministers of the gospel are frequently committing grave slanders against particular persons, in temples and chapels, losing sight of charity and evangelical meekness, and profaning those sacred places, which are dedicated exclusively to the worship of the Supreme Being; *Therefore*, Be it enacted by the legislative assembly of the Territory of New Mexico:—Sec. 17. If in future any minister of the gospel of any denomination whatever, or any other person, shall by word or in any other manner slander any other person or persons within any temple, upon conviction, by complaint being made to any justice of the peace, or probate judge, shall be fined in any sum not exceeding fifty dollars, nor less than twenty-five dollars. Sec. 18. All fines arising under the provisions of this act, shall be paid into the treasury of the county in which the offence was committed. Sec. 19. This Act shall be in force from and after its passage. Approved January 10, 1856."

Respectfully yours,

HENRY L. DENISON.

A LITTLE boy of Des Moines, Ia., who writes to his "fran Jimmy" that he is going to run away from school and be an editor, thus closes his letter: "Tel yere sister Katy I don't hav nothin moar to do with that Jinks gurl, an I am troo to her. I wont git prowd and forgit her if I do be an edytur, nor you neether, Jimmy, if yore folxe is pore an ornery. Yores Truley, Johnny."

LONDON *Punch*: "Botanical old gent (in the Brighton gardens): 'Can you tell me, my good man, if this plant belongs to the "arbutus" family?' Gardener (curtly): 'No sir, it doan't. It b'longs to the corporation!'"

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NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

GLIMPSES.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Manchester (N. H.) *Daily Union* laments that Moody and Sankey, now at work in that city, make "very much less" impression there than was the case in Scotland and England.

THE NEW HAVEN Board of Education, by a majority vote of two-thirds, have voted to "dispense with" all religious exercises in the public school—a happy harbinger of the "New Dispensation"! Mr. W. W. Stow, of that city, has an interesting article on this subject in another column. The New York *Sun* and (*mirabile dictu*) the Boston *Advertiser* both approve the action taken. Verily, the Liberal League is doing its work well.

A LADY who is very active in good work writes (the italics are hers): "I have been surprised to find how much the *discussion called forth by the circulation of a petition helps a good cause*; especially in a place where large numbers of men are employed in manufactories." That is true. Everybody who helps circulate the Religious Freedom Amendment Petition is doing more than he or she perceives at the time. We liberals have very much to learn in the way of effective labor for principle's sake.

NEXT SUNDAY MORNING, at Paine Hall, we are to give an address on "The Liberal League and its Principles." This is the first of a series of meetings to be held for two months by the new Paine Hall Liberal League, and we have consented to give it a "labor of love," not because there are not better speakers to be had, but because Mr. Mendum gives the hall-rent, and because every one should do his share. Those who do not wish to hear any more about this tiresome League business will have their wish by staying at home!

IT WAS a mistake on our part last week to speak of the Liberal League meeting at Ithaca, December 10, as a "Ratification Meeting." It was rather for a *discussion* of the Rochester platform, "which," writes Dr. Winslow, President of the League, "we mean to make as thorough as possible before undertaking to 'ratify.'" That is better still. Nothing would delight us more than to see discussions of that platform held weekly in every town in the Union for a twelvemonth. The American people would be vastly wiser at the end of the year. The report of this particular meeting is so exceedingly interesting that we shall republish it in full next week.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition have been received as follows since last week: from Mr. John Buntin, Newburyport, Mass., 609; from Mr. D. A. Robertson, Enon, Pa., 90. Total thus far received—10,350. We well remember that, in 1873, Mr. Buntin sent a list of signatures to the petition of the Boston Liberal League for the taxation of church property in Massachusetts, numbering over eight hundred names; and it is safe to say that the Old Bay State has not a more devoted or energetic friend of secular government than he. We cannot refrain from quoting his note attached to the present list: "The above six hundred and nine (609) signers are from Newburyport. They appeared to understand the object of the petition, and very much approved the taxation of church property. Among these signers are ministers, deacons, and church-members; and all are worthy and respectable citizens. L. A. Horton, as above, signed his name by holding the pen in his mouth, having lost both arms in the Navy Service during the late war."

SUCH WORDS as these, from a true-hearted Kansas subscriber, ought to bear encouragement to others than the few who can alone see his letter: "I cannot resist the promptings of my heart to say a few words in praise of THE INDEX—the dear, earnest, noble INDEX. May it go on in its brave course, and continue to be a light in the great darkness that now overshadows the land. Urge the principles as laid down by the Rochester Congress, without fear and without faltering; and the day will come when they will be a power in the land. There are liberals scattered all over this State, but, on account of the lack of a central organization which might send out men and women to gather the liberal element into local organizations, they reluctantly join the 'Liberal Christian' associations." Another subscriber in Kansas said, in a letter received the same day: "I was sorry that I could not attend the Rochester convention. The objects of the League are dear and precious to my soul." Courage, brave and scattered workers! This sacred cause of Equal Rights in Religion is kindling heart after heart; you will yet see a harvest from the seed already sown.

NOT LONG SINCE, a Boston letter to the New York *World* had this cruel paragraph: "It is the fashion to go and hear Joseph Cook, and praise what he says, and applaud his metaphysical contortions, and become enthusiastic over his theological haziness. He is not understood by a tenth part of his admirers; but that makes no difference—no typical Bostonian expects to understand the half of what he admires, though he pretends to understand much more than double what he hears. The other day I clipped out a paragraph from one of Joseph Cook's lectures, and submitted it, one by one, to some half a score of his most intelligent and enthusiastic admirers. It was a paragraph which, for its meaning, was not in the least dependent upon the context. I asked, as I read it to one after another, 'Could you have imagined Wendell Phillips to have said this thing?' sometimes substituting another name for that of the 'silver-tongued orator.' Nobody recognized the paragraph, and pronounced it 'twaddle,' or 'a mere string of words,' or made some equally pungent expression of contempt. Then I had my triumph,—for I had verified my previously expressed belief that many of those who heard Cook oftenest and admired him most could not get below the surface of his marvellous flow of words."

THE MEETING of friends of the Liberal League movement in Boston and vicinity was held in Paine Hall last Friday evening, as announced. Hon. Elizur Wright was elected Chairman, and Mr. Robert Cooper Secretary. Speeches were made by the Chairman, Mr. Seaver, Mr. Mendum, Mr. Verity, Mr. Heywood, and Mr. Abbot; and the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

Resolved, That we emphatically indorse the platform of the National Liberal League adopted at Rochester, N.Y., Oct. 26; that the principles it enunciates are so true, so important, and yet so much neglected, as to summon all liberal citizens of the United States, irrespective of their religious opinions, to coöperate in impressing them on the public mind; and that the only way to do this effectively is to form a national party which shall steadfastly vote for these principles at the polls.

Resolved, That R. P. Hallowell, John S. Verity, and G. H. Foster are hereby appointed a Committee of Public Work to consider and mature a plan of efficient work on behalf of these principles in this city and State; that they shall report the same at an adjourned meeting of this assembly, to be held a fortnight hence at such place as they shall appoint; and that every friend of the Liberal League movement here present is urged to attend that meeting, with as many of his own friends as he can persuade to accompany him.

Resolved, That the Liberal League movement cannot possibly be carried on without money, and that M. T. Dole, C. D. Place, and Robert Cooper are hereby appointed a Committee of Finance to report at the adjourned meeting the best plan they can devise for raising the necessary funds.

Resolved, That the taxation of church property, the abolition of all religious exercises in the public schools, and the repeal of oppressive Sunday-Sabbath laws, are steps which are indispensable to the establishment of equal rights respecting religion; and that we specially recommend these subjects to the attention of the Committee of Public Work already appointed.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE
FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

PERSONS WHO are exclusively intellectual, and have no feeling for art, often seem to suppose that while science delights in what is clear and definite, poetry and art delight in what is vague and dim; that these things, so agreeable to a class of gentle lunatics, are a certain preserved extract of moonshine and mist; and it is somewhat ludicrous to take note of the generous and condescending admissions in favor of a refining influence of poetry which are ordinarily made by such hard-headed persons. "I do not know what poetical is; is it honest in deed and word? Is it a true thing?" So Audrey questions, and Touchstone answers with a twinkle of pleasure (being in luck to find such a chance of gracious fooling). "No, truly, for the truest poetry is the most feigning." However this may be, whether we agree or not with Jeremy Bentham and *Touchstone* that "all poetry is misrepresentation," it is certain that the greatest poets love comprehensiveness and definiteness in their conceptions. The measureless value set by every great artist upon execution favors this tendency. Intense vision renders precise and definite whatever is capable of becoming so, and leaves vague only that which is vague in its very nature. "The great and golden rule of art as well as of life," wrote William Blake, "is this: that the more distinct, sharp, and wiry the bounding line, the more perfect the work of art; and the less keen and sharp, the greater is the evidence of weak imitation, plagiarism and bungling. Great inventors in all ages knew this. . . . Raphael and Michel Angelo and Albert Dürer are known by this, and this alone."—*The Contemporary Review.*

Science.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT BIRMINGHAM, OCTOBER 1, 1877, AS PRESIDENT OF THE MIDLAND INSTITUTE.

BY PROF. JOHN W. TYNDALL.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

The experiences of common life supply us with copious instances of the liberation of vast stores of muscular power by an infinitesimal "priming" of the muscles by the nerves. We all know the effect produced on a "nervous" organization by a slight sound which causes affright. An aerial wave the energy of which would not reach a minute fraction of that necessary to raise the thousandth of a grain through the thousandth of an inch, can throw the whole human frame into a powerful mechanical spasm, followed by violent respiration and palpitation. The eye, of course, may be appealed to as well as the ear. Of this the lamented Lange gives the following vivid illustration: A merchant sits comfortably in his easy-chair, not knowing whether smoking, sleeping, newspaper-reading, or the digestion of food occupies the largest portion of his personality. A servant enters the room with a telegram bearing the words, "Antwerp, etc. . . . Jonas & Co. have failed." "Tell James to harness the horses!" The servant flies. Up starts the merchant wide-awake, makes a dozen paces through the room, descends to the counting-house, dictates letters, and forwards despatches. He jumps into his carriage, the horses snort, and their driver is immediately at the Bank, on the Bourse, and among his commercial friends. Before an hour has elapsed he is again at home, where he throws himself once more into his easy-chair with a deep-drawn sigh, "Thank God, I am protected against the worst! And now for further reflection!"

This complex mass of action, emotional, intellectual, and mechanical, is evoked by the impact upon the retina of the infinitesimal waves of light coming from a few pencil-marks on a bit of paper. We have, as Lange says, terror, hope, sensation, calculation, possible ruin, and victory compressed into a moment. What caused the merchant to spring out of his chair? The contraction of his muscles. What made his muscles contract? An impulse of the nerves, which lifted the proper latch, and liberated the muscular power. Whence this impulse? From the centre of the nervous system. But how did it originate there? This is the critical question. The aim and effort of science is to explain the unknown in terms of the known. Explanation, therefore, is conditioned by knowledge.

You have probably heard the story of the German peasant who, in early railway days, was taken to see the performance of a locomotive. He had never known carriages to be moved except by animal power. Every explanation outside of this conception lay beyond his experience, and could not be invoked. After long reflection, therefore, and seeing no possible escape from the conclusion, he exclaimed confidently to his companion, "*Es müssen doch pferde darin sein*,"—"There must be horses inside." Amusing as this locomotive theory may seem, it illustrates a deep-lying truth.

With reference to our present question, some may be disposed to press upon me such considerations as these: Your motor nerves are so many speaking-tubes, through which messages are sent from the man to the world; and your sensor nerves are so many conduits through which the whispers of the world are sent back to the man. But you have not told us where is the man. Who or what is it that sends and receives those messages through the bodily organism? Do not the phenomena point to the existence of a self within the self, which acts through the body as through a skilfully constructed instrument? You picture the muscles as hearkening to the commands sent through the motor nerves, and you picture the sensor nerves as the vehicles of incoming intelligence; are you not bound to supplement this mechanism by the assumption of an entity which uses it? In other words, are you not forced by your own exposition into the hypothesis of a free human soul? That hypothesis is offered as an explanation or simplification of a series of phenomena more or less obscure. But adequate reflection shows that instead of introducing light into our minds it increases our darkness. You do not in this case explain the unknown in terms of the known, which, as stated above, is the method of science; but you explain the unknown in terms of the more unknown. The warrant of science extends only to the statement that the terror, hope, sensation, and calculation of Lange's merchant are psychical phenomena produced by, or associated with, the molecular motions set up by the waves of light in a previously prepared brain.

But the scientific view is not without its own difficulties. We here find ourselves face to face with a problem which is the theme, at the present moment, of profound and subtle controversy. What is the casual connection, if any, between the objective and subjective,—between molecular motions and states of consciousness? My answer is, I know not; nor have I as yet met anybody who knows. It is no explanation to say that the objective and subjective effects are two sides of one and the same phenomenon. Why should the phenomenon have two sides? This is the very core of the difficulty. There are plenty of molecular motions which do not exhibit this two-sidedness. Does water think or feel when it runs into frost-ferns upon a window-pane? If not, why should the molecular motion of the brain be yoked to this mysterious companion,—consciousness? We can present to our minds a coherent picture of the physical processes,—the stirring of the brain, the thrilling of the nerves, the discharging of the mus-

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cles, and all the subsequent mechanical motions of the organism. But we can present no picture of the process whereby consciousness emerges, either as a necessary link or as an accidental by-product of this series of actions. Yet it certainly does emerge,—molecular motion produces consciousness.

The reverse process of the production of motion by consciousness is equally unpresentable to the mind. We are here, in fact, upon the boundary line of our intellectual powers, where the ordinary canons of science fail to extricate us from our difficulties. If we are true to these canons, we must deny to subjective phenomena all influence on physical processes. The latter must be regarded as complete in themselves. Physical science offers no justification for the notion that molecules can be moved by states of consciousness; and it furnishes just as little countenance to the conclusion that states of consciousness can be generated by molecular motion. Frankly stated, we have here to deal with facts almost as difficult to be seized mentally as the idea of a soul. And if you are content to make your "soul" a poetic rendering of a phenomenon which refuses the yoke of ordinary mechanical laws, I, for one, would not object to this exercise of ideality. Amid all our speculative uncertainty there is one practical point as clear as the day; namely, that the brightness and the usefulness of life, as well as its darkness and disaster, depend to a great extent upon our own use or abuse of this miraculous organ.

We now stand face to face with the final problem. It is this: Are the brain, and the moral and intellectual processes known to be associated with the brain—and, as far as our experience goes, indissolubly associated—subject to the laws which we find paramount in physical nature? Is the will of man, in other words, free, or are it and Nature equally "bound fast in fate"? From this latter conclusion, after he had established it to the entire satisfaction of his understanding, the great German thinker Fichte recoiled. You will find the record of this struggle between head and heart in his book, entitled *Die Bestimmung des Menschen,—The Vocation of Man.* Fichte was determined at all hazards to maintain his freedom; but the price he paid for it indicates the difficulty of the task. To escape from the iron necessity seen everywhere reigning in physical nature, he turned defiantly round upon Nature and law, and affirmed both of them to be the products of his own mind. He was not going to be the slave of a thing which he had himself created.

There is a good deal to be said in favor of this view; but few of us probably would be able to bring into play the solvent transcendentalism whereby Fichte melted his chains. Why do some of us regard this notion of necessity with terror, while others do not fear it at all? Has not Carlyle somewhere said that a belief in destiny is the bias of all earnest minds? "It is not Nature," says Fichte, "it is freedom itself by which the greatest and most terrible disorders incident to our race are produced. Man is the cruelest enemy of man." But the question of moral responsibility here emerges, and it is the possible loosening of this responsibility that so many of us dread. The notion of necessity certainly failed to frighten Bishop Butler. He thought it untrue; but he did not fear its practical consequences. He showed, on the contrary, in the *Analogy*, that as far as human conduct is concerned, the two theories of free will and necessity come to the same in the end.

What is meant by free will? Does it imply the power of producing events without antecedents,—of starting, as it were, upon a creative tour of occurrences without any impulse from within or from without? Let us consider the point. If there be absolutely or relatively no reason why a tree should fall, it will not fall; and if there be absolutely or relatively no reason why a man should act, he will not act. It is true that the united voice of this assembly could not persuade me that I have not, at this moment, the power to lift my arm if I wished to do so. Within this range the conscious freedom of my will cannot be questioned. But what about the origin of the "wish"? Are we, or are we not, complete masters of the circumstances which create our wishes, motives, and tendencies to action? Adequate reflection will, I think, prove that we are not. What, for example, have I to do with the generation and development of that which some will consider my total being, and others a most potent factor of my total being,—the living, speaking organism which now addresses you?

As stated at the beginning of this discourse, my physical and intellectual textures were woven for me, not by me. Processes in the conduct or regulation of which I had no share have made me what I am. Here, surely, if anywhere, we are as clay in the hands of the potter. It is the greatest of delusions to suppose that we come into this world as sheets of white paper on which the age can write anything it likes; making us good or bad, noble or mean, as the age pleases. The age can stunt, promote, or pervert preëxistent capacities, but it cannot create them. The worthy Robert Owen, who saw in external circumstances the great moulders of human character, was obliged to supplement his doctrine by making the man himself one of the circumstances. It is as fatal as it is cowardly to blink facts because they are not to our taste. How many disorders, ghostly and bodily, are transmitted to us by inheritance? In our courts of law, whenever it is a question whether a crime has been committed under the influence of insanity, the best guidance the judge and jury can have is derived from the parental antecedents of the accused. If among these insanity be exhibited in any marked degree, the presumption in the prisoner's favor is enormously enhanced, because the experience of life has taught both judge and jury that insanity is frequently transmitted from parent to child.

I met some years ago in a railway-carriage the governor of one of our largest prisons. He was evidently an observant and reflective man; possessed of wide experience gathered in various parts of the world, and a thorough student of the duties of his vocation. He told me that the prisoners in his charge might be divided into three distinct classes. The first class consisted of persons who ought never to have been in prison. External accident, and not internal taint, had brought them within the grasp of the law; and what had happened to them might happen to most of us. They were essentially men of sound moral stamina, though wearing the prison garb. Then came the largest class, formed of individuals possessing no strong bias moral or immoral, plastic to the touch of circumstances which would mould them into either good or evil members of society. Thirdly came a class—happily not a large one—whom no kindness could conciliate and no discipline tame. They were sent into this world labelled "incorrigible," wickedness being stamped, as it were, upon their organizations. It was an unpleasant truth, but as a truth it ought to be faced. For such criminals the prison over which he ruled was certainly not the proper place. If confined at all, their prison should be on a desert island where the deadly contagion of their example could not taint the moral air. But the sea itself he was disposed to regard as a cheap and appropriate substitute for the island. It seemed to him evident that the State would benefit if prisoners of the first class were liberated, prisoners of the second class educated, and prisoners of the third class put compendiously under water.

It is not, however, from the observation of individuals that the argument against "free will," as commonly understood, derives its principal force. It is, as already hinted, indefinitely strengthened when extended to the race. Most of you have been forced to listen to the outcries and denunciations which rung discordant through the land for some years after the publication of Mr. Darwin's *Origin of Species.* Well, the world—even the clerical world,—has, for the most part, settled down in the belief that Mr. Darwin's book simply reflects the truth of Nature; that we who are now "foremost in the files of time" have come to the front through almost endless stages of promotion from lower to higher forms of life. If to any one of us were given the privilege of looking back through the eons across which life has crept towards its present outcome, his vision would ultimately reach a point when the progenitors of this assembly could not be called human. From that humble society, through the interaction of its members and the storing up of their best qualities, a better one emerged; from this again a better still; until at length, by the integration of infinitesimals through ages of amelioration, we came to be what we are to-day. We of this generation had no conscious share in the production of this grand and beneficent result. Any and every generation which preceded us had just a little share. The favored organisms whose garnered excellence constitutes our present store, owed their advantage, first, to what we in our ignorance are obliged to call "accidental variation"; and, secondly, to a law of heredity in the passing of which our suffrages were not collected. With characteristic felicity and precision, Mr. Matthew Arnold lifts this question into the free air of poetry, but not out of the atmosphere of truth, when he ascribes the process of amelioration to "a power not ourselves which makes for righteousness."

If, then, our organisms, with all their tendencies and capacities, are given to us without our being consulted; and if, while capable of acting within certain limits in accordance with our wishes, we are not masters of the circumstances in which motives and wishes originate; if, finally, our motives and wishes determine our actions,—in what sense can these actions be said to be the result of free will? Here, again, we are confronted with the question of moral responsibility which it is desirable to meet in its rudest form and in the most uncompromising way. "If," says the robber, the ravisher, or the murderer, "I act, because I must act, what right have you to hold me responsible for my deeds?" The reply is, "The right of society to protect itself against aggressive and injurious forces, whether they be bond or free, forces of Nature or forces of man." "Then," retorts the criminal, "you punish me for what I cannot help." "Granted," says society; "but had you known that the treadmill or the gallows was certainly in store for you, you might have 'helped.'"

Let us reason the matter fully and frankly out. We entertain no malice or hatred against you, but simply with a view to our own safety and purification we are determined that you and such as you shall not enjoy liberty of evil action in our midst. You, who have behaved as a wild beast, we claim the right to cage or kill as we should a wild beast. The public safety is a matter of more importance than the very limited chance of your moral renovation; while the knowledge that you have been hanged by the neck may furnish to others about to do as you have done the precise motive which will hold them back. If your act be such as to invoke a minor penalty, then not only others, but yourself, may profit by the punishment which we inflict. On the homely principle that "a burnt child dreads the fire," it will make you think twice before venturing on a repetition of your crime. Observe, finally, the consistency of our conduct. You offend, because you cannot help offending, to the public detriment. We punish, because we cannot help punishing, for the public good. Practically, then, as Bishop Butler predicted, we act as the world acted when it supposed the evil deeds of its criminals to be the products of free will." "What," I have heard it argued, "is the use of preaching about duty if man's predetermined position in the moral world renders him incapable of profiting by advice?" Who knows that he is incapable? The preacher's last word enters as a factor into the man's conduct; and it may be a most important factor, unlocking moral energies which might otherwise remain imprisoned and unused. If the preacher feel that words of enlightenment, courage, and admonition enter into the list of forces employed by Nature for man's amelioration since she gifted man with speech, he will suffer no paralysis to fall upon his tongue. Dung the fig-tree hopefully, and not until its barrenness has been demonstrated beyond a doubt let the sentence go forth, "Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?"

I remember when a youth, in the town of Halifax, some thirty-two years ago, attending a lecture given by a young man to a small but select audience. The aspect of the lecturer was earnest and practical, and his voice soon riveted attention. He spoke of duty, defining it is a debt owed; and there was a kindling vigor in his words which must have strengthened the sense of duty in the minds of those who heard him. No speculations regarding the freedom of the will could alter the fact that the words of that young man did me good. His name was George Dawson. He also spoke, if you will allow me to allude to it, of a social subject much discussed at the time,—the Chartist subject of "levelling." "Suppose," he said, "two men to be equal at night, and that one rises at six, while the other sleeps till nine next morning; what becomes of your levelling?" And in so speaking he made himself the mouth-piece of Nature; which, as we have seen, secures advance, not by the reduction of all to a common level, but by the encouragement and conservation of what is best.

It may be urged that, in dealing as above with my hypothetical criminal, I am assuming a state of things brought about by the influence of religions which include the dogmas of theology and the belief in free will,—a state, namely, in which a moral majority control and keep in awe an immoral minority. The heart of man is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. Withdraw, then, our theologic sanctions, including the belief in free will, and the condition of the race will be typified by the samples of individual wickedness which have been adduced. We shall all, that is, become robbers and ravishers and murderers. From much that has been written of late it would seem that this astounding inference finds house-room in many minds. Possibly, the people who hold such views might be able to illustrate them by individual instances.

> "The fear of hell's a hangman's whip
> To keep the wretch in order."

Remove the fear, and the wretch, following his natural instinct, may become disorderly; but I refuse to accept him as a sample of humanity. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," is by no means the ethical consequence of freethought. To many of you the name of George Jacob Holyoake is doubtless familiar, and you are probably aware that at no man in England has the term atheist been more frequently pelted. There are, moreover, really few who have more completely liberated themselves from theologic notions.

Among working-class politicians, Mr. Holyoake is a leader. Does he exhort his followers to "eat and drink, for to-morrow we die"? Not so. In the August number of the *Nineteenth Century* you will find these words from his pen: "The gospel of dirt is bad enough; but the gospel of mere material comfort is much worse." He contemptuously calls the Comtist championship of the working-man "the championship of the trencher." He would place "the leanest liberty which brought with it the dignity and power of self-help" higher than "any prospect of a full plate without it." Such is the doctrine taught by this "atheistic" leader; and no Christian, I apprehend, need be ashamed of it.

Not in the way assumed by our dogmatic teachers has the morality of human nature been propped up. The power which has moulded us thus far has worked with stern tools upon a very rigid stuff. What it has done cannot be so readily undone; and it has endowed us with moral constitutions which take pleasure in the noble, the beautiful, and the true, just as surely as it has endowed us with sentient organisms which finds aloes bitter and sugar sweet. That power did not work with delusions, nor will it stay its hand when such are removed. Facts rather than dogmas have been its ministers,—hunger and thirst, heat and cold, pleasure and pain, sympathy, shame, pride, love, hate, terror, awe: such were the forces, the interaction and adjustment of which during the immeasurable ages of his development wove the triplex web of man's physical, intellectual, and moral nature, and such are the forces that will be effectual to the end.

Some may retort that even on my own showing "the power which makes for righteousness" has dealt in delusions; for it cannot be denied that the beliefs of religion, including the dogmas of theology and the freedom of the will, have had some effect in moulding the moral world. Granted; but I do not think that this goes to the root of the matter. Are you quite sure that those beliefs and dogmas are primary and not derived,—that they are not the products, instead of being the creators, of man's moral nature? I think it is one of the *Latter Day Pamphlets* that Carlyle corrects a reasoner, who deduced the nobility of man from a belief in heaven, by telling him that he puts the cart before the horse, the real truth being that the belief in heaven is derived from the nobility of man. The bird's instinct to weave its nest is referred to by Emerson as typical of the force which built cathedrals, temples, and pyramids:—

> "Knowest thou what wove yon woodbird's nest
> Of leaves and feathers from her breast?
> Or how the fish outbuilt its shell,
> Painting with morn each annual cell?
> Such and so grew these holy piles,
> While love and terror laid the tiles;
> Earth proudly wears the Parthenon

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As the best gem upon her zone;
And Morning opes with haste her lids
To gaze upon the Pyramids;
O'er England's abbeys bends the sky
As on its friends with kindred eye;
For out of Thought's interior sphere
These wonders rose to upper air;
And Nature gladly gave them place,
Adopted them unto her race,
And granted them an equal date
With Andes and with Ararat."

Surely many of the utterances which have been accepted as descriptions ought to be interpreted as aspirations; or as having their roots in aspiration, instead of objective knowledge. Does the song of the herald angels, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men," express the exaltation and the yearning of a human soul, or does it describe an optical and acoustical fact,—a visible host and an audible song? If the former, the exaltation and the yearning are man's imperishable possession,—a ferment long confined to individuals, but which may by-and-by become the leaven of the race. If the latter, then belief in the entire transaction is wrecked by non-fulfilment. Look to the East at the present moment as a comment on the promise of peace on earth and good-will toward men. That promise is a dream dissolved by the experience of eighteen centuries. But though the mechanical theory of a vocal heavenly multitude proves untenable, the immortal song and the feelings it expresses are still ours, to be incorporated, let us hope, in purer and less shadowy forms in the poetry, philosophy, and practice of the future. Thus, following the lead of physical science, we are brought from the solution of continuity into the presence of problems which as usually classified lie entirely outside the domain of physics. To these problems thoughtful and penetrative minds are now applying those methods of research which in physical science has proved their truth by their fruits. There is on all hands a growing repugnance to invoke the supernatural in accounting for the phenomena of human life, and the thoughtful minds just referred to, finding no trace of evidence in favor of any other origin, are driven to seek in the interaction of social forces the genesis and development of man's moral nature. If they succeed in their search—and I think they are sure to succeed,—social duty would be raised to a higher level of significance, and the deepening sense of social duty would, it is to be hoped, lessen, if not obliterate, the strife and heart-burnings which now beset and disguise our social life. Towards this great end it behooves us one and all to work, and, devoutly wishing its consummation, I have the honor, ladies and gentlemen, to bid you a friendly farewell.

On the motion of Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., seconded by Mr. Bunce, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Professor Tyndall for his address.—*London Times, Oct.* 2, 1877.

MODERN ORTHODOXY AND BELIEF IN HELL.

[In connection with Mr. Potter's editorial of this week, the following article, copied from the Boston *Congregationalist* of Nov. 14, will be of much interest. Observe that this journal, representing the best phase of New England Orthodoxy, declares that the belief in eternal punishment is still "one of the fundamental doctrines of our standards."—ED.]

Painful but Necessary.

The Boston Council of 1865, besides announcing, in general terms, "our adherence to the faith and order of the apostolic and primitive churches as held by our fathers, and substantially as embodied in the Confessions and Platforms which our Synods of 1648 and 1680, set forth or reaffirmed," declared the belief of the churches which delegated it, in a single direction, in these words: "We believe . . . in the final judgment, the issues of which are eternal life and everlasting punishment."

When the National Council was organized six years ago at Oberlin, it made a part of its fundamental constitution this article: "They (the churches herein represented) agree in belief that the Holy Scriptures are the sufficient and only infallible rule of religious faith and practice; their interpretation thereof being in substantial accordance with the great doctrines of the Christian faith commonly called Evangelical, held in our churches from the early times, and sufficiently set forth by former General Councils."

As no effort was made on the part of any member of the Council at New Haven in 1874, or of that whose session has just closed at Detroit, to have this expression of faith modified in any particular, it is fair, on the one hand, for the Congregational churches to understand that there is among themselves an entire substantial agreement on the doctrinal issues here involved; and, on the other hand, for other Christian denominations, and for the world at large, to assume that the Congregational churches are agreed in holding the Bible infallibly to teach the "everlasting punishment" of those who die impenitent. Individual members of the body may believe differently. Possibly here and there a Congregational Church may exceptionally admit to its fellowship persons, of whose piety, and sincere and useful life, it entertains no doubt, who are yet "weak in the faith" in this direction. But it still remains true that Congregationalism, so far as it is formulated in its solemn declarations of faith, endorsed and reëndorsed by the deliberate action of a fair representation of all its churches, does hold and teach the "everlasting punishment" of those who die out of Christ. It would seem also to remain true that a council of Congregational churches in all Christian honesty is bound to regard this as an inevitable limitation put upon its right to endorse opinions, and extend the right hand of professedly Congregational fellowship to candidates for its ministry; or to individuals seeking to come in and be recognized as a church in its sisterhood. While the incongruity would be more manifest and startling, we do not see that it would differ in kind so much as in degree, were such a council to ordain as a Congregational minister, in good and regular standing, one who denies the being of a God; for the proposition of the divine existence is no more distinctly nor efficiently a part of our Congregational creeds, than the proposition that the Bible teaches the eternal punishment of the finally impenitent.

Under these circumstances we are not surprised to learn that a council last week, which had been called to advise with reference to the settlement of Rev. James F. Merriam, formerly of Farmington, Conn., over the Congregational Church at Indian Orchard, (Springfield), after long discussion, found itself obliged to decline to advise and fellowship the desired act. The candidate, as we learn from the Springfield *Republican*, read as a part of the written statement of his religious belief, the following:—

"In regard to the matter of the eternal punishment of those impenitent at death, I believe the Bible does not teach it; nor do I believe it teaches the contrary. It leaves the question an open one. Hence, in my public teaching and ministry, as a minister of the gospel, I would teach neither the one nor the other. In my private judgment and belief, I hold that future punishment, if eternal in any sense, is so in the sense that it is eternal death or annihilation. And I cannot promise to refrain from expressing myself privately, simply as an individual expression, a personal belief, to that effect, when in my judgment I can thereby do good."

This seems to be candid and explicit. The Council held long discussions on the subject, and finally adopted the following minute:—

"That this Ecclesiastical Council are not so far satisfied with the doctrinal views of Rev. James F. Merriam as to proceed to his installation as the pastor and teacher of a Congregational Church, while they would testify to their belief in his Christian sincerity and devotional piety."

On being urged by Mr. Merriam to mention more specifically the obstacle found in the way, the Council authorized the further statement:—

"In reply to the request of James F. Merriam, the Council would say that, while not satisfied with his views on the Atonement, they especially object to his views on eternal punishment as unsound and unsatisfactory."

Upon this issue the Council dissolved, and the many who had gathered in the expectation of an installing service were sent home disappointed; while, naturally, much surprise and dissatisfaction were felt by those friends of the candidate, who had not supposed there could be any question of his sufficient soundness in the faith.

The Council included Rev. Dr. Buckingham, and Rev. Messrs. Reed, Gladden, Eustis, Cone, and Morgan, of Springfield; Rev. Mr. Smith, of Farmington, Conn.; Rev. Mr. McDuffy, of Ludlow; Rev. B. Hart, of Fair Haven, Conn.; Rev. T. Lyman, of Jenksville, mostly with delegates, and Rev. Dr. Rice, Methodist, and Rev. J. W. Harding, as individual members.

It is stated that, on the following evening, about one hundred of his many friends of the church and society met at Mr. Merriam's house, and passed and presented the following preamble and resolution:—

"WHEREAS, A council of Congregational churches having been regularly called to install Rev. J. F. Merriam as pastor of the Congregational Church at Indian Orchard, has refused to install him owing to his disbelief in eternal punishment;

"*Resolved*, That we, members of this congregation, including members of the church and society, tender to Mr. Merriam our full sympathy and cordial support, and express our unqualified confidence in his piety and integrity of purpose, and our perfect willingness to accept him as our Christian teacher and guide, and earnestly extend to him an invitation to remain with us as our pastor and friend."

It is further stated that one of the deacons, "in behalf of the church," extended to him its unanimous request that he would remain with them as their pastor.

If this action were to be taken as the deliberate avowal of Universalism as the faith of this church and congregation, it could only be received by the sisterhood of Congregational churches with a pain tempered with gratitude that the action of the Council had stimulated a frankness which would seem to have been too tardy in its action. In point of fact, however, it should probably be rather interpreted as the sudden outflow of a feeling, stimulated by sudden disappointment, of personal affection for, and confidence in, a man who has earned a good degree among them by previous months of acceptable service. And this fact, that Mr. Merriam has already gained the hearts of this people by extended previous labor in their acting pastorate, suggests the inquiry whether a wiser course than that actually adopted might not have been for the Council, while—in the face of his distinct repudiation of one of the fundamental doctrines of our standards—declining to install him as a Congregational pastor, to have said: In view of the confidence of all parties in the genuineness and excellence of the Christian character of this brother, and of the providences which have led him and this church to the condition in which they are, we suggest that the church exceptionally install him as their pastor, independently, and not asking the fellowship of the churches.

As it is, we trust that all things may be done with charity. We can see no call for, or justification of, any hard feeling in such a matter,—although such is the imperfection of human nature, that the exposure to uncharitable thought and reproachful language is inevitably great. If we *are* Universalists, let us have the manliness to say so, and change our creed so that it shall honestly represent us before the world. If we are not, it does not seem a difficult conclusion for any man to reach, that it could have been calculated neither to win the world's respect nor the favor of God, had this Council been so false to its own convictions and to its fealty to the Congregational system which it represented, as to gratify personal feeling, and the desire to please people, at the expense of fundamental principle.

THE ANTONELLI CASE.

The case of the Countess Lambertini, who professes to be the illegitimate daughter of the late Cardinal Antonelli, and claims, in that character, a considerable share of his estate, has again been postponed, but it is not likely to be abandoned. Like a celebrated case on this side of the water, the dispute over the dead man's fortune will go on, with a ruthless disregard of the sanctities and decencies of life, and the claimant can only win the money she demands by defaming the memory of her father. Indeed, the Antonelli case appears to be one of peculiar atrocity. The brother and nephews of the deceased, to whom the estate was left by the will, are rich men, who owe almost everything to the late Cardinal, but they seem to have no scruple about submitting his private life to a scandalous examination before an unfriendly court: and the daughter, or alleged daughter, is willing not only to defile the grave of one parent, but even, according to the London *Times*, to produce her mother, who is said to be a lady of good repute and rank, and compel her to acknowledge in court that she was once a Cardinal's mistress. We can hardly understand in America a state of society in which such a suit is possible, or a system of law which affords a ground for it.

The Cardinal was a man more generally misunderstood than any other conspicuous character of his time; and it was his peculiar fate to be misunderstood alike by his friends and his enemies, most of all, perhaps, by the pontiff who employed him. Secret, reserved, plausible, adroit, and cold, he hid his heart from everybody, and he cherished no dangerous enthusiasms. He came of a family of mountaineers on the Neapolitan border, plain rustics in moderate circumstances. There were five brothers, and they all went to Rome to seek their fortunes, one becoming in time a banker, others merchants, and Giacomo entering the prelature. In the Papal States the prelature was the civil service of the government. Its members, even the higher ones, were not necessarily in orders; but a "prelate" in orders seemed to have a better chance of advancement than a layman; and so Giacomo went just as far into the Church as he thought his worldly interests required. He stopped short at the degree of deacon, never rising to the priesthood, even when he became Cardinal; never saying mass, hearing confessions, or discharging any of the other duties of the ministry; but he took the usual vow of chastity. He was not a churchman in anything but the dress and the name. His tastes, his pleasures, and his official functions were all secular. He was the last of the old school of statesmen in purple, who modelled themselves upon Richelieu and Mazarin, and covered diplomacy with the cloak of religion. Under Gregory XVI. he was a successful administrator of the finances. Pius IX. made him head of the Treasury in the first years of his reign, partly because he had shown ability for the place, partly because he was esteemed a liberal. It was in 1848, the year of revolutions, that he became Prime Minister, and his appointment even then was looked upon as a victory for young Italy.

If he was the last of the old school of cardinals, perhaps we should say that he was also the last of the old school of diplomatists. He made it a point of honor to be inscrutable. His own colleagues did not know what his policy really was. The Italian Liberals were equally deceived when they cheered him in 1848 and cursed him in 1849. In his intercourse with the foreign representatives, with officers of the government, with the clergy and the laity, with Romans and strangers, he talked copiously, but never said anything. He attracted visitors by his well-trained tongue and repelled them by his telltale eye; if they pushed him too hard toward dangerous ground, he amused and dismissed them by exhibiting the splendid collection of gems, in which it was generally supposed that he took his chief delight. That he was a believer in the policy of administrative reform, which made the first two years of the present pontificate illustrious, is no doubt true; but the extent of his liberalism was greatly exaggerated in the popular estimation. So, too, it is a mistake to suppose that the Republic of 1848 converted him to a policy of stern and uncompromising repression. His temper was always conservative; that remained the same, but the circumstances changed. His natural disposition was toward resistance wherever it was possible, and toward the acceptance of accomplished facts wherever resistance was imprudent. It was the Pope, and not the Cardinal, who dictated the reforms of 1846-48 and the conservative reaction of 1849-50. Antonelli approved of progress—a little of it—in the beginning, because he saw that it was inevitable. He approved of crying "halt" after the return from Gaeta, because he saw that "reform" was exhausted, and that liberalism was leading straight to the destruction of the temporal power. Unless his associates belied him, he was never a hearty supporter of the policy of the Pope toward Victor Emmanuel and the kingdom of Italy. There was not the stuff in him for a resolute and painful resistance, such as the staunch old Pope opposed to the irresistible march of the Italian nation. He would have plotted and negotiated. Some say that

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he did negotiate privately. La Moricière and Mérode accused him of deliberate treason.

Between Antonelli and the other cardinals there was no cordial feeling. The Roman nobility, which furnishes the lay element of society on the side of the Church party at Rome, looked askance at him, though cardinals of humble origin are surely no novelties. He had few friends at the Vatican except his own appointees. Above all, he was not a favorite with the Pope. The two men were entirely antipathetic,—the one affectionate, trusting, generous, stout-hearted, devout; the other selfish, ambitious, cunning, and worldly. Antonelli was a valuable public servant, particularly in the regulation of financial affairs, and as such the Pope estimated him justly. But he had little influence with the Pontiff, except in matters of mere administration. He was for thirty years the minister of Pius IX., yet, dying in the Vatican, he left out of his large fortune nothing to his august master but a little crucifix of no particular worth; and it has been remarked that the Pope never alluded to his death in any of his allocutions.

Whatever obscurity there may be as to his political course, there was none as to his private ambition. *Fare una famiglia*, "to found a family," is always an object dear to the Italian heart; and from the day the young mountaineer entered Rome till the very end, his aim was to make Antonelli one of the great names in the history of the city. His position gave him enormous opportunities to increase the small private fortune with which he entered office; and he took good care of his brothers, too. All the accumulations were destined for the male offspring of these thrifty brothers. His extraordinary will left nothing to the Church, nothing to charity, nothing out of his rich collections to the Vatican Museum. All went to enrich the family which he had founded. We showed the other day, apropos of another case, how futile were almost all attempts to build distinction upon the weak, unstable basis of money. The cruel irony of fate turns to disgrace the badges meant for honor. The plan chosen by Cardinal Antonelli to make his name illustrious has only served to throw a stronger light upon his faults, and drag into the sight of the whole world the scandals which would otherwise have died in obscure corners of Rome. Whether the story of the Countess Lambertini is false or true, it would never have been told but for the attempt to "make a family" with money.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

MODERN CATHOLICISM AND BELIEF IN PURGATORY.

In St. Patrick's Cathedral, Rev. Father Hogan preached on the doctrine of purgatory, and said: Our natural mother nurtures, cares for, and watches over us during life; but our mother, the Church, folds us in her arms at baptism, watches, guides, guards, and nourishes us during our earthly pilgrimage, anoints us with the oil of extreme unction at death, and after death, when our bodies are returned to mother dust, she throws over our grave the shadow of the emblem of redemption. In death even we are not separated from her, for the souls of the faithful departed are still members of the Church. Now, God's law is inexorable, and he says that nothing defiled can enter heaven. Who, then, is so pure at leaving this life as to be worthy of admittance to heaven immediately after death? And would it be just in God to consign to everlasting torments those souls that are but tarnished by sin? Certainly not. And here we see the infinite justice and mercy of God in providing a middle state where those souls can atone for past transgressions or give sufficient satisfaction for sins pardoned, but for which sufficient was not done to satisfy God's justice. The doctrine of purgatory is no new one. We read in the Old Testament where Judas Maccabeus, after gaining a victory in battle over his enemies, ordered that a subscription be taken up in order that it should be sent to Jerusalem to have sacrifice offered in the Temple for the souls of the departed faithful. That sacrifice was to be offered in a public place and before the people; consequently it was known to everybody and could have been nothing new. We find in the Scriptures where it is stated that some souls shall be saved, yet so as by fire; and again, that there are some sins which will not be forgiven in this world or in the world to come. It is, therefore, evident that they must be atoned for in a middle place. If God be merciful, he is also just, and his justice requires that sin be atoned for either in this life or the next.

THE PAINS OF PURGATORY.

Theologians tell us that the sufferings which the souls endure in purgatory are similar to those suffered by the souls in hell, and, like them, of a two-fold nature. They are the pains of the senses and the pain of loss; but the soul in purgatory is conscious of the fact that it will one day enjoy the beatific vision. If, then, the sufferings be so terrible, how unjust, how cruel, and how ill-natured are not we to see a fellow-member suffer such dreadful torments and not relieve him when we can do so by our prayers, our alms, our mortifications and penances, and, greatest of all and more than all, by having the most holy sacrifice of the Mass, the sacrifice of Calvary itself, offered up for them! They are still members, the suffering members, of the Church, but are unable to help themselves. Should we, then, be unmindful of them? We may one day be so situated; therefore we should not forget that we will want others to do for us what they now want others to do for them. It is possible to go at once into heaven immediately after death, but in that case our lives should be exemplary indeed. If we committed but one mortal sin in all our life, and died without having obtained forgiveness, we would be lost for all eternity. If the eternal punishment of sin has been remitted, there is yet the temporal left, and that must be endured either here or in purgatory. We should not be unmindful of the sufferings of the elect of God, for they are continually crying out to us, "Oh! pity me. At least you, my friends, have pity on me!" We should do everything in our power to help them, knowing that when relieved from their sufferings they will be intercessors before the throne of mercy for us. And if we want that the term of our imprisonment should be short, we will so order our lives that the justice of God will not require much satisfaction.—*N. Y. Tablet, Nov.* 10.

THE LEAGUERS.

BY REV. HUNTINGTON LYMAN.

There is something of admirable manliness in the frankness of the spokesmen of the Liberal League. Nothing, it is true, can be more radical and abominable and anarchical than the sentiments and principles that they send forth. Yet when I see with what unruffled audacity they make their statements and disclose their schemes, right in the face of the Christian sentiment of this Christian nation, I am carried off from my attitude of displeasure, and even reach a sense of something that is pleasing, and, withal, ludicrous. I say to myself, May it not be that the League is actuated by a sense of wrong inflicted or impending? I cannot but hope that a tithe of them, after all, will repent and be saved. Such a result, indeed, cannot enter much into the faith of mere mortals concerning the red-mouthed German atheists who began their catechism under Strauss, and have even improved upon him. Yet that which is beyond faith may be comprehended in the depths of unfathomable grace.

But what I undertook to say is, "Don't be afraid of them." There was a time when I was enlisted in work for the anti-slavery interest. Sometimes I went on, day after day, working with exceeding heaviness and travail; lecturing to few, and meeting eggs and brickbats. No sun of hope shone upon all the dreary scene. Suddenly light sprang up. John C. Calhoun would arise in the Senate and propose some measure so monstrous that it awoke the sleeping Yankees. Then Buchanan and Cass and Hendricks would second the motion with a little reserve. Then I went to bed in peace and laughed all night. I knew that New York and Ohio, even Southern Ohio, could not stand that.

The Liberal League is doing about the same thing. Encourage them. They have a great annual gathering. If it be possible, get them to hold quarterly meetings. They do good every time. Secure, if possible, accommodating fare on the railroads, and (if that be not carrying the thing *too* far) offer them hospitality. Their meetings do good. The last thing to do is to be afraid of them.

Let us consider their composition. While it is true that they can be united in any work of pulling down, it is equally certain that they cannot unite in a single affirmative proposition. The League is a conglomerate very similar to the snow-knolls that the boys make in February. As they roll it about the yard it takes up chips and mud, old combs and buttons, apple-parings and horse-droppings, rags and cigar-stumps. There is no bond in the Liberal League with the exception of this negation: "The Bible is a myth and Christ is a pretender." There is no crowd that so well represents them as that which the great and noble Asnapper brought over after the exile and set in the cities of Samaria, of whom it is said, "The men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak. Every nation made gods of their own." (II. Kings, xvii.) Suppose that the League should try to set up something, no matter how shadowy. Suppose they say, Resolved, that there is a god of some sort, and that there is such a thing as a soul. If they pass it, the German atheists are alienated; if they vote it down, they offend the Jews and the Progressive Friends. Resolved, that the soul is immortal. They cannot pass that. Resolved, that the soul is mortal. They cannot pass that. Poor creatures,—I hope they will arrive at firm ground and be saved; at least here and there one.—*Christian Statesman, Nov.* 8.

COOK ON THE PAINE MEMORIAL.

EDITOR OF THE BOSTON TRAVELLER:—

The Rev. Joseph Cook, in the prelude to his lecture of last Monday, exulted over the sale of the Paine Memorial Hall by the mortgagee, in consequence of the accumulation of demands which the receipts were insufficient to satisfy. This is fair enough from the Orthodox stand-point, and I suppose the infidel sentiment of the community would regard the sale of a church under similar circumstances with feelings not altogether unmixed with complacency. But there is one point which will strike the impartial observer as hardly in accordance with good taste, and certainly in striking contrast with the spirit of early Christianity,—the reference to the comparative poverty of infidels in a sneering fashion, as though it were a disgrace to them! Infidels are poor as a rule—and their infidelity is largely the cause of it,—because even in this age of free opinion, the expression of infidel sentiments in many places means social and business ostracism, and closes the door at once to many avenues of wealth. That it does so is a guarantee of the conscientiousness of men who are willing to make the sacrifice, and it ill becomes one who makes such high-sounding professions of sincerity and earnest conviction to sneer at those whose acceptance of the unpopular side proves their honesty of purpose.

There was another utterance which came with a very ill grace from a member of a class who are by law the favored pensioners on the earnings of their fellow-citizens. When Mr. Cook ridicules the idea of the infidels of Boston being unable to keep Paine Hall, he should remember that among the items of constant expense, as quoted by himself, is $1000 for taxes. By an unjust legal discrimination the churches are exempt from taxation. A yearly tax of $1000 would bankrupt half the churches in Massachusetts, as Mr. Cook very well knows. When the parsons and the churches have the common honesty to pay for the privileges they enjoy at the hands of the State and municipal governments, it will be time for them to ridicule the failure of infidels to support their organizations. Mr. Cook frequently disavows the title of "Rev." He probably is not so eager to decline the exemption privileges attaching to the ministerial status. Did he pay taxes while in pastoral charge at Lynn? and does he pay them now on the receipts from his lectureship?

With regard to his slander on the dead I say nothing. When he has the courage to venture out of his "coward's castle" in Tremont Temple and meet in fair debate Ingersoll, Underwood, or some other infidel champion, his rehash of the lies a thousand times refuted may be worth some consideration. But he dare not do it for the life of him. P. T.

BOSTON, Nov. 8, 1877.

COOK ON BIOLOGY.

Of Joseph Cook's *Boston Monday Lectures* on biology (James R. Osgood & Co.) very little can be cleverly said, although they have attracted much popular attention; first, because they are rather metaphysical dissertations than scientific discourses; and, secondly, because they add nothing to the current literature of attempts to bring theology and science into harmony with each other. But they may be conveniently used to point a moral to just such personages as Mr. Cook, who, without adequate training in the methods and culture of science, assume, with a dogmatism in ratio to their ignorance, to expound problems they have not investigated; for no book has probably been issued within the last ten years—so prolific in religio-scientific literature—which can be described as more decidedly and amusingly boyish than this dogmatic and pretentious volume. One of the points that Mr. Cook labors to establish is that of a life-force preceding and determining organization; and, having done so to his own satisfaction, he prescribed a course of scientific reading which may, perhaps, serve as a proverb to scientific men for the want of discrimination common to dabblers in biological studies. And the best of it is that, with the manner of a master, he tells his audience that he has found such and such volumes correct, quotes Carlyle as an authority in biology, indorses the disputed views of Lionel S. Beale, and adduces Ferrier's *Functions of the Brain* as conclusive evidence upon the very points where the book is most inconclusive. Indeed, not the whole range of literature can furnish a finer instance of unintentional burlesque than is furnished in our author's extraordinary dissertation on nervous and cerebral physiology. There is, in the judgment of the best masters, just a *soupçon* of quackery about Beale and Ferrier, which renders it a little unsafe to quote either upon disputed points. However, perhaps Mr. Cook knows more of microscopy and experimental physiology than he has thought best to divulge in this series of discourses, and Dalton and Draper may possibly have to thank him for an immortality in the literature of their science. The moral is that science is a species of culture as well as a method of inquiry, and that its processes and spirit are not to be appreciated by special pleaders for doctrines such as Mr. Cook advocates.—*N. Y. Library Table.*

Poetry.

[For THE INDEX.]

FAITH.

A waif on time's resistless tide,
And waft me how and where it may,
I heed not aught mischance may hide
To meet me in the coming day;
For I must deem the Master's mind
Shapes out my course, to me so dim,—
To me so dim, to him defined;
I am but weak and trust in him.

As when my thoughts the shallows o'er
Skim'd but the glit'ring face of things,
So now, when mind's maturer power
Draws from the depths of deeper springs;
For wisdom humbled bendeth low,
As more it learns of what is dim,
It is but little I can know,
So weak am I; I trust in him. A. O.

BROOKLYN, Nov. 16.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—*Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.*

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 15.

Edmund Hudson, $1.00; Jas. H. Hulburt, $3.25; J. M. Douglas, $3.20; Mrs. C. A. Tucker, 25 cents; Mary N. Adams, $3.20; Clark & Co., $21.89; Cash, 50 cents; Daniel Johnson, $1.75; Mrs. Phebe A. Palmer, $6.25; Judge K. W. Frazer, $3.20; Dr. John Green, $3.00; D. J. Cater, 50 cents; W. E. Lukens, $3.20; John Keppler, $3.00; Elizur Wright, 55 cents; A. H. Bolte & Co., $2.70; Chas. T. Fowler, $3.20; Jas. McArthur, $6.40; S. S. Zeigler, $3.00; D. B. Allen, $3.00; H. N. Winslow, $3.20; Geo. Muller, $1.50; Louise M. Thurston, $3.20; L. K. Washburn, $3.20; Dr. M. Samfield, $3.20; Lizzie Ramsdale, $1.50; Dr. L. P. Babb, 50 cents; G. W. McKenzie, 80 cents; G. P. Putnam's Sons, $4.16; Jerry Brockway, $6.25; Chas. H. Lunt, $3.20; H. F. Kellogg, 80 cents.

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The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 20, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FENT, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognizes no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

The transition from Christianity to Free Religion, through which the civilized world is now passing, but which it very little understands, is even more momentous in itself and in its consequences than the great transition of the Roman Empire from Paganism to Christianity. THE INDEX aims to make the character of this vast change intelligible in at least its leading features, and offers an opportunity for discussions on this subject which find no fitting place in other papers.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, ... *Editor.*
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, *Editorial Contributors.*

A CARD.

The Committee on the better establishment of THE INDEX, appointed at a meeting of its subscribers and friends last May, wish to enlist all the assistance they can to lay its claims before every liberal man and woman in our country. They have prepared a circular setting forth the method, motives, and objects of their action, and wish the names of all who are willing to assist them in placing it where it will do good. Please address the Chairman of the Committee, "Elizur Wright, P. O. Box 109, Boston, Mass."

ANNOUNCEMENT: CLUB TERMS.

Until January 1, 1879, THE INDEX will be sent for a year to clubs of five or more NEW SUBSCRIBERS on receipt of $2.20 each, in advance, instead of $3.20, the regular cost of subscription. This is an excellent chance for all our friends to join in a vigorous effort to increase the circulation of the most earnestly radical journal in the United States, and thereby to advance the common cause. It is only just to show due public appreciation of the efforts of its friends, and we shall therefore (unless explicitly requested to the contrary) publish the names of all who send us clubs under the arrangement, with the number of new subscribers obtained by each. Shall there not be a little generous emulation to help forward the struggling cause of religious freedom?

F. E. ABBOT, *Editor.*

PREMIUMS FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

The following premiums for NEW SUBSCRIBERS to THE INDEX are offered with the hope that its sincere co-laborers will vigorously aid in increasing its circulation among their personal friends. To receive these premiums, $3.20 must be remitted in advance with each name sent in. Please read the list carefully, and see if you cannot afford to earn one or more of the works here offered by a little labor in a good cause.

For One New Subscriber.

Either a complete set of Index Tracts; a bound copy of the Report of the "Centennial Congress of Liberals" at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876; any three Reports of the "Annual Meetings of the Free Religious Association" since 1871; or any obtainable book not costing over $1.

For Two New Subscribers.

Either a set of photographs of "leading INDEX writers"; a copy of Ingersoll's *Lectures;* a copy of *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion*—a collection of Essays and Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, W. J. Potter, John Weiss, T. W. Higginson, F. E. Abbot, and others; Darwin's *Origin of Species;* Draper's *Conflict between Religion and Science;* Huxley's *Lay Sermons;* a bound copy of THE INDEX for 1871 or 1872; or any obtainable book not costing over $2.

For Three New Subscribers.

Either Longfellow's or Bryant's complete *Poetical Works* (illustrated); Darwin's *Descent of Man;* Tyndall's *Fragments of Science;* Lewes' *Physical Basis of Mind;* Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England;* Shakspeare's *Complete Works;* or any obtainable book not costing over $3.

For Five New Subscribers.

Either Pierce's *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner;* Emerson's *Prose Works;* Buckle's *History of Civilization;* Spencer's *Psychology;* Humboldt's *Cosmos;* Fiske's *Cosmic Philosophy;* or any other obtainable book costing not over $5.

For Ten New Subscribers.

Either Webster's or Worcester's *Dictionary* (unabridged); Longfellow's *Complete Works* (300 illustrations, full gilt); either Dickens' or Waverley Novels, complete in six volumes, and illustrated; or any other book or books not costing over $12.

FREEDOM THE FRIEND OF PURITY.

It is incumbent upon us to say some further and very plain words on a subject which is repugnant in the last degree to every healthy mind—the subject of "obscene literature." A great danger threatens the liberal cause at this moment, which can only be averted by calling the attention of liberals themselves to certain facts which, it is safe to assume, are not fully known to the general public; and, much as we should prefer to write on more congenial topics, we should fail to discharge a grave duty if we forbore to speak in season on this.

What is the danger to the liberal cause to which we allude?

Briefly, this is the danger. By an abuse of existing United States statutes, D. M. Bennett, of New York, and E. H. Heywood, of Boston, have been arrested for circulating "obscene literature" by Anthony Comstock, special agent of the Post-Office Department—the charge in the former case including also "blasphemy" as well as "obscenity." We say "abuse" of the statutes, because these were doubtless intended to be applicable only to literature which is primarily designed to deprave and corrupt, and not to any and all publications in which incidental obscene expressions may possibly be discovered by mousing and malicious informers; and because, on any other construction of the statutes, nine-tenths of the greatest literary monuments of all ages could easily be suppressed, including the Bible first of all! Now the danger is that, in natural and just resentment against these tyrannical prosecutions, the liberals as a class may be unwarily drawn into taking an absolutely suicidal position before the public, by protesting not only against the existing statutes (which need to be jealously revised in the interest of freedom of the press), but also against all laws on the subject of "obscene literature."

What would be the result if any large number of liberals should take such a position as that? Simply that they would fall into one of the most cunningly laid traps ever set. The enemies of freethought desire nothing so much as to persuade the public that *free thought tends to immorality;* that it tends to destroy all social and legal protections of public virtue; that it tends to ally itself with all overt or covert attacks on morality as such. If the effect of these wretched prosecutions should be to inveigle the liberals as a class, or even in any great number, into a thoughtless public declaration that they are *opposed to all laws against "obscene literature,"* then Anthony Comstock and his backers will rub their hands in irrepressible glee. They will have succeeded beyond their wildest hopes in striking a deadly blow at free thought, for they will have decoyed free thinkers themselves into striking this blow with their own misguided hands. Let all liberals who are ambitious to enroll themselves under the leadership of Anthony Comstock, to do exactly what the Young Men's Christian Association most eagerly long to have them do, and to fall blindly into the fatal pit dug for them by the craft of Protestant Jesuitism,—let all such, we say, make haste to demand the repeal of all laws against the circulation of "obscene literature." In no other way can they gratify this ambition so speedily or so well.

The real truth is (and it vitally concerns all liberals to be well informed at this time), Anthony Comstock has done a great deal of dirty but most necessary work. Let us do justice to him and to those who have put him in the post whose dangerously ample powers he has certainly abused. It would be as sagacious to make an indiscriminate outcry against the public scavengers as against Comstock and his crew; sensible citizens would hold their noses, pass as quickly as possible, and cheerfully pay the bill for his useful services, provided he adhered strictly to the justifiable exercise of his powers. It is his flagrant *abuse of power* that ought, and alone ought, to call forth now the indignation of all lovers of freedom; to protest against the legitimate part of his work will have the certain effect, not to excite public detestation of Comstock's oppressive bigotry, but, as a consequence of their own folly, to overwhelm the protestants themselves with an avalanche of public suspicion, if not of public condemnation. Do the liberals, as a part of the community, deliberately intend to come forward before the public as apologists for all the vileness which Comstock has been engaged in carting out of society? Do they deliberately intend to declare that they approve the proposal to leave all this filth where it is, to breed a pestilence at last? Not at all! Whoever hopes that they can be induced, coaxed, or decoyed into any such position as that, even by way of protest against unjust prosecutions, commits a terrible blunder. There is a necessity of protecting society from certain crimes prohibited by the statutes under which Comstock is acting: the wrong consists in the fact that these statutes are too vague, indiscriminating, and sweeping, and are therefore liable to be perverted into instruments of oppression. That all our readers may understand the nature of those offences against the public which, being enormously facilitated by the United States mails, ought to be suppressed by United States legislation, we quote from the Boston *Journal* of March 22, 1877, the report of a speech made by Comstock on the preceding day in this city, simply premising that of course we cannot personally vouch for the facts he affirms:—

Mr. Comstock said that it would be necessary to recapitulate some of the facts presented at a former meeting, and he proceeded to show what the evil is, how it is carried on, and the extent of the trade in obscene literature. This consisted, first, of books and pictures of the vilest description; second, of articles of self-abuse; third, of articles to prevent conception; fourth, of articles to aid seduction, and fifth, to produce abortion. It might be said: "Surely this business cannot thrive in this country"; but it did thrive. There was a system of traffic in this debasing literature which jeopardized the sanctity of the best homes in the land, and this was known to the speaker from an experience of five years. This soul-destroying literature is introduced into schools, first by the second-hand dealers on the streets and in by-places; and second, by obtaining the names of boys and girls and forwarding them books, photographs, and articles which not only debauch the minds but ruin the souls of the recipients. One man sends out a circular representing that he is about to publish a directory of all the scholars in the United States, and promising to pay five cents apiece for the names of the boys and girls in the immediate circle of the party to whom the circular is sent. A second method of obtaining names is to send for catalogues of schools and seminaries, and to all these are sent in one form of deception or another advertisements of the vilest publications.

As agent of the New York Society for the Prevention of Vice, Mr. Comstock found in the possession of one man whom he arrested a large pile of catalogues of the best seminaries of learning in the land. In the stock of one party surrendered to the agent was found sixty-three thousand post-office addresses; and of another he seized fifty thousand circulars addressed and ready to be despatched to the youth of both sexes throughout the country. The dealers in the various articles mentioned sell these names one to another at the rate of from $10 to $25 per thousand. After orders have been received from the boys and girls for books or photographs their names are worth from $10 to $25 per dozen to the dealer in other articles and the abortionist. Advertisements in daily papers, in sporting, and even religious papers, convey information to the young of the most infamous character. A "musical album" is published for fifty cents, which a fond parent as a surprise to his boy orders to be sent to his address. In that book he finds a slip of paper containing a list of the obscene publications, and the advice that "should you choose to order any of the above, you will deduct the fifty cents paid for the 'album.'" Advertisements of games and puzzles are among the means employed to introduce this offensive literature into families and schools. Mr. Comstock sent for some of these, and in return he received a catalogue of vile publications. He had caught more men engaged in this nefarious traffic through their advertisements in a literary paper published in Boston than by any other means. An advertisement running thus, "Girls—secret—How to gain the Love of Any Man," was among those enumerated; and the dealers in this poisonous matter do not scruple to send it to little girls, to say nothing of boys. A vile woman in Des Moines, Iowa, who was arrested, and her trade broken up, had letters from girls in the best families and the best schools throughout the country.

The past year had yielded more evidence of this terrible evil in the highest institutions for the education of the young than any previous year. The sickening fact has come to light that ten or twelve of the best academies in New York City have been debauched by a French professor, who has occupied the position of teacher for ten years. This wretch had a large satchel filled with obscene books, pictures, and other articles, which he had exhibited to his pupils in private. The sons of leading clergymen, lawyers, and merchants in New York and Brooklyn had become the victims of this libidinous Frenchman. A book of the vilest description was found in the possession of a pupil in the Washington Avenue School, Brooklyn, whose father was a Sabbath-school superintendent, which book had been loaned to and read by ten or twelve other boys in the same school, and for two years had been on its mission of debauchery among the youth of Brooklyn, Harlem, and New Lebanon. The boys carried it home and read it in their chambers when their parents thought they were asleep. One of its victims will soon be in an insane asylum or in his grave; but, as an evidence of the progress of this reform it was stated that the price of that book when first published was ten dollars and a half; now the price is seven dollars and a half.

During the five years' existence of the society over twenty tons of obscene matter have been destroyed. Of this amount over seven tons were in stereotyped plates, sixteen hundred negatives of obscene photographs, three hundred and fifty steel plates, for illustrating obscene books, five hundred and thirty woodcuts for the same purpose, and eight tons of bound

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books ready for the market. By multiplying that one book found in the Washington Avenue Grammar School, in Brooklyn, by the eight tons of obscene literature destroyed, some idea of the extent of this alarming evil can be obtained. Through the medium of the United States mail, newspapers, and expresses, there are ample means for men to extend the business, and reach every home and school in the land. There is not a home or school in the country safe from this contagion. If, said Mr. Comstock, our country is to be anything in the future, we must have pure men and pure women, and in order to secure these we must preserve the purity of the young. In conclusion, Mr. Comstock asked the hearty coöperation of all patriots and parents in this important work, which was a national work, to be carried on in all parts of the country.

He appealed to his hearers as Christian men and women to lend their moral influence to this cause. Since the organization of the society nine-tenths of the obscene literature published in this country had been destroyed. He had the names of between five and six thousand dealers, but their business had been greatly curtailed, owning to their inability to obtain the publications. Of the parties arrested, two hundred and fifty have been convicted and sentenced to the prisons from ten days to ten years. Last year not a dozen obscene books were published, but the photograph business greatly increased. Several popular publications having extensive circulation among the youth of New England were named as containing some exceedingly offensive matter in the form of advertisements.

Now such facts as these will make it clear to all right-minded citizens, no matter what their religious opinions may be, that the United States mails ought not to be made the instrument of these vile conspiracies against the purity of the young and inexperienced. It is right and necessary that the statutes of the United States should make it a penal offence to use the mails for such infamous purposes; and we believe that no man in his senses will venture to tell the public explicitly that he is in favor of abolishing all legal restrictions of such a use of them. Inasmuch as the separate States have no power to meddle with the mails at all, whatever restrictions are imposed must be by United States authority; and for this reason we hold that the law against the circulation of "obscene literature" ought not to be repealed, but simply revised and reformed so as no longer to be available for petty persecution for opinion's sake. We hold that innocent children ought to be efficiently protected against the human fiends above depicted; that, since they are defenceless by reason of their very innocence and immaturity, it is the duty of society to protect them; and that whoever attempts to persuade the community that this is not a social duty will knock his head against a stone wall, and find the wall much the harder of the two.

What we have said above has been called out by the fact that the following petition is now in circulation, and that efforts are making to obtain a large number of signatures to it:—

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:

The Petition of the Undersigned, Citizens of the United States, residing at and near ——, respectfully shows:—

1. That they are loyal and devoted supporters of the Constitution of the United States and of the republican form of government, and that they are so principally from the conviction that under them personal liberty, freedom of conscience, of the press, and of the expression of opinion, together with equality before the law and the departments of government, had been for the first time substantially secured among men: and your petitioners rejoiced in the belief that the rights thus guaranteed had in our own country forever abrogated every form of political, moral, and religious persecution and inquisition.

2. That without the knowledge of your petitioners, and, as they believe, without the knowledge of any great number of the citizens of the United States, certain Acts were procured to be passed by Congress in 1873 (since incorporated into the U. S. Revised Statutes, as §§1785, 3878, 3893, 5389, 2491), for the ostensible purpose of suppressing "obscene literature," etc., which reversed the policy and practice of our government since its foundation.

3. That in the belief of your petitioners the government of the United States was established under the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution for the more general purposes of government only, and for the protection, and not for the limitation, of the rights aforesaid. That to that end, *i. e.*, "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," Congress was prohibited from making laws affecting religion or consciences, or "*abridging the freedom of the press, or of speech*," or the right of petition; and the people were "*to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects*," etc. That the true construction and meaning of these great charters of liberty were declared by their authors, the founders of our government, to be, that all persons were, and of right ought to be, equal in their protection and privileges before the law, the courts, and all the departments of the government, without discrimination or question as to their social, moral, political, or religious character. That the statutes aforesaid are, in the opinion of your petitioners, plain violations of the letter and spirit of these fundamental principles of our government; and that they are capable of, and are, in fact, being used for the purposes of moral and religious persecution, whereby the dearest and most precious rights of the people are being grievously violated under the forms of legal inquisition, fines, forfeiture, and imprisonment.

4. And your petitioners further show, that they are convinced that all attempts of civil government, whether State or National, to enforce or to favor particular religious, social, moral, or medical opinions, or schools of thought or practice, are not only unconstitutional, but ill-advised, contrary to the spirit and progress of our age, and almost certain in the end to defeat any beneficial objects intended. That mental, moral, and physical health and safety are better secured and preserved by virtue resting upon liberty and knowledge, than upon ignorance enforced by governmental supervision. That even error may be safely left free, where truth is free to combat it. That the greatest danger to a republic is the insidious repression of the liberties of the people. That whenever publications, pictures, articles, acts, or exhibitions, directly tending to produce crime or pauperism, are wantonly exposed to the public, or obtruded upon individuals, the several States and Territories have provided, or may be safely left to provide, suitable remedies.

Wherefore your petitioners pray that the Statutes aforesaid may be repealed, or materially modified, so that they cannot be used to abridge the freedom of the press or of conscience, or to destroy the liberty and equality of the people before the law and departments of the government, on account of any religious, moral, political, medical, or commercial grounds or pretexts whatsoever.

And your petitioners will ever pray, etc., etc., etc.

While there is very much that is true and indisputable in the above petition, we must point out that it recommends leaving all legislation against "obscene literature," etc., solely to the separate States and Territories; which, since the States cannot meddle with the mails, is equivalent to recommending that there be no such legislation at all. Although the petition concludes with the prayer that "the statutes aforesaid may be repealed, or materially modified," the preceding recommendation of State and Territorial action *alone* will be construed as showing that the real purpose of the petitioners is to get rid of all legislation adverse to the hideous crimes against childhood perpetrated by the vendors of the sickening stuff now justly excluded from the mails. Everybody who signs the petition ought to know the character and consequences of his own act; and that is why we speak plainly and at once.

What will be the effect of this petition, if numerously signed?

1. It must be to create the impression that the signers are totally indifferent to the real evils at which these statutes were aimed; and this impression will be most unfortunate. Especially if the signers are supposed to represent the great liberal party of the country, the inference will certainly be drawn, and pressed upon public notice by the Orthodox party, that liberalism is proved to be in full sympathy with the nefarious business already referred to. Could anything be more certain to array against liberal ideas in religion the whole force of the moral sentiment of the country? Could anything more powerfully help the vilifiers of free thought in their attempt to convince the public that "infidelity" and immorality are inseparable? Could anything be a more staggering blow to the cause of liberal principles than the prevalence of such a woful misconception of their practical tendencies? Can those who believe and teach that liberalism is the seed of a higher social morality afford to go before the world as the champions of "obscene literature" *properly so called*? If so, they go alone; we go not with them.

2. The effect of the petition now circulating can only work disaster to the defence of Messrs. Bennett and Heywood; for it seems to proceed on the assumption that their cause is identical with that of the vile persons engaged in the moral destruction of the young, and that the former cannot be defended except by releasing the latter also from all penalty. Nothing could put their case in a worse light than to permit this opinion to prevail. If these defendants consent to make common cause with the villains who deal out poison for little boys and girls, their ruin is assured. Their only hope is to prove that they have nothing in common with such wretches—that it is a wicked persecution to misrepresent them as coming under the same category. This we believe, and that is why we have already spoken strongly in their behalf; but if we should be driven to consider their case as really identical with that of the disseminators of "obscene literature" in the proper sense of those words, our mouth would be shut. Nothing could be more unfortunate for these defendants, we think, than to create the opinion that they are condemned by the existing statutes, *when justly interpreted*; and yet this is precisely the opinion that would be created by any attempt of theirs to repeal these statutes altogether as a part of their defence. Let them boldly plead that they are untouched by the true intent of these very statutes, since they have never dealt in the "obscene literature" therein proscribed; for if they cannot make this evident to the courts, their case is already lost.

For these two reasons chiefly—that it tends to the injury of the liberal cause and to the injury of the two defendants now threatened with unjust penalties—we deeply regret the issuing of the above petition, should decline to sign it, and must dissuade others from signing it. Another and different petition might be circulated with great propriety now, in which it should be urged—

1. That the statutory phrase "obscene literature" should be strictly confined to publications designed expressly to demoralize, pollute, and corrupt, by ministering to lewd passions for the sake of profit to the publishers; and that it should not be construed to include any publications not so designed, even if they do contain incidental expressions liable to be adjudged obscene by an unprejudiced moral judgment.

2. That, if the phrase "obscene literature" is to cover and condemn all publications containing incidental expressions of an obscene character, the Bible should not be exempted from the effect of this sweeping condemnation, but included in the same prohibition which is to suppress Shakspeare, Milton, Homer, Dante, Goethe, and almost all the greatest heirlooms of human genius.

3. That Anthony Comstock, having been proved unfit to exercise the great powers of his present appointment by manifest abuse of them to purposes of bigoted persecution for opinion's sake, ought to be summarily dismissed; and that the possibility of any similar abuses of authority in the future ought to be effectually guarded against by strict and precise legislative provisions.

This article is already too long, but we must add some extracts from a private letter recently received from a distinguished physician in New York city:—

"I have just read with much interest your article under the head of 'Obscene Literature' in your issue of the 6th inst. It is good. I agree with every word of it. . . . Sometime ago I wrote either to you or to THE INDEX that I believed Mr. Comstock was gradually feeling his way, and determining how much power he had, preparatory to seizing first upon the *Truth Seeker*, next upon THE INDEX, after that the *Investigator*, until he should finally attempt to suppress the circulation through the mails of the works of Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, Huxley, etc. If I did not write this letter to you, I certainly did to somebody, and I was consequently not at all surprised to see the announcement of Mr. Bennett's arrest. . . . If my entire prediction should be fulfilled, I should not call myself a prophet, for it seems to me the blindest man in the universe can clearly trace in the signs of the times just what I have foreshadowed. Mr. Comstock and those who are behind him need only to be successful in each successive step to undertake to do the work which my suspicions have assigned to him."

We shall certainly await our turn with equanimity, knowing that there has not been a single expression of ours on which the Comstock tribe can fasten, and that "in that contest there will be blows to take as well as blows to give." Meanwhile let what little influence belongs to us be dedicated to the endeavor to keep liberalism on so high and pure a plane that even its enemies shall be compelled to respect it. With this end in view, we hope to prevent the making of a grave practical mistake in this matter of petitioning through inattention to important elements of the present situation, and to make patent to the world what is clear to every genuine liberal—that Freedom is the best friend of Purity.

THEOLOGICAL SURVIVAL.

It is frequently asserted, and asserted with truth, that the creeds of the Evangelical churches are rapidly changing in accordance with the more liberal religious spirit of the age,—that, even if the written creeds remain the same, they are interpreted differently, and that the pulpit to-day seldom gives utterance to the severer features of the Orthodox theology which were so much emphasized a century ago. Of this doctrinal progress, indeed, there are many evidences. Among the latest was the vote of six members of an Orthodox Congregational Council in Springfield, Mass., to install Rev. Mr. Merriam as pastor of one of the churches there, notwithstanding his explicit statement that he did not believe that the Bible teaches the doctrine of eternal punishment.

Yet there are still survivals of the old dogmas which have been so offensive to liberal religious thought, and they appear in places of influence and culture more often than liberal believers are apt to

suppose. It shews great progress in Orthodox Congregationalism, it is true, that six members of a council of fourteen should be in favor of setting a man as minister notwithstanding a plain confession of heresy on the doctrine of future punishment. But, on the other hand, eight of the same Council voted that the candidate ought not to be installed, and he was not; though they affirmed their belief in his "Christian sincerity and devotional piety," and the extent of his heresy simply was, that, the Bible neither teaching nor denying eternal punishment, he should in his pulpit ministrations feel it his duty to leave it the same open question,—though in private, if occasion called for it, he might give his philosophical opinion that annihilation would be the destiny of the incorrigibly wicked. While we remember, therefore, the liberal position of the six, and rejoice in it as a hopeful augury, we ought not to forget that, with the eight who gave the decision of the Council, to believe squarely in eternal punishment is more important to a minister than the possession of the qualities of "Christian sincerity and devotional piety." Here is a survival of the old power of dogmatism.

But a much more fossil survival than this has recently been brought to my notice. It is often said, and it is claimed by Orthodox believers themselves, that the descriptions of the future torments of the damned that were common in Evangelical pulpits, two or three generations ago, are to-day obsolete and would be nowhere tolerated. Now I have before me, as I write, a freshly printed tract which contains the famous sermon of Dr. Jonathan Edwards, entitled, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." The tract bears the imprint of the "Presbyterian Board of Publication," Philadelphia. It is without date, but it has every appearance of having been printed in recent times and for modern distribution as a missionary publication: and it is, I understand, one of the tracts regularly distributed by the Presbyterian Board. Probably, not very many of the readers of THE INDEX have had the opportunity of seeing this tract. Let me quote, therefore, a few of the choicest paragraphs, to show a specimen of the theology which the Philadelphia Presbyterian Publishing House considers vital enough to issue to-day for missionary purposes.

The sermon opens with this statement:—

"There is nothing that keeps wicked men at any one moment out of hell, but the mere pleasure of God. By the mere pleasure of God, I mean his sovereign pleasure, his arbitrary will, restrained by no obligation, hindered by no manner of difficulty, any more than if nothing else but God's mere will had, in the least degree, or in any respect whatsoever, any hand in the preservation of wicked men one moment."

In the body of the sermon it is said:—

"The pit is prepared, the fire is made ready, the furnace is now hot, ready to receive the wicked; the flames do now rage and glow. The glittering sword is whetted and held over them, and the pit hath opened its mouth under them." .... "The greater part of those who heretofore have lived under the same means of grace, and are now dead, are undoubtedly gone to hell."

In the "application" the preacher said to the "unconverted," and the Presbyterian Board of Publication repeats it to-day:—

"The bow of God's wrath is bent, and the arrow made ready on the string; and justice directs the arrow to your heart, and strains the bow, and it is nothing but the mere pleasure of God, and that of an angry God, without any promise or obligation at all, that keeps the arrow one moment from being made drunk with your blood."

"The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much in the same way as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect, over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked; his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight; you are ten thousand times more abominable in his eyes than the most hateful venomous serpent is in ours. . . . You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it, and burn it asunder."

That the impenitent wicked have no hope is made to appear by the following paraphrase of a passage of Isaiah:—

"If you cry to God to pity you, he will be so far from pitying you in your doleful case, or showing you the least regard or favor, that, instead of that, he will only tread you under foot: and though he will know that you cannot bear the weight of Omnipotence treading upon you, yet he will not regard that, but he will crush you under his feet without mercy; he will crush out your blood and make it fly, and it shall be sprinkled on his garments, so as to stain all his raiment. He will not only hate you, but he will have you in the utmost contempt; no place shall be thought fit for you but under his feet, to be trodden down as the mire of the streets."

Dr. Russell, of Texas, as recently reported in THE INDEX, was barbarously whipped a short time ago by some of the over-zealous Christians of his neighborhood for what they deemed his "infidel blasphemy"; and occasionally we hear of freethinkers being legally prosecuted or punished for "blasphemy." When will Orthodox Christians learn that the language quoted above, however it might have been when first uttered, is "blasphemy" to-day to hundreds of thousands of earnest religious people, and is as shocking to the natural reverence and conscience of a large class of worthy citizens as any utterance of an "infidel" or even ribaldry of the street can be to a strict Orthodox believer? And when will the ecclesiastical powers learn that this natural reverence and conscience of so many worthy citizens has as much right and as much need to be protected by law against the publication of the sentiments of this tract, as the Evangelical believer has to the protection of his sacredly cherished beliefs against the blasphemous utterances, as he deems them, of the freethinker?

W. J. P.

Communications.

"COMMON-SENSE vs. COMMUNISM."

NEW YORK, Dec. 12, 1877.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Permit me to play off one writer ("A. W. S.") against another ("A. W. K.") in THE INDEX of Dec. 6. The former, reviewing Mr. Edger, says:—

"The motto with which the writer prefaces his paper is pregnant with needful counsel to all who enter the arena of controversy. It is from Richard Congreve: 'Human questions need for their effectual study to be regarded from all points of view, and from all points of view simultaneously.' In other words, he who fails to understand and appreciate his opponent's position cannot be supposed to understand his own, and might better lay down his pen."

Your new editorial contributor, ushered to his promotion, too, with such a flattering editorial "send-off," does not seem to hold himself amenable to that wholesome rule. "Force, clearness, good taste, and courtesy" is a good deal to say of a writer who accompanies the commendation with a specimen of his wares, so that readers can judge for themselves. As his very first line opens with a fling at "rabid reformers" (impliedly communists, since he is treating of communism), it will fortunately be no difficult task to "excel" him in "courtesy."

Now let's try him on another of the quartette of qualities. He says, "History only repeats itself, in a different way." Now a perspicuous writer would have said, "History repeats itself, only in a different way"; otherwise his readers might get the idea that that is all that history does; but your editorial contributor, being only a "clear" writer, perhaps his way of stating it is passable enough. But he goes on to say that "the analogical method and inductive philosophy alike forbid us to believe that future ages can do more than perfect the present system which the experience of past generations has proven to be the best for humanity at large." The same could have been said of feudalism in the seventeenth century and of slavery in this; and yet the "perfecting" which future ages gave to these relations between labor and capital proved to be the bursting of them up in the cataclysms of war and revolution,—and only so late as the last summer, we saw a little more of that same "perfecting" of the most modern "standard adopted as the *minimum* measure of comfort to be tolerated by the average working-man."

Again, your editorial contributor says, with that clearness of which he is so perfect a master: "The whole idea of the commune is founded upon a false assumption, inasmuch as it presupposes that men are *unselfish*, and willing to work as hard for their race, as a whole, as for themselves and their wives and families. Such is certainly *not* the case; nor is there the slightest reason for believing it ever will be."

Now in all other parts of his article, your editorial contributor treats of "communism" and "community"; but here, in order, I suppose, to be extra-lucid and clear, he changes to the word "commune," which has a different meaning. However, I *guess* he means communism; and, if he does, I deny that "the whole idea of 'communism' presupposes that men are *unselfish*." I have been a socialist, and a student of communism as one form of socialism, for forty years, and have had the personal acquaintance of many hundreds of communists, and I never knew *one* nor any who "presupposed" or proceeded upon the idea, that "men are unselfish." Common-sense is a common property with communists as with other folks, and they know that an unselfish man would be a piece of putty too worthless to be counted on, in any social organization. They know, in fact, that it is impossible to be unselfish; for that would be to be somebody else and not one's self. They believe the Creator knew what he was about when he made men selfish, and that it was for a wise and good purpose; and they do not propose to alter or amend the Creator's work, but to take it as the Author and Finisher completed it. But communists do believe and "presuppose" that selfishness can be educated, and that evolution and experience will train men to be enlightenedly selfish. For a body of men and women thoroughly trained in the knowledge and careful observance of rights and duties, communism is possible, practicable, and delightful. Communists dwelling and working together in a community, work for themselves and not "for their race, as a whole,"—or no more for their race than other workers do, except that their example is better. Each member of an organized community is a joint owner with the other members; and, in working for the community he gets his share and so works for himself,—feeds himself, clothes himself, houses himself, supplies himself with luxuries; and that is more than ordinary workers do.

Once more your editorial contributor says, "Communism strikes straight at the very root of the family relations." There is a sense in which that is true. If communism strikes at the root, it is only for not pruning, as any careful culturist of a family tree may do, to make a larger, thriftier, happier family. So far, however, from striking at the root in a destructive sense, communism, on the contrary, develops, enlarges, and perfects the family. It is one greater family, with all the good qualities of the single family perfected, and all the bad ones pruned out. Father, mother, children, grandfather, grandmother, brothers, sisters, fathers-in-law, and mothers-in-law can, and usually do, remain together in communities; so that those sad separations of sons going away to far-off business, and brides and daughters to distant and untried homes and husbands, are not necessary in a community. The fact is, compared with such a home, nearly all families, as now planted, have no root to strike at, but are just "drove in" like a stake, ready to pull up, move on, and scatter at the first breath of ill fortune; while there can be no such secure and permanent anchorage as a community of two, three, or more hundred members, with adequate residences, factories, and buildings founded on the firm earth.

"And thus," your editorial contributor continues, "it is nearly always the case that modern communists are found to be free lovers." Why modern any more than ancient? If "history *only* repeats itself," one would suppose the farther you go back the more common property and the more free love you will find. In a tribe of primeval men how much individual property was there for the young baboon clerks to inventory in an account of stock; and how much exclusive devotion of men to women and women to men? But if history does repeat itself, and especially if Mr. Andrews' formula—"the antithetical repetition of the lowest in the highest"—is true, these low forms will reappear in higher,—will become artistically modified, scientized, and perfected in the societies that are developing and preparing for the future.

But as a fact, now, to-day, modern communists are *not* "nearly always found to be free lovers." There are some five thousand people in the United States actually living in communities. Of these the larger branch comprises the Shaker Societies, and it is a misnomer of the most obvious character to call them free lovers. The disciples of Owen were not free lovers. The communities of Rapp, Zoar, and Cabet are not free lovers. Not one of the so-called Fourierist Associations of thirty-five years ago were free lovers; and even the Oneida community, the one example mentioned because some departure from the present Orthodox forms of marriage has been made, are not free lovers. Indeed, by his own terms, your clear editorial contributor contradicts himself and concedes that the Oneida people cannot be free lovers, for he expressly says that "the children there are not *permitted* to know their own parents. A mother must not ask to have the exclusive charge of the babe she has borne into the world." What kind of freedom is there to a love like that? One would suppose that free love would be free, and the lovers would be free to express their love to the objects and the progeny of their love. But the fact is, that children *are* permitted to know their own parents at the Oneida Community; and if a mother *must* not ask for the exclusive care of her babe, it is because her reason would guide her; since, under the admirable conveniences provided in the nursery for the care of children, she could not wish to ask for the exclusive care of her own child. Besides, in society as it is, is it so rare a thing, or so unpardonable a sin, for a mother to ask not to have the exclusive care of her babe? I fear your editorial contributor, when he wrote that, did not regard his statement "from all points of view," and from all points simultaneously.

I visited the Oneida Community a few weeks ago, and I saw children "knowing" or recognizing their own parents, and parents recognizing their children. I was introduced to this young person and that, as the son or daughter of such or such a person; and I saw children, and their parents were named to me. In one instance I was invited into the nursery of the children aged from one and one-half to two and one-half years. A group of some ten of them sat in their little chairs around a table, and two or three nurses were feeding them; and then and there I was asked to point out the grandchild of the lady who introduced me. Indeed I was rather "stumped" to make the selection, guided only by family resemblances. My eye glanced around the little faces, but I failed to satisfy myself enough to decide. Then I began again, taking special note of points; and, on a study of one face, I felt sure that that was the grandchild, and so announced my selection. Then there was a jolly laugh all around at my success. There were older children present, too, and there was no desire or suggestion of concealment of parentage that I saw or heard anywhere. Indeed, any well-informed writer might know that concealment would not be practicable or possible; for it is very generally known that the Community are raising their children according to the best known laws and conditions of breeding; and, to do that successfully, to trace crosses and strains accurately, parentage must be known and pedigree be made a matter of careful record.

Your contributor, in his editorial, writes repeatedly of what will or will never be. I commend to him the advice of Hosea Biglow, of Jalaam, to people

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troubled with tendencies to predict the future: "Don't never prophesy—*unless ye know*."

And now it may be ungracious to haze your Freshman any farther. He must excuse me for indorsing your indorsement so literally, and making manifest the good points named. Quite likely he can turn upon me and convict me of all the literary and logical sins catalogued in the *Index Expurgatorius*; but then, I am only a lay writer and do not come heralded with such great expectations.

THEBON C. LELAND.

RANDOLPH RATIFICATION MEETING.

SALAMANCA, N.Y., Dec. 9, 1877.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I hasten to send you a line by the first mail to say our Randolph meeting was a great success. Those who were there and who were at Rochester expressed the opinion that in many respects it was superior to the Rochester meeting. We had no random talkers. The speakers there were Elder Evans, Mrs. Neymann, Rev. Mr. Sample, and Judge McCormick. Each delivered two addresses. There were three sessions each day, and after the first session the audience filled the hall, which would seat about five hundred persons. Elder Evans outdid himself, and received the praises of everybody; but Rev. Mr. Sample, the young radical preacher, about twenty-two years of age, is a remarkable man. He electrified the audience with his first short speech in the conference meeting, at the first session; and after that he was immensely popular with the audience. He made the best argument for the Liberal League movement I have ever listened to, and received while at the meeting a number of invitations to speak in various places. He is a young Ingersoll, and the American people will hear from him,—*be assured of that*. Never have I heard such eloquence from a man of his age. He is full of knowledge and enthusiasm, and causes every one to love him who sees and listens to him.

You have heard Mrs. Neymann, and know what a fine speaker she is; and it is enough to say her two speeches were in all respects equal to the one she delivered at Rochester. Judge McCormick delivered an ably written address on the question, "Are Matter and Force, Governed by Inherent Law, Sufficient to Create all Things?" He came to the conclusion that they were.

At the first session, which was a conference meeting, the President opened the meeting by reading the Resolutions and Platform adopted at Rochester. This conference, and one held on Sunday morning, constituted the most interesting portion of our meeting. The ten-minute speeches delivered by Hon. J. E. Wheaton, of Randolph, O. G. Chase, of Jamestown, H. Snow, from Massachusetts, and Dr. F. Larkin, of Randolph, were all excellent. Judge Wheaton's was extremely radical, but a very scholarly production. His time was extended to thirty minutes. What added to the interest of the occasion was an original poem in defence of our principles by A. L. Brainard, a young man from Salamanca.

The expenses of the meeting, amounting to nearly one hundred dollars, were paid by the audience, and the best spirit prevailed throughout the meeting. Many regretted the absence of Mr. Bennett and Dr. Brown,—the first kept away by the strong arm of the law, wielded by Comstock; the latter by sickness in his family. From this meeting went hundreds, I believe, convinced that the success of our cause is only a question of time.

The address delivered by Elder Evans, Sunday evening, that kept the audience in a roar of laughter most of the time, is to be published in the Albany *Express*. I hope it may appear in THE INDEX. Surely the Elder is a remarkable man. In private conversation he reminded me of the revered Samuel J. May. He is a lover of humanity.

The following are the resolutions which were presented by the committee, of which Hon. Joseph E. Wheaton, late Judge and member of the Legislature, was chairman, and were unanimously adopted:—

I.

"*Resolved*, That we cordially indorse the political platform of the National Liberal League adopted at Rochester, Oct. 26, 1877; and we urge the Liberals everywhere to organize Local Liberal Leagues in accordance with the doctrines and principles enunciated in the National Liberal Constitution, in order to establish a public opinion which shall be powerful in the maintenance of these doctrines and in disseminating the principles of the Platform connected therewith.

II.

"*Resolved*, That we protest, and we do here most solemnly, sincerely, and firmly protest, against any law, or the enactment of any law, authorizing the arrest and punishment of any person for presenting to the public what such person shall deem essential to the public welfare, when the matters so presented do not violate, in language or idea, the acknowledged rules of decorum; and we demand that all laws against obscenity be so clear, explicit, and well defined, that none but actual offenders can be punished, and that no one can be arrested without probable cause; and that such laws shall in no case be used to arrest, imprison, or persecute individuals for the expression of religious opinions, whatever those opinions may be, nor for expressions in repudiation of any particular religion.

III.

"*Resolved*, That under the laws of the United States there should be no such crime as blasphemy, and that all laws creating or sustaining such a doctrine should be at once repealed.

IV.

"*Resolved*, That the freedom of speech and of the press is one of the fundamental principles of our republic, and that the same should be guarded with the utmost care as being essential to the enjoyment of political and religious liberty."

Mrs. Neymann came from this meeting to my house, and on our arrival we found three letters from different cities of the Union, each from a Liberal German, making inquiries in relation to the Liberal League movement, each indorsing our platform, and conveying the intelligence that the Liberal Germans are much interested in it. These letters I read to my eloquent German lady guest, and they gave her great satisfaction. And I may add that Mrs. Neymann is to speak in Tompkins County on the invitation of Mr. Morton, of Groton, and probably before the Liberal League at Ithaca. She and our eloquent Sample should be kept constantly in the field.

H. L. GREEN.

A TRIUMPH OF JUSTICE:

THE NEW HAVEN SCHOOLS SECULARIZED.

NEW HAVEN, Dec. 8, 1877.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—The work of Liberalism for the public good is becoming more apparent every day. By slow processes liberalism has gained a point in the City of Elms. On Friday evening, Dec. 7, the Board of Education voted, by a vote of six to three, in favor of dispensing with all religious exercises in our public schools. It has been accomplished by honesty of purpose, agitation, and perseverance; or, in the words of Patrick Henry, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Thanks, then, to those honored representatives of the people who in nowise injured the majority, but took a burden from the shoulders of an indignant and helpless minority! At the beginning of the next term of our public schools that canker which divides mankind, that bone of contention, will, I trust, be cast forever into oblivion, notwithstanding we dwell beneath the shadows of Yale College and her superstitious influences which have permeated society for many years past. To-day she witnesses an unwelcome sight: one of the sturdy sons of Yale, and a professor, too, casts his vote for the complete secularization of Church and State.

Who can say we do not live in an age of progress? How long will our sister cities and towns of New England sit in silence before they follow in the steps of New Haven, and join in one solid phalanx for making our schools what our country is, an asylum for the oppressed of all nations and all creeds?

You may ask what has brought about this noble work. Briefly will I answer. Four years ago a few magnanimous men and women established a free platform in New Haven, and for four long years free lectures have been given. Over three hundred free public lectures have been given to the citizens of New Haven; also a Sunday conference was organized. On this platform all sides have been expounded. Truth and science have met "superstition and creeds"; heated discussions have been prevalent; the people have been aroused, and agitation has prevailed.

Our work has been unpopular. We have been stigmatized and persecuted by our Christian brother. We have patiently borne individual chastisement, never meeting our enemies except with courtesy and logical arguments. We have appealed to their honesty, to their manhood, to their patriotism, to make our laws and our schools in harmony with the great Magna Charta of our civil government. We begin to see the fruits of our labor. We believe it to be high, noble, and wise. We feel encouraged. We propose to press upward and onward until the last vestige of bigotry and superstition is purged from all our civil institutions. All glory, then, to the Free Lecture Association! Long may she stand as an emblem of justice and moderation, and on her banner shall be inscribed, "Philanthropy and Universal Liberty." Most respectfully yours,

W. W. STOW.

NEW HAVEN, 87 Bradley Street.

[Warmly congratulating our New Haven friends on their signal success, which we hope is to be permanent, we append an account of the proceedings in the Board of Education, copied from a newspaper extract enclosed by Mr. Stow.—ED.]

The question of the abolition of religious services from the public schools was taken from the table. An amendment prevailed substituting "dispensed with," for "abolished."

Mr. Earle had inquired concerning the schools at Washington, and found that the services there were optional. A gentleman from Plainville, a member of the school board, had told him he was glad to see that the question was being discussed. In Plainville services were had, but the Roman Catholic children remained away and were not marked tardy.

Mr. Tyler reported that he had written to school authorities in Cincinnati, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Toledo, Louisville, St. Louis, and other cities West, to learn the practice in the schools there. He had heard from only a few, and in these generally religious instruction had been abolished.

Mr. Bushnell said he had conversed with clergymen of all denominations, including Rev. Dr. Bacon, Rev. Dr. Carmody, and Rabbi Wechsler, and they believed that some form of religious instruction could be retained to suit all denominations.

Mr. Tyler said that the press, pulpit, and the public had remained apathetic upon a question which it had been prophesied would arouse fierce excitement.

Mr. Bushnell said that the question would create excitement if the services should be abolished.

Mr. Maher inquired what was intended to be put in the place of the present religious exercises.

The president then stated a motion that had been sent up by Mr. Bushnell, which was that the committee be instructed to report a prayer acceptable to all denominations.

Mr. Watrous said that he would like to see such a prayer, for it would be a great curiosity. He believed that no such prayer could be made, and if it could it would not be proper where there was no union of Church and State. He said that such a union had been one of the worst curses of any age. He said that no excitement would be occasioned until the fuse had been lighted. The question was one which touched the public deep down in their hearts, and it should be treated with moderation. It might be well to treat the matter now when the public were apathetic and not by the ears. He alluded to the trouble over the Bible in the public schools of Cincinnati, and this drew out the fact that the Bible had not been used in the New Haven public schools for seventeen years.

General Walker was ready to vote upon the question, and believed the solid sense of the community was with the advocates of the abolition of the services. He thought no one could successfully rouse the people on this point, for it was generally acknowledged that this was not an age of religious proscription.

Mr. Earle said that Superintendent Parish had prepared a programme which contained no religion, for the beginning of school sessions. Its character was not stated.

The vote on Mr. Bushnell's amendment to have some simple form of prayer prepared was in the negative. The two affirmative votes were those of Mr. Bushnell and Major Maher.

The vote was taken on the proposition to dispense with the services and resulted in the affirmative, Messrs. Hemingway, Maher, and Bushnell voting in the negative. The vote was made to take effect next term.

[You observe the statement that the Bible has not been used for seventeen years. They do not call the New Testament Bible! The Testament has been read every morning regularly, and a prayer offered.—W. W. S.]

FOURIER.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I want to say a word to "A. W. K.," and so remind him that "human questions need for their effectual study to be regarded from all points of view, and from all points of view simultaneously," and that there is no error so dangerous as a half-truth. Communism, when put for the whole of social science, is a one-sided and hence untruthful statement; but the tendency to communism, or the unselfish side of human nature, is as essential an element as the tendency to individualism, or the selfish side of human nature.

True social science recognizes all the elements of character; or, as Fourier calls them, all the passions of the human soul; and no societary evolution can be expected to be permanent except on the basis of harmonizing all, by giving each its highest development. In fact, were there no contrasts, discords, and contradictions, there could be no harmony.

A very little acquaintance with the doctrines of that mighty master of social science, Charles Fourier, would have taught your correspondent that Fourier was no communist, and that the idea that "*legislation* is to remake human nature," could never have had the slightest toleration from him or from any of his disciples. On the contrary, Fourier derived his whole theory from a profound study of human nature. He set out with the idea that the business of the human intellect is to discover the laws which govern the individual and social relations of man; and then to provide conditions adapted to human nature as it is, according to those laws.

Brook Farm was not a community, but a joint stock association; and the idea of a community of property was especially and explicitly denied by them; and the Brook farmers would have laughed at the idea that there was any need to "remake human nature," by legislation or otherwise, or any possibility of doing it.

What they tried to do was to evolve conditions better suited to develop human nature to its utmost perfection than the present imperfect and (relative to the ideal) anarchical society. They were before their time; but all real progress must follow on the same line, and will do it more easily for their labors.

It is easy to decry an imaginary Fourier; but he is the great social prophet of the future, nevertheless.

Dec. 9, 1877. F. S. C.

THE RANDOLPH GATHERING.

MT. LEBANON, Dec. 12, 1877.

F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Friend,—I have just returned home from attending the Liberal League Convention at Randolph. We had a "good time generally." Held six meetings. A young man by the name of Sample is a prodigy. He delivered one discourse, in particular, that for matter and manner I have rarely seen equalled. Every position taken was impregnable, the logic faultless, the eloquence of the highest order.

Friend Green is a sterling, stanch reformer. He presided with a firmness and urbanity that commanded our respect and excited our love.

The listeners were fully equal to the speakers. It was a successful and profitable gathering. Land limitation gained some important converts. The subject has only to be investigated, to take its place as next in importance to the citizenship of woman.

1. Men and women citizens.
2. Land limitation.
3. Inalienable homesteads.
4. Government secular. No form of theology.
5. Education, in secular public schools, up to fifteen years of age, of all children in the nation.
6. Taxation and protection, without exemption or evasion, by the government.
7. The general government as universal as supreme.

One of these times I shall give you my reasons for holding that all laws for the forcible collection of debts should be abrogated.

I enclose copy of my Sabbath evening lecture. If you can afford the space in THE INDEX, give it an appearance.

Respectfully and kindly your friend,

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ARTICLE V.—. . . All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.

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LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

ARTICLE XV.—Local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized under charters issued by the Board of Directors shall be absolutely independent in the administration of their own local affairs. The effect of their charters shall be simply to unite them in cordial fellowship and efficient cooperation of the freest kind with the National Liberal League and with other local Leagues. All votes of the Annual Congress, and all communications of the Board of Directors, shall possess no more authority or influence over them than lies in the intrinsic wisdom of the words themselves.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 8. BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1877. WHOLE NO. 418.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

2. We demand that the employmeht of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1876.

Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management.

GLIMPSES.

WILL THOSE SUBSCRIBERS whose term expires at New Year be so good as to save this office the expense and trouble of sending bills by remitting the amount of their subscription without further notice? Their kindness in doing so will be fully appreciated.

THE ADJOURNED meeting of all friends of the Liberal League movement in Boston and vicinity will be held at the Woman's Club Rooms, 4 Park Street, Friday evening, January 4, at 7.30 o'clock. The Committees appointed a fortnight previous will make their reports.

IN COMPLIANCE with the request of Elder Evans, we publish this week his discourse at the late Ratification Meeting at Randolph, N. Y. It will be seen that his reasons for favoring the Liberal League are peculiar; but we have no quarrel with the reasons of any man who is in favor of equal justice to men and women of all beliefs.

B. F. UNDERWOOD was at Lincoln, Neb., Dec. 23, and at Norborne, Mo., Dec. 25 to 30. Engagements follow at Marysville and Pleasant Hill, Mo.; Independence, Kan.; Brighton and Nora Springs, Iowa; Toronto, Lindsay, Meaford, and Owen Sound, Ontario (commencing in Canada, Jan. 20); and Springfield, Riverton, Streator, La Salle, Peru, and Gardner, Ill.

LET NO READER of this journal fail to read the reports of the Liberal League meetings at Ithaca, Milwaukee, and St. Joseph. We rejoice in all such expressions of opinion in favor of the Rochester platform, for their effect can only be to compel public attention to principles of incontestable justice and national importance. May the example of these good Leagues prove contagious!

THE NEW YORK *Sun* of December 2 says: "Many local Liberal Leagues are springing up in all parts of the country, indorsing the platform adopted at Rochester, Oct. 26, by the Liberal League party. At Ithaca, N. Y., one was formed the other day containing eleven professors of Cornell University." The *Sun* then proceeded to publish Mr. Green's notice of the Randolph meeting, as already presented to our readers.

THE FIRST NUMBER of the *Anti-Sceptic*, a new monthly magazine published in this city and devoted to "the impending conflict between Christianity and Infidelity," has been issued. It champions the cause of the Christian Amendment of the Constitution here in Boston, and is edited with ability, although the name of the editor is withheld. Of this new enemy of equal rights in religion we shall have more to say by-and-by.

ATTEMPTS ARE making to reverse the decision of the New Haven Board of Education, dispensing with all religious exercises in the public schools of that city. Petitions are in circulation there, asking for the reconsideration of the vote; and some of the teachers are reported as threatening to resign. It is to be hoped that the Board will not be browbeaten or bullied by public clamor out of a position impregnable in point of justice.

IT WILL be seen that opinions differ as to the question discussed in our last week's editorial. With the utmost cordiality we welcome these expressions of a different view from Mr. Wright and Mr. Tucker. Nevertheless, the opinion we expressed last week is unshaken; and we believe the time is not far distant when the liberals of this country will see abundant cause to be grateful to us for speaking just as we did with clearness and decision on this very subject.

MR. HEYWOOD makes this excellent suggestion: "To second your motion to exclude the Bible from the public schools, I would suggest that Liberalists have inserted in the warrants calling the next town-meetings in their respective localities an article for that purpose. This would secure a full discussion of the question, and hasten the triumph of a movement devoutly favored by the most intelligent people." We hope all our co-laborers will act as far as possible on this admirable hint.

THE RESOLUTIONS adopted by the Milwaukee Liberal League, published in another column, speak of their declaration in favor of woman suffrage as an "addition" to the Rochester platform. This it is not, since the second plank of that platform, accepting as a fact the "citizenship" which already belongs to women by decision of the United States Supreme Court, demands equal political rights for all citizens, and therefore for women. Let us all understand our own platform fully. It may or may not be advisable to specify all the various classes of citizens covered by that comprehensive principle; we think such an enumeration would only cumber it to no purpose; but certainly the enumeration would be no "addition" at all.

THE RUPTURE among the Free Masons of France over the question of a theistic creed threatens to extend itself to all countries in which Free Masonry exists. Says the Boston *Advertiser* of December 22: "The commotion caused among the Free Masons of Europe by the action of the Grand Orient of France, the highest Masonic authority of that country, still continues. The old formula of French Masonry was that—'Free Masonry has for its principle belief in the existence of God, in the immortality of the soul, and in the *solidarité* of man.' This formula, it will be remembered, has been abolished, and the new form only recognizes absolute freedom of conscience and the solidarity of man. Seventy French lodges resented the innovation and withdrew from the central body. The Irish Grand Lodge protested earnestly, and the English Masons, at a recent meeting representing seventeen hundred lodges, appointed a committee to report upon the subject—Lord Carnarvon, Grand Master, condemning the French departure altogether. The London *Spectator*, noticing the incident, and remarking that it reveals the depth of the chasms which are dividing modern society, nevertheless doubts whether the negative action of the Grand Orient is a sufficient ground for disunion."

A WASHINGTON DISPATCH of December 20 shows how persistent and cunning are the enemies of secular government, and how quick they are to seize every occasion of establishing new and dangerous precedents of "Christian government": "The new specimens of silver dollars, of which Senator Jones presented two to President Hayes the other day, are exceedingly perfect and beautiful pieces of workmanship, surpassing in sharpness and finish any coins ever struck, either in this or any other country. Two dollars have been made, each of the same size, and of the weight of 412½ grains, and conforming in device and inscription to legal requirements. The most marked change from the old dollar is the representation of 'Liberty,' which, instead of a sitting figure, is a large, sharply-defined female head, on one of the coins wearing the hair confined in a circlet, on the front of which is the word 'Liberty,' and on the other wearing a loose cap, wreathed with grain and flowers. Both bear the legend 'In God we trust,' one in old, the other in modern, English texts. Upon the other side of the coins is a spread eagle, the motto *E pluribus unum*, the thirteen stars, and the denomination of the coin. The eagles hold arrows and olive branches in their talons, and a wreath of oak and laurel encircles the lower portion of the coin. Only a very small number of the coins have been struck, and these only as specimens, but the demand for them from collectors is very great, ten dollars having been refused to-day for one. It is not certain that should the pending measure for inflating the silver coinage become a law, these designs will be finally approved; but the indications are strongly in that direction."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT;

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.

SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.

SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

WHEN RAPHAEL enjoyed at Rome the reputation of being the mightiest living master of the graphic art, the Bolognese preferred their countryman, Francisco Francia, who had long dwelt among them, and was of eminent talent. The two artists had never met, nor had one seen the works of the other. But a friendly correspondence existed between them. The desire of Francia to see some of the works of Raphael, of whom he ever heard more and more in praise, was extreme; but advanced years prevented him from encountering the fatigues and dangers of a journey to Rome. A circumstance at last occurred that gave him, without this trouble, the opportunity of seeing what he had so long desired. Raphael, having painted a picture of St. Cecilia to be placed in a chapel at Bologna, he wrote to Francia, requesting him to see it put up, and even to correct any defects he might see in it. As soon as Francia took the picture from its case and put it in a proper light for viewing it, he was struck with admiration and wonder, and felt painfully how much he was Raphael's inferior. The picture was, indeed, one of the finest that ever came from Raphael's pencil, but it was only so much more a source of grief to the unhappy Francia. He assisted, as desired, in placing it in the situation for which it was intended, but never after had he a happy hour. In one moment he had seen all that he had ever done, all that had once been so much admired, thrown quite into the shade. He was too old to entertain any hope by renewed efforts of coming up with the excellence of Raphael, or even approaching it. Struck to the heart with grief and despair, he took to his bed, from which he never rose again. He was insensible to all consolation, and in a few days, the victim of a sublime melancholy, he died, in his sixty-eighth year.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Pure vs. Adulterated Christianity.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE CATTARAUGUS COUNTY LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT RANDOLPH, N. Y., DEC. 9. 1877.

BY ELDER F. W. EVANS.

Our highest conception of human virtue is abstract Christianity; first in individuals, then in society.

Paine declared "all religion good that makes good men and women." The Catholic Church and Protestant sects, from the Episcopal to the Quakers, are to be judged by this standard,—by their fruits, characters; not by their creeds and dogmas. Paine again says: "Religion, considered as a duty, is incumbent upon every living soul alike; and, therefore, must be on a level with the understanding and comprehension of all alike." "I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy." We can all accept these utterances.

Paine further says: "That there *was* such a man as Jesus of Nazareth, I verily believe; and that he was the most perfect example of righteousness this world ever saw, I also believe; and if they who profess to be his followers would take more pains to imitate his example, and make less noise about it, it would be infinitely better for the world of mankind."

The parable of Jesus about the two boys whom their father ordered to do his will—one said, I will, but did not; the other said, I will not, but repented and did as commanded—may be applicable to Orthodox Christians, and infidels to Orthodox Christianity.

The Shaker Order claims to be the second Christian Church established upon earth. Its prominent traits are, property in common, celibate lives, plainness in dress, language, and equipage, non-swearing, non-fighting, all laboring with their hands,—believing that, in a community, he who will not work should not eat.

The social evil, poverty, and crime are removed.

Shakers neither vote nor accept office; are a spiritual Church; a practical illustration of separation of Church and State when the new earth and new heaven are created. How far the characteristics of the first Christian or Pentecostal Church are exhibited in the Shaker Order, is open to inquiry.

But what of the intermediate Christian system that fills the hiatus of history between these two churches? Suppose we use the symbolic history of the spiritual medium John, written before the events occurred?

Revelations 6: 1 and 2.—Seven seals: The Lamb opened one of them,—there was a *white* horse. He that sat on him had a bow and a crown; he went forth "conquering and to conquer." White horse: pure Christian system, revelation of Christ spirit to Jesus, who sat on the horse. With his bow he had conquered *himself*, and was crowned as an overcomer of all human lusts, a victorious Christian who entered the spirit world to act as medium of the Christ spirit to his disciples on earth. By it they were led into all truth constituting pure Christianity. They formed the Pentecostal Church, which lasted some three hundred years, having fifteen bishops.

It it well known that celibacy was a foundational principle in that body of organized Christians; that they would not fight when drafted into the Roman armies; that they suffered martyrdom by thousands for such refusal; that they loved one another practically; would take no judicial oaths, nor take any part in governmental affairs of State or nation. They, like the Shakers of to-day, constituted a spiritual order, separate and distinct from the State. Their diet was simple, like the Last Supper, no animal food being used. Diseases not generated by violation of Mosaic laws, but cured by laying-on of hands and prayers. Allopathic doctors, with their poisonous drugs, were as unknown as lawyers and a hireling priesthood. The marriage system to generate human beings and the military system to destroy them, pertain to the children of this world, who marry and fight; not to the children of light, living in the Christ resurrection.

Verses 3 and 4.—Second seal: a *red* horse, denoting blood. To him (Constantine) who sat thereon, power was given to take peace from the earth, and cause human beings, calling themselves Christians, to kill one another, just as all Church and State Christians have done, and just as our God-in-the-Constitution people would do could they get the State sword in their possession. When Constantine was converted, he had a "great sword,"—the civil powers. He united Church and State. He killed many members of his own family, and carried on wars of conversion, baptizing his prisoners by forcing them into rivers by hundreds and thousands.

During the twelve hundred and sixty years' reign of the Beast and his Image—Catholicism and Protestantism,—war, in the form of religious persecution, inside the Church against heretics, and religious wars outside the Church against the Mohammedans and heathen, as the Crusades and the Spaniards in South America, has filled the earth with blood. The Church and State harlot was drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus. She is still thirsting for the blood that the founders of our secular-infidel materialistic government will not let her have to drink.

The more pious persons are, who believe in war, in a union of Church and State, the more will they think they do God service in suppressing heresy, infidelity, and Shakerism by the sword.

It is certainly logical that infidels like Jefferson, Voltaire, Paine, Franklin, Bennett, and their class, could never torture nor destroy the bodies of men or

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women to save their souls. Under the second seal, war and marriage were new elements in the Christian system. The man of sin had got into the temple of God,—the Church.

Verses 5 and 6.—When the third seal was opened, a *black* horse appeared. His rider had a pair of scales in his hand, and he had a measure for grain, and the price of it was given,—"a penny and three pennies." Private property, with its concomitants, buying and selling, speculation, commerce, came into the Church. It was no longer all things common, with peace and a virgin life; but warriors, like Constantine the Great, and licentious, cruel men like Luther and Henry VIII., and cruel, wicked women like Queens Mary and Elizabeth. These fighting kings and queens were heads of the Church. They bought and sold kingdoms, or took them with the sword. Our preachers, when the Bible and Sharp's rifles fail them, buy their women with intellectual treasures and sell church-pews for money. Poverty, the social evil, and chattel slavery were, under this seal, as part of the seven plagues.

Verses 7 and 8.—The fourth seal: a *pale* horse,—unphysiological habits of generation and nutrition, that Moses had condemned. The law of reproduction, as taught by Moses, was to use marriage for offspring only. Under the law of nutrition, as in the wilderness and the Lord's Supper, animal food was not used.

But in the kingdom of anti-Christ—the Beast and his Image, Catholic and Protestant—a fourth part are killed with the "beasts of the earth, with hunger, with death, and with the sword." They hunger, as did Israel, for flesh meat. They kill the beasts with the sword, eat them by their dyspeptic hunger, thus creating Egyptian and anti-Christian plagues and diseases, while eating the evil things they lusted after. Then come paleness, sickness, doctors, nurses, drugs, and doses—as with the millionnaire Vanderbilt,—ending in death.

Verses 9, 10, and 11.—When the fifth seal opens, the historic scene is laid in the spirit world. "I saw under the altar the souls of them that had been slain by the war spirit, in the Church and State governments, for the word of God they had spoken, when the Church had decreed the canon of Scripture closed, revelation ended, and all spiritualism nothing but witchcraft. These witnesses were killed for the testimony they bore, and they cried for vengeance, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the earth?'" For they were not yet converted to the peace principle. They were clothed in white and told to wait until the others of their fellows were killed as they had been, and the "ten horns"—rationalism, deism, atheism, materialism, etc.,—had grown out of the Beast and Image, that would hate the harlot of Church and State. War Christianity; make her desolate; torment her with Paines, Browns, Ingersolls, Lincolns, Abbots, Bennetts, and Liberal Leagues, who burn her with the fire of scientific truth, and eat her flesh, themselves as yet being part of the old system.

Verses 12, 13, and 14.—The sixth seal opened, and there was a great earthquake (American and French revolutions) produced by rationalistic infidelic powers,—Voltaire, Hume, Volney, Mirabeau, etc. The sun was darkened, the light of revelation put entirely out in the Church, and the moon (civil government) turned to blood, to war, as the business of Christian nations, from Constantine to our Russian-Turkish war, which is just as religious as any of them. And the stars (witnesses), Methodists, Quakers, and others, fell to the earth, into earthly, worldly marriages and selfish property, giving their spiritual power unto the Beast. The old heavens departed as a scroll,—the Church and State theology and system. "Islands and mountains were all moved out of their places." The great day of the "wrath of the Lamb"—pure Christianity; against the *red* horse, war; the *black* horse, selfish, property, speculation, monopoly, commerce, with its rings; the *pale* horse, sickness, doctor's craft, animal, indulgence in the lusts of sexuality, of eating and drinking and dressing and poisoning with food and medicine—had come, and hiding by sophistry was in order, as Catholic, Greek, and Protestant Christianity.

Chapter 14.—We have another view of the spirit world, the Pentecostal Church, composed of converts from the Mosaic dispensation, twelve thousand from each tribe. "I looked, and behold a Lamb stood upon Mount Zion, and with him one hundred and forty-four thousand—twelve times twelve,—with the character of God written in their foreheads." They were singing a new song, were redeemed from the earth, were virgin characters,—*Shakers*. They were like Jesus, being first fruits of a new system of human society.

Verse 6: Then an angel flew in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel of the one hundred and forty-four thousand to preach to those who dwell upon the earth, where again we find ourselves. One angel declared, "Babylon is fallen, fallen." Another, that "if any man worship the Beast"—Catholicism,—"or the image of the Beast"—Protestantism,—"or receive the mark or sign of the cross instead of the cross itself, in the forehead or hand, he shall have no rest, day nor night," no salvation from sin. Then cometh the second appearing of Christ, verse 14: "I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat *like* unto the Son of Man—Jesus,—having on *her* head a golden crown, and in her hand a sharp sickle." This was Ann Lee, the Shaker order. As harvest is the end of a field of grain, so is harvest-time the end of the world to those who are reaped therefrom; but not to all upon earth at any one time.

Chapter 21, verse 1.—"I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more sea or world." Church and State governments began to pass away when the secular governments of the United States began to be formed. All monarchical governments received a death-blow when infidels framed the United States Constitution; and all the Church and State religions are shaking to their foundations in the presence of the Shaker order. Infidels and the Liberal Leagues are the earth that helps the woman by swallowing the flood of lies or accusations, and drawing the fire of persecution against the Shakers. The Liberals reject the principles that we are called blasphemers for rejecting the trinity, atonement, vicarious sacrifice, resurrection of the body. These "doctrines of devils" are passing away before the light of science of the new earth and revelation of the new heavens.

Chapter 7.—We have another scene in the spirit world. Jesus having preached the Gospel to the Jews in the New Jerusalem there, as he had done upon earth; there came converts from each of the twelve tribes of Israel; the twelve thousand from each not being a particular number but *characters*. Then there came converts from all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues, who stood before the Lamb (Jesus) and before the throne of judgment, clothed in white robes (innocence), and palms of victory in their hands,—a great multitude, whom no man could number, the Christ-spirit being the connecting medium between God and created intelligences in all the earth and on all the earths. When resurrected, they neither hunger nor thirst any more for evil things. The Christ-spirit feeds them and leads them to living waters of truth, and God wipes away all tears from their eyes.

Chapter 8, verse 1.—The seventh seal being broken, there was silence in the old heavens for half an hour,—the Quaker order. It came in with a testimony against kings and princes, priests, hireling preaching and singing, Christian war, church marriages, oaths, tithes, steeple-houses, popular dress and address.

Then "fire from the altar was cast into the earth," causing voices, lightnings, and an earthquake, that compelled the English government to legalize Quaker marriage without Church and State priests, Quaker evidence without legal Bible oaths, and to let them free from war-service and war-taxes, as also from Church and State tithes, priestly dues.

Seven trumpets were then sounded, denoting successive changes, all preparing the way for the Shaker order and the American government.

When the seventh angel sounded, the mystery of God was finished. Hitherto the Revelation—the vision of all—was as a book sealed, which the unlearned could not read, as it was written in foreign tongues; and the learned linguists could not read because it was sealed.

The anti-Christian nations were angry because God's wrath had come, and the time of the dead, in the spirit world, that they should be judged as those in the body were being judged, by pure Christianity (Shaker testimony), and when God should destroy them who have destroyed the earth,—destroy them by scientific rationalism and Shakerism.

Chapter 21, verse 2.—The Holy City (New Jerusalem) in the spirit world, is settling down like a cloud upon the earth. It is becoming incarnated. The tabernacle of God is with men, and is protected by the American secular governments.

If God is to wipe away all tears from all eyes, so that there is no more death, like the Orthodox infidelic death, where they put their friend in the ground, and stones at head and feet to indicate total separation until that same body comes up again; if there is to be no more sorrow, no more sighing, no more pain, physical or mental, because for the former things are passed away,—then there must be abolition, not of slavery only, but of land monopoly, poverty, oppression, sickness, and diseases,—of army, navy, doctors, lawyers, priests and landlords, debtors and creditors, rich and poor. In the new earth, each one sitting under his and her own vine, with mutual national coöperation; and in the new heavens, all being brethren and sisters,—they enjoy all things in common in a heavenly community.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE AT ITHACA.

The Liberal League met at Curtis Hall, Monday evening, Dec. 10, the President in the chair.

Mr. W. K. Sinton was chosen Secretary *pro tem.*, in the necessary absence of the regular officer.

The Chair read extracts from congratulatory letters and notices, by those high in the counsels of the National League, fully endorsing the catholic spirit of the Tompkins County organization. He invited all present to participate in the debate of the evening upon the platform of the National League, including the questions of: (1) State secularization and its bearing on church taxation, secular schools, the Sabbath question, etc.; (2) national protection for national citizens; (3) compulsory education.

Prof. Oliver being called upon to open the discussion, confined his remarks to the statement of a few of the questions involved in State secularization, with some considerations *pro* and *con*. The State should not meddle with the religious interests of its citizens, if only because these are matters so delicate that it cannot touch them with its clumsy fingers without marring. But a reason more vitally important, one not of policy but of principle, is that practically it cannot do so without violating what lies at the very foundation of republican government, the principle of equal rights. This principle demands that the State shall treat A and B precisely alike in the consideration shown to their religious views, though they may be diametrically opposed. Whatever else State secularization may mean, it must mean first of all this absolute impartiality; and we may take this as our starting point in the investigation of the subject. If the government is to handle religious matters at all, it must be in a way that shall put Catholic and Protestant, Christian and anti-Christian, Theist and Atheist exactly on a level. Let us suppose for a moment, what all history disproves, that it can do so. This removes the controlling objection to its interference, and allows us to consider questions of policy, of expediency, concerning it.

Take the matter of church exemption from taxation. What is a church? In the eye of the State it may be regarded as an institution for the education of its members or of the public,—for discussion of or instruction in religious doctrines; or as an association for certain personal benefits,—consolation, "peace of mind," "joy in believing," etc., which are held to accrue to those who come within its pale, or are admitted to its fellowship; or, finally, as a benevolent organization for the moral improvement of the community.

Under the first aspect, it is conceivable that the government may say: "We consider the education of the people in these matters so important, and so unlikely to be adequately provided for by private enterprise, that we will encourage every effort, by whomsoever made, to teach any doctrine, true or false, or to discuss any subject, pertaining to religion. We hold that the truth is most likely thus to be discovered and accepted; and to this end we will subsidize every such effort to the extent of exempting from taxation the hall where such teaching is provided or discussion held." This might be poor statesmanship, but in theory it would be no violation of equal rights. The practical difficulty would of course lie in determining what classes of subjects were "religious."

Under the second aspect, it is difficult to see how associations for the satisfaction of the religious sentiments should be subsidized, except on a principle which would give like aid to all clubs for the gratification of feelings or tastes assumed to be innocent or beneficial—art societies, theatres, rifle clubs,—such an endless list that the most paternal government would shrink from carrying out the principle consistently, and one which like our own believes in leaving much to individual effort could not justly make a beginning.

The third aspect is undoubtedly that under which the churches present their strongest claims for subsidy. And they would seem to have good grounds if it could be proved that they were really doing the moral work they profess, and doing it freely for the benefit of all; and if the subsidizing could be made as impartial as we have above supposed, treating alike Trinity Church, Paine Hall, and the joss-house. In point of fact the mission chapel, devoted to inculcating those principles of goodness upon which all thinking and conscientious people are substantially agreed, can certainly ask our aid with far more grace than the consecrated club-house which closes its doors to the poor, to charm the senses with all that art can furnish, and lull the soul with the highest-priced eloquence. If any churches are to be aided by the States on public grounds, it should be only those that do public work. And in that case all associations for the benefit of the poor, the friendless, the criminal, should be similarly aided.

In illustration of the kind of test which the State actually does apply, was named the case of a free chapel in Massachusetts, whose minister, a man of deep religious faith and an earnest worker for practical righteousness, did not believe in being ordained. This chapel could not be exempted from taxation, for the law, which must draw the line somewhere, drew it around churches having regularly ordained ministers. Practically, then, the only way to escape injustice is to draw no line at all, but to tax all, and leave the whole matter to private benevolence.

It is necessary to add, in a word, that church property might perhaps justly come under general laws, exempting property to a limited amount from taxation, or exempting non-remunerative enterprises.

On the question of keeping the public schools wholly secular, while the principle of equal rights comes in just as strongly as in the matter of church taxation, there is another principle which, even if the first could be satisfied by division of the school funds, as some churches claim, should forever operate as a bar against allowing the children to be taught religion by the State. This is the principle of intellectual honesty or fairness. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of fostering churches as educators of the mature, we certainly have no right to prejudice the minds of our children, at an age when they are wholly unable to decide intelligently, upon questions concerning which the wisest and best men never have been and never can be in accord. We have no right to anticipate the time when the experience of life shall bring these questions home to their riper judgment. By so doing we should only be making fanatics and not wise citizens. Let the child learn to approach the investigation of truth in that spirit of modesty and true reverence which recognizes that the facts of the universe must be greater than his capacity to grasp. Let him be taught those things upon which we are all agreed, and discipline his powers by scientific methods, before taking up the problems that we are none of us able fully to solve. He will find enough of the positively known to occupy all his years of tutelage. If parents and private teachers fail to appreciate this consideration, the State, while it may not interfere with them, can at least preserve its public schools from adding to the evil.

Dr. Titus L. Brown, of Binghamton, had come from home to attend the meeting, and hoped to help it along. He wanted to emphasize the difference between the religionists whom the State was to-day unjustly favoring, and the unbelievers among whom he was glad to count himself. The one class depended

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on faith, the other upon knowledge. He was happy to be on the side of science rather than of theology, and the State if it understood itself should be on the same side. He was proceeding to illustrate his ideas of religion as opposed to knowledge, when

The Chair interrupted with a request that the gentleman would confine himself to the subject of discussion. He explained that the Tompkins County League embraced Orthodox and heretic, alike striving simply to secure "equal rights" in respect to religion; and not only was the discussion of their individual religious views foreign to the purpose of the League, but it was mutually understood that such discussion should be out of order.

Dr. Brown, with the utmost good nature, said he couldn't help expressing his own ideas in his own way, and he didn't think an association deserved the name "liberal" which would not allow everybody to do the same. So, in apparent unconsciousness that he was trespassing upon "equal rights," he went on with his illustrations, furnishing himself the happiest example of the need of a League to make plain what equal rights require.

Prof. Shackford found much the same difficulty in knowing what to say upon the question that he would have if a Chinese were to ask him to describe the manners and customs of Americans. Their peculiarities would impress the foreigner, but were like the common air to the native. He had himself breathed the air of liberalism so long that it had come to seem a necessary part of life. To be called upon to prove its necessity was the matter of surprise. If some one would only say why Church and State should not be kept totally separate, there would be something to talk about. He disliked the phrase "secularization of the State," however, for it seemed liable to convey a false impression of the movement, leading some, like the last speaker, to think we meant to set the State in opposition to religion. It was such misapprehension on the part of professed friends of liberalism that placed the greatest obstacles in its path and forced us to bear the wholly undeserved odium in the community, of being a set of atheists seeking to destroy religion.

Prof. Oliver, at the risk of seeming inhospitable to the guest, could not but add that he had seemed wholly to misunderstand the purpose and spirit of the League. Not an individual had entered it with the view of influencing another's religious opinions.

Dr. Brown was happy to be informed, and was going to join the League and abide by its rules. He then gave his views upon vegetarianism.

Prof. Johonnot was called upon, and in a very able speech, of which our diminishing space prevents our giving the briefest abstract, maintained that the government in its constitution and laws was already secular, and we had only to enforce the rights we already enjoyed.

Mr. Morrison followed in comment upon some recent pulpit utterances concerning liberalism.

It was voted that the next debate be upon so much of the Rochester Platform as concerns education.

The committee on public work were instructed to circulate any documents (whether in accordance or not with the principles of the League) which in their judgment would best direct attention to the reforms proposed by it; and to attach to these documents the following notice:—

"The Liberal League of Tompkins County, N. Y., in circulating this document, expresses no opinion as to any ideas therein contained. It only desires to bring the general subject to the reader's attention. The purpose of the League is to secure equal rights with respect to religion, and the complete secularization of the government [and to consider other political and social questions.] It neither favors, opposes, nor discusses any religious views. For further information address the President, J. Winslow, 11 East State Street, Ithaca."

The portion in brackets is contingent upon the adoption at the next meeting, of an amendment to the constitution of the League enlarging its scope.

Mr. Morris and Prof. Dudley tendered resignation of their offices for personal reasons, and Prof. Willard Fiske was elected Vice-President, and Mr. A. L. K. Volkmann, Councillor. Both Morris and Dudley were transferred to the work committee.—*Ithaca (N. Y.) Daily Journal, Dec.* 13.

THE MILWAUKEE LIBERAL LEAGUE.

[A friend encloses the following encouraging extracts from the Milwaukee papers, which we are very glad to publish, with congratulations to the League and best wishes for its continued success.—ED.]

Liberal League.

BEGINNING OF THE REGULAR MEETINGS OF THE REVIVED ORGANIZATION.

Ratifying the Platform of the National League and the Philadelphia Resolutions—The Point in Regard to Acknowledging God in the Constitution—The Resolutions Adopted—A Thorough Organization to be Effected, and Lectures to be Delivered.

There was a meeting at Boynton's Hall, last evening, of about one hundred gentlemen who are interested in the work of the Liberal League. R. C. Spencer, the President of the Association in this city, occupied the chair, and Robert Lindblom kept the records.

After stating that it is now proposed to hold meetings regularly, Mr. Spencer proceeded to read the address of the National Liberal League, presented at the Philadelphia convention last year, and since published for general distribution. The principal object of the League is to brings about an amendment of the Constitution which shall ensure a greater religious freedom, or the privileges of religious thought and action as intended in the Constitution.

The Liberal Leagues which are springing up throughout the country are in accordance with the following Platform, adopted by the Liberal Congress which assembled at Rochester in October last:—

"1. Total separation of Church and State, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all measures necessary to the same general end.

"2. National protection for national citizens, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

"3. Universal education the basis of universal suffrage in this secular republic: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education."

To the petition of various combined religious denominations, the National Liberal League has presented a counter-petition which is indorsed by all of the branch Leagues, as follows:—

"TO THE HONORABLE THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:—

"We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, respectfully and earnestly ask your honorable bodies to preserve inviolate the great guarantees of religious liberty now contained in the Constitution of the United States, and to dismiss all petitions asking you to adopt measures for amending said Constitution by incorporating in it a recognition of 'God as the source of all authority and power in civil government,' and of 'the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler among the Nations, and his revealed will as of supreme authority.' We protest against such proposed amendments as an attempt to revolutionize the government of the United States, and to overthrow the great principles of complete religious liberty and the complete separation of Church and State on which it was established by its original founders."

In the course of his remarks Mr. Spencer stated that he had been gratified to hear Rev. J. H. Griffith, of the First Baptist Church, express himself as opposed to the amendment of the Constitution as petitioned for by a number ofthe church denominations. He further stated it to be his belief that if a greater number of ministers and church people understood the principles of the Liberal League there would be less antagonism toward the organization. He further amused the meeting with an account of the manner in which the Baptists of Bell County, Texas, had purged the community of the impurity of infidelity. They had taken the only atheist in the place to a piece of woods and flogged him, afterwards ordering him out of the county upon pain of death. He submitted that this is the style of argumemt too often adopted, or desired if not adopted, by Orthodoxy in general. He gave the information that there are a large number of Liberalists in Wisconsin, and many organizations of different names which sympathize with their principles.

Rev. Dr. Strickland made a strong speech in favor of activity among the members. The Treasurer, Wm. P. Merrill, gave an account of his stewardship.

Mr. Spencer announced that Rev. G. E. Gordon had written a very able paper upon the subject of "Church Taxation," which the League should hear. Mr. Gordon could be induced to deliver it. Mr. Spencer also stated that he believed that Prof. Whitford, the State Superintendent, might be secured to deliver a lecture upon the general subject of Church, State, and Schools, as related to each other.

The sum of $15.50 was raised for hall rent and the cost of a charter. After the adoption of the following resolutions, the League adjourned to meet in the parlors of the Academy of Music on Saturday evening of next week, at which meeting a Constitution is to be adopted:—

"*Resolved*, That we heartily indorse the principles and sentiments expressed in the patriotic address to the people of the United States, and embodied in the chief resolutions adopted at Philadelphia on the Fourth of July, 1876.

"*Resolved*, That we hereby ratify the National Liberal League Platform for the Presidential election of 1880, adopted at Rochester, New York, October 26, 1877, and pledge to it our earnest support.

"*Resolved*, That we hereby declare ourselves auxiliary to the National Liberal League, and that the officers of this League be, and are hereby instructed to obtain a charter for the same, under the name of Milwaukee Liberal League.

"*Resolved*, That 'equality of rights is the first of rights,' and that the non-recognition of women to representation in the government which usurps authority over her is a direct contradiction of the spirit of our system of government, and is a national crime.

"*Resolved*, That we utter our earnest protest against this robbery of rights, and that in addition to the planks of the Rochester platform, we declare for equal political, social, and religious rights of all American citizens, irrespective of sex."—*Milwaukee Sentinel, Dec.* 6.

The Liberal League.

An adjourned meeting of the members of the Liberal League was held at the parlors of the Academy of Music last evening.

At the opening of the meeting the president, R. C. Spencer, announced that the committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare a constitution and by-laws, had notified him of its inability to be present, and furthermore that it had not completed the work assigned it. The president also stated that he had received the charter from the National Liberal League. The Secretary, *pro tem.*, was instructed to read the articles embodied in the same. The charter is issued to Robert C. Spencer, president, and William A. Boyd, secretary, on behalf of the members of the Liberal League of Milwaukee, who are authorized to constitute themselves with a local auxiliary Liberal League, under the name of the First Liberal League of Milwaukee.

After the reading of the charter, it was moved that the members proceed to adopt a constitution and by-laws, as the committee had been given sufficient time to make a report, but had failed; and as the meeting had been called for this purpose, it became necessary to complete its object. Whereupon the following constitution was adopted:—

"ARTICLE I.—The name of this association shall be 'The Liberal League of Milwaukee,' and we hereby declare ourselves to be a 'local auxiliary Liberal League' in full sympathy, fellowship, and affiliation with the National Liberal League.

"ARTICLE II.—The objects of this association shall be, to coöperate with the National Liberal League in furtherance of the public objects, both general and specific, enumerated in its constitution.

"ARTICLE III.—Any person who shall sign this constitution, and pay fifty cents annually in the treasury, shall be a member of this League.

"ARTICLE IV.—The annual meeting for the election of officers of this League, and of the delegates to the annual Congress of the National Liberal League to which this League is entitled by its charter, shall be held on the first Saturday in May; and the directors shall give one month's notice of the same. There shall also be regular monthly meetings of this League for consultation and business; and the directors shall give one week's notice of the same.

"ARTICLE V.—The officers of this League shall be a president, secretary, treasurer, and four councilors. All these shall constitute the board of directors, which shall have general management of the affairs of the League, subject only to instruction by the League itself. They shall appoint from among the other members of the League committees on public work, on public discussion, and on finance, and each councillor shall be chairman of one of these four committees.

"The committee on public work shall mature measures for coöperating efficiently in the common cause with the National Liberal League, especially in circulating its documents, petitions, appeals, etc., and carrying out locally the various objects of the Liberal League movement.

"The committee on public discussion shall mature means for sustaining public debates, lectures, etc.; and they shall be charged with the general conduct of the same.

"The committee on finance shall mature measures for raising funds necessary for these various objects. All appropriations from the treasury shall be by vote of the board of directors; and all orders on the treasury shall be signed by the president and secretary.

"ARTICLE VI.—The duties of the president, secretary, and treasurer shall be those usually pertaining to these offices. It shall be the special duty of the secretary to furnish the secretary of the National Liberal League with a complete list of all the members, with their post-office address in full, and a list of the officers and various committees; and also to furnish him promptly with information of all important action of this League.

"ARTICLE VII.—Amendments to this constitution may be made at any annual or monthly meeting of the League by a three-fourths vote of all the qualified members present. But no amendment shall be made, unless the proposed amendment shall have been announced as part of the required notice of the meeting which is to act upon it."

The League next proceeded to the election of four councillors, as follows: Dr. E. B. Wolcott, Madame Anake, Rev. Dr. Strickland, Dr. E. M. Rosencranz.

The subject of taxation of church property was next taken up and thoroughly discussed, after which the meeting adjourned to meet at a place hereafter to be named.—*Milwaukee Sunday News, Dec.* 16.

DANIEL C. WALDO, THE SEVENTH-DAY BAPTIST.

[The following correspondence from the *Jewish Record*, introducing a letter from Hon. H. L. Richmond on the Seventh-Day question, will be of interest to our readers. It consists of a letter from State Senator Jones, of Philadelphia, to the *Record*, enclosing for publication Mr. Richmond's letter to him.—ED.]

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 8, 1877.

Mr. Editor,—Enclosed you will find a letter addressed to me by Hon. Hiram L. Richmond, of Meadville, Pa. Mr. Richmond was the attorney who so successfully carried on the case of Mr. Waldo, who was fined $4 last June for working on Sunday. In previous copies of your paper you have published the proceedings before the Justice. Mr. Richmond says that when the case was argued before the Judge, the errors committed before the Justice were so palpable that the Court did not consider it necessary to give an opinion, but at once reversed the proceedings of the Justice.

Mr. Richmond's letter is so forcible that I wish it to be read by your people who have sympathized with their Christian brother in his persecution.

God grant that the day may soon come when all who call themselves Christians shall learn the great truths so forcibly enunciated by Mr. Richmond.

Yours truly, HORATIO GATES JONES.

MEADVILLE, Pa., Oct. 25, 1877.

HON. HORATIO GATES JONES, PHILADELPHIA:

My dear Sir,—The decision of our Court, in *Waldo* vs. *The Commonwealth*, did not involve the

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consideration of the great Constitutional question, the rights of the citizen. The proceedings of the lower Court were reversed on purely technical grounds. I am, however, in entire sympathy with you in the opinion that the enforcement of the provisions of the Act of 1794, commonly called "the Sunday law," against those who conscientiously believe in the sanctity of the seventh day, and observe it as their Sabbath, is an egregious, a fundamental wrong. I don't propose to enter upon a regular argument of the question. My time will not permit, nor does the occasion seem to require it. I would only submit a few thoughts for your consideration.

I have examined the decisions of our State Courts with considerable care, and yet they have failed to convince me that they are right in so construing the Act of 1794 as to embrace within its penal consequences the seventh-day people.

Specht vs. *The Commonwealth*, 8 Barr, 312, may, I suppose, be considered the leading case. The opinion of the Court, pronounced by Justice Bell, is elaborate, and gives evidence of much thought and care in its preparation; and yet, I will venture the assertion that he who carefully examines it will find it fallacious throughout.

What matters it that we do not, as reasons the Judge, compel any man to subscribe to any specific faith, or adopt any specific form of worship, if we throw legal obstacles in the way of his worshipping his Maker according to his own honest conviction of religious duty? Don't compel him as to modes and times and forms of worship, and yet, forsooth, we command him, with all the authority of legislative enactment, and under severe pains and penalties, to keep a day as his Sabbath, holy to the Lord, which he believes has nothing holy about it,—is like the remainder of the six days, entirely secular and worldly in its character. This can be esteemed nothing else than the veriest oppression of that class of people, be they Jew or Gentile, known as Sabbatarians, and of whom there are many in this State, and deservedly estimable men.

The decisions of our Courts seem to rest upon the assumption that the statute or 1794 is but a "civil regulation" made for the government of man as a member of society, that *there is no religion in it*. Like infidel France, who, having abjured all religion, and abolished the Christian Sabbath—and, having set up reason, symbolized by a nude prostitute, as the divinity of her worship, appointed and set apart every tenth day as a national rest,—so, primarily, it is argued, the object of our legislature was to designate and set apart a day certain, as a day of cessation from worldly employment, for the ease of mankind; and that they fixed upon the first day of the week, not because of any supposed religious character it had, but simply for the convenience of those who observed it as the Christian Sabbath. I think that a moment's examination of the language of the statute, and of the course of legislation on the subject, will convince every candid mind that this is an entire misconception of the question; and that it was because of the religious character of the day, that through all the ages of Christianity, and among all Christian peoples, such legislation and recognition had been secured, as to save it from profanation.

The act of 1794 designates it "*the Lord's day*, commonly called Sunday." Why thus designate it, if they did not intend to recognize its sacred and religious character, and for that reason, enforce its observance as such? And so, in all previous legislation in this and the mother country as well, it will be found that its observance is demanded and enforced for the reason that it is enjoined by a higher than human authority, and never as a civil institution. Even France so recognized the day until, in her mad frenzy, she legislated God and religion out of the Republic, and rioted and raged in seas of blood.

The very first act of the very first legislative body of Pennsylvania, sitting in Chester, in 1682, was an act recognizing the Christian Sabbath, and enjoining its strict observance. And then the popular interpretation of the statute, from the day of its promulgation down to the present hour, is in entire harmony with these views. Such has been the popular sentiment in all countries where like legislation has been had. And has this no force or meaning? In *The Commonwealth* vs. *Nesbit*, 10 Casey, 398, Judge Lowrie says, in speaking on an analogous subject: "The uniform, practical interpretation of a law for near two centuries, is worth more than hours of refined criticism and analysis of its phraseology." From all this, and much more that might have been said, I cannot think otherwise than that our courts have greatly erred in the construction they have given the statute.

If, then, "the Lord's day" is not simply a civil institution, established by legislative enactment for civil purposes, only, but is a day of sacred rest, ordained and commanded to be observed by the Creator of all things, what follows? Clearly and beyond question, that the enforcement of the provisions of the Act of 1794 against those who do not believe in the sacred character of the first day, or Sunday, but who do believe that the seventh day, or Saturday, is the true and only Sabbath of the Lord, is to "control or interfere with the rights of conscience," and is therefore in direct conflict with Article First of the Amendments to the Federal Constitution, and Section Third of the First Article of our State Constitution.

The seventh-day man reads from the Decalogue, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt not do any work," etc. To him this passage means just what it says. While he labors diligently all the six days, the seventh he believes, with all the strength of a religious conviction, should be consecrated to sacred rest and religious worship. And any and all legislation interfering in the slightest degree with his religious convictions, whether so intended or not, is, to my mind, forbidden by the organic law of the land. The question, "Which day is the proper Sabbath?" has nothing to do with the argument. We, who are the first-day men, should concede to seventh-day men the same rights we claim for ourselves; *viz.*, *freedom of religious worship, and non-interference with our religious scruples and convictions.* Yours truly, HIRAM L. RICHMOND.

[In connection with the above, the following brief article by Rev. H. L. Wayland, D.D., in the New York *Independent* of Aug. 16, will be of interest.—ED.]

Religious Liberty Violated.

About five years ago I wrote an artice for the *Independent* on "The Sabbath Laws," in which I expressed the opinion that we have no right to compel any one to regard Sunday or any other day of religious observance. No one must interfere with his neighbors in the exercises of their religious liberty; but we may not prevent a man from laboring on Sunday, unless his labor be of such a kind as to destroy the Sabbath of others.

Very many who would admit all this in regard to those who religiously observe the seventh day of the week would stop there. To me it appears plain that it applies *universally*,—to the friar, who regards every day as a Sabbath, and to the atheist, who sets at naught all days. We have no right to demand that a man should observe *our* Sabbath or any other Sabbath. We have simply the right to say that the great body of the community shall not be prevented from observing their Sabbath. Hence the right to prohibit bands of music, public processions, railroad trains, steam whistles, military displays, bolt factories, and all sources of noise and confusion in the vicinity of a place of worship on the Sabbath. Beyond this we have no right, and it is a violation of religious liberty to require my neighbor to forego his labor on my day of worship.

I am sure of the sympathy of the *Independent* in speaking of a recent flagrant violation of these principles. In the town of Cussewago, Crawford Co., Penn., on the 16th of June, Mr. Daniel Waldo and his hired man, Albert Wood, were tried before Justice Blystom, Venango borough, on a charge of violating the Sabbath laws, by running a planing-mill and by tilling a field of potatoes with a cultivator. It was shown that there was no place of worship within several miles; that Mr. Waldo and Mr. Wood are Seventh-Day Baptists, regularly observing the seventh day by abstinence from labor; but, for all that, they were fined $4 each.

I most earnestly hope that this instance of actual oppression may lead to a reëxamination of all our Sabbath legislation, and that we may put our Sabbath laws on the true basis,—the real Roger Williams ground.—*New York Independent.*

THE MENTAL PACE.

THE DIFFERENT SPEED OF IDEAS IN DIFFERENT PERSONS.

It is a familiar idea that there are quick-witted people and slow-witted people; but it is rather a startling addition to the notion that the pace of mind may be measured by inches and a clock; and that if we could establish a mental Epsom or Goodwood, we should find a certain number, and no more, of men and women who could pretend to "enter" for the cup. Mr. Francis Galton, F.R.S., in his address as president of the Anthropological Department of the British Association, this year, treated of this matter with his usual originality, as a branch of the study "of those groups of men who are sufficiently similar in their mental characters to admit of classification." What a singular fact in illustration is the following, to which he calls attention:—

There exists—well recognized by astronomers—a phenomenon called "personal equation." In making the common observation of the exact moment when a star travels across the fine vertical wire intersecting the field of view of a telescope, some observers always anticipate the event, and others allow it to pass before they succeed in noting it. This, Mr. Galton says, is "by no means the effect of inexperience or maladroitness; but it is a persistent characteristic of each individual, however practised in the art of making observations he may be." The difference between the time of a man's noticing the event and that of its actual occurrence is called "personal equation"; and it is carefully ascertained for every assistant in every laboratory, and is published along with his observations. It is not too much to say that the magnitude of a man's personal equation thus indicates a very fundamental peculiarity of his constitution.

In a similar way, a measurement may be made of the length of time taken to receive an idea and act upon it, by exhibiting a signal, and calling on the observer to press a stop as quickly as he can on seeing it. A little time is always lost in this process, and a still more appreciable interval, if there be any alternative, such as a black or white signal to be observed. A series of such experiments, made on a considerable number of persons, of both sexes and of different ages, statures, classes, and nationalities, would, we think, afford interesting and not wholly useless results. In the first place, account should be taken of the obvious advantage possessed by short people, in the lesser distance which their sensations and volitions have to travel along their nerves to and from their brains,—the velocity of such travelling not exceeding the rate of an express-train.

Mr. Galton says that this fact accounts for the superior quickness of small animals in evading blows. Surely, he might add that it offers an explanation of the proverbial dulness and imperturbability of giants, and of the special animation and sharpness generally observable in little men and little women. Between five feet and seven feet and a half there may well be the proportion of two to three in the rate of transmission of perceptions from the foot to the brain; and if this needs to be doubled by a return message down the motor nerves from the brain to the foot (to deliver a kick), the result would be that just double the time is needed by the big man as by the little.

The same reason of course holds good (if it be good at all) with respect to the superior vivacity of ponies over horses, terriers over Newfoundland dogs, and generally of all small breeds of animals not too much dwarfed for vigor or full development. Children naturally lose the benefit of their small stature, from want of full command and correlation of their faculties. It is the opinion of Professor Flower—expressed in his splendid Hunterian *Lectures on the Osteology of the Extinct Mammalia*,—that the large animals of the earlier epochs were all slow of motion, and stupid, comparatively, to modern beasts. A mastodon and one of the Prince of Wales' Nepaulese pony elephants may well have had a very different "mental pace."

But we have lost this clew of comparative size, whatever it may be worth, when we seek an explanation of the difference, still better marked than those above noted, which exists between men of various nations and of the various classes in those nations. Sandy from Scotland, John Bull from England, Taffy from Wales, and Pat from Ireland, travel mentally at paces comparable to a walk, a trot, a canter, and a gallop. The first, even if he be a very learned and able Scot indeed, when he sits down at a London dinner-party, finds himself stranded two or three times by the tide of conversation between soup and the dessert; while the last, even if he be a rather ignorant Irishman, will keep pace, *tant bien que mal*, and scent a joke in the air, even if it consist in allusion to something of which he never heard in his life.—*Exchange.*

CHURCH LAW AND COMMON LAW.

A litigation of six years' standing at Williamsport, Pa., embracing in some of its aspects the question of the relation of Roman Catholic bishops to Roman Catholic priests, and, in still broader aspects, the relation of Church to State in this country, reached yesterday a preliminary decision, in which are enunciated some principles that will be apt to excite lively controversy. Bishop O'Hara removed Father Stack for a supposed offence. We can readily perceive how, in a case like this, the question of the interpretation of the Church law might be taken to a civil court; and, if the court stopped short with such an interpretation, comment might end. But the court, in the person of Judge Gamble acting as Chancellor in a Court of Common Pleas of Pennsylvania, says explicitly that the vesting of the power of removal in a bishop is contrary to public policy and an impairment of a right of citizenship.

We have no hesitation in asserting our adherence to the notion that in a country like ours the separation of Church and State should be sedulously preserved for the welfare of both,—for the welfare of churches because it makes them independent, emulative, and hard-working; for the welfare of the State because it frees it from entangling and vexatious complications and from the introduction of religious questions into the field of politics, where they should be the last to enter. Technically and practically, ecclesiasticism is the foe of republics. The decision of Judge Gamble, however, aimed as it at first seems to be against ecclesiastical interference with the State, impresses us as tending in the opposite direction. If the Roman Catholic Church, or any other church, lays down the canon that a bishop may be the supervisor of a priest, may remove him for inefficiency or any other cause, and shall be the judge of the cause, and if a priest accepts his office under these conditions, we cannot see what is to be gained by the interference of the courts. The priest holds the office under church government, not under civil government. A civil court could of course pass on a question of damages between bishop and priest,—may pass, indeed, upon any question which really involves the customary rights of a citizen. But for a court to say that no church shall vest in a superior dignitary the power of removing an inferior is a stretch of law to a jurisdiction of purely church matters which neither justice nor expediency justify, and which instead of keeping the Church and State apart, tends to bring them into a kind of discordant union.—*N. Y. Post, Nov.* 14.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 22.

L. P. Babb, 50 cents; D. S. Lowe, $3.35; C. B. Hoffman $12.10; J. P. Mendum, $1; Mrs. A. M. Wight, $3.20; Hugh White, $1.65; J. O. Mitchell, 50 cents; Mrs. N. H. Webster, $3.25; A. Ela, 80 cents; G. H. Foster, $2.10; John Hobbs, $4; C. M. Cuyler, 60 cents; L. Dibble, 10 cents; Harvey Brown, $2; J. K. Pearson, $6.40; Robert Davis, $14.20; E. W. Gunn, $9; Thomas Marshall, $3.82; W. F. Abbot, 25 cents; J. H. Williams, $2; Jefferson Cary, $3; Cash, $1; M. H. Cabot, $1; James Damon, $3.20; W. L. Foster, $18.20; John Campbell, $3.20; John Humphrey, $1.25; E. W. Seigman, $3.25; F. A. Angell, $13; Mrs. Clara M. Rotch, $50; M. H. Parry, $1.75; J. J. Good, 80 cents; Mrs. F. Wason, $3.20; W. P. Wilson, 75 cents; Clark & Co., $22.33; Geo. A. Green, $3.20; Dr. A. H. Brockway, $3.20; Oscar Roos, $3.20; M. H. Doolittle, $13; W. H. Saxton, $6.40; D. E. Mayo, $15; D. A. Robertson, $11; S. L. Bailey, $5; W. S. Cunningham, 50 cents; C. S. Wilkins, 25 cents; J. A. Chandler, $1.60; Thomas Ranney, $4.40; H. Weinberger, $3.20; Walter C. Wright, $3.25; Clark & Co., $8.34; W. H. Little, $2; Mrs. J. E. D. Laundon, $4.20.

N. B.—Please remit by post-office money-order, by registered letter, or by draft on Boston or New York. Checks on interior banks are liable to discount, and the term of subscription will be proportionally shortened in the credit.

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

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The Index.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 27, 1877.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

THE INDEX accepts every result of science and sound learning, without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible. It recognises no authority but that of reason and right. It believes in Truth, Freedom, Progress, Equal Rights, and Brotherly Love.

N. B.—No contributor to THE INDEX, editorial or otherwise, is responsible for anything published in its columns except for his or her own individual statements. Editorial contributions will in every case be distinguished by the name or initials of the writer.

TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS.—Only Short Articles desired. Unused Manuscripts not returned.

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A CARD.

The Committee on the better establishment of THE INDEX, appointed at a meeting of its subscribers and friends last May, wish to enlist all the assistance they can to lay its claims before every liberal man and woman in our country. They have prepared a circular setting forth the method, motives, and objects of their action, and wish the names of all who are willing to assist them in placing it where it will do good. Please address the Chairman of the Committee, "Elizur Wright, P. O. Box 109, Boston, Mass."

ANNOUNCEMENT: CLUB TERMS.

Until January 1, 1879, THE INDEX will be sent for a year to clubs of five or more NEW SUBSCRIBERS on receipt of $2.20 each, in advance, instead of $3.29, the regular cost of subscription. This is an excellent chance for all our friends to join in a vigorous effort to increase the circulation of the most earnestly radical journal in the United States, and thereby to advance the common cause. It is only just to show due public appreciation of the efforts of its friends, and we shall therefore (unless explicitly requested to the contrary) publish the names of all who send us clubs under the arrangement, with the number of new subscribers obtained by each. Shall there not be a little generous emulation to help forward the struggling cause of religious freedom?

F. E. ABBOT, *Editor.*

PREMIUMS FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

The following premiums for NEW SUBSCRIBERS to THE INDEX are offered with the hope that its sincere co-laborers will vigorously aid in increasing its circulation among their personal friends. To receive these premiums, $3.20 must be remitted in advance with each name sent in. Please read the list carefully, and see if you cannot afford to earn one or more of the works here offered by a little labor in a good cause.

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Either Webster's or Worcester's *Dictionary* (unabridged); Longfellow's *Complete Works* (300 illustrations, full gilt); either Dickens' or Waverley Novels, complete in six volumes, and illustrated; Strauss' *New Life of Jesus;* or any other book or books not costing over $12.

NOTICE.

An adjourned meeting of the friends of the Liberal League movement will be held at the Woman's Club Rooms, No. 4 Park Street, next Friday evening, December 28, at 7½ o'clock, to listen to and act upon the report of the Committee appointed "to consider and mature a plan of efficient work."

R. P. HALLOWELL,
J. S. VERITY,
G. H. FOSTER,
} *Committee.*

CENTRALIZATION.

An extremely intelligent young man, a recent graduate of Amherst College and for years a constant reader of THE INDEX, writes as follows:—

"THE INDEX continues to be my welcome visitor, all the more for the fact that I cannot accept the Liberal League platform. 'All the more,' I say; for I shall be glad of the opportunity to follow your arguments on that point, and, if finally convinced, shall not hesitate to ally myself with a party which, though it may be numerically in a minority, is really in a majority which will be eventually recognized, if the God of truth is on its side. The difficulty at present with me is mainly that there seems to be a great deal of aversion to centralization bred in my bones; and, though a great many notions thus introduced have been eliminated, that one appears to stick."

The point thus raised is one which we particularly desire to have discussed. So far from wishing to rid our correspondent of his "aversion to centralization," we confess that we share it; and if we believed that the Rochester platform favored political centralization in any sense which implies danger to the principle of local self-government, we should be the last to urge a word in its behalf. But when the true meaning of that platform is understood, we are confident that this apprehension will be wholly dissipated.

What is local self-government? Briefly, that, without any interference from without, every man should manage his own personal affairs in his own way and according to his own pleasure, so long as he forbears to encroach on his neighbors,—that every town should manage its own town affairs in the same manner and under the same restriction, every county its own county affairs, every State its own State affairs. But the independent exercise of this autonomy by personal and corporate individuals has one fundamental condition; namely, the maintenance of all these individualities intact, each in its own sphere of action with its rights uninfringed and its freedom uncurtailed in that sphere, yet each also preserving its just relation to all the rest in an all-comprehensive social organization. Every citizen would thus stand, as it were, in the centre of several concentric and enlarging circles of relationship to his kind; he would have duties and rights in each relation, not only as an individual, but also as a member of town, county, State, and national organizations. His "local self-government" will be at its highest possible point of realization, when, in each of these relations, his duties are discharged and his rights maintained.

On the other hand, what is centralization? It is such a disorganization of this well-balanced, harmonious, and natural system as shall result in the absorption of all substantial power by a central authority, to the destruction of the autonomy of the various individualities above mentioned—such as was produced, for instance, when the *municipia* of the Roman Empire lost their corporate independence and melted into the vast imperial despotism which prepared the way for the collapse of society under the blows of Northern barbarism. Such a centralization must inevitably be produced by decay of that stubborn *stickling for rights* out of which local self-government has always grown. That is, if individual rights, in the citizen, the town, the county, the State, shall not be vindicated as beyond all price, and defended with the utmost jealousy and at whatever cost, the spirit of liberty must have already died out, and the dreary process of centralization is already far advanced.

It will thus be evident that the preservation of individual rights is the only possible preventive of centralization, and that free society has no interest to be compared for an instant in importance with that of preserving these individual rights. No nation is free in which this is not the paramount concern. Woe to America, when her sons and daughters begin to sneer at "rights"! Just so long as the citizens are protected *individually* in their rights, the towns and counties and States cannot be stripped of theirs; but, if the former lose all love for their own liberties as equal units of society, the latter will become the empty shells of creatures long perished. The nation as such, therefore, if it would be itself free and non-centralized, must find its own supreme interest in the protection of its individual citizens in the fullest possible enjoyment of their equal rights and liberties.

Not because we love centralization, therefore, but precisely because we hate it, do we urge the Rochester platform and the Liberal League. Will not our thoughtful correspondent, and others who may sympathize with his supposed objection, look at the matter in this hitherto unsuspected light, and fill out for themselves an argument which we have here only sketched in the briefest possible manner?

CLANDESTINE PUBLICATIONS.

There are many wrongs among mankind with which law cannot meddle without making them worse. I do not say that the production of a certain kind of books and pictures, which a decent person puts into the fire at sight, is one of these wrongs; but I do say it is only a symptom of a social disease which has baffled law hitherto, and which while the disease lasts will continue to baffle it. There is, in my opinion, no remedy but in a better gospel,—a gospel of home-education, which shall fortify the child against this species of filth before the age of going to school, so that one of these manufacturing scoundrels would no more dare to send one of his circulars to a young scholar than to the mother. This is not saying that there should be no law to punish such outrages upon decency. Till such nuisances cease they must be punished, though perhaps shooting would be better than boarding at the public expense.

But all that law can do, and it is precious little, can be done by State and municipal laws, if it can be done at all. In this opinion I am exceedingly sorry to differ from my excellent friend the editor, with whose indignation against the authors and distributors of this clandestine literature and vile art I most fully sympathize. I think Congress has no occasion, and therefore no right, to legislate on the subject, except for the District of Columbia and the Territories. Moreover, I think its act touching the circulation of obscene publications through the mails is an outrageous violation of the Constitution, incapable of any modification which could make it either constitutional or safe. I wish to sign a petition for its total and immediate repeal, even at the risk of being classed with the vilest publicans and sinners, if anybody sees fit so to class me. Let men be punished for obscenity or treason, if they are guilty of either, but not for sending either through the mails. If it has come to that, that these two crimes, or any crimes, cannot be suppressed without invading the sacred privacy of the people's correspondence, we had better abolish the post-office.

If we are to admit as true the statements published in the *Journal* and quoted in the last INDEX—though they bear on their face signs of great exaggeration,—it is very plain that the class of books and prints used to corrupt schools can be suppressed without meddling with the mails. Any manufactory turning them out by the "ton" cannot be hidden from a vigilant police anywhere. Thousands of citizens of all sects and parties are interested in having the police do its duty, and have the votes to enforce their will. The problem is simply to find the origin of the filth, burn it in the mass, and put the producers where they will produce no more, making as little noise about it as possible. Then will there be none of it going through the mails. The indiscretion of making so much noise and publishing such frightful statements is too palpable. It is a gratuitous advertisement that the scoundrelly wares can be had somewhere, and sets the viciously-inclined, the misbegotten, and parentally-neglected to looking for them. If the Society for the Suppression of Vice were acting with good faith and the requisite degree of common-sense, they would go quietly to the proper authorities and insist on their doing their duty.

The distinction between the open and the clandestine book and print-trade is sufficiently marked. The former is kept clean, not by law but by public opinion. A reputable bookseller no more thinks of selling one of those vile books which are the only subjects of legal prohibition than he does of walking in the street with nothing but a hat on. And he would not do that even if the law did not forbid it.

The simple truth is, that the Society for the Suppression of Vice does not care a pin for the suppression of the clandestine and really vile book-trade; but, taking advantage of the great elasticity of the adjective "obscene," they first make a raid upon the clandestine trade as a cover to their attack upon the science of human physiology, in the interest of their peculiar religion. Pretending and loudly bragging

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to have done the work of the police authorities better than they ever did or could do it themselves, they now come to their real work, which is to suppress science, and cultivate ignorance and superstition among the people. The honest and self-sacrificing men and women who are laboring openly, earnestly, and intelligently to prevent social corruption and keep men and women out of hell-upon-earth by instructing them in the laws of life and health, are pounced upon as if they were pimps and harlots! Do our Orthodox friends think such strategy is going to succeed? Do they think ignorance is the best protection of innocence, and that those are safest from precipices who either know nothing about them or are instructed that they are delightful places to jump from? If they wish to save their cause from the greatest disgrace it has ever yet suffered, they will take care to turn the energies of Comstock and his crew out of their present channel. E. W.

THE CHURCH OF RATIONALISM;
OR, THE NEW FAITH AND SPIRIT.

It is clear that the tendency of modern society is to leave the Church behind it. The evidence of this continually accumulates and becomes more apparent. It is visible inside as well as outside of it. It is seen inside in numerous indications of increasing weakness and signs of dissolution; even the outward imposing effect and show which it presents are largely to be accounted as the displays and expedients of a desperate consciousness of lessening power. The old-time devotion and faith are becoming extinct. A continual tide of disbelief besets the creeds, and ever and anon breaks through their barriers. Their characteristic doctrines become more and more softened, modified, and effaced. While these transitions are occurring inside the Church, sapping its very foundations, and destroying what has constituted the essentials of its existence, the loss of which must be the loss of its identity, the aspect without is no less remarkable and significant.

The number of those who have dropped all visible relation to the Church is steadily augmented in almost all communities. It is something unprecedented. It is not now, as it has been in other times, withdrawal simply from one division of the Church to enter another, but far more generally withdrawal from it altogether. There are some who are disposed to regard these things as evidence of its revivification rather than extinction. They think, because it is becoming more and more liberalized, is permitting its theology to recede into the background, and transferring its emphasis to more practical interests, that this affords unmistakable assurance of its perpetuity. But this is a conclusion that has no logical support. It is a vain expectation, unwarranted by the facts of the case. It is like the hectic flush and momentary brightening eye of one who is struck with death. The liberalizing tendency of the Church does not keep pace with the ever-growing number of its seceders and outsiders. It is not rapid enough nor radical enough to satisfy the growth of a sceptical intelligence. It serves to delay, not to change, the final result. There are influences at work in the life and thought of to-day more powerful to take people out of the Church than any which it can put forth to keep them in.

Furthermore, there is every reason to believe that, when it shall have parted with those special beliefs and intellectual conceptions, the acceptance of which have been the bonds of its fellowship, and devotes itself chiefly to moral and practical ends, instead of strengthening itself and acquiring additional security, the opposite will ensue; since it will be perceived that these may be pursued, even more favorably, outside of the Church than within, and are not necessarily dependent upon it. Indeed it is already very manifest that the bad people are not all outside of it and the good inside, but that quite as often the opposite is the case.

But while the tendency is for the Church and the world thus to run more and more together and their distinctions to become obliterated (those of the former to be lost in the latter), the question arises: Does not the Church stand for something that is permanent as well as transient, something deeper and more indestructible than its creeds, intellectual dictatorship, and assumptions? We believe that there are certain elements of humanity that have inhered in it, in some degree, in all ages. We believe that mankind has ever yearned and aspired toward greater light, knowledge, and perfection. Divested of all irrationalism and superstition, the Church stands for these objects; nor are there any nobler to which humanity can be devoted, or that it will less willingly surrender. They are imperishable, and will survive all changes of institutions and religions. What is needed to-day is a clearer perception of what these higher ends of life consist, of the most effectual methods of their attainment,—methods not of traditional inheritance, but which shall be the outgrowth of the science, enlightenment, and best thought of the time. In a word we believe the great need of the present is the establishment of a church outside of the Church,—the Church of Rationalism, of the new faith and spirit.

There are many encouraging indications at present of a movement setting in this direction among liberals. The distrust and opposition in respect to organization, which has been so prevalent among them, appears to be subsiding. Combination and coöperation are more earnestly advocated and meet with greater favor. The Rev. Mr. Chaney lately maintained, in the *Unitarian Review*, that it is impossible for such organizations on the basis of freedom to sustain a permanent existence, much more to keep alive any moral energy and enthusiasm. According to his view, organization, in order to be enduring and thus efficient, must have certain definite ideas or principles which all accept as a bond of union, and which take even the precedence of freedom. As an answer to this, one need but point to the Free Religious Association, which, in a quiet but very important and influential way, has been making a creditable record for itself for the last ten years, and still lives, and expects to, for some time to come. The Liberal League movement and Freethinkers' Associations which are springing up, with the free halls and free Sunday-lecture courses in various parts of the country, are also evidence of the possibilities and awakening of liberalism to practical effort and effectiveness.

But, though these are all excellent in themselves and valuable to the cause of liberalism, none of them is sufficiently comprehensive and inclusive in its functions to meet the full demand of the time. They may be the accessories or products of the new Church which we propose. They aim chiefly at general instead of special effects; to influence general currents of thought and distant, rather than the nearest, relations; to modify governments, change laws, mould society more or less; but the new Church, while it will embrace these, will concentrate its energies upon smaller spheres of activities, upon the life of communities, and the promotion of individual culture. It should constitute a bond of union and close fellowship for these ends, wherever there are a sufficient number of liberals to render such an organization practicable. It should recognize the fact that no reforms or enactments, in the interest of liberalism any more than anything else, are likely to stay or remain permanent any further than they are backed by clear and intelligent conviction; and that in order to establish a reliable and genuine sentiment in behalf of freedom,—in order to effect in society an actual appreciation of rationalism or devotion to it,—the work must begin at the beginning, with the systematic and elementary education of the people. In other words, the Church of the present must be supplanted with that which shall sustain a similar relation to the life of society and the individual. Instead of occasional gatherings, as is the case with many existing liberal organizations, it should have regular and frequent ones, and appropriate Sunday to this purpose, conforming in this respect to the plan of the Christian Church, and in every other in which it can to its advantage, at least not disdain to receive hints from it as to methods and administration, so far as they are available. It should recognize the claims of recreation and amusement, and provide for the moral and intellectual development of the young, through the medium of a Sunday-school infused with its own ideas and spirit. It should recognize, indeed, the demands of every age and class, in every possible way, and thus be the Church of humanity,—the promoter of all noble ends of reform, philanthropy, and culture, not hesitating to call into exercise all the originality and inventiveness it can command, with perfect indifference to the conventional and customary so long as its motives are exalted and worthy. Already the Church we have endeavored to indicate begins to be foreshadowed. It has been exemplified with a sufficient correspondence to such an organization, and measure of maturity in a few instances, certainly in one at least, in the country, to enable one to speak with much confidence of its practicability. Let us hope that these are but the precursors of what shall culminate at last in the Church of the future,—the Church of the Holy Trinity of humanity, reason, and truth. D. H. C.

[Will our valued contributor be so good as to examine carefully the "Form of Constitution for Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues," recommended by the National League, and report in these columns the precise additions he would suggest to the plan there outlined, in order to constitute the Local League a true "Church of Rationalism"? Such an attempt on his part will, we suspect, show him that he has hitherto imperfectly comprehended the breadth and fulness of the Liberal League movement.—ED.]

Communications.

STRUCK BY THE "GREAT STRIKE."

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 13, 1877.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

"The great strike," as by common consent it is now known, has had the same effect on writers for the public journals, as the article in the *International Review*, by Mr. W. M. Grosvenor, had on "a red-hot striker." It has "stirred them up mightily."

All the journals, daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, have teemed with articles prompted by it. No matter what the head-lines may have been, it is very plain that all the writers have been struck by "the great strike." And what does the whole of it amount to? Generally, the articles bear the impress of the practised writer, whose sentences slip glibly from the pen; but they seem to be dealing with a subject they very imperfectly understand, and consequently they talk all around it, not into it. What produced the strike, is to most of them a mystery; and when an attempt is made to find means to prevent strikes, the steadiest seems to stagger.

Mr. David A. Wells, in the *North American Review*, has got nearer the causes that produced the strike than almost any of the writers, although the strike did not prompt his articles. But when he undertakes to answer his question—"How shall the nation regain prosperity?"—it seems like trying to stave-off the day of judgment. To extend the system that has produced the present disease cannot be the way to cure it. The balance of the world will not sleep while we hunt up new customers for our wares; and that is the whole of the remedy proposed by Mr. Wells. It may all be summed up in three words: "find new markets."

It is pitiful to see skilled writers, editors of note, professors of political economy, presidents of railroads, public lecturers, all sorts of what are called "educated men," become so utterly confounded when they write or speak upon this question. It is all too plain they have never before thought much about it. The machine has run pretty well so far, withus, by just oiling now and then; and now to have it stick is something they cannot understand. But it cannot be remedied by appointing a perpetual President, or by establishing a standing army. It's before that, and a long way deeper down. Even the whipping-post is not a sure cure. And the Hon. Elizur Wright may write "annihilating answers to the crude opinions of the mutual relations of human beings as must be held by sincere communists," until he tires of writing, and none of this, or the whole of it, will furnish proper shelter, good food, and sufficient clothing for all that are willing to work. Until *that* is done, strikes will continue, and ought to continue. When the American workman becomes craven enough to succumb to tyranny without striking, he ought to be struck off the face of the earth. And he will be.

With reference to what has appeared in THE INDEX on this question, there seems to me more of value in the few sentences by Mr. Morse than in the editorials of Mr. Wright and Mr. Kelsey, even when supplemented, with all that bears on this question, in the essay of Mr. Wright read at Rochester. It is not pleasant to be obliged to say this, because from such men as Mr. Wright we expect some light on this subject. He might leave the treatment of it from the "beer-and-tobacco" stand-point to such, for instance, as "R. G. Eccles," who revels in that branch of the subject. His brilliant article in the September number of the *Popular Science Monthly* has, no doubt, astonished the scientific readers of that journal; and then, the plain and simple style is so convincing to the workingman, that it makes the article invaluable. Take an example from its commencement: "The personal equation, if not eliminated, distorts men's views of Nature's workings. . . . The bone and sinew of man is the stored energy of sunbeams, and this is the potential energy of physical life. . . . Any attempt at viewing the matter by ignoring this law of the conservation of energy . . . can only result in false opinions and lead to dangerous measures." Then he makes a note, thus: "When this was penned, the writer did not suspect it would be so quickly verified." It is a little uncertain what has been verified; but if workingmen will only suck "sunbeams" and be content, strikes are at an end.

Mr. Kelsey quotes Mr. Wright so approvingly that I re-read the essay attentively. He says, "It is not easy to improve upon." Perhaps not! but let us try to get the sense out of it, for that is what we are after. Mr. Wright says: "In civilization, as the race advances in the creation of material wealth by the use of natural forces and division of labor, property tends inevitably to distribute itself more and more unequally." The point in this I take to be, "As the race advances in the creation of material wealth, property tends inevitably to distribute itself more and more unequally."

If it is inevitable it cannot be avoided, can it? So, if the race continues to increase in material wealth, the inevitable consequence must be, the rich will become richer, and the poor poorer. Pleasant prospect for the poor! Would it not be better, there-

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fore, for the poor to do all they can to prevent the increase of material wealth? If Mr. Wright does not mean this, what does he mean? Plainness of speech is what is needed on this question.

All those gentlemen are very apt to get off their fling at the workingmen for their "utopian crudities"; yet each of them seems to have a little utopia of his own; and this is Mr. Wright's, quoted with approval by Mr. Kelsey: "What can be done, and what only waits the more general diffusion of knowledge to be done, is, to secure the protection of individual property in its natural and necessary rights, and to instruct its owners in those social and patriotic duties which give to property a large part of its possible value."

I have tried hard to get the sense out of that sentence, and this is all I can get from it: "Protect the individuals who own the property (that is, those to whom wealth, as it is created, naturally tends), and instruct them in their social and patriotic duties." Just fancy the Elizur Wrights instructing the Stewarts and Vanderbilts!

Mr. Wright says, "The acquisition of property is an attribute of human nature, one of its grand passions, to be governed, but not eradicated." Which would Mr. Wright govern, the acquisition of property, or the attribute of human nature? It cannot be the acquisition of property, for why try to govern a thing that tends inevitably to distribute itself; and if the race advances, the tendency is to distribute itself more and more unequally, and this is inevitable. The quotation continues: "If Nature had made mankind equal, like the working-bees, communism would doubtless be the right thing." How fortunate that somebody discovered that we superior animals have a higher degree of differentiation than working-bees. It's a peg on which to hang the idea that underlies the worn-out divine-right dogma, by which those into whose hands property had an inevitable tendency to distribute itself, used to defend its possession. Somehow, the tendency was always towards the powerful.

But I must stop. Only let me ask Mr. Kelsey to again take up "Mr. Wright's concise statement," and elucidate it, make it as plain as his definition of communism. Also please explain this sentence of his own in his editorial: "History only repeats itself, in a different way, and the analogical method and inductive philosophy alike forbid us to believe that future ages can do more than perfect the present system which the experience of past generations has proven to be the best for humanity at large." What system?

Mr. Kelsey is the first writer for THE INDEX that has defined what he means by communism; hereafter when he uses the word we shall know what he means. If Mr. Wright would do that, it would be well, instead of writing, "Communism as illustrated in the recent destructive strikes. . . . The communists, or rather leaders, of despotic unions." Those who call themselves communists say, *that* is not communism; nor are leaders of despotic unions necessarily communists; in short, communists generally hold the two to be incompatible.

Writers for THE INDEX should not copy the style of party newspapers. They call anything communism that is opposed to their political party. If the Liberal League nominates a candidate for the next presidential election, I'll bet a hat that Republican and Democratic newspapers will call us communists. Who bets?

As Mr. Morse says, "the labor question is up"; and if it is discussed by writers for THE INDEX, we, the readers, will be profited more by their keeping close to the question. The article in the *Radical Review*, by E. H. Heywood, is a notable example in this respect, as in many other respects. Every one should read it.

A. BATE.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XX.

I have said that Wakeman illustrates the literal-minded order of thought,—"the simple primrose" type; and I take him to represent the prevalent school of scientists and sciento-philosophers. Those who perceive and trace out analogies are of the figurative mental type. But he (Wakeman) is not incorrigible. In his *Extension and Enlargement of the Positive Classification of the Sciences*, he manifests the probably unconscious influence of his universological studies. He quits the bald descriptive affirmations of Comte, and takes to diagrams, scales, gamuts, and tabulations, with analogies cautiously and tentatively exhibited, as *mere illustrations*—which is wise, with any one who is not planted on a radical and exhaustive discovery of *the law of scientific analogy*. In this new tabulation (see this series, No. XIX.), he advances a step farther, and a most significant and important step, in the right direction. In this he makes the existence of the three (or four) kingdoms of Nature—the mineral, vegetable, animal, and human—to be the basis of classification; as of departmental classification, empirically approached; and for educational purposes; it certainly is. And this he can no longer adduce as mere illustration. The relation between physics in the major sense (abiology) and the mineral kingdom, for example, is something far too intimate and binding to be illustration merely; and if not illustration what is it? True, our author cannot literally bring the ocean and the atmosphere in among minerals, but they are most directly allied with the mineral kingdom; as its adjuncts; and so the whole group is representatively characterized by the mineral kingdom, or by the mere mineral, as a thing, or a term. In other words, the mineral; a mineral, any mineral; is a *type* and *analogue* of that whole realm of affairs. In like manner, sociology is typified and represented by man; although the science covers customs and laws, and many other things which are not, literally, man.

This new basis of classification is, then, strictly and truly, *analogy*, a valid scientific connection of ideas; and not mere poetry or fanciful metaphor. At all events, just such connections of idea—one thing actually repeating and representing another, throughout duplex, or manifold, spheres of relationship,—are all of what I mean by analogy. And Mr. Wakeman in adopting this basis has become a true universologist; a destination towards which he has been for some time steadily drifting, as a necessary consequence of the development of his own ideas on classification. That road has no other outcome. Universology (meaning now my own elaboration of it) was the first, and for a time, the only extant effort to exhibit *classification itself, as the subject matter of a distinct science*,—a science of its own. Hence, whosoever attempts that achievement must traverse the same field, either in my way, or in a way of his own.

The *key* to the whole problem is *Scientific Analogy*; and whosoever abides by it is a universologist. When Mr. Wakeman shall have taken a few more steps in that direction, he will perhaps not consign universology, as he has done, to a limbo in the outskirts of his system.

Universology pronounces the fact, however, that the classifiers constitute the preëminent class among scientists. In any seeming criticism I am making upon Wakeman, I should still assign to him a rank in the scientific world, upon the ground of his as yet hardly recognized scientific achievements, far above any which he would probably think of claiming for himself. But to attain the highest rank, classifiers must be true classifiers; their system all-embracing; and itself founded on inexpugnable scientific bases, such as scientific analogy alone furnishes,—not mere empiricists within departmentalism.

On the other hand, the figurative-minded thinkers, whom an easy perception of superficial resemblances, without radical analysis, beguiles into the statement of vague "correspondences," hermetic philosophers, Swedenborgians and Spiritists, still more grievously need the sobering and discipline of a thorough course in analytical and scientific analogy. Analogic, scientifically pursued, is the vital centre of the entire *corpus* of human knowledges, as will be illustrated in one of the following tables.

There is a third small and rare class of minds, as already noticed, which may be known as integrative thinkers, who combine literal-mindedness and figurative-mindedness in a just harmony with each other. The study of scientific analogy tends to bring minds naturally inclining in excess to either of the extremes upon this true footing of adjustment, reconciliation, and balanced vibration,—as contexturologists or integralists. By minds so organized and so trained, it is seen to be not only not objectionable, but legitimate, and eminently desirable "to materialize the living world" on the one hand, and to "biologize the inanimate world" on the other hand, by the discovery of the identity of law in all spheres. The "positivists" predicate "the invariability of law." The universologists and integralists predicate, in addition to this, THE UNITY OF LAW. This unity of law is only discoverable by the process of radical and fundamental analysis, a propædeutic wholly foreign to the genius of Comte's form of "positivism." The terrible and fatal criticism on it is that it is, negatively, in the nature of *arrested development*, in respect to that healthy and natural drift towards analysis, or individualization which is going on in the world; and in the nature of *premature synthesis*, on its affirmative side. A synthesis prior to an absolute analysis of society or of anything else, is necessarily *botch-work*. I am forced to the emphatic pronouncement of this criticism, because it is this pseudo-social-reconstructionism which stands most immediately in the way, as a hinderance, of the understanding, appreciation, and acceptance of the larger, more thorough, and more artistic work of social demolition and reconstruction involving universology, integralism, and pantarchism. It is like any other shoddy article which preoccupies the market,—all the worse the better it seems to be. There is a resemblance between Comte's reconstruction theories and those of the Pantarchy, like that of a school-boy's snow man to a marble statue. Nevertheless, there is the fundamental unity in the two, that they are both figurative representations of a man; and the compensation for hinderances, that the grosser and more childlike attempt is legitimately a prior development; and, that while it hinders it does also tend to prepare the way for, the adult appreciation of a more finished specimen of statuary. Taken as *ébauche* it is therefore admirable.

Meantime, reverting to classification, nothing better could be asked for, than Wakeman's table in the *Library Table*, as a point of departure, from which to make apprehended the deeper and more comprehensive basis of classification which universology furnishes. Observe, in the first place, that this table (including the four kingdoms, mineral, vegetal, animal, and hominal) is an abridgment from his larger exhibit, and includes only the concrete portion of it (concretology.) Along with Spencer he has also an abstractology, including logic and mathematics. This basis of classification which first discriminates the concrete and the abstract is Spencerian; and while Wakeman admits it, he makes little of it, and keeps to the Comtean distribution as more practically valuable. He quotes me (from the *Modern Thinker*), inaccurately, as also depreciating Spencer's fundamental discrimination. On the contrary, from the point of view of philosophic thoroughness, I regard it as far deeper (and therefore, in the profound sense, more practical) than anything of Comte; while as a convenient popular abridgment or epitome, Comte's scale of the sciences has the advantage.

Omitting, ourselves, for the moment, the abstract realm, and confining ourselves to the concrete, and setting aside the human, in it, as a distinct kingdom, we have before us the ordinary view,—the three kingdoms. But what, we are driven to ask, does the existence of these three kingdoms *mean*? What underlying *ideas* do they typify. It is such men as Schelling, Oken, Richard Owen, and St. George Mivart, who teach us to look for a *meaning* in the book of Nature. And what here are the ideas typified? This *fact* of the three kingdoms is the obvious and popular *centre-piece* of scientific knowledge; and if we can solve it, as to its *occult significance*, we shall have made a great advance into the *arcana* of the universe.

Let us state first, and demonstrate afterwards. In short, the concrete is the *embodiment* of the cosmos, as the abstract is its *framework* or *outlay*. Embodiment or body is either *living* or *dead*. The mineral world is then the dead-body-world (excluding, as Elsberg says, *the died*); and the biologic world is the live-body-world (including the died). So far is clear; but what is death and what is life? None of the definitions of life heretofore given prove satisfactory. Spencer's and Lewes' definitions of life are *descriptions of the manifestations* of life, and not true definitions. Spencer seems to be quite aware of this—and to be baffled in his effort to define life from the point of view of an external dead materialism; for the effort is that merely. (See *Principles of Biology*, pp. 59–70.) Lewes' definition (quoted, by him, p. 61) would apply just as well to the processes of building and repairing a house as to the vital processes in a human individual. "Life," he says, "is a series of definite and successive changes, both of structure and composition, which take place within an individual without destroying its identity."

What, then, is death, the dead state, the state of being dead, and what is life, in their indubitably direct contrast with each other? Simply and merely death is inertness, and for life we may coin the contrasted word *exertness*. We may have proximate degrees towards inertness; torpor, etc.; short of death; but absolute inertness is the complete realization of the very idea of death. On the other hand, this absolute inertness is not incompatible with mere motion; but the cause of the motion must come from without. This is motic inertia as contrasted with the static inertia of complete rest. Both ideas are compatible with death, brute matter, and mere external mechanism, and so are directly allied with the monism of the mechanical-causal type of conception (See Hæckel). Exertness is, on the contrary, self-expression in motion; and this we denominate ACTION. Action is a word never applied to any other than living performances, except by figure of speech. We arrive, then, at the conclusion that life is the ACTIVITY or self-motivistic principle and phenomenality, and that death is the PASSIVITY, or *allundemotivistic* principle and phenomenality of the universe; and that they are not to be defined by any mere descriptions of their various modes of manifestion. *They are the subjectivity and objectivity of universal nature;* inherent and eternal principles in the nature of things, in constant mutual tug or struggle with each other. Life is not, then, as materialism would insist, a mere accidental emergence, from the fortuitous operation of the laws of the inanimate realm of being, but is, itself, *a primal and creative factor in the production of the world.*

THE ST. JOSEPH (MO.) LIBERAL LEAGUE THANKSGIVING.

DEAR FRIEND ABBOT:—

Thinking you might wish to know how we succeeded in our effort to have something different from the usual *routine* on these annual occasions, I have concluded to give you a brief report of our proceedings.

The "proclamation" was published in all our daily English and German papers; they also gave us favorable editorial notices.

A good brass band of music was engaged, and Mrs. M. H. Parry, the eloquent freethought lecturer, agreed to deliver an address; while P. V. Wise, the President of our Liberal League, was to preach the regular sermon.

Though the day was very cold and stormy, about two hundred liberals assembled at Turn-Halle, at ten o'clock, A.M., and the exercises were opened by reading Gerald Massey's hymn, "The People's Advent," which was well received.

Then followed the reading of the Platform and Resolutions adopted by the Congress of the National Liberal League, at Rochester, N.Y. A resolution heartily indorsing the platform, and pledging unqualified support to the nominees for President and Vice-President in 1880, and to promote the principles as enunciated a success, was unanimously adopted.

The Orthodox friends claim that a special providence detained the train, and thus prevented Mrs. Parry from participating in the "blasphemous proceedings"; but it did not interfere with the President of the League, who delivered a stirring, radical sermon, occupying an hour and a half of time. It was not ranting about what the gods and the Church had done for the benefit of man, in opening his eyes, and enlarging his mind, and extending his knowledge and means of happiness, and securing his liberty, but in showing that the Church in all countries which claimed to speak for and transact business in the name of the gods had ever been leagued with tyrants and despotism, had been a universal beggar in seeking for wealth and power, and had always worked against the best interests, advancement, liberties, progress, and happiness of man.

He called attention to the difference between the ceremonies as conducted by those who claimed to have the ears of the gods, and to speak as familiarly to and for them, as a maiden of her kitten, or a boy of his marbles, while ours is for humanity. They

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contend that man should devote his entire life to the service and *protection* of the gods (the Church really), while he claimed that the gods should not only be able to care for and protect themselves, but man also; that the God of Nature required no formal adoration, costly temples untaxed, no incense, no prayers, no human statutes to protect her or him, but simply for man to be industrious and charitable and loving to his fellowman. He then referred to the good character and intelligence of the members of the late Rochester Congress, and the great benefit that would result to man, if the principles laid down in their platform could be engrafted in our fundamental laws, and impartially enforced in all our courts by public opinion. He then referred to the great instructors of humanity, Lao Tsze, Confucius, Socrates, Thales, Pythagoras, Galileo, Bruno, Voltaire, Paine, Mazzini, and a host of brave men and women who had been real benefactors of mankind, and to whom we should ever feel thankful. He said that, though there had been sixteen reputed crucified saviors of the world, they had been of no practical benefit to the human family. That not one of them, or all of them combined, were now or ever had been able to suspend the laws of Nature, to control or stop a cyclone, an earthquake, a fire in a forest or city, an epidemic disease or the plague, a famine, the lightning's flash, wreck at sea or of a railway train, a devasting war, a bitter religious persecution, or to free a people or single person from slavery, or remove a tyrannical government, and establish a pure Republic for all the people in its stead, where all the human customs and laws should operate as impartially on each member as the natural laws of the universe. That, in fact, the effect of their missions and teachings had been to the great injury instead of benefit to man.

He then stated that nothing ever had been done, or was now being done, to improve, civilize, enlighten, and render man happy by the gods or goddeses; but all had been done by the inventive genius, courage to dare, and indomitable will of men and women, who had risked their all to aid and save humanity. The preacher then spoke strongly in favor of placing women politically on an equality with men, and, where they can perform the same services equally as well, to pay them the same wages as men.

He advised the workingmen to be temperate, to give their children of both sexes a good practical education, a trade, so that they will be able to support themselves wherever they may be; and instead of paying their moneys to build useless churches and support a swarm or locusts, that they invest it in newspapers and useful books, and a small tract of land, with a comfortable cottage, good fences, fruit trees; and then with what is left to beautify it so as to make a pleasant home and heaven here on earth.

He called their attention to the fact that over $500,000,000 of property was tied up uselessly in this country alone in the churches, which defrauded them out of more than $15,000,000 per annum by being exempt from taxation; and then of the immense horde of priests, over sixty thousand, which the workingmen carried on their shoulders and supported without ever receiving anything whatever in return.

The worst bank failures, insurance frauds, and perjuries, the worst cases of forgery, *crim. con.*, and murder, were committed by the most pious Christian priests and devotees. And what is it all for? They do not or cannot suspend the bitings of cold and hunger; they do not feed the hungry or clothe the naked; they do not give us light and practical knowledge; they do not break the bonds of slavery and oppression, but increase them more than tenfold. You should therefore look upon them as nuisances, as obtaining money under false pretences. They are worse than the Colorado grasshoppers which only visit you occasionally and eat quietly for a season; but the lazy priest abideth with you and eateth up your substance, and annoys you day and night forever. How long will you quietly submit to be his silent slave? Be men and women, and shout no longer. We will be free! Yours, P. V. WISE.

MATERIALISTS IN IOWA COURTS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The Supreme Court of Iowa, in the case of the State *vs.* Elliott, recently reported in the *Western Jurist*, holds that—"Where dying declarations are offered in evidence, it is no objection to the admissibility thereof that the declarant was a materialist; *but such fact may be shown in evidence for the purpose of affecting the weight or credibility of the declaration.*"

The Iowa code has abolished the very odious and unjust rule of the common law that excluded the testimony of materialists; but, in permitting the fact of materialism to be shown as affecting the weight or credibility of the witness, it permits, in courts of justice, an invidious discrimination between persons of differing theological opinions that is as indefensible as the law which it abrogates, and equally obnoxious to reason, justice, and the genius of our Constitution.

It is amazing that a rule of law so at variance with common-sense and equity, so irreconcilably conflicting with the principles of our free and non-sectarian government, can endure for a day in an age remarkable for its liberality and enlightenment!

It is inequitable, because it does not permit baptism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, and all other "isms, as well as materialism," to be shown "as affecting the weight of the testimony." It is contrary to reason, because it is sufficiently demonstrated that religious beliefs are no guarantees of the veracity of a witness. If religious opinions were any test of veracity, then the penalties of perjury would be useless wherever non-believers are excluded from giving testimony, as at common law.

Again, it is always admissible to impeach a witness by attacking his reputation for truth in the community where he resides. If a witness cannot sustain a reputation for truth and veracity among his neighbors, that fact is permitted to be shown for the purpose of affecting the weight of his testimony. How absurd, then, where a man bears an untarnished reputation for truthfulness among those who best know him, to permit him to be discredited by proof of his materialism! As if the testimony of men, every way reliable and truthful in the ordinary and every-day transactions of life, when they take the witness stand, is less credible than that of a Baptist or Methodist of doubtful reputation, but to whom the law kindly and mercifully grants special immunities as witnesses in shielding from inquest their tenets, howsoever extravagant, absurd, or immoral they may be!

If speculative religious opinions furnish some criterion by which a man's credibility may be determined for the purposes of the courts, then every form of belief should be equally open to scrutiny, that the intrinsic excellences or absurdities thereof may furnish ingenious counsel ample facilities for the protection of clients, and for the edification of jurors.

Surely, if the tenets of Christianity are more rational or better calculated to promote veracity than those of materialism, they ought not to claim for them exemption from the inquest to which a residuum of theological bigotry still subjects the latter.

What renders this feature of the Iowa code doubly ridiculous, is the well-known fact that, notwithstanding probably nine out of ten witnesses who testify in court are believers in future punishment of some sort, there are few crimes of more frequent occurrence than perjury.

That law-maker must be monumental in stupidity who in this day does not know that the color of a man's orthodoxy is no test of his veracity. Why, then, should the law presume that a materialist is less credible than a Baptist?

Practically, however, in a majority of cases, even where the law permits it, an attempt to discredit a witness by showing him to be a materialist would subject the person in whose behalf the attack was made to the deserved contempt of court and jury, and thus defeat its own object. Nevertheless, the existence of such a law upon the statute books of any State is a standing disgrace to the people who permit it to remain there, to be enforced by the courts. R. C. B.

SENECA, Kan., Nov. 18, 1877.

[Such laws are kept on the statute book in order to make the State lend a covert assistance to the Church. It is a part of that iniquitous system which makes Christianity help to demoralize the public conscience, at the very time that it pretends to be the sole bulwark of morality! Shall we not hope that the liberals of America, by supporting the National Liberal League till its righteous principles triumph, will put an end to this noisome insincerity and hypocrisy?—ED.]

H. CLAY NEVILLE vs. MATERIALISTS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The above named correspondent of THE INDEX cannot abide materialism or materialists. In THE INDEX of December 13, he makes serious complaints against the representatives of freethought after the following fashion: "Many persons who claim to be representative liberals are the greatest burdens that true liberalism has to carry." Before it can be determined whether this assertion is true or not, it is first necessary to define what constitutes "true liberalism." It might possibly turn out, upon a correct definition of true liberalism, that our friend, "H. C. N." would have to move on and take advanced grounds. Such a step forward might possibly induce him to give up the last vestige of his religion for science. But suppose it admitted that there are among liberals "some narrow-minded, coarse-grained freethinkers"; are there no narrow-minded, coarse-grained Christians? The underlying question is: What is the legitimate tendency of Christianity and what is the tendency of freethought? If the latter produces strength of character, it must incidentally, if not directly, produce coarse character. Strength and coarseness usually go together. If it shall be claimed that Christianity effects refinement, it necessarily, if not directly, tends to make its votaries weaklings. If it be true that there are in the liberal ranks "those chronic haters of every form of religious thought," it is also true that there are in society millions of Christians who cherish a chronic hatred of truth; and I might, with more fitness, use the words of "H. C. N." and add, "their scepticism (in human progress) has taught them to hate rather than love." Let "H. C. N." take a decided stand upon any of the reforms of the day, and go forth to *work* for its success, and he will see why the liberal must have grit and battle in him. When Christianity persecutes and prosecutes the liberal to the last degree within its power, he must either submit and take his place among other *sheep*, or become a fighter. "They have a false idea that they must fight everybody and everything." Nearly everybody wants to fight the liberal; and what can he do but fight or run? "Good, sensible people who see only destruction and moral chaos in the crude ideas of these iconoclastic reformers learn to look with suspicion on everything associated with liberalism." What are these "crude ideas" promulgated by these iconoclastic persons claiming "to be representative liberals"? Perhaps "H. C. N.'s" own language may answer our query: "Better have Christianity in the Constitution and public schools than have this type of destructionists rule society." Is it possible that the writer knew nothing of the scientists who are building and reconstructing human thought and society? These constructionists are building a new edifice upon the ruins of traditional religion, dedicated to reason and human welfare. Does "H. C. N." favor the God-in-the-Constitution movement? He confesses that his firing has been scattering. "I have not time to be as explicit on this subject as I should like to be." This is exceedingly unfortunate for him, seeing that *explicitness* is the thing that does the business.

W. S. BELL.

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.

INTUITIONALISM IN AMHERST.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I was highly interested in two subjects which received considerable attention in your columns some months ago,—the issue between transcendental and empirical philosophy, and the religious attitude of Amherst College. The topics seemed to me to meet in a plane which may not have been recognized as common by those less familiar with the Institution in question, and perhaps a tardy allusion to this point will not be without interest. President Seelye, while conducting an exercise in the class to which I belonged, was once criticised for his custom of referring his pupils to those authors only who support what he regards as the truth, and justified his course with some such reasoning as this:—

The truth is apprehended directly, immediately. There is not needed any comparison of rival theories, for it manifests itself "in its own light," and, when once fairly seen, is recognized as true *beyond all question*. To exhibit error, then, side by side with the truth, does not afford the mind any assistance, but greatly embarrasses it by beclouding and distracting the intellectual vision. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of the instructor to refer his pupils to such works only as contain (not what *seems* to him, as the fallible experimentalist would say, but) what *is seen* by him to be the truth.

I am unable to see why this is not logical intuitionalism, and am convinced that what may seem at a distance like inexcusable intolerance in Amherst utterances is really, in many cases, only the legitimate outcome of the philosophical basis recognized there.

Will you allow me a closing word in behalf of my *Alma Mater?* Whatever the rational critic may think of her theories, I am happy to bear unqualified testimony to her practical liberality. Personal observation enables me to say that any student, however pronounced and undisguised his "sceptical" tendencies, may expect impartial justice at the hands of her faculty, provided he prove himself a gentleman and exhibit a sincere desire to profit by his opportunities. HENRY DOTY MAXSON.

DE RUYTER, N.Y., December, 1877.

A PROTEST.

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., Dec. 20, 1877.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Your first editorial in reference to obscene literature and its circulation I read with great delight, a delight which portions of your second editorial on the same subject do not tend to intensify. While your utterances prompt me to thank you for stating your own position in so manly a fashion, they also induce me to state that there is at least *one* man—whether "in his senses," or out of them, others must judge—who "ventures to tell the public explicitly that he is in favor of abolishing all legal restrictions upon the use" of the mails for the circulation of really obscene literature. To develop the argument by which he maintains this position might involve him in a discussion for which he has no time, and he therefore contents himself with the simple assertion, adding only that the editor of THE INDEX would be no more justified, on this account, in representing him as "going before the world as a champion of obscene literature," than *he* would be in representing the editor of THE INDEX as going before the world as a champion of drunkenness on account of his opposition to the enactment of a prohibitory liquor law. On the contrary, his hatred of obscene literature is surpassed only by his hatred of that spirit which endeavors to make other people moral by encroaching on their rights.

Sincerely yours, BENJ. R. TUCKER.

COINAGE PIETY.

I notice in THE INDEX of Dec. 13, page 590, bottom of second column—"The new silver quarters have the device, 'In God we trust,' but not the halves"—clipped from an exchange. I have seen it before in another paper, and called the editor's attention to it. It is a small matter, but liberals especially should be careful about giving currency to anything but TRUTH. It is putting a club in the hands of the enemy to break our own heads with. If it should be your fortune to see a half-dollar coined within the last few years, you will see the error, which please correct in THE INDEX, and oblige, Respectfully, L. SPAULDING.

NORFOLK, Va.

IT IS AN INTERESTING fact that the world is indebted to the insect tribe for that valuable product—chloroform. The little ant contains a substance called formic acid, concerning which a discussion took place a century ago between certain chemists. It was found to be composed of a compound radical formyle, and three atoms of oxygen. Dumas subsequently substituted chlorine for the oxygen, and thus obtained tirchloride of formyle, which is chloroform. After this, the fact was ascertained that ether possessed the capability of taking away all sensations of the human body; and following this, came the disclosure that tirchloride of formyle was more thoroughly adapted for this purpose than even ether,—all this arising from the study of the habits of insects.

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WM. J. POTTER *Sec. F. R. A.*

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